

Speech by

True Copy

THE RT HON MRS MARGARET THATCHER MP

PRIME MINISTER

on

Friday 10th October 1980 at 14.30 hours

at the

BRIGHTON CENTRE

Most Thinks - to do to justice.

1.

Wills one .

THE REASON WHY

Wills

Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,
at our Party Conference last year I said
that the task on which the Government was
engaged - to change the national attitude
of mind - was the most challenging *to face any*
British administration since the War.

Challenge is exhilarating, ~~and~~ ^{and} this week, we
Conservatives have been taking stock,
discussing the achievements, the setbacks,
the work that lies ahead as we enter our
second Parliamentary year.

Our debates have been stimulating and our criticisms
constructive.

This week has demonstrated that we are a Party
united in ~~our~~ purpose, ~~our~~ strategy and ~~our~~
resolve ~~—~~ and we actually like one another.

/When I am

When I am asked for a detailed forecast of what will happen in the coming months or years, I remember Sam Goldwyn's advice:

"Never prophesy, especially about the future".

Nevertheless, you will be looking to me this afternoon for an indication of how the Government sees the task before us and why we are tackling it the way we are.

Before I begin, let me get one point out of the way.

This week at Brighton we have heard a good deal about last week at Blackpool.

I will have ^{a little} more to say about that strange assembly later, but for the moment I want to say just this.

/Because

Because of what happened at that Conference, there has been, behind all our deliberations this week, a heightened awareness that now, more than ever, our Conservative Government must succeed. We just must, because now there is even more at stake than ~~some~~^{some} had realised.

The Achievements So Far

There are many things to be done to set this nation on the road to recovery, and I do not ~~just~~^{a new} mean economic recovery, ~~alone~~, but ~~independence~~^{independence} of spirit and zest for achievement.

/It is sometimes

It is sometimes said that because of our past -
We, as a people, expect too much and set
out sights too high.

That is not the way I see it.

Rather it seems to me that, throughout my
life in politics, our ambitions have
steadily shrunk.

Our response to disappointment has not
been to lengthen our stride but to shorten
the distance to be covered.

But with confidence in ourselves and in our
future - what a nation we could be.

In its first seventeen months, this Government has
laid the foundations for recovery.

/we have

UNDERTAKEN

We have ~~had~~ a heavy load of legislation - a load we do not intend to repeat because we do not share the socialist fantasy that achievement is measured by the number of laws ~~we~~^{you} pass.

But there was a formidable barricade of obstacles ~~which~~ we had to sweep aside.

For a start, in his first budget, Geoffrey Howe began to restore incentives to stimulate the abilities and inventive genius of our people.

Prosperity comes not from grand conferences of economists but by countless acts of personal self-confidence, and self-reliance.

Under Geoffrey's stewardship, Britain has repaid three thousand 600 million dollars of international debt, debt which had been run up by our predecessors. And quite a lot of it was repaid before it was due.

In the last twelve months, Geoffrey has abolished exchange controls, over which British Governments have dithered for decades.

Our great enterprises are now free to seek opportunities overseas.

This will help to secure our living standards long after North Sea Oil has run out.

We have made the first crucial changes in trade union law; to remove the worst abuses of the closed shop; to restrict picketing to the place of work of the parties in dispute; and to encourage secret ballots.

/Jim Prior

Jim Prior has carried all these measures to fruition with the support of the vast majority of trade union members.

Keith Joseph, David Howell, John Nott and Norman Fowler have begun to break down the monopoly powers of nationalisation.

Thanks to them, British Aerospace will soon be open to private investment.

The monopoly of the Post Office and British Telecommunications is being diminished.

The barriers to private generation of electricity for sale have been lifted.

· /For the first

For the first time nationalised industries and public utilities can be investigated by the Monopolies Commission - a long overdue reform.

Free competition in road passenger transport promises travellers a better deal.

Michael Heseltine has given to millions - yes, millions - of Council tenants the right to buy their own homes.

It was Anthony Eden who chose for us the goal of "a property owning democracy".

But for all the time that I have been in public affairs, that has been beyond the reach of so many, who were denied the right to the most basic ownership of all - the homes in which they live.

They wanted to buy. They could afford to buy.
But they happened to live under the
jurisdiction of a Socialist Council, which
would not sell.

Now, Michael Heseltine has given them the chance;
to turn a dream into reality.

And all this in 17 months.

The Left continues to refer with relish to
the death of capitalism.
Well, if this is the death of capitalism,
I must say it's quite a way to go.

(The Defeat of Inflation)

The Defeat of Inflation

But Mr Chairman, all this will avail us little unless we achieve our prime economic objective; the defeat of inflation.

