

PRIME MINISTER'S PARTY CONFERENCE SPEECHDRAFT 1

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Part ① for Stephen

A 1

INTRODUCTION

2/ We meet today as free people in a free ^{country} society. But ~~there~~ ^{anyone} cannot be a single one of you here who does not sense the shadow that has fallen across this freedom since last we met, ~~a year ago.~~

I am not referring to the ~~disorderly~~ interruptions which have sought to mar our conference. Nor am I referring to the mob of rowdies outside who have tried to blockade us in our comings and goings. Such people do not understand ~~our ideas of~~ orderly assembly ~~and free speech.~~ ~~(But a little exposure to their ways~~ ~~does us no harm: it inoculates us against the extremism which~~ ~~has infected and divided the Labour Party.)~~ They will gain no ~~ground in our Party.~~ They ^{do not belong to} ~~are alien to~~ our tradition and ^{or our} beliefs.

The shadow I speak of is ~~not even the~~ ^{the} ~~dreadful outbreak of violence~~ and intimidation which has ~~wrecked~~ ^{acted} and scarred the coal industry, and particularly the working miners and their families, ~~in the~~ ~~last eight months.~~ The course of the coal strike has been sombre enough, and I shall have more ~~— much more —~~ to say about it presently.

No, ^{flows} the shadow ~~I refer to~~ is darker and deeper. ~~It is the~~
^{as} ~~emergence of~~ organised groups of influential men and women
~~in our society who no longer scruple to question, even to~~
~~repudiate the ideas of the supremacy of Parliament and the~~
~~rule of law. From this dark cloud falls an acid rain that~~
~~eats into liberty.~~

~~It can be seen in the arrogant ^{pretensions} of some prominent~~
~~trade union leaders ^{like to place themselves} that, so far as their union interest is~~
~~concerned, they are above the law.~~

~~It can be seen in the willingness of some local police~~
~~authorities ^{to try to hobble a police force to give} ^{the names of}~~
~~aid to law-breaking pickets.~~

~~It can be seen in the open party political pressure ^{was} being put~~
~~on some Magistrates to ~~abandon their judicial independence, and~~~~
~~to opt out of hearing criminal charges against ~~striking~~ miners.~~

~~It can be seen above all in the natural home that~~ These views
 and voices now find ^{their natural home} (in ~~the~~ ^{today's} Labour Party. It explains why that
 party is so muted in its condemnation of picket violence; so
 muted in its praise for the hard-pressed police; so muted in
 its support for the tens of thousands of working miners; so
 muted in its advocacy of an NUM ballot; but so willing to trumpet
 the cause of the present NUM leadership in its extreme and
 uncompromising objectives. Yet the Labour Party in its present
~~form, infiltrated by extremists, riven with factions, still stands~~
~~upon the stage as the (principal) alternative to the Conservative~~
~~Party in governing Britain.~~ That, ~~Mr. Chairman~~, is the measure
 of the shadow which has fallen across freedom since last we met.

Under the measure of the shadow which has fallen across freedom since last we met
 So the time is ripe to re-assert, to re-define our Conservative *ideals*
 ideals of freedom. Indeed we must never tire of doing so. For *we are*
 the breath of freedom is the very spirit of Conservatism, and it *not*
 is a spirit we share, with the great mass of our fellow- *part.*
 countrymen. But freedom has to be worked for, paid for. If *then*
 liberty means only licence, it is already lost. Freedom is a *we are*
 fruit which has to be nourished. Vigilance, vigilance and still

more vigilance is the root that feeds that fruit.

The British people voted for Conservative notions of freedom in 1979. In that first Parliament, freedom began to work. Statutory wage and price controls were swept away. Steadier prices and more realistic wage settlements resulted.

The freedom and responsibility of home ownership was offered to many tenants in the thrall of municipal landlords. Hundreds of thousands of families seized this new freedom, with its responsibilities, with open and grateful hands.

In the infamous Winter of Discontent, under the last Labour Government, the irresponsibility of certain trade unions became a by-word. But this was not because they were too free: on the contrary, there was too little freedom for ordinary rank and file members. We set out to restore freedom to those members, through tackling the closed shop, and through providing statutory rights to ballots. This new freedom must spread through to all trade union members.

/ Mr. Chairman

Mr. Chairman, if responsible freedom began to flow so productively in the last Conservative government, it has yet to reach full flood. Much remains to be done. And there is no greater freedom that we wish to ensure for our people than freedom from fear, however and wherever that fear may be occasioned.

Recher
C.L.C.
abolition

B 1

INTRODUCTION (continued)

Mr Chairman, there is a new kind of opposition at work in our democracy. It is an opposition which seeks to oppose so many of the fundamental beliefs of the people of this country.

We saw it in Blackpool last week, and at the TUC here in this very hall last month. We saw the far left come, see and conquer. We witnessed the coronation of extremism. Democratic opposition and union leaders were forced to play as attendant lords at the Court of Militancy.

It is our duty to carry the flame of freedom at home and abroad in face of the winds of violence and opposition that now threaten to blow them out.

We heard at Blackpool how Labour intend to use local

.../government, the

Local government

B 2

government, the trade union movement and the mobs on the streets to carry their torches, which have long since guttered in the fading strength of their public popularity.

Where we have set out to reform local government and to curb the wildest excesses of high spending Town Halls, the new left seeks to use Councils to burst apart our carefully established programme for rational economic recovery.

