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SPEECH BY
THE PRIME MINISTER,
THE RT HON MARGARET THATCHER, FRS MP
TO THE
CONSERVATIVE PARTY CONFERENCE
AT
BRIGHTON
ON
FRIDAY, 12TH OCTOBER 1984

Mr. President

1

THE BOMB ATTACK ON THE GRAND HOTEL EARLY

THIS MORNING WAS FIRST AND FOREMOST
AN INHUMAN, UNDISCRIMINATING ATTEMPT
TO MASSACRE INNOCENT, UNSUSPECTING,
MEN AND WOMEN STAYING IN BRIGHTON
FOR OUR CONSERVATIVE CONFERENCE.
OUR FIRST THOUGHTS MUST AT ONCE BE
FOR THOSE WHO DIED AND FOR THOSE NOW
IN HOSPITAL RECOVERING FROM THEIR
INJURIES.

THE BOMB ATTACK CLEARLY SIGNIFIED MORE THAN

THIS.

IT WAS AN ATTEMPT NOT ONLY TO DISRUPT
AND TERMINATE OUR CONFERENCE.

IT WAS AN ATTEMPT TO CRIPPLE HER
MAJESTY'S DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED
GOVERNMENT.

THAT IS THE SCALE OF THE OUTRAGE IN WHICH WE

HAVE ALL SHARED ~~IN~~.

AND THE FACT THAT WE ARE GATHERED HERE,
NOW, SHOCKED BUT COMPOSED AND DETERMINED,
IS A SIGN NOT ONLY THAT THIS ATTACK
HAS FAILED, | BUT THAT ALL ATTEMPTS TO
DESTROY DEMOCRACY BY TERRORISM WILL FAIL.

I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS OUR DEEP GRATITUDE TO THE
POLICE, FIREMEN, AMBULANCEMEN, NURSES AND
DOCTORS, TO ALL THE EMERGENCY SERVICES.

AND TO THE STAFF OF THE HOTEL, ⁶⁵OUR
MINISTERIAL STAFF AND CONSERVATIVE
STAFF WHO STOOD WITH US AND SHARED
THE DANGER.

AS PRIME MINISTER, AND AS LEADER OF OUR PARTY
I THANK THEM ALL, AND SEND OUR
HEARTFELT SYMPATHY TO ALL THOSE WHO
HAVE SUFFERED.

THIS CONSERVATIVE CONFERENCE, SUPERBLY CHAIRED
AND WITH EXCELLENT CONTRIBUTIONS FROM
OUR MEMBERS, HAS BEEN AN OUTSTANDING
EXAMPLE OF ORDERLY ASSEMBLY AND FREE
SPEECH.

WE HAVE DEBATED THE GREAT NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL
ISSUES AS WELL AS THOSE WHICH AFFECT THE
DAILY LIVES OF OUR PEOPLE.
WE HAVE SEEN AT THE ROSTRUM MINER
AND PENSIONER, NURSE AND MANAGER,
CLERGYMAN AND STUDENT.

IN GOVERNMENT WE HAVE BEEN FULFILLING THE
PROMISES CONTAINED IN OUR ELECTION
MANIFESTO WHICH WAS PUT TO THE PEOPLE
IN A NATIONAL BALLOT.

THIS GOVERNMENT IS RE-ASSERTING PARLIAMENT'S
ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONTROLLING
THE TOTAL BURDEN OF TAXATION ON OUR
CITIZENS, WHETHER LEVIED BY CENTRAL
OR LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

IN THE COMING SESSION OF PARLIAMENT, WE SHALL
INTRODUCE LEGISLATION WHICH WILL ABOLISH
THE GLC AND THE METROPOLITAN COUNTY
COUNCILS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

IN THE QUEST FOR SOUND LOCAL GOVERNMENT, WE

RELY ON THE HELP OF CONSERVATIVE

COUNCILLORS.

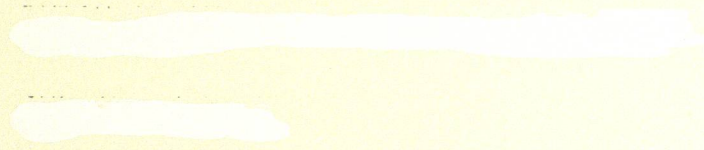
THEIR TASK SHOULD NEVER BE UNDER-

ESTIMATED AND THEIR VIRTUES SHOULD

NOT GO UN-SUNG.

THEY WORK HARD AND CONSCIENTIOUSLY

IN THE TRUE SPIRIT OF SERVICE.



