

MR COLES ✓

Prime Minister
I agree with Dr. Syham. I think you should
make a major speech on this crucial issue by
early next year. Agree? A.F.C. 12. 12. Yes, not

You invited my comments on the MoD letter of December 16 re. publicity by the Prime Minister for the Government's views of deterrence and Multilateral disarmament.

I am afraid I do not agree with the advice tendered in the letter.

The reality is that the multilateralist v unilateralist argument is one of the major central political issues which will dominate discussion next year. On that account alone the Prime Minister will repeatedly make her views known - and will feel a pressing need to do so. There is thus no question that the Prime Minister will pronounce on the issue.

Nor will she lack opportunities to do so - eg. Prime Minister's Questions. But that does not argue against a major speech. On the contrary it supports the case for one because the work of preparing a major speech against set objectives will inform the Prime Minister's whole presentation of the issue. The effect of a major speech is therefore wider than might be assumed and longer lasting.

The preparation of a major speech next year would also be a considerable exercise in political education and can therefore be calculated to produce a rounder, persuasive statement.

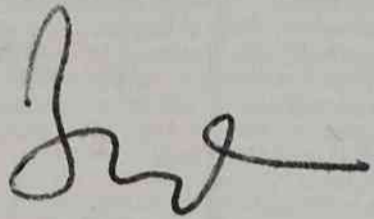
The fact that the Foreign Secretary's speech got little publicity is not necessarily an indication of that which a Prime Ministerial speech would generate. Nor is the lack of new information necessarily a guide to publicity either. Circumstances, timing, tone and content would all have a bearing on that.

But all these points must be viewed against the likely overriding need early next year for the Prime Minister to pronounce authoritatively and in a considered, marshalled way in support of the multilateralist cause. Her failure to do so would be misinterpreted.

To sum up: the choice is not between making a major speech and a lower key approach - eg. a direct appeal to women and young mothers. The Prime Minister will need to do both - and more, if only for political reasons.

But there is no substitute for ~~a basic text on which the multilatera-~~
~~list movement can draw; nor is there any substitute for a persuasive~~
direct appeal by the Prime Minister to the country.

The advice as given in the letter is timid and defeatist and does not
set out to convert multilateralism's potentially greatest asset into just
that.



B. INGHAM

17 December 1982



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

20 December 1982

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER ON ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

In your letter of 16 December you advised that, rather than making a major speech on the above questions in the New Year, the Prime Minister should contribute a popular article to one of the major women's magazines and that, thereafter, we should consider an address by Mrs. Thatcher to one of the big annual conferences of women's organisations.

The Prime Minister has considered this advice but takes the view that, on an issue of this importance, it would be right for her to make a major speech quite early next year. She would therefore be grateful if you could suggest a suitable platform.

Mrs. Thatcher has not specifically commented on the idea of an article in one of the women's magazines. I suggest that we first take a firm decision about the timing and platform for her speech and then return to the idea of an article.

I am copying this letter to Roger Bone (FCO).

A. J. COLES

Peter Craine, Esq.



MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2HB

Telephone 01-218 2216 (Direct Dialling)
01-218 9000 (Switchboard)

Private Secretary to
MINISTER OF STATE FOR
THE ARMED FORCES
D/MIN(AF)/PB/3/2

16 December 1982

Dear Coles,

Thank you for your letter of 25 October. I am sorry to have taken so long to reply.

The question of whether the Prime Minister should make a speech on the subject of deterrence and multilateral disarmament has been considered by officials both here and in the FCO and their advice is that in the absence of any new information in the speech it is likely to generate only limited publicity for the Government's views. The Foreign Secretary recently made an excellent speech on deterrence and disarmament (in Leeds) and achieved only moderate coverage in the quality press.

As an alternative it has been suggested that a popular article on these subjects should be offered to one of the major women's magazines under the Prime Minister's signature, perhaps Woman's Own. This would have the following advantages:

- a. It would be a direct appeal to wives and mothers throughout the country (and opinion polls show that young mothers are particularly susceptible to the appeal of unilateralism);
- b. It would stand a good chance of being picked up by the national press, radio and television;
- c. It might lead to further requests for the Prime Minister to give her views on this subject.

As a follow-up, consideration could be given to the Prime Minister addressing one of the big annual conferences of women's organisations (for example, Towns Women's Guilds or Women's Institutes) which usually take place in May. We have naturally not yet approached any of these bodies.

These suggestions are strongly supported by both Mr Blaker and Mr Hurd.

I am copying this letter to Stephen Lamport.