Inflation destroys nations and societies as surely as invading armies do.

Inflation is the parent of unemployment.

It is the unseen robber of those who have saved.

No policy which puts at risk the defeat of inflation - however great its short-term attraction - can be right.

/Our policy

~~Carlyle was right when he said that history
is the essence of innumerable biographies.~~

Our policy for the defeat of inflation is,
in fact, traditional; it existed long
before 'sterling M 3' embellished the
Bank of England Quarterly Bulletin, or
"monetarism" became a convenient term
of political invective.

But some people talk as if control of the money
supply was a revolutionary policy.
Yet it was an essential reason for the
recovery of much of continental Europe.

/Those countries

Those countries knew what was required for economic stability.

Previously, they had lived through rampant inflation; they knew it ~~led~~ to suitcase money, massive unemployment and the breakdown of society itself.

They determined never to go that way again.

Today, after many years of monetary self-discipline, they have stable, prosperous economies/better able than ours to withstand the buffeting of world recession.

So when ^{at-} ~~I travel~~ to international conferences to discuss economic affairs, many of my fellow Heads of Government find our policies not strange, unusual or revolutionary, but normal, sound and honest.

/Their only

Their only question is: "Has Britain the courage and resolve to sustain the discipline for long enough to break through to success?"

Yes, Mr Chairman, we have and we shall.

This Government is determined to stay with the policy and see it through to its conclusion.

That is what marks this administration as one of the truly radical ministries of post-war Britain.

Inflation is falling, ^{and should} ~~it will~~ continue to fall.

Meanwhile we are not heedless of the hardships and worries that accompany the conquest of inflation.

Foremost among these is unemployment.

(Unemployment)

UNEMPLOYMENT

Today, our country has more than 2 million unemployed.

Now you can try to soften that figure a dozen ways.

You can point out (and it is quite legitimate to do so) that 2 million today does not mean what it meant in the 1930's, that the percentage of unemployment is much less now than it was then.

You can add that today many more married women go out to work, ~~and their jobs appear in the figures.~~

You can stress that because of the high birthrate in the early 1960's, there is an unusually large number of school leavers this year looking for work and that the same will be true for the next two years.

You can emphasise that about a quarter of a million people find new jobs each month and therefore go off the Register.

And you can recall that there are now nearly 25 million people in jobs compared with only about 18 million in the 1930's.

You can point out that the Labour Party conveniently overlooks the fact that of the 2 million unemployed for which they blame us, nearly a million and a half were bequeathed by their Government.

But when all that has been said the fact remains that the level of unemployment in our country today is a human tragedy.

/Let me make it

Let me make it clear beyond doubt. I am
profoundly concerned about unemployment.
Human dignity and self-respect are
undermined when men and women are condemned
to idleness.

The waste of a country's most precious asset
- the talent and energy of its people -
makes it the bounden duty of Government
to seek a real and lasting cure.

/If I could

If I could press a button and genuinely solve the unemployment problem do you think I would not press that button this instant?

Does anyone imagine that there is the smallest political gain in letting this level of unemployment continue?

Or that there is some obscure economic religion which demands this level of unemployment as part of its grisly ritual?

Mr Chairman, this Government is pursuing the only policy which gives any hope of bringing our people back to real and lasting employment. It is no coincidence that those countries of which I spoke earlier which have had lower rates of inflation have also had lower levels of unemployment.

/BURDENS ON THE PRIVATE SECTOR

BURDENS ON THE PRIVATE SECTOR

I know there is another real worry affecting many of our people.

Although they accept that our policies are right, they feel deeply that the burden of carrying them out is falling much more heavily on the private than on the public sector.

They say the public sector is enjoying the advantages, but the private sector is taking the knocks and at the same time maintaining those in the public sector on better pay and pensions than they themselves enjoy.

I must tell you that I share this concern and understand the resentment.

/That is why

That is why I and my colleagues say that to add to public spending takes away the very money and resources that industry needs to stay in business, let alone to expand. Higher public spending, far from curing unemployment, can be the very vehicle that loses jobs and causes bankruptcies in trade and commerce.

That is why we warn local authorities that since rates are frequently the biggest tax that industry now pays, increases can cripple local businesses.

Councils must therefore learn to cut costs in the same way that companies have to.

/That is why

That is why I stress that if those who work in public authorities take for themselves large pay increases they leave less to be spent on equipment and new buildings.

And that, in turn, deprives the private sector of the orders it needs, especially some of those industries in the hard pressed regions.

And that is why we point out that every time high wage settlements in nationalised monopolies lead to higher charges - for telephones, electricity, coal, and water - they can drive companies out of business and cost other people their jobs.

If spending money like water was the answer to our country's problems, we would have no problems.