I PAY SPECIAL TRIBUTE TO THE SPLENDID EFFORTS OF
CONSERVATIVE COUNCILS UP AND DOWN THE
COUNTRY IN GETTING BETTER VALUE FOR
MONEY THROUGH GREATER EFFICIENCY AND
PUTTING OUT WORK TO COMPETITIVE TENDER.
THIS IS PRIVATISATION AT LOCAL LEVEL.

AT NATIONAL LEVEL SINCE THE GENERAL ELECTION JUST
OVER A YEAR AGO, THE GOVERNMENT HAS DE-
NATIONALISED FIVE MAJOR ENTERPRISES MAKING
A TOTAL OF THIRTEEN SINCE 1979.

YESTERDAY YOU GAVE NORMAN TEBBIT A STANDING OVATION.

TODAY OUR THOUGHTS ARE WITH HIM AND HIS FAMILY.

AGAIN AND AGAIN, DE-NATIONALISATION HAS
BROUGHT GREATER MOTIVATION TO MANAGERS
AND WORKFORCE, HIGHER PROFITS AND RISING
INVESTMENT.

WHAT IS MORE, MANY IN INDUSTRY NOW HAVE A
SHARE IN THE FIRM FOR WHICH THEY WORK.

WE CONSERVATIVES WANT EVERY EARNER TO BECOME
AN OWNER.

SOON WE WILL HAVE THE BIGGEST-EVER ACT OF
DE-NATIONALISATION WITH BRITISH TELECOM.
BRITISH AIRWAYS WILL FOLLOW.

AND WE HAVEN'T FINISHED YET.

THERE'LL BE MORE TO COME IN THIS PARLIAMENT.

JUST AS WE HAVE STOOD BY OUR PLEDGE ON DENATIONALISATION,

IT'S OUR PRIDE THAT IN SPITE OF THE RECESSION

WE HAVE KEPT FAITH WITH THE NINE MILLION

PENSIONERS.

MOREOVER, BY KEEPING INFLATION DOWN, WE

HAVE PROTECTED THE VALUE OF THEIR SAVINGS.

AS NORMAN FOWLER TOLD THE CONFERENCE ON WEDNESDAY,

THIS GOVERNMENT HAS NOT ONLY PUT MORE INTO

PENSIONS) BUT HAS INCREASED RESOURCES FOR

THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE.

OUR RECORD FOR LAST YEAR, TO BE PUBLISHED

SHORTLY, WILL SHOW THAT THE HEALTH SERVICE

TODAY IS PROVIDING MORE CARE, MORE SERVICES

AND MORE HELP FOR THE PATIENT THAN AT ANY

STAGE IN ITS HISTORY.

THIS IS FURTHER PROOF OF THE STATEMENT I MADE IN
BRIGHTON, IN THIS VERY HALL, TWO YEARS AGO
- THAT THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE IS SAFE
WITH US.

with the social services

THIS PERFORMANCE *with the social services* COULD NEVER HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED
WITHOUT AN EFFICIENT AND COMPETITIVE
INDUSTRY TO CREATE THE WEALTH WE NEED.
EFFICIENCY IS NOT THE ENEMY, BUT THE
ALLY, OF COMPASSION.

MR PRESIDENT, IN OUR DISCUSSIONS HERE WE HAVE SPOKEN
OF THE NEED FOR ENTERPRISE, PROFITS AND
THE WIDER DISTRIBUTION OF PROPERTY AMONG ALL
THE PEOPLE.

WE HAVE NO TRUCK WITH OUT-MODED MARXIST
DOCTRINE ABOUT CLASS WARFARE.

FOR US, IT'S NOT WHO YOU ARE, WHO YOUR
FAMILY IS OR WHERE YOU COME FROM THAT
MATTERS.

IT'S WHAT YOU ARE AND WHAT YOU CAN DO
FOR OUR COUNTRY THAT COUNTS.

THAT IS OUR VISION.

AND IT IS A VISION WORTH DEFENDING, NOT ONE TO
PUT AT RISK, AND WE SHALL DEFEND IT.

DEFENCE, HONG KONG, EUROPE

THIS GOVERNMENT WILL NEVER PUT THE DEFENCE OF
OUR COUNTRY AT RISK.

NO-ONE IN THEIR SENSES WANTS NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR
THEIR OWN SAKE.

BUT EQUALLY, NO RESPONSIBLE PRIME MINISTER
COULD TAKE THE COLOSSAL GAMBLE OF GIVING
UP OUR NUCLEAR DEFENCES WHILE OUR
GREATEST POTENTIAL ENEMY KEPT THEIRS.

POLICIES WHICH WOULD THROW OUT ALL AMERICAN NUCLEAR
BASES - BASES WHICH HAVE BEEN HERE SINCE
THE TIME OF ATTLEE, TRUMAN AND CHURCHILL -

WOULD WRECK NATO AND LEAVE US TOTALLY
ISOLATED FROM OUR FRIENDS IN THE UNITED
STATES.