We have brought in measures to stop rates going up so fast that enterprise is killed and voters are forced onto state benefits to meet the bills. And we have set out our proposals to abolish the worst high spenders in our big cities who stand guilty of presiding over decay and decline on a massive scale, often made worse at public expense.

.../

This democratic programme leaves local authorities with freedom to spend £30 billion of tax payers' money: more than ever before. Yet the labour party intends to run a campaign against it, based on a contempt for the law and using public money to poison the public mind.

The Leader of the Greater London Council has said openly that he "will support ... staff in refusing the obey Government commands". He has added "if that puts us outside the law, then it is the laws that are wrong". And he is not the only one. The leaders of Greenwich, Lambeth, Lewisham, Southwark, Hackney, Camden and other authorities have said as much.

I find that worrying.

.../But I find

But I find it even more worrying that Labour MPs appear to be aiding and abetting this campaign to defy Parliament.

Mr Jack Straw is reported to have told Labour's Sheffield Local Government Conference that: "the question is not the rule of law, but which law should rule" (Tribune 13.7.84).

Mr Eric Heffer told the press on 7th July that in his opinion "non-compliance with the Rates Act is the only option" (Labour Party Press Release 7.7.84).

How can democracy work if legislators encourage citizens to disobey the law? How can our traditions survive if the will of Parliament is defied by its own members?

.../ I am aware

I am aware that Mr Roy Hattersley has never supported such defiance. Indeed, he has opposed the policies of the Left. On the 21st of February 1983, he said: "it is not right, practical or reasonable to say we can fight on policies of no cuts, no redundancies, and no rate rises ... to promise that is economically illiterate".

I regret to say that I cannot find any record of similar utterances from Mr Hattersley since that date.

I think I can guess why. On the 8th March 1984, the Guardian reported a most remarkable statement by the deputy leader of Liverpool Council. He said: "if any Labour councillor goes against the Labour line, then those councillors will be dealt with". Presumably, Mr Hattersley dislikes the idea of being "dealt with".

.../It is well

It is well known that a number of other Labour MPs are at present under severe threat of being "dealt with" by their constituency parties, should they deviate from the new militant orthodoxy. They may have in their mind the deputy leader of Liverpool's remark of the 11th March about his colleagues on the Council: "they had better be reminded that not only have they to walk into the council chamber; they have to walk out".

Let us hope that Labour MPs will be able to walk out of their constituencies. Let us hope that they will not find themselves being pushed out - not until they are properly and democratically removed at the next General Election.

And in the health service we see the same techniques of unParliamentary opposition at work. Everything which

.../miscarries in

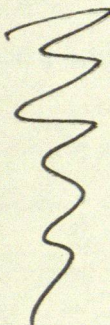
miscarries in our hospitals is blamed on a lack of cash. Every old hospital or ward which closes is used by the left in the unions as another example of Tory heartlessness. There is no mention of the 140 new hospital schemes planned or built in England alone since 1979.

No memory of the 270 hospitals shut by Labour between 1974 and 1989.

There is only hatred. Hatred based on dislike of our intention to modernise and improve our health service. Fear of our insistence that public money be well spent, meeting patient needs and treating the large numbers of new treatments and extra patients that our doctors and nurses so valiantly handle.

.../No, the new

No, the new left are out to pervert the truth and abuse the language wherever they can. They are out to barricade the streets, decry our concern using public money and public platforms for their own invidious ends. Whether in local government, in the militant leadership of the COHSE or at the centre of the industrial conflict the techniques are the same.

DEFENCE, EUROPE, HONG KONG

Of all the great challenges we face at home, none compare with the defence of the realm in a nuclear world.

"It is a sham", said one member of Labour's National Executive, to his eternal credit, "it is a sham to pretend that we could stay in NATO and adopt a policy of unilateral disarmament".

It is indeed. By making unilateral disarmament official policy the Labour Party now formally occupies the commanding heights of naivety.

No one in their senses is pro-nuclear for its own sake. The only sane stance is to be pro-peace. But equally no Prime Minister, responsible for the defence of our

country, could take the colossal gamble of giving up
our nuclear defences while our greatest potential
enemy keeps theirs.

the *the* *the* *of the* *who*
I do not question ~~Labour leader's~~ sincerity on this
the *the* *the* *the* *the*
issue. It is his judgement I question, ⁴⁻ which would

not only put this country in mortal danger but wreck
NATO and leave us totally isolated from our friends
in the United States.

Fortunately the great majority of the British people
will never vote for such a policy or such a Party.

But we must be constantly alerted to the danger and
keep reminding our people in Parliament, in the
constituencies, at every level, what Labour policy is.

The idea that by giving up our nuclear deterrent we
could somehow escape the result of a nuclear war
elsewhere is nonsense.

Just as it is nonsense to pretend or assume - as the latest Labour defence document assumes - that conventional weapons are sufficient defence against nuclear attack.

One-sided nuclear disarmament, however well-intentioned,

is not the road to peace. It is a deeply dangerous

~~diversion~~^{illusion}. A world without nuclear weapons is the

hope of the world. But disarmament by all of us together

is the only secure ~~road to take~~^{route for us}.

^{USO provided}
Yet ~~Labour's~~ defence policy, cheered to the echo at Blackpool and carried by a massive majority (though two elder statesmen of the Party did their honourable best to put a gloss on it) remains:

No Polaris

No cruise missiles in Britain

No US nuclear bases in Britain

No Trident

No independent nuclear deterrent.

There is, I think, just one answer the nation will give to that ^{Wang} ~~shopping list~~ of negatives:

No defence

No Labour Government.