/If ever a nation

If ever a nation has spent, spent and spent again,
ours has.

Today that dream is over.

All that money has got us nowhere.

But it still has to come from somewhere.

And those who urge us to relax the squeeze, to spend yet more money indiscriminately in the belief that it will help the unemployed and the small businessman, are not being kind, or compassionate or 'caring'.

They are not the friends of the unemployed or the small business.

They are asking us to do again the very thing that caused the problems in the first place.

/We have made these points

We have made these points repeatedly.

Indeed, I am accused of "lecturing or preaching" about them.

I suppose it's the critics' way of saying, "Well, we know it's true but we've got to carp at something."

I don't care about that.

But I do care about the future of free enterprise, the jobs and exports it provides, and the independence it brings to our people.

/BEYOND ECONOMICS

BEYOND ECONOMICS

Independence? Yes. But let us be clear what we mean by that.

independence ~~it~~ doesn't mean contracting out of all relationships with others.

A nation can be free - but it won't stay free for long if it has no friends and no alliances.

Above all, it won't stay free if it can't pay its own way in the world.

By the same token, an individual needs to be part of a community - and to feel that he is part of it. There is more to this than the chance to earn a living for himself and his family, essential though that is.

Of course our vision and our aims go far beyond the complex arguments of economics.


/But

But unless we get the economy right we shall deny our people the opportunity to share that vision and to see beyond the narrow horizons of economic necessity.

Without a healthy economy, we cannot have a healthy society.
And without a healthy society the economy won't stay healthy for long.

It isn't the State that creates a healthy society. For when the state grows too powerful, people feel that they count for less and less.
It drains society not only of its wealth, but of initiative, of energy, the will to improve and innovate as well as to preserve what is best.

/But

But our aim is to let people feel that they count for more and more. If we can't trust the deepest instincts of our people, we shouldn't be in politics at all. 

And some ~~of the~~ aspects of our present society do really offend those instincts.

Decent people do want to do a proper job at work - not to be restrained or intimidated from giving value for money.

They believe that honesty should be respected, not derided.

They see crime and violence as a threat not just to society but to their own orderly way of life.

They want to be allowed to bring up their children in these beliefs, without the fear that their efforts will be daily frustrated in the name of 'progress' or 'free expression'.

/That's what

That's what family life is all about.

There isn't a 'generation gap' in a happy and united family.

People ~~do~~ yearn to be able to rely on some generally accepted standards.

Without them, you haven't got a society at all.

You have purposeless anarchy.

And a healthy society isn't created by *its* institutions either.

~~As the Spanish philosopher Ortega said, the Duke of Wellington was wrong.~~

Great schools and universities don't make a great nation, any more than great armies do.

Because only a great nation can create and evolve great institutions - of learning, of healing, of scientific advance.

/And a great

And a great nation is the voluntary creation of its people.

A people composed of men and women whose pride in themselves is founded on the knowledge of what they can ~~contribute~~^{give} to a community of which they can in turn be proud.

If our people feel they are part of a great nation, and are prepared to will the means to keep it great, then a great nation we shall be and shall remain.

So what could stop us achieving this?

/U-TURN

U-TURN

What, then, stands in our way?

The prospect of another Winter of Discontent?

I suppose it might.

But I prefer to believe that certain lessons have been learned from experience: that we are coming slowly, painfully, to an Autumn of Understanding.

I hope it will be followed by a Winter of Commonsense.

If it isn't, we shall not be diverted from our course.

To those waiting with bated breath for that favourite media catch phrase the U-turn, I have only one thing to say.

You turn if you want to: the Lady's NOT for Turning.

/FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

And I say this not only to you, but to our friends overseas - and to those who are not our friends.

In foreign affairs, we have pursued our national interest robustly while remaining alive to the needs and interests of others.

We have acted where our predecessors dithered.

And here I pay tribute to Lord Carrington.

Whenever I think of our much-travelled Foreign Secretary, I ^{am} reminded of the advertisement

-
you know the one I mean
about the peer that refreshes those foreign
parts that other peers can't reach.

I think I've got that right.

East/West Relations

Long before we came into office - and therefore long before the invasion of Afghanistan - I was pointing to the threat from the East. I was accused of scaremongering. But events have more than justified my words.

Soviet marxism is ideologically, politically and morally bankrupt.

But militarily the Soviet Union is a powerful and growing threat.

It was Mr Kosygin who said:-

"No peace loving country, no person of integrity should remain indifferent when an aggressor holds human life and world opinion in insolent contempt".

/We agree.

We agree. The British Government is not indifferent to the occupation of Afghanistan. We will not allow it to be forgotten. For unless and until the Soviet troops are withdrawn, other nations are bound to wonder which of them may be next.