AND FRIENDS THEY ARE.

NO NATION IN HISTORY HAS EVER SHOULDERED A GREATER
BURDEN, NOR SHOULDERED IT MORE WILLINGLY
OR MORE GENEROUSLY THAN THE UNITED STATES.

THIS PARTY IS PRO-AMERICAN.

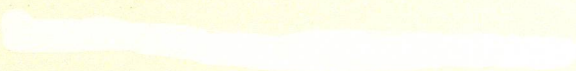
WE MUST CONSTANTLY REMIND PEOPLE WHAT THE DEFENCE
Opposition
POLICY OF THE ~~LABOUR~~ PARTY WOULD MEAN.

THEIR IDEA THAT BY GIVING UP OUR NUCLEAR
DETERRENT) WE COULD SOMEHOW ESCAPE THE
RESULT OF A NUCLEAR WAR ELSEWHERE IS
NONSENSE.

AND IT IS A DELUSION TO ASSUME THAT CONVENTIONAL
WEAPONS ARE SUFFICIENT DEFENCE AGAINST
NUCLEAR ATTACK.

Solk
AND DON'T LET ANYONE SLIP INTO THE HABIT OF THINKING
THAT CONVENTIONAL WAR IN EUROPE IS SOME KIND
OF COMFORTABLE OPTION.

WITH THE HUGE ARRAY OF MODERN WEAPONS HELD
BY THE SOVIET UNION, INCLUDING CHEMICAL



WEAPONS IN LARGE QUANTITIES, IT WOULD BE
A CRUEL AND TERRIBLE CONFLICT.

THE TRUTH IS THAT POSSESSION OF THE NUCLEAR DETERRENT
HAS PREVENTED NOT ONLY NUCLEAR WAR, BUT
ALSO CONVENTIONAL WAR.

*And to us peace is precious
beyond price.*

AND THE NUCLEAR DETERRENT WILL CONTINUE TO PRESERVE
OUR INDEPENDENCE.

WINSTON CHURCHILL'S WARNING IS JUST AS TRUE
TODAY:

"ONCE YOU TAKE THE POSITION OF NOT BEING ABLE
IN ANY CIRCUMSTANCES TO DEFEND YOUR RIGHTS
AGAINST... AGGRESSION ... THERE IS NO END
TO THE DEMANDS THAT WILL BE MADE OR TO THE
HUMILIATIONS THAT MUST BE ACCEPTED."

YET LABOUR'S DEFENCE POLICY REMAINS:-

NO POLARIS

NO CRUISE MISSILES IN BRITAIN

NO U.S. NUCLEAR BASES IN BRITAIN

NO TRIDENT

NO INDEPENDENT NUCLEAR DETERRENT.

THERE IS, I THINK, JUST ONE ANSWER THE NATION

WILL GIVE:-

NO DEFENCE,

NO LABOUR GOVERNMENT.

MR PRESIDENT, IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, THIS YEAR HAS

SEEN TWO MAJOR DIPLOMATIC SUCCESSES.

WE HAVE REACHED A DETAILED AND BINDING
AGREEMENT WITH CHINA ON THE FUTURE OF
HONG KONG.

IT IS AN AGREEMENT DESIGNED TO PRESERVE
HONG KONG'S FLOURISHING ECONOMY AND UNIQUE
WAY OF LIFE.

AND WE BELIEVE IT MEETS THE NEEDS AND WISHES
OF THE PEOPLE OF HONG KONG THEMSELVES.

A FEW WEEKS AGO, THE UNOFFICIAL MEMBERS OF THE
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF HONG KONG CAME TO
SEE ME.

Sok

THEIR SPOKESMAN SAID THAT, WHILE THE
AGREEMENT DID NOT CONTAIN EVERYTHING HE
WOULD HAVE LIKED, HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES
COULD, NEVERTHELESS, RECOMMEND IT TO
THE PEOPLE OF HONG KONG IN GOOD CONSCIENCE.

IN GOOD CONSCIENCE,

THAT MEANS A LOT TO US.

IF THAT IS WHAT THE LEADERS OF HONG KONG'S
OWN COMMUNITY BELIEVE, THEN WE HAVE TRULY
FULFILLED THE HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY WE
FEEL FOR THEIR LONG-TERM FUTURE.

THAT AGREEMENT REQUIRED IMAGINATION, SKILL,

HARD WORK AND PERSISTENCE.

IN OTHER WORDS, IT REQUIRED GEOFFREY

HOWE.

IN EUROPE TOO, THROUGH FIRMNESS AND DETERMINATION,

WE HAVE ACHIEVED A LONG-TERM SETTLEMENT

OF BRITAIN'S BUDGET CONTRIBUTIONS - A

FAIR DEAL FOR BRITAIN, AND FOR EUROPE

TOO.