Mr Chairman, ^{in foreign affairs} foreign policy this year has ~~seen the~~ ^{two major diplomatic successes} ~~solution of some long standing problems.~~ We have

reached a detailed and binding agreement with China -

~~a major diplomatic success~~ - on the future of Hong

Kong. It is an agreement which will preserve Hong

Kong's flourishing economy and a unique way of life.

^{we believe} And ^{(it} meets the needs and wishes of the people of

Hong Kong themselves.

When the unofficial members of the Executive Council

of Hong Kong came to see me some weeks ago, their ^{spokesman}

~~leader~~ said that, while the agreement did not contain

everything he wanted, he and his colleagues could,

nevertheless, recommend it to the people of Hong Kong
in good conscience.

In good conscience. That meant a lot to us. If that is
what the leaders of Hong Kong's own community believe,
then we have truly honoured our ^{duty} ~~obligation~~ to secure
their future.

That agreement required management and skill, hard work
and perseverance. In other words, it required Geoffrey
Howe.

^{the} In Europe too, firmness and determination ^{we achieved} ~~have secured~~
~~an outcome which is good for Britain and good for~~
~~Europe.~~ We have achieved a long-term settlement of
Britain's ~~unfair~~ Budget contributions - a fair deal
for Britain, ^{and for Europe too}

^{We'd}
If ~~I~~ listened to the advice of other Party leaders,
Britain wouldn't have done half as well. But patient
diplomacy - and occasionally a little impatient
diplomacy - did the trick.

And we have also won agreement on the need to keep
the Community's spending under proper control.

These internal differences are now behind us. Europe
must now use its energies and resources to play
a greater part in world affairs - in strengthening the
European pillar of the Atlantic Alliance, in managing
East/West relations, in relations with the developing
countries and as a clear and shining example of
what democracies can accomplish.

Mr. Chairman, economics ^{has} dominated this conference, as it has so many before.

What a pity that we seem to spend so much time discussing economics. As a Tory, I should rather devote more time to matters like national greatness, visions of the future, and improving the quality of life. But until we get our economy right, I fear that the subject will continue to take much of our attention for much of the time.

The source of

~~Unemployment is our greatest and deepest concern. Its source~~
~~now affects many countries of the Western world, advanced~~
~~countries and backward countries, socialist and non-socialist~~

Mr. Chairman

alike. Looking back forty years, when we were poised to launch the brave new world of the post-war period, we thought we had the cure. *to the source of unemployment*

In that glad happy morning it seemed that having won the war we knew how to win the peace. This was the dawn of the Keynesian era, the age of economic certainty. All you had to do was

It was all laid out
follow the prescription. ~~If only it was so simple. But we have~~
~~learned painfully that economics is not only about getting the~~

Set out in the minutes of 1945
Unemployment ~~was~~ *was* ~~the~~ *the* ~~source~~ *source*

/ sums

sums right, it is about ^{people} ~~the human factor~~ ^{uses} and how ~~people~~ respond to the industrial and commercial world around them. Politicians and their advisers followed the post-war formulae forgetting the warnings and ignoring the other factors. Consequently we landed up with higher inflation and heart-breaking unemployment. In the month of September we always have to expect higher unemployment figures because school leavers apply for jobs, but my heart sank when I saw them last week.

Some of our critics believe or claim to believe that we accept or even welcome unemployment. Nothing could be further from the truth.

We are the Party that believes passionately in the family, in taking responsibility for one's children, in owning one's own home, in hard work, in using our many talents and abilities, and in doing things for others voluntarily because that is the way we live. And how can we further those objectives except by trying to create a climate which encourages industry and

/ commerce

commerce and the opportunities for jobs which they bring.

But apart from our fundamental beliefs, just look for the moment at the politics of the matter. What better news could there be (apart from the miners returning to work) than a reduction in unemployment. Not only would it bring joy to many but it could herald a reduction in personal taxation so much wanted by so many.

Sometimes governments have tried to do this by pre-electoral booms but those short term solutions have brought long term costs. So often in the 60s and 70s we sought to contain the temporary position by avoiding the real issues.

But some of them were clearly defined in the famous White Paper on Employment Policy of 1944; the warnings were there:

".. without a rising standard of industrial efficiency we cannot achieve a high level of employment combined with a rising standard of living."

/ "It would

"It would be a disaster if the intention of the Government to maintain total expenditure were interpreted as exonerating the citizen from the duty of fending for himself and resulted in a weakening of personal enterprise. For if an expansion of total expenditure were applied to cure unemployment of a type due, not to absence of jobs, but to failure of workers to move to places and occupations where they were needed, the policy of the Government would be frustrated and a dangerous rise in prices might follow."

"At the same time, to the extent that the policies proposed in this Paper affect the balancing of the Budget in a particular year, they certainly do not contemplate any departure from the principle that the Budget must be balanced over a longer period."

There were the clear warnings about inflation, about persistent deficits and above all about the need for efficient and profitable industries.

/ Those

Those must be heeded but the catalogue does not end there. Add to that the demographic factor, the social factor and the technological factor and we begin to take the measure of the situation.

The demographic factor - for several years the population of working age here and in Europe will continue to increase because of the high birth rates of the 1960s.

The social factor is that a greater proportion of that increased population are seeking work, largely due to the numbers of women who want part-time or full-time jobs.

And so for these two reasons we need more genuine jobs even for unemployment to stand still. Last year there were over 200,000 more. That is encouraging but we need greater numbers before unemployment will fall.

