

FROM: Bill Davis

I would like to suggest some do's and don'ts.

Please, please remember that you are not just addressing the conference (and your most loyal supporters) but the country as a whole. Your real audience is the individual, or family, watching you on TV or reading papers like the Sun and Mirror. It is vital to talk to them in simple, sincere language - to be the Maggie who talks common sense. Make every sentence count. It works for Reagan, it worked for Moses, it worked for Jack Kennedy, it worked for Martin Luther King, and it will work for you.

Don't, please go into too much detail. It will reduce the impact of your speech. Leave detail to your ministerial colleagues and deal with philosophy, broad themes. The hell with the small print (which lawyers are so fond of). Be a Churchill.

Don't use too many statistics; people don't take them in, or distrust them, or associate them with a bureaucratic mind. And avoid jargon; it is essential for you to be perceived to be on the wavelength of the majority of the electorate and they don't understand jargon.

Don't go on about the past: I have worked in a few, brief, relevant details about the winter of discontent, inflation, and the like, but too much talk about the past will simply bore everyone. There is a new generation of voters out there.

Do please remember that this speech will not just determine the way people see the Tory party, but the way they see you. Your personal popularity must be enhanced as a result of this speech. Don't, please, let anyone talk you out of dealing strongly with the "caring" theme because this is the biggest single factor affecting your own rating. You have a perfect opportunity to tackle it head on.

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From Bill Davis /2

Do please remember that you must not come across as patronising, strident, smug, self-righteous. Passionate, yes. Caring, yes. Enthusiastic, yes. A fighter with a clear sense of direction - positive and cheerful; energetic and confident; very much in touch with the basic instincts and aspirations of ordinary people; forward looking.

Bill Davis - Draft

Thank you, Mr. President, for that warm welcome.

We are a party that thrives on sensible debate, as this conference has shown again, and which cares deeply about the great issues of the day. But we are also a party which knows what it stands for and what it seeks to achieve. We may argue about the methods, but we all have a common aim: to protect, and to fight for, the values we believe in.

We don't need lectures from the leader of the Labour party on morality. It is the foundation of our policies.

We do not threaten the freedom of the individual; we cherish and protect it. That is moral.

We do not seek to dictate; we believe that the Government is the servant of the people, not the master. That is moral.

We do not destroy the value of people's lifetime savings by a reckless attitude towards inflation. Nor do we threaten to deprive people of the property, and investments, they have acquired through their own efforts. That is moral.

We do not allow the trade unions to intimidate their members or impose their will on the people of Britain.

We do not seek to deny families the right to choose how their children should be educated or what kind of medical care they consider appropriate to their needs. Choice is rooted in our Conservative tradition; without that choice, talk of morality is empty.

Last week, the Labour party made the spurious claim that it was "putting people first". The policies the conference adopted showed what a sham this is. "Putting Government first" is what the Labour party believes in. The inevitable result is "putting people second".

That is not our way. We do not share the view that the State knows best.

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DEFENCE

Nor do we need lectures from the Labour party on patriotism. This Government has never faltered in its resolve to defend the interests of Great Britain and never will.

I was deeply shocked by the reckless decision of the Labour party conference to abandon the defence policy which has served this country - and Mr. Kinnock's generation - so well for more than 40 years. It is totally irresponsible.

No-one in his senses wants to start a nuclear war. I fervently hope that President Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev, this weekend and in their subsequent summit meeting, will agree on strategies which will reduce that risk. But we must be in a position to argue from strength, not weakness.

Policies which would throw out all American nuclear bases - bases which have been here since the time of Clement Attlee, President Truman and Winston Churchill, and which have been supported since by every Labour Government, would wreck Nato and leave us totally isolated from our allies. It would be the height of folly.

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If we cannot trust a Labour party to defend our country, how can we trust them to defend anything else - our homes, our families, our traditions, or savings, our way of life?

We in Britain value our independence, but we also value our friends. The United States has played a crucial role in helping to uphold freedom in the democratic world. It has been a true friend. We have needed each other in the past, and we will need each other in the future. We must continue to stand together.

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THE NEXT MOVE FORWARD

The theme of our conference this week, Mr. President, has been The Next Move Forward. We have achieved a great deal in seven short years, but there is still a great deal to be done. I have been much heartened by the enthusiasm and determination shown by everyone involved in this great task.

We live in a period of transition - the whole industrialised world, not just Britain, is seeing great changes, much of it due to new technology.

Old industries are declining and new ones are taking their place. Traditional jobs are being taken over by computers and other technology. The service sector is growing and will continue to ^rg_ow.