Yours sincerely
P. Craine

PETER CRAINE

A J Coles Esq

Speech file
Poultly Speed 1983
on Depue's Disarmament

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16 DEC 1983

John

I have had a word with
(Armed Forces ^{Ministry} Office).
Mrs (Peter Crane) concerning
a suitable platform for a
speech by the P.M. on this subject.
They now consider that it
might be more appropriate
for the P.M. to write an article
for one of the better women's
magazines and will be writing
to us within the next week
or so to this effect.

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Noted.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

28 October 1982

Prime Minister

JB

29/10

John Taylor

Thank you for sending us a copy of your letter of 26 October to Peter Craine. Mr Pym warmly welcomes the Prime Minister's willingness in principle to make a speech on defence and disarmament, probably in the New Year. We are consulting the MOD with a view to finding a suitable platform.

The Prime Minister may also wish to know that Mr Pym himself plans to make a speech on the Alliance and arms control in Leeds on 25 November. The year ahead will be of crucial importance to the Alliance as we move towards the deployment of cruise missiles and Pershings. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary therefore considers that regular ministerial statements about British policy on these issues will be of great significance. The timing of his own speech and that proposed by the Prime Minister seems well judged. Together, the two speeches will represent a sustained and co-ordinated attempt to explain the role of the Alliance in both defence and arms control through this crucial period.

I am copying this letter to Richard Mottram and Peter Craine.

See on



John Taylor

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

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17 JUL 1982



Defence
Debate

FILE

RM



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

25 October, 1982

With your letter of 19 October you forwarded for the Prime Minister's information a report by the Minister of State for the Armed Forces on Support for the Government's Nuclear Policies. The Prime Minister read this report with interest.

With regard to the last sentence, Mrs Thatcher is willing in principle to make a speech on defence and disarmament, perhaps in the New Year. I think she would be grateful if, without making any commitment, the Minister of Defence and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office could consider a suitable platform for such a speech and make further recommendations.

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quarantined in
speech file

I am copying this letter to Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence) and Roger Bone (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

A. L. COOPER

R.P. Craine, Esq.,
Ministry of Defence

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PRIME MINISTER

SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S NUCLEAR
POLICIES

You saw the attached report by
Peter Blaker.

In his last sentence he says that a
major speech by you on defence and dis-
armament would be of great value to the
Government's effort to counter the
activities of the unilateralists.

Are you prepared to consider making
such a speech, perhaps in the New Year?

Yes
mb

A.D.C.

22 October 1982

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Private Secretary to
MINISTER OF STATE FOR
THE ARMED FORCES

D/MIN(AF)/PB/3/2

19 October 1982

Prime Minister

With reading in full. See last line —
would you consider making a major speech on defence
and disarmament, perhaps in the New Year?

Dear Private Secretary,

A.J.C. 28/10

With the agreement of the Secretary of State I am forwarding for the Prime Minister's information a report by the Minister of State for the Armed Forces on support for the Government's nuclear policies.

Yours ever

R.P. Craine

R P CRAINE

Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister

NOTE BY THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR THE ARMED FORCES

SUPPORT FOR OUR NUCLEAR POLICIES

I last prepared a report for you on this subject, which you forwarded to the Prime Minister, in February. I believe that you and she might now find it helpful to be updated.

The Last Eight Months

2. Although the Falklands crisis distracted both public and Ministerial attention from the debate about our nuclear policies, and industrial action at the COI held up work on our film, the last eight months have seen considerable progress. The FCO have produced a further leaflet about nuclear deterrence and multilateral disarmament (which sets out both sides of the argument, to make it more acceptable to schools), and the MOD have produced a pack of speakers notes, summarising key points, which have been distributed to supporting organisations and the Central Office. Our audio visual presentation "A Better Road to Peace" has been widely used (indeed it is the COI Central Film Library's most borrowed item), by such groups as Womens' Institute, Towns Womens' Guilds, Rotary Clubs, Schools, Universities and County Emergency Planning Officers. The 25 minute film "The Peace Game" which, like the audio visual, is designed to rebut the most common criticisms and doubts about our policies, is to be launched on the 28th of this month. You, and I think also the Prime Minister, have now had a chance to see this.

3. The British Atlantic Committee have a new Director, a retired Major General, who will take up his duty shortly. After a year of problems with their organisation and staffing I hope we will now see the Committee play a more energetic role in the nuclear debate, particularly at the national level. Locally they have been making steady progress building up their network of supporters, which I understand now numbers about 800. These people are being supplied with briefing material and encouraged to offer themselves as speakers at meetings and on local radio, and to write to local newspapers. Nevertheless, the BAC could be doing much more and I hope will now start to demonstrate a greater sense of purpose and urgency in their activities.