IF WE'D 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.

WE HAVE AT LAST BEGUN TO CURB SURPLUS FOOD
PRODUCTION IN THE COMMUNITY.

FOR SOME FARMERS THIS MEANT A PAINFUL
ADJUSTMENT AND WE ARE VERY MUCH AWARE OF
THEIR DIFFICULTIES.

THEIR WORK AND THEIR SUCCESS ARE A GREAT
STRENGTH TO THIS COUNTRY.

MICHAEL JOPLING AND HIS COLLEAGUES WILL
CONTINUE TO FIGHT TO ACHIEVE A FAIR DEAL
FOR THEM.

AND WE HAVE ALSO WON AGREEMENT ON THE NEED TO
KEEP THE COMMUNITY'S SPENDING UNDER
PROPER CONTROL.

THE COMMUNITY CAN NOW ENTER ON A NEW CHAPTER AND
USE ITS ENERGIES AND INFLUENCE TO PLAY
A GREATER PART IN WORLD AFFAIRS - AS
AN EXAMPLE OF WHAT DEMOCRACIES CAN
ACCOMPLISH, AS A VERY POWERFUL TRADING
GROUP, AND AS A STRONG FORCE FOR FREEDOM.

UNEMPLOYMENT

UNEMPLOYMENT IS THE SCOURGE OF OUR TIMES.

TO HAVE OVER THREE MILLION PEOPLE
UNEMPLOYED IN THIS COUNTRY IS BAD
ENOUGH, EVEN THOUGH WE SHARE THIS
TRAGIC PROBLEM WITH OTHER NATIONS.
BUT TO SUGGEST, AS SOME OF OUR
OPPONENTS HAVE, THAT WE DON'T CARE
ABOUT IT IS AS DEEPLY WOUNDING AS
IT IS UTTERLY FALSE.

DO THEY THINK THAT WE DON'T UNDERSTAND WHAT
IT MEANS FOR THE FAMILY MAN WHO
CANNOT FIND A JOB TO HAVE TO SIT AT

HOME WITH A SENSE OF FAILURE AND
DESPAIR?

OR THAT WE DO NOT UNDERSTAND HOW HOPELESS
THE WORLD MUST SEEM TO A YOUNG
PERSON WHO HAS NOT YET SUCCEEDED
IN GETTING HIS FIRST JOB.

OF COURSE WE KNOW, OF COURSE WE SEE, AND
OF COURSE WE CARE.

HOW EVER, COULD THEY SAY THAT WE WELCOME UNEMPLOYMENT
AS A POLITICAL WEAPON?
WHAT BETTER NEWS COULD THERE BE FOR
ANY GOVERNMENT THAN THE NEWS THAT

UNEMPLOYMENT IS FALLING?

AND THE DAY CANNOT COME TOO SOON

FOR ME.

OTHERS, WHILE NOT QUESTIONING OUR SINCERITY,
ARGUE THAT OUR POLICIES WILL NOT
ACHIEVE OUR OBJECTIVES.

THEY LOOK BACK FORTY YEARS } TO THE POST-WAR
PERIOD WHEN WE WERE POISED TO LAUNCH
A BRAVE NEW WORLD, } A TIME WHEN WE
ALL THOUGHT WE HAD THE CURE FOR
UNEMPLOYMENT.

IN THAT CONFIDENT DAWN IT SEEMED THAT

HAVING WON THE WAR WE KNEW HOW TO

WIN THE PEACE.

KEYNES HAD PROVIDED THE DIAGNOSIS.

IT WAS ALL SET OUT IN THE 1944 WHITE

PAPER ON EMPLOYMENT.

NOT TO BE
INCLUDED
IN PRESS
RELEASE

I BOUGHT IT THEN.

I HAVE IT STILL.

MY NAME IS ON THE TOP OF IT.

"MARGARET H ROBERTS".

ONE OF MY STAFF TOOK ONE LOOK AT IT AND SAID,

"GOOD HEAVENS, I DIDN'T KNOW IT WAS

AS OLD AS THAT!"

THE TRUTH WAS THAT POLITICIANS
TOOK SOME PARTS OF THE FORMULA
AND CONVENIENTLY IGNORED THE
REST.

THEY OVERLOOKED THE WARNING THAT GOVERNMENT
ACTION MUST NOT WEAKEN PERSONAL
ENTERPRISE OR EXONERATE THE
CITIZEN FROM THE DUTY OF FENDING
FOR HIMSELF.

[PARAGRAPH 56]

THEY DISREGARDED THE ADVICE THAT WAGES MUST BE
RELATED TO PRODUCTIVITY.