/ The technological factor

The technological factor - that which enables us to produce the same output with fewer people. How do we treat that? As depressing, wondering where the jobs will come from?

Or as encouraging, remembering that our standard of living depends on how much is produced per head and machines enable each of us to produce more.

That it is technology which brought new hope, new opportunity and new prosperity for us all.

A few days ago I visited York. Among other things I looked at Stevenson's famous engine The Rocket. The new inventions of steam engines and the railways brought hope and higher earnings to many people as new things never produced before brought new work. It is a source of great relief to me that we built the railways then because I fear today planning permission would take so long the system would never have been completed!

/ I remember

I remember in the early 30s deciding myself to take a science degree because the new plastics, the new roads and communications would bring new industries which were science based and which would require new skills. Today as I go around the Science Parks in our university towns and elsewhere, I see new products developing and new designs of old products.

Hope and security for the future lie in recognising the needs and wants of tomorrow and being the first to produce them just as our forefathers produced so many firsts for us.

There is neither hope nor security in pouring money into obsolete products, old pits, old factories. They will not keep the community together and alive; they offer only a lingering death; they will absorb the very resources that should go to inventing, developing and designing anew and doing it with the same confidence that attended earlier industrial revolutions. Yes, some industries will modernise and thank goodness they do. But they survive because they respond to the needs of today and

/ tomorrow

tomorrow, not by looking back to yesterday. In Wrexham I was so pleased when I saw in a new technology centre a poster saying "it's customers who make pay days possible". That it right - it is no good demanding more and more subsidies to prop up yesterday. Who will do the keeping if everyone wants to be kept? Pride and confidence come from working for profitable and vigorous industries with a future: industries that can contribute taxation to our social services rather than compete / with them for available monies.

The other day I received a letter telling me of a success story where new industries had gone to old mining communities. The letter said, and I quote,

"We were able to get everything we wanted from the labour force of ex miners: 24 hour working, no demarcation, the right manning levels, enthusiastic workforce .."

Isn't that the true way to keep communities alive?

And we must not limit our efforts to work in manufacturing industry. It is fashionable now to imply that there will be fewer jobs because we shall have more leisure. We have had more leisure since the beginning of the century as new machinery brought not only higher prosperity but more spare time to us all.

We have learned that more leisure also brings more jobs.

More leisure to travel involves the whole tourist industry hotels and restaurants, more hobbies, more gardens, more sports, more do-it-yourself. Leisure is big and growing business and will employ an increasing number of people. It was absurd when previous Labour Governments put a selective employment tax on the very employers who were likely to provide more jobs. It was absurd of them to put on a national insurance surcharge - a penalty on jobs. It was left to us to abolish both.

Investment

There is a lot of capital in this country which is under-used because it is under-managed. Some of it, but not all, is in the

public sector. Privatisation has enhanced the value of many assets, indeed almost without exception every venture that has been denationalised has done much better with its new drive and under its new management.

Capital flows world-wide as well as nation-wide. No incentives will succeed in attracting it so long as the country, region or town concerned has a reputation for bad labour relations. No capital grants and tax holidays compensate an employer for a militant, strike-happy labour force dedicated to the class struggle.

That is why the outmoded rhetoric of class struggle which we heard at the TUC and Labour Conferences this summer was so damaging. It will have put off potential investors who had the whole world to choose from. And people who will suffer are the very ones we are trying to help. All that just when investment has been rising strongly. What then is our policy towards jobs? Government must

/ - keep inflation down

- keep inflation down at least as low as that of our close competitors
- contain public expenditure to make room for new enterprise and tilt our tax structure to favour the future rather than the past
- direct the money we do spend to new businesses, large and small, and to creating a better environment for industry to go to, hence the grants to clear the derelict land and remove the eyesores.
- train for the new skills and for a new attitude to enterprise and profits. We started in the schools with the new technical programme and the Youth Training Scheme in its second year is proving quite outstanding.
- reduce the obstacles to growth. David Young will be having a look at this aspect and David Trippier has already embarked on cutting the formidable regulations facing someone wanting to start up on his own. These

with
 are like the many strands/which the people of
 Lilliput tied Gulliver to the ground. They must
 be cut for his full strength to show.

- continue the special Young Workers Scheme to encourage employers to take more young people into permanent jobs. Yes, the starting wages are low but wouldn't most of us rather see two young people given a chance to work at £40 a week rather than one at £80?

try to secure increased public understanding of the
 wider implications of policy - for example that pay
 and output have to go hand in hand; that when our
 competitors have higher pay it is because they have
 higher output; that if we want their standard of living
 we must have their standards of work, of management
 and their attitudes. ^{that standards of} Another example that high cost
 energy caused by high priced coal robs other people
 of their jobs - people in chemicals, aluminium, paper
 and anything which uses a lot of energy in its production.

Those who are loudest in their demands to keep their jobs appear to be first to sacrifice the jobs of others.

Mr. Chairman, it is hats off to the past and coats off to the future.

MINERS' STRIKE

Over the last 7 months we have been living through an agonising struggle. The miners' strike was neither of this Government's seeking, nor of its making.

We did everything we could to prevent it. Indeed some would say that we did too much. That

- the best ever pay offer
- the highest ever voluntary redundancy - so high that it is oversubscribed
- the highest ever investment

put too big a burden on the taxpayers most of whom would jump at the chance of such generous terms themselves.

Financial burden it is indeed. After people have paid for coal and electricity they have to pay over again in taxes to subsidise

/ the

the losses of the coal industry, subsidies equal to

28½p on every gallon of petrol

£2.50 every week on every retirement pension.