Of course there are those who say that by speaking out we are complicating East/West relations, that we are endangering detente. But the real danger would lie in keeping silent.

Detente is indivisible, and it is a two way process. The Soviet Union cannot conduct wars by proxy in South East Asia and in Africa; foment trouble in the Middle East and the Caribbean; invade neighbouring countries; and still expect to conduct business as usual.

/Unless detente

Unless detente is pursued by both sides, it can be pursued by neither.

It is a delusion to suppose otherwise.

That is the message we shall be delivering loud and clear at the meetings of the European Security Conference in Madrid in the weeks immediately ahead.

We shall also be reminding the other participants in Madrid that the Helsinki accord was supposed to promote the freer movement of people and ideas.

The Soviet Government's response so far has been a campaign of repression worse than any since Stalin's day.

It had been hoped that Helsinki would open gates across Europe.

In fact, the guards today are better armed - and the walls are no lower.

/POLAND.

POLAND Poland

But behind those walls the human spirit is unvanquished.

The workers of Poland in their millions have signalled their determination to participate in the shaping of their destiny. We salute them.

Marxists claim that the capitalist system is in crisis.

But the Polish workers have shown that it is the Communist system that is in crisis. The Polish people should be left to work out their own future without external interference.

/Rhodesia.

Rhodesia

At every Party Conference, and every November in Parliament, we used to face difficult decisions over Rhodesia and over sanctions. But no longer.

Since we last met, the success at Lancaster House and thereafter in Salisbury - a success won in the face of all the odds - has created new respect for Britain.

- it has given fresh hope to those grappling with the terrible problems of Southern Africa.
- it has given the Commonwealth new strength and unity.
- now it is for the new nation, Zimbabwe, to build her own future with the support of all those who believe that democracy has a place in Africa.

/Defence and Arms Control

Defence and Arms Control

We showed over Rhodesia that the hallmarks of Tory policy are, as they always have been, realism and resolve.

Not for us the disastrous fantasies of unilateral disarmament; of withdrawal from NATO; of abandoning Northern Ireland.

The irresponsibility of the Left on defence increases as the dangers which we face loom larger.

We for our part have chosen a defence policy which potential foes will respect.

We are acquiring, with the cooperation of the United States Government, the Trident missile system.

This will ensure the credibility of our strategic deterrent until the end of the century and beyond.

/We have agreed

We have agreed to the stationing of Cruise missiles in this country.

The unilateralists object, but the recent willingness of the Soviet Government to open a new round of arms control negotiations shows the wisdom of firmness.

We intend to maintain and, where possible, to improve our conventional forces, so as to pull our weight in the Alliance.

We have no wish to seek a free ride at the expense of our allies.

The European Community

In Europe we have shown that it is possible to combine a vigorous defence of our own interests with a deep commitment to the idea and to the ideals of the Community.

/The last

~~Confidential - Security - Information~~

With each day it becomes clearer that in the wider world we face darkening horizons.

The war between Iran and Iraq is the latest symptom of a deeper malady.

Europe and North America are centres of stability in an increasingly anxious world.

The Community and the Alliance are the guarantee to other countries that freedom of choice is still possible.

They stand for order and the rule of law in an age when disorder and lawlessness are ever more widespread.

The British Government intends to stand by both these great institutions.

We will not betray them.

/The restoration

37.

The restoration of Britain's place in the world and of the West's confidence in its own destiny are two aspects of the same process. No doubt there will be unexpected twists in the road but with wisdom and resolution we can reach our goal.

I believe that we will show the wisdom: you may be certain that we will show the resolution.

/PERORATION

Peroration

Mr Chairman, in his warm-hearted and generous speech Peter Thorneycroft said that when people are called upon to lead great nations they must look into the hearts and minds of the people whom they seek to govern.

I would add that those who seek to govern must in turn be willing to allow their hearts and minds to lie open to the people.

This afternoon I have tried to set before you some of my most deeply held convictions and beliefs.

This Party, which I am privileged to serve, and this Government which I am so proud to lead, are engaged in the massive task of restoring confidence and stability to our people.

/I have always

I have always known that task was vital.
Since last week it has become more
vital than ever.

Mr Chairman, as we close our conference I say to you what I have said to myself since the vision of that sinister utopia unveiled at Blackpool: let Labour's Orwellian nightmare of the Left be the spur for us to dedicate with a new urgency our every ounce of energy and moral strength to rebuild the fortunes of this free nation.

If we were to fail, that freedom could be in the balance.

Let us resist the blandishment of the faint-hearts; let us ignore the howls and threats of the extremists; let us stand together, and do our duty, and we shall not fail.