[PARAGRAPHS 49 AND 50]

ABOVE ALL, THEY NEGLECTED THE WARNING THAT
WITHOUT A RISING STANDARD OF INDUSTRIAL
EFFICIENCY YOU CANNOT ACHIEVE A HIGH
LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT, COMBINED WITH
A RISING STANDARD OF LIVING.

[PAGE 1]

HAVING IGNORED SO MUCH OF THAT FOR SO MUCH OF
THE TIME, THE RESULT WAS THAT WE
ENDED UP WITH HIGH INFLATION AND
HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT.

THIS GOVERNMENT IS HEEDING THE WARNINGS.

IT HAS ACTED ON THE BASIC TRUTHS
THAT WERE SET OUT ALL THOSE YEARS
AGO IN THAT FAMOUS WHITE PAPER.

IF I'D COME OUT WITH ALL THIS TODAY, SOME

PEOPLE WOULD CALL IT THATCHERITE:

BUT IT WAS VINTAGE MAYNARD KEYNES.

HE HAD A HORROR OF INFLATION, A FEAR

too much
OF STATE CONTROL AND A BELIEF IN THE MARKET.

WE HAVE ALREADY BROUGHT INFLATION DOWN BELOW

FIVE PER CENT. ✓

OUTPUT HAS BEEN RISING STEADILY SINCE

1981 AND INVESTMENT IS UP SUBSTANTIALLY.

BUT IF THINGS ARE IMPROVING, WHY, YOU WILL ASK,
DOES UNEMPLOYMENT NOT FALL?

WELL, MORE JOBS ARE BEING CREATED.

OVER THE LAST YEAR, MORE THAN A QUARTER OF
A MILLION EXTRA JOBS.

BUT THE POPULATION OF WORKING AGE IS ALSO
RISING VERY FAST / AS THE BABY BOOM
OF THE 1960s BECOME THE SCHOOL
LEAVERS OF THE 1980s.

ADD TO THAT THE MANY MORE MARRIED WOMEN WHO
WANT TO WORK / AND YOU WILL SEE WHY
WE NEED MORE JOBS JUST TO STOP
UNEMPLOYMENT RISING.

ON TOP OF THAT, NEW TECHNOLOGY HAS CAUSED REDUNDANCY

IN MANY FACTORIES.

THOUGH IT HAS ALSO CREATED WHOLE NEW
INDUSTRIES PROVIDING PRODUCTS AND JOBS /
THAT ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO WERE UN-DREAMED
OF.

A FEW DAYS AGO I VISITED YORK WHERE I SAW THE

FIRST RAILWAY ENGINE, STEPHENSON'S ROCKET.

I THOUGHT OF THE JOBS, PROSPECTS AND
THE HOPE THAT THE RAILWAYS BROUGHT TO MANY
PEOPLE.

COMMUNITIES QUEUED UP TO BE ON A RAILWAY
LINE, TO HAVE THEIR OWN STATION.

THEY WELCOMED CHANGE.

IF WE WERE TRYING TO BUILD THOSE SAME
RAILWAYS TODAY, WOULD WE EVER GET
PLANNING PERMISSION?

IN THE 1940S WHEN I TOOK A SCIENCE DEGREE, THE

NEW EMERGING INDUSTRIES WERE PLASTICS,
MANMADE FIBRES AND TELEVISION.

LATER IT WOULD BE SATELLITES, COMPUTERS AND
TELECOMMUNICATIONS.

NO IT'S BIO-TECHNOLOGY AND INFORMATION-
TECHNOLOGY.

AND TODAY OUR UNIVERSITIES AND SCIENCE

PARKS ARE IDENTIFYING THE NEEDS OF TOMORROW.

an

I REMEMBER INDUSTRIALISTS TELLING ME WHEN I
WENT INTO BUSINESS - "OUR JOB IS TO
DISCOVER WHAT THE CUSTOMER WILL BUY AND
PRODUCE IT."

IN WREXHAM THE OTHER DAY AT A YOUTH TRAINING
CENTRE I WAS DELIGHTED TO SEE A POSTER
SAYING "IT IS THE CUSTOMER THAT MAKES PAY
DAYS POSSIBLE".

IT IS.

~~WHAT ELSE PROVIDES JOBS?~~

IT IS THE SPIRIT OF ENTERPRISE THAT PROVIDES JOBS.

IT IS BEING PREPARED TO VENTURE / AND
BUILD A BUSINESS.



AND THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT?

IT'S CUTTING TAXES.

IT'S CUTTING INFLATION.

IT'S KEEPING COSTS DOWN.

IT'S CUTTING THROUGH REGULATIONS AND
REMOVING OBSTACLES TO THE GROWTH OF
SMALL BUSINESSES.