It is ironic indeed that

- oil which has to be won from the wind and waves of the North Sea contributes £5 billion to the Exchequer, while
- coal which is won from below land takes £1.3 billion out of the Treasury.

When this strike began few could have known or foreseen

- that the miners, famous for their adherence to rules, could be manipulated to strike without a ballot
- that those who kept the rules and stayed at work and those who wanted to work would be subjected to violence and intimidation on a scale unseen in Britain

/- that the TUC

- that the TUC with all its proud history of protecting the rights of individual trade unionists would support the mob and deny the ballot and ignore their own guidelines on picketing

- that the Labour Party which once claimed among its number men like Bevin, Stafford Cripps, Attlee and Gaitskill, would deny the institutions and traditions for which those men fought and support, nay even applaud, those who kept the strike going by brute force.

If that is the bleak side let us remember the events we have seen have brought forth outstanding courage and bravery on the part of those who in pursuit of their democratic rights have gone to work to support their families. And let us spare a thought for the thousands who would like to do so but who walk in fear of their own union in their own community.

And all that comes from the self-proclaimed party of compassion.

This is a dispute about the right to go to work of those who have been denied the right to go to vote.

And we must not forget the overwhelming majority of trade unionists are utterly sickened by what is being done in the name of trade unionism.

There is a feeling amongst our older generation that we have seen all this before somewhere. Perhaps on film - or was it?

When there is a dispute there tends to be an assumption that both sides are partly wrong and partly right. A little give and take from each and it is supposed that the dispute can be settled.

So some who have not studied the facts of the miners' strike call for a compromise. But what does compromise mean in this case?

For many years pits have been closed because they are not profitable enough to be worthwhile continuing with. That has happened after detailed local consultations. Under these procedures far more pits were closed during the last Labour Government than during this one. These procedures allowing for give and take were abandoned by the NUM last March.

.../Instead

Instead they insisted that no pit should be closed, however large the losses, so long as it contains coal which can be extracted from it. That is the position the NUM have maintained throughout. It is just like saying that every factory must be kept open so long as it produces cans a few cans or other *a few cans*.

There can be no compromise on that.

It is a demand that the NUM should take over from Parliament the role of deciding the size of the subsidy the taxpayer is to give to the coal industry. Already subsidising coal costs the average household £5 a week extra in taxes.

The NUM's demand is that there should be no limit to the cost to the taxpayer unless the NUM graciously permits a pit closure where there is literally no more coal to

.../be got.

be got. There can only be a compromise if the NUM recognises how preposterous this one-sided demand is.

Arbitration over the closure of each pit would not solve the problem.

The NUM would not accept it unless there was no more coal in the pit. The Coal Board could not accept it because its duty to manage the coal industry as efficiently as it can would be handed over to a third party.

The advocates of compromise are really asking for appeasement to a wholly unreasonable claim. Surely we have learnt by this time that each piece of appeasement is followed by pressures for more.

.../Such appeasement

Such appeasement would not be compassionate. It would condemn the taxpayers to paying more taxes than they need.

It would force industry to pay more for its energy than it should. It would push our prices up and cause more unemployment.

It is time we had some compassion for those who would be made unemployed by surrender to the NUM's demands. The government has to consider the good of all the nation not merely the desires of the NUM.

We have to think of the 50,000 miners who have bravely gone on working. They have faced the reality that only the development of new pits can secure cheaper coal and a prosperous, lasting coal industry.

.../The NUM's

The NUM's case is devoid of sense. That is why they have resorted to violence.

Are the advocates of compromise asking that we should give in to mob violence?

If we did, Britain would succumb to rising lawless anarchy. We cannot compromise on that.

The NUM say that the violence is not their fault; that if there were no policemen to stop pickets the only violence would be against those who want to work!

Once a government surrenders to lawlessness the country is doomed. Its democratic and commercial structure is smashed.

Yet we see from last week's Labour Party Conference that

.../this is

this is exactly what a future Labour government would do. The police were overwhelmingly condemned for not allowing the thugs to get their own way. The only side the police are on is the side of the law and they have carried out their duties magnificently.

The Labour Party solemnly and overwhelmingly resolved that it believes only in laws which it likes. It applauds and supports those who break laws they don't like.

The Labour Party Conference actually passed a resolution supporting Labour councils which break the laws governing the conduct of their affairs.

THE LABOUR PARTY

The Labour Party is increasingly becoming an extra-parliamentary party. On Wednesday 26th September the Daily Mirror, a pro-Labour newspaper, published a two-page warning.

It said "The Militant Tendency is eating the heart out of the Labour Party ... It's membership has doubled ... "Almost one in ten Labour Party activists is now a member of Militant". And who are the Militants?

They are Trotskyists. They are a more virulent form of Communist than Stalin.

They do not believe in parliamentary democracy. They believe in power through violence, just like the NUM.

.../Some moderate

Some moderate Labour MPs who don't take that view are in acute danger of being disowned by their constituency parties and losing their seats.

The trade unions are rife with these people. They compel the Labour Party, through the block vote system, to adopt more and more state socialism, nationalisation and all the rest of the destructive Communist package.

We must not forget that the Labour Party as at present constituted presents a threat to democracy itself.

Our ancient and valued institutions would be brushed aside by the Militants who dominate the Labour Party.

It is an entirely new threat to our society. Either the Labour Party must purge itself of these Militant Communists or the country must purge itself of the Labour Party.

.../It is

"What has clearly emerged in 1984 - perhaps only too appropriately in 1984 - is the true width of the gulf that has opened up in British politics.