4. The Coalition for Peace Through Security remain active, although Councillor Tony Kerpel appears no longer closely involved. They favour direct action, taking on the CND's principal speakers at the CND's own meetings, both here and abroad, and issuing hard hitting leaflets raising questions about the CND leadership's motivation and sources of support. By contrast the Council for Arms Control, of which Ray Whitney is a leading member, concentrates on disarmament matters. They have produced a number of pamphlets and study papers and were one of the Non-Governmental Organisations chosen to address the UN's Special Session in June.

5. Winston Churchill has been active and formed the Coalition for Peace and Freedom to act as an umbrella organisation to help coordinate aspects of the work of the BAC, CPS and the YCs' Youth for Multilateral Disarmament.

The Year Ahead

6. In the last 8 months I believe substantial progress has been made in putting over our case and that the forward momentum of the unilateralists has been slowed, although I would hesitate to say it has been halted. 1983 will be crucial. The General Election is now not far away and in that campaign the policies of nuclear deterrence which have been pursued by governments of both parties for 30 years are likely to be a matter of controversy to an extent we have not witnessed before. Opinion polls suggest we still have support for the retention of an independent nuclear deterrent but only a minority support the acquisition of Trident. We have a lot more to do in explaining that Trident is the most cost-effective replacement for Polaris and that it does not represent an increase in our capability viz-a-viz the Soviet Union or a change to a first strike or war-fighting policy as some of the unilateralists suggest. In 1983 we face the deployment of the Cruise missiles at Greenham Common, the men and equipment from the summer and the missiles towards the end of the year. I am sure the unilateralists will see this deployment as a major rallying point and I expect them to make an effort to focus attention on Greenham Common with demonstrations, obstruction and even further physical attacks on the Camp. Again opinion polls suggest that this deployment is unpopular and we must do more to explain why the missiles are coming and how their deployment could be avoided (or they could be withdrawn after deployment) if the Soviet Union accept President Reagan's proposals in the INF talks.

7. A number of plans are in hand. I intend to commission a further 30 minute film. If this could be made in such a way that it combined instruction with entertainment it might reach a much wider audience. I have been in touch with Euan Lloyd, the producer of the film about the SAS 'Who Dares Wins', which is currently a major box office success. He is a supporter of our policies and is going to try to suggest a way in which this could be done. He has raised the possibility that if the film were sufficiently entertaining it might be adopted by distributors to accompany a major feature film on the cinema circuit, which would bring it to a huge audience. I also plan to commission one or two shorter films of about 15 minutes in length, one about the deployment of Cruise missiles.

8. The local and regional press are quite interested in the nuclear debate, stimulated by the declaration of nuclear free zones by many local authorities and by local campaigns against civil defence in general and exercise Hard Rock in particular. I have sent an article on nuclear free zones to the newspapers in all the areas covered by such zones and so far about 20 have published it. In addition, I will be making a series of visits to these areas to meet the editors of local newspapers and radio stations, starting in Yorkshire next month.

9. I am sure that Douglas Hurd would agree with me that disarmament will be an important subject in 1983. I believe we need to tell the public more about previous disarmament initiatives - that they succeeded because of Western determination and resolve or that they failed because of Russian intransigence - so that the public may better understand the factors at play in the current negotiations. There may be no progress at Geneva next year or it may be very slow and we will need to tell the public as much as we can without breaching confidentiality. We also need to stress just how much is at stake in terms of real arms reductions and how this could be jeopardised by unilateralist talk. We also need to develop our contacts with the Churches and in particular bolster the forces of common-sense in the Church of England to argue against the working party report "The Church and The Bomb".

Conclusion

10. In the year ahead we must devote even more of our time and energies to taking our case to the public, in order to halt the shift of opinion against our nuclear policies and to win back the many concerned people whose opposition I believe to be a product of their ignorance and fear which has been played upon by the emotional propaganda of the unilateralists. This effort needs to be widely supported. I shall be encouraging our colleagues in Parliament and the party and the various bodies such as the BAC to do as much as they can. There is now no shortage of good briefing material and speaking notes available, both at Central Office and in the MOD and FCO. I hope that other ministers will also help and in this context a major speech by the Prime Minister would be of great value to us.

P.A.R.B.

PETER BLAKER

18th October 1982



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