FOR THAT IS WHERE MANY OF THE NEW
JOBS COME FROM.

IT'S PROVIDING BETTER EDUCATION AND
TRAINING.

THE YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME - NOW IN ITS SECOND YEAR - WAS
SET UP TO GIVE YOUNG PEOPLE THE NECESSARY
SKILLS. A MAJORITY OF THE FIRST YEAR'S
GRADUATES ARE GETTING JOBS.

I OFFERED TO TAKE A TRAINEE FOR OUR OFFICE AT

10 DOWNING STREET.

WE WOULD LOVE TO HAVE ONE.

HE OR SHE MIGHT NOT HAVE MADE IT TO

PRIME MINISTER IN ONE YEAR.

BUT THE WORK AT NUMBER TEN IS VARIED

AND INTERESTING.

WE ALSO SAID WE WOULD TAKE TRAINEES INTO OTHER

PARTS OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

AT FIRST THE UNIONS SAID YES.

THEN THEY SAID NO.

THE RESULT - YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE BEEN

DENIED TRAINING PLACES.

THE SAME PROBLEM AROSE AT JAGUAR.

FIRST THE UNIONS SAID YES;

THEN THEY SAID NO.

So ~~no~~ 130 UNEMPLOYED TEENAGERS HAVE

BEEN DENIED TRAINING.

AND THAT MEANS YOUNG PEOPLE WERE

DENIED JOBS.

...#...

YESTERDAY IN THE DEBATE ON UNEMPLOYMENT, WE WERE
URGED TO SPEND MORE MONEY ON INVESTMENT.
IT LOOKS AN ATTRACTIVE IDEA,
BUT TO SPEND MORE IN ONE AREA MEANS
SPENDING LESS IN ANOTHER / OR PUTTING
UP TAXES.

IN GOVERNMENT WE ARE CONSTANTLY FACED WITH THESE
DIFFICULT CHOICES.
IF WE WANT MORE FOR INVESTMENT,
I HAVE TO ASK MY COLLEAGUES IN CABINET,
WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO GIVE UP?

OUT OF PRESS
RELEASE

[OR YOU? OR YOU?]

SHOULD I ASK WHOSE PAY CLAIM ARE YOU GOING TO
CUT?

THE DOCTORS? THE POLICE? THE NURSES?

I DON'T FIND MANY TAKERS.

because

WE HAVE HONOURED THE REVIEWS OF PAY FOR DOCTORS,

NURSES AND THE POLICE IN FULL.

YOU WOULDN'T HAVE CHEERED ME IF WE'D

NOT DONE SO.

AND QUITE RIGHT TOO.

SO SHALL I TURN TO NIGEL, AND ASK HIM WHICH TAXES

WOULD HE PUT UP?

INCOME TAX?

VALUE ADDED TAX?

NOT IN PRESS
RELEASE

[I SHOULD GET A PRETTY FROSTY RECEPTION

do

*Such a
Question* ^{holds} FROM HIM AND FROM YOU.]

DESPITE THESE DIFFICULT CHOICES, WE HAVE FOUND THE

MONEY FOR THE BEST ^{investment} PROJECTS ON OFFER.

THAT IS WHY THE M25, FOR EXAMPLE, IS BEING

COMPLETED.

THAT IS WHY BR HAVE THE GREEN LIGHT TO GO AHEAD
WITH ELECTRIFICATION IF THEY CAN MAKE
IT PAY.

THAT IS WHY WE HAVE BUILT OR STARTED 49 NEW
HOSPITALS SINCE 1979.

THAT IS WHY CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN THE NATIONALISED
INDUSTRIES AS A WHOLE IS GOING UP.

SO WE ARE GOING AHEAD WITH MAJOR CAPITAL INVESTMENT.

I RETURN TO THAT 1944 WHITE PAPER - PAGE ONE:-

"FOR EMPLOYMENT CANNOT BE CREATED BY
ACT OF PARLIAMENT OR BY GOVERNMENT ACTION
ALONE ... THE SUCCESS OF THE POLICY
OUTLINED IN THIS PAPER WILL ULTIMATELY
DEPEND ON THE UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT
OF THE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE - AND
ESPECIALLY ON THE EFFORTS OF EMPLOYERS
AND WORKERS IN INDUSTRY.

IT WAS TRUE THEN.

IT IS TRUE NOW.

COAL

41.

MR. PRESIDENT, 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'S NOT OF ITS MAKING.

WE HAVE HEARD IN DEBATES AT THIS CONFERENCE SOME OF
THE ASPECTS THAT HAVE MADE THIS
DISPUTE REPUGNANT TO SO MANY PEOPLE.