Wicksell || That gulf is not between Left and Right; it is between the Outside Left, who now control the Labour Party, and the rest. ~~here~~.

"There are, of course, substantial differences in political philosophy, ~~among the rest.~~

"But all of us share, to a greater or lesser extent, but none more firmly than the Government, three basic tenets of faith:

- first, the liberty of the individual;
- second, our belief in democracy and in the supremacy of the ballot box;
- third, in the rule of law.

/ The Outside Left

"The Outside Left share none of these. Daily, hourly, their actions demonstrate:

- their subjugation of the individual;
- their lack of reverence for the ballot box;
- their fundamental lawlessness; their willingness to observe laws which serve only their own purposes of the moment.

✓ "We have seen in 1984 the blatant disregard of the ballot box, the conning of the miners into a strike.

"We have seen in 1984 unprecedented lawlessness - violence, intimidation and thuggery in the coalfields. And we have seen a hijacked Labour Party embrace lawlessness in relation to local authority overspending - not to mention treat the concept of one-man-one vote as an optional extra.

"But today in 1984 I want to dwell on the most insidious of the Ultra Left's works - the systematic suppression of individual freedom; the subjugation of the individual to the requirements of the machine.

"I believed 1979 was a watershed; the last chance for libertarians to halt the encroachment of the State.

"This has been amply confirmed by my 5 years in office. Those 5 years have amply demonstrated the true nature of the Ultra Left. They have also amply demonstrated why the country needs a Conservative Party to safeguard freedom - and to extend it.

"What then have we seen in 1984?

- continuing efforts by the Ultra Left to stop the extension of the rights of individual trade union members

- continuing efforts to block the introduction of real democracy into trade unions
- continuing NUM determination to refuse individuals the right to a ballot and to ignore the outcome of a ballot where it has been held
- a continuing battle to deny people the right to buy their own home; to keep them in a Tammany Hall thralldom
- a continuing fight against putting state industries into private hands, and especially their shares into the hands of their own employees
- a continuing vilification of the police who stand only four-square for the rule of law and the liberty of the citizen to go peacefully about his lawful business
- a continuing refusal to allow those who want to go to work to do so

"In all these ways the machine of the Ultra Left seeks to suppress individual liberty.

"And where developments - like no strike agreements, lower rates of pay, greater flexibility in working practices or even better education - get in the way of the machine's interests then much needed jobs or opportunities can go hang.

"If something which might help people to better themselves does not fit in with the requirements of the class war they ceaselessly wage, then it is simply killed.

?
/ And yet

"And yet these are the people who sanctify their handiwork by a deep and abiding concern for ordinary people.

"As though ordinary folk give a fig for such outmoded concepts as the class war. // v

"What they want is to live their lives in peace, justice, freedom and increasing prosperity with an ever increasing ability to lead their lives in their own way.

Producing food and goods
 // ~~That is why~~ the Conservative Party ^{which} is the only true People's Party → say "Class, dismiss" and to say all of us.

"We see people as individuals whose freedom to choose for themselves must be ever extended.

"The Ultra Left see individuals not as people but primarily as voters whose lives must be so organised as to perpetuate the class war. If that means denying them home ownership, the right even to paint their home or to keep a cat, then too bad.

"This Government's record of concern to protect and extend the freedom of ordinary people, even at the depths of the worst recession for 50 years, is distinguished.

In education - raising standards.

In training - TVEI; every unemployed youngster into some form of training.

In housing - right to buy, cooperatives.

In union rights.

In share ownership.

In protecting savings and pensions (including lowest inflation for 16 years; pension rights).

"We positively want men of property to proliferate.
The Ultra Left positively want to keep people poor and without for
that is how they aim to keep their class war infantry
replenished.

"For them the war machine is more important than the
person. For us it is the individual who matters first
and last."

It has been left to this Conference to speak for those brave men and women in mining communities who are the victims of fear and intimidation. We have spoken for the thousands of miners who want the NUM to behave democratically. We have stood up for the men who brave the mob and the missiles to go to their place of work. And we admire more than we can say, the courage of those men and the wives who support them. It is this conference which has supported the police who, in the face of the most extreme provocation, have carried out their duties with responsibility and dedication. And let us never forget: it is only because of the violence and intimidation of the mass pickets that the police are there at all.

At the Labour Party conference, the democrats, the working miners, and the police were hissed and booed.

It is at our conference that their voice is heard. Not because they are Conservative. Many are not. For us, it is not their political allegiance which matters.

What matters is that they are British people, protected by British law, believing in British democracy.

Several months ago, I used the phrase 'the enemy within'. I was not referring to trade unions, or other political parties or anything of the kind. I was referring to those people in Britain who are the enemies of freedom and democracy itself. And in case anyone doubted me, they were there for all to see in Blackpool last week.

What has the modern Labour Party come to when its leader has to set aside a large part of his speech to try and persuade his members that the law should be obeyed; that the way to gain power is through the ballot box, not by insurrection. But, of course, it was not what Mr. Kinnock said which mattered. The tragedy was that he had to say it. Mr. Kinnock's own words to his own party show just how far the enemies of democracy have advanced inside the modern Labour Party.

Mr. Kinnock for all his words, - and there is no shortage of those - has been hi-jacked: first by Mr. Scargill, then by the anti-democrats at his own party conference. In name, he may be a leader. In reality, he is a puppet. Mr. Kinnock urged / the Labour Conference to back the law on Tuesday. On Wednesday, the Labour Conference voted to give its formal backing to law-breakers.