WE WERE REMINDED BY A COLLIERY MANAGER, THAT THE

NUM USED ALWAYS TO ACCEPT THAT A

PIT SHOULD CLOSE WHEN THE LOSSES

WERE TOO GREAT TO KEEP IT OPEN, /

and THAT THE MINERS SET GREAT STORE

BY INVESTMENT IN NEW PITS AND NEW

SEAMS.

UNDER THIS GOVERNMENT THAT IS

HAPPENING IN ABUNDANCE.

WE HEARD FROM TWO WORKING MINERS, JUST WHAT THEY

HAVE TO FACE AS THEY TRY TO MAKE


THEIR WAY TO WORK.

THE SHEER BRAVERY OF THOSE MEN - AND THOUSANDS
LIKE THEM - WHO HAVE KEPT THE
MINING INDUSTRY ALIVE IS BEYOND
PRAISE.

"SCABS" - THEIR FORMER WORKMATES CALL THEM.

SCABS?

THEY ARE LIONS.



WHAT A TRAGEDY WHEN STRIKING MINER ATTACKS HIS
WORKMATE.

NOT ONLY ARE THEY MEMBERS OF THE SAME
UNION;

BUT THE WORKING MINER IS SAVING BOTH
THEIR FUTURES.

IT IS THE WORKING MINERS WHETHER IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE,
DERBYSHIRE, LANCASHIRE, LEICESTERSHIRE,
STAFFORDSHIRE, WARWICKSHIRE, NORTH
WALES OR SCOTLAND, WHO HAVE KEPT FAITH
WITH THOSE WHO BUY OUR COAL;
~~AND~~ ^{FEW} WITHOUT WHOSE CUSTOM THOUSANDS
OF JOBS IN THE MINING INDUSTRY WOULD
BE ALREADY LOST.

AND THEN WE HEARD - UNFORGETTABLY - FROM THE
INCOMPARABLE MRS. IRENE MCGIBBON -
WHO TOLD US WHAT IT'S LIKE TO BE THE
WIFE OF A WORKING MINER DURING THIS
STRIKE

SHE TOLD US OF THE THREATS AND
INTIMIDATION SUFFERED BY HERSELF
AND HER FAMILY.

BUT WHAT SHE ENDURED ONLY STIFFENED
HER RESOLVE.

TO FACE THE PICKET LINE DAY AFTER DAY, MUST TAKE
A VERY SPECIAL KIND OF COURAGE.
IT TAKES AS MUCH - PERHAPS EVEN MORE
TO THE HOUSEWIFE WHO HAS TO STAY AT
HOME ALONE.

MEN AND WOMEN LIKE THAT ARE WHAT WE ARE PROUD
TO CALL "THE BEST OF BRITISH".
AND OUR POLICE, WHO UPHOLD THE
LAW WITH AN INDEPENDENCE AND A
RESTRAINT - PERHAPS ONLY TO BE
FOUND IN THIS COUNTRY - ARE THE
ADMIRATION OF THE WORLD.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE GOVERNMENT DID EVERYTHING
IT COULD TO PREVENT THIS STRIKE.

~~INDEED SOME WOULD SAY WE DID~~

~~TOO MUCH.~~

The National Coal Board
~~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 LAST YEAR
WAS BIGGER THAN THE ANNUAL BILL FOR
ALL THE DOCTORS AND DENTISTS IN
ALL THE NHS HOSPITALS IN THE UNITED
KINGDOM.

MR. PRESIDENT, THIS IS A DISPUTE ABOUT THE

RIGHT TO GO TO WORK OF THOSE WHO

HAVE BEEN DENIED THE RIGHT TO GO

TO VOTE.

WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY

OF TRADE UNIONISTS, INCLUDING MANY

STRIKING MINERS, DEEPLY REGRET WHAT

HAS BEEN DONE IN THE NAME OF TRADE

UNIONISM.

WHEN THIS STRIKE IS OVER WE MUST DO

EVERYTHING WE CAN TO ENCOURAGE MODERATE

AND RESPONSIBLE TRADE UNIONISM SO IT

CAN ~~NOW~~ ONCE AGAIN TAKE ITS RESPECTED

AND VALUABLE PLACE IN OUR INDUSTRIAL

LIFE.

MEANWHILE, WE ARE FACED WITH THE PRESENT
EXECUTIVE OF THE NATIONAL UNION
OF MINeworkERS.

THEY KNOW THAT WHAT THEY ARE
DEMANDING HAS NEVER BEEN GRANTED
EITHER TO MINERS OR TO WORKERS IN
ANY OTHER INDUSTRY.

WHY THEN DEMAND IT?

WHY ASK FOR WHAT THEY KNOW CANNOT
BE CONCEDED?

THERE CAN BE ONLY ONE EXPLANATION.

~~NO,~~ THEY DIDN'T WANT A SETTLEMENT.

THEY WANTED A STRIKE.

OTHERWISE THEY WOULD HAVE BALLOTTED ON THE
COAL BOARD'S OFFER.

INDEED ONE THIRD OF THE MINERS DID HAVE A
BALLOT AND VOTED OVERWHELMINGLY TO
ACCEPT THE OFFER.

MR. PRESIDENT, WHAT WE HAVE SEEN IN THIS COUNTRY
IS THE EMERGENCE OF AN ORGANISED
REVOLUTIONARY MINORITY WHO ARE
PREPARED TO EXPLOIT INDUSTRIAL
DISPUTES BUT WHOSE REAL AIM IS
THE BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER AND
THE DESTRUCTION OF DEMOCRATIC
PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT. (
WE HAVE SEEN THE SAME SORT OF THUGS
AND BULLIES AT GRUNWICK, MORE
RECENTLY AGAINST EDDIE SHAH IN
STOCKPORT, AND NOW ORGANISED INTO
FLYING SQUADS AROUND THE COUNTRY.

IF THEIR TACTICS ARE ALLOWED TO SUCCEED, IF THEY
ARE NOT BROUGHT UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE
LAW, WE SHALL SEE THEM AGAIN AT EVERY
INDUSTRIAL DISPUTE ORGANISED BY
MILITANT UNION LEADERS ANYWHERE IN THE
COUNTRY.

ONE OF THE SPEAKERS EARLY IN THE CONFERENCE
REFERRED TO DANE-GELD.
MAY I ADD TO WHAT HE SAID -

"WE NEVER PAY ANY-ONE DANE-GELD, NO
MATTER HOW TRIFLING THE COST; FOR THE
END OF THAT GAME IS OPPRESSION AND SHAME,
AND THE NATION THAT PLAYS IT IS LOST."

YES, RUDYARD KIPLING.

WHO COULD PUT IT BETTER?

DEMOCRATIC CHANGE THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN , IN THIS,
THE HOME OF DEMOCRACY,
BUT THE SANCTION FOR CHANGE IS THE BALLOT
BOX.

IT SEEMS THAT THERE ARE SOME WHO ARE OUT TO
DESTROY ^{any properly elected} GOVERNMENT.

THEY ARE OUT TO BRING DOWN THE
FRAMEWORK OF LAW.

AND WHAT IS THE LAW THEY SEEK TO DEFY?

IT IS THE COMMON LAW CREATED BY FEARLESS JUDGES
AND PASSED DOWN ACROSS THE CENTURIES.

IT IS LEGISLATION SCRUTINISED AND ENACTED BY THE
PARLIAMENT OF A FREE PEOPLE.

IT IS PASSED THROUGH A HOUSE OF COMMONS, ELECTED
ONCE EVERY FIVE YEARS BY SECRET BALLOT OF
ONE CITIZEN, ONE VOTE.

THIS IS THE WAY OUR LAW WAS FASHIONED.

AND WHY BRITISH JUSTICE IS RENOWNED
ACROSS THE WORLD.

NO GOVERNMENT OWNS THE LAW.

IT IS THE LAW OF THE LAND, THE HERITAGE
OF THE PEOPLE.

"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 SAID THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE BATTLE TO UPHOLD THE RULE OF
LAW CALLS FOR THE RESOLVE AND THE
COMMITMENT OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE.
OUR INSTITUTIONS OF JUSTICE, THE
COURTS, AND THE POLICE REQUIRE THE
UNSWERVING SUPPORT OF EVERY LAW-ABIDING
CITIZEN.

SO MANY SPEAKERS AT THIS CONFERENCE HAVE SAID
THAT WHAT IS AT STAKE IS THE FUTURE
OF DEMOCRACY.

They are right.

THE NATION FACES NOW / WHAT IS PROBABLY THE MOST
TESTING CRISIS OF OUR TIME - THE BATTLE
BETWEEN THE EXTREMISTS AND THE REST,

~~WE ARE FIGHTING FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE LITTLE MAN~~
~~AS WELL AS FOR THE BIG MAN.~~

WE ARE FIGHTING, AS WE HAVE ALWAYS FOUGHT, FOR
THE WEAK AS WELL AS THE STRONG.

WE ARE FIGHTING FOR GREAT AND GOOD CAUSES.

WE ARE FIGHTING TO DEFEND THEM AGAINST THE POWER
AND MIGHT OF THOSE WHO RISE UP TO
CHALLENGE THEM.

THIS GOVT WILL NOT WEAKEN

THIS

~~THE~~ NATION WILL MEET THAT CHALLENGE.

~~THIS GOVERNMENT WILL MEET THAT~~

~~CHALLENGE.~~

DEMOCRACY WILL PREVAIL.