THE LAW AND DEMOCRACY

I do not think we can overestimate how deep, how radical is the break which the Labour party made with their own past, with democracy itself, by their deliberate decision, at Blackpool, to endorse lawlessness. It is as if they had decided that the Cup Final was no longer worth playing on the turf, according to the rules and the referee, but should be settled on the terraces, according to the wreckers and the hooligans. You will remember that their Blackpool conference gave specific backing to Labour councillors who engage in law-breaking. The leader of NUPE, the local government union, indeed, said, "The question is not should we break the law, but which law shall we obey".

Mr Chairman, that arrogant repudiation of the rule of law, that cavalier claim to be free to pick and choose between Acts of Parliament which are acceptable and those

which are not, is not a true rallying call to liberty, by those who claim they are being oppressed. It is a rallying call to anarchy, and ultimately to tyranny, by those too blind, or too wicked, to grasp that by that road, liberty will be suppressed. For real liberty flows only from order, from authority, freely chosen and freely accepted.

And what is the law which the Labour Party conference has chosen to defy? It is the law enacted by Parliament. What a world of history, what a wealth of meaning is packed into those three words - "enacted by Parliament". For the story of human liberty is itself the history of law and law-making. The Ten Commandments have always preceded the Promised Land. If you want to learn how our liberties were founded in Britain, study how our law-making evolved.

You will find in that history the story of our common law, created by fearless judges, passed down the centuries, standing firm against even kings and princes.

You will find in that history the story of our common people, maturing finally after many centuries to responsibility for their own law-making in a democratic parliament. Today that parliament has to be elected every 5 years by secret ballot of one citizen, one vote. And that parliament is protected not so much by a constitution as by the character of the British people: lovers of fair play, devotees of equity, world champions of freedom. And it is the will of our people that parliament should be supreme. This means that parliament should be the final arbiter of public opinion, the final source of authority, the final Court of Law.

A former President of the United States of America, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, was a visitor to Chequers before it became a home of Prime Ministers. He wrote:-

"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. Obedience to the law is demanded as a right - not asked as a favour".

Are our people in a mood today, Mr. Chairman, to hand over that parliamentary authority - hard fought for, long cherished - to the secret caucuses of party political activists, or to the self-appointed bullies of the picket line? I very much doubt it.

Oh yes, we believe in freedom of speech, of discussion, of argument, of assembly, in criticism, in opposition. But all of these within a framework of rules and customs and in a way which respects the dignity, and rights of others. That is the heritage the wreckers seek to defy.

/ The choice

The choice is between an orderly and responsible freedom and a tyranny of an East European State. I have no doubt where the answer lies.

But it will require the whole might of the British people. For our institutions of justice, the courts, and the police require the unswerving support of our citizens. For now the battle is not between the Labour Party and Conservatives, but between the extreme left and the rest.

With my closing words, Mr. Chairman, I want to turn your eyes, and those of others hearing me, back to parliament - yes to the very building itself.

Whenever the House is sitting a light shines over Big Ben.

It was extinguished during war time and relit again in April 1945. It is now 99 years old. This is the time when our opponents choose to challenge parliamentary democracy and justice. But when Mr. Speaker relit the lantern, this is what he said:-

/"I pray

"I pray that, with God's blessing, this light will shine henceforth not only as an outward and visible sign that the Parliament of a free people is assembled in free debate but also that it may shine as a beacon of sure hope in a sadly torn and distracted world."

Do you remember the scenes here at Brighton during the TUC Conference? Just taking up a loud hailer and saying a few words was enough then to stop the violence. If it could be done then, why can't it be done now and for the rest of this dispute?

And why is the TUC so craven about condemning that violence forthrightly and without qualification?

Mr Chairman, it is not possible simultaneously to deplore violence and to support this strike. The two go hand-in-glove and brick-in-hand.

It is a sad day for this country when a once great British trade union relies on ugly and continuous violence - against its own members, against the wives of those members, against their children: even against the dogs that guide the blind in their own families.

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Mr Chairman, the Government did everything we could to prevent this strike. Indeed some would say we did too much. We gave the miners

- the best ever pay offer
- the highest ever investment
- and for the first time, the promise that no miner would lose his job against his will.

We did this despite the fact that the bill for the losses in the coal industry were ^{lost} bigger than the bill for all the doctors and nurses in all the hospitals in the United Kingdom.

It is ironic that

- oil which has to be won from the wind and waves of the North Sea contributes £5 billion to the Exchequer, while
- coal which is won from below the land takes £1.3 billion out of it.

Mr Chairman, this is a dispute about the right to go to work of those who have been denied the right to go to vote.

And we must not forget the overwhelming majority of trade unionists who are utterly sickened by what is being done in the name of trade unionism. ~~Nor forget the many thousands of men stopped from going to work for fear of their own union in their community.~~

I know that there are many people who think there must be a compromise solution available if only there were enough good will on both sides. But it does take two sides to reach any compromise. Since the strike began the Coal Board has made move after move to try and reach agreement with the NUM. It has gone to the outer limits - and almost beyond the limits - of discretion and danger.

The NUM has not moved one inch. What sort of compromise can be reached with people who flatly refuse to negotiate at all about the real issue on which the future of their industry and their members depend?

What the advocates of compromise are really asking for is appeasement: ^{appeasement} a wholly unreasonable claim. *P* Surely we have learnt by this time that each piece of appeasement is followed by pressure for another, and another, and another. Such appeasement would force industry to pay more for its energy. It would push up prices and cause more unemployment. It would condemn the taxpayers to paying more and more taxes.

Yet we are told in certain quarters that to appease is to be compassionate. It is time we had some compassion for those who would be made unemployed by surrender to the NUM's demands.

The Government has to consider the good of all the nation, not merely the desires of the NUM.

We have to think of the 50,000 miners who have bravely faced reality and gone on working.

There is a constant queue of Cabinet Ministers at my door seeking more money for many necessary purposes. The demands of the Health Service, of our Social Services and for our Environment, mean we cannot afford a blank cheque for clapped-out pits

The NUM's case is devoid of sense. That is why they have resorted to violence. Are the advocates of compromise asking that we should surrender to the mob?

If we did that once - just once - there could be no turning back. The flood gates to anarchy would be open. There can be no compromise on that.

So, Mr Chairman, we have a situation in which the leaders of a single union, albeit a powerful one, are seeking to bring down a democratically elected government;

- a government elected just 16 months ago with a large majority;
- a government elected by the people of this country by secret ballot, a process to which the leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers adamantly refuse to submit themselves and their cause.

They seek to bring it down, not by argument, not by debate, not by reason, not by persuasion, but by the illegal use of an increasingly militant

and violent minority. They will not succeed.

And they will not succeed for one overwhelming and historic reason.

They will not succeed because no strike that seeks to halt the fundamental life of the nation has ever succeeded without the support of the nation. A support they do not have.

Let me make it crystal clear. This nation is bigger than any President of any union, or any Executive of any union, or any member of any union.

The nation is not to be held to ransom by violence or militance.

We will not yield to insurrection of any political persuasion whatever, whether it be of the Left or of the Right.

Our country is not to be torn apart by an extension of the calculated chaos planned for the mining industry by a handful of trained Marxists and their fellow travellers.

Democratic change there has always been, and always will be, in this, the home of democracy.

But the sanction for change is the ballot box, not the bully, the brick and the battering ram.

The militants are not only out to destroy a government. They are out to bring down the framework of law and tradition that makes our society worth living in. A law that is above individual governments.

And what is the law they seek to defy?

It is:

- the common law created by fearless judges and passed down across the centuries;
- legislation passed by the Parliament of a free people;
- it comes through a House of Commons elected every 5 years by secret ballot of one citizen for one vote.

This is the way our law was fashioned. And why British justice is renowned across the world.

We took it far and wide to many countries across the seas. Our people took it with them when they left our shores for the United States of America.

"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. Obedience to the law is demanded as a right - not asked as a favour".

So wrote a former President of the United States of America, Mr Theodore Roosevelt, who was a visitor to Chequers before it became the home of Prime Ministers.

10.10 17/11/55

H.

The choice is between an orderly and responsible freedom and a tyranny of an East European State. I have no doubt where the answer lies.

But the battle will require the whole might of the British people. For our institutions of justice, the courts, and the police require the unswerving support of our citizens. For now the battle is not between the Labour Party and Conservatives, but between the extreme Left and the rest.

We refer to our Parliament as "the mother of Parliaments" for it began as early as 1265, and its freedoms have been bought dearly across the years. Whenever the House is sitting a light shines over Big Ben. It was extinguished during war time and relit again in April 1945

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Violence
Why did it not work
Costs
Compromise
As -
Really ought to do.
What is it

Mr Chairman, for a little over seven months we have been living through an agonising strike.

The miners' strike was not of this Government's seeking. It is not of its making. And we have heard in debates at this Conference some of the individual stories of intimidation and terror that have made this dispute so *deeply* ~~different from any other.~~ *significant.*

We heard ^a from colliery manager, Mr Beard, how it had always been accepted by the NUM, and by the Coal Board, that there was a time when it was no more than common sense that a pit should close when the losses were too great to keep it open. That investment in new pits was vital to replace the old capacity. It was vital then. It is vital now.

We heard from a working miner, Patrick McLoughlin, just what a barrage of abuse and worse - a great deal worse - he has to face as he tries to make his way to work.

The sheer bravery of a man like that - and thousands like him - who have kept the mining industry alive is beyond praise.

"Scabs" - their former workmates call them.

Scabs? They are lions. They deserve a campaign medal.

What ~~suicidal~~ folly for the striking miner to attack his workmate. For the working miner is saving both their jobs and both their futures. ~~By attacking his colleague he is in fact attacking himself.~~

Since the strike began in March, much of the coal that has been mined by the working miners of Nottinghamshire, South Derbyshire and Scotland - men of the greatest courage and tenacity - has gone to keep faith with those who buy our coal, and without whose custom thousands of jobs in the mining industry would be lost ~~already~~.

The flying picket literally owes his future employment to the man he now attacks and reviles for preserving it.

And then we heard - unforgettably - from that simply marvellous woman and working miners' wife, Irene McGibbon. In a deeply moving and inspiring speech that brought the Conference to its feet, she told us what it meant to be a working miner's wife today. She told us of the ~~pressures~~ ^{or intrusions} pressures endured by herself and her family.

It takes a very special kind of courage to face the picket line day after day. It takes as much - perhaps even more - to stay at home, to receive the intimidation ^{on} phone calls, to wait for the brick ^s through the window, the mob at the door.

Men and women like that are what we are proud to call "the best of British". For seven months they have faced the violence without flinching, a violence that is central to the strategy of the present miners' leadership.

For seven months ~~the NUM have orchestrated~~ that violence. And for seven months they have blamed it on the police - who have been quite magnificent.