Competition stimulates progress, which alone brings the prized benefits of higher standards of living, better working conditions, more comfort and leisure, increased resources for health and welfare.

But all progress brings change and disruption. Familiar methods of work are challenged. Old skills are displaced.

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It has happened throughout history. People were worried about the disruptive effects of electricity, the steam engine, and, no doubt, the wheel.

It would be foolish to pretend that this transition can be accomplished - anywhere - without confusion and problems. But it would be equally foolish to pretend that a country like Britain, which is so heavily dependent on trade with others, can somehow ignore what is happening in the rest of the world - to behave as if these great events have nothing to do with us; to fight change; to turn the clock back.

Yet this is exactly what the Labour party proposes to do. It does not want to move forward; it wants to return to the past.

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UNEMPLOYMENT

I understand how people feel when their lives are disrupted. There is no problem which occupies more of my thinking - and that of my colleagues - than unemployment.

It is a problem we share with other nations; it's clearly nonsense to suggest that it has been created by this Government.

We have worked hard to mitigate the painful effects of change on those who are its blameless victims. Further measures have been announced this week. Let no-one think that we are complacent.

A million new jobs have been created in the last three years. Most of those who are currently out of work, and drawing benefit, can look forward to getting jobs, though it may take as long as three months, six months, or every a year. At any time there are over half a million unfilled vacancies and every year some six million new engagements are taken up. The undoubted hardship of some long-term unemployed is tragic enough without being - innocently or wilfully - exaggerated into an insoluble problem.

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We must do what we can to help, but it is foolish to pretend that Governments can do everything.

Compassion has to be tempered by realism . As every housewife knows, you can't just spend, spend, spend, regardless of what you can earn or afford. Government money is not some abstract concept; it has to come from somewhere. That, ~~is~~ is not Thatcherism, but common sense. We are not in the business of buying votes.

The Labour party would still have us believe that all the problems can be solved by the State. It seeks to create a heavily directed society in which the planners and bureaucrats would know best. It plans a degree of economic intervention and state control that makes the Socialist programmes of the 1970's almost modest by comparison.

Well, we remember what happened under previous Labour Governments - the wasted years of Harold Wilson and Jim Callaghan.

We remember the disastrous economic consequences.

We remember how powerful trade union members told the Government what to do, regardless of the consequences for the public.

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We remember the winter of discontent.

The Labour party says it wants to solve the unemployment problem, but constantly supports moves which would have exactly the opposite effect. They dismissed the effects on jobs of sanctions against South Africa. Last week they announced plans to destroy the nuclear power industry - which would mean deliberately sacrificing 140,000 well-paid jobs. It doesn't make sense.

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POPULAR CAPITALISM

The Labour party has also committed itself to a new programme of nationalisation - though, knowing how unpopular that is with the British public, it has come up with a meaningless new label - social ownership. It still believes, or claims to believe, that Governments know how to run businesses. They don't.

The weaknesses of the case for State Ownership have become all too obvious. Planners do not have to suffer the consequences of their mistakes. Trade unions can - and do - insist that goods should be produced at a loss. (Political meddling and bureaucratic delay has a demoralising effect.) And poor service can go on for years because there is no real compulsion to compete or excel.

When the State owns, nobody owns; and when nobody owns, nobody cares.

The proper job of Government is to set the right financial and legal work and allow industry to work within it. It is to cut taxes, cut red tape, and encourage competition. This Government has rolled back the frontiers of the state, and will continue to do so. Many other countries have followed our example. Everywhere Governments are trying to cut debts, repay debt, restrain the public sector.

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We believe in popular capitalism - in a property-owning democracy.

We are proud of the fact that, under this Government, so many people have been able to buy their own home. In Scotland recently, I witnessed the sale of the millionth council house. The Labour party opposed us on this - and continues to oppose it - even though home ownership is immensely popular with the British people. But then the Labour party has never been very interested in what people want - it prefers to tell them what they should have.

We have also encouraged a great expansion in share ownership, and will continue to do so, with the sale of more shares in enterprises like British Gas and British Airways. Millions of people now have a stake in the business they work for. More than one in five British companies now operate profit-sharing schemes for their employees. The public response to share issues by companies like British Telecom and TSB has been tremendous; soon, British Gas will give millions of its customers the opportunity to buy shares.

The Labour party doesn't like it at all. The British people clearly do.

So do we. Our aim is to consign to the dustbin that most misleading of phrases, "the two sides of industry", which has done so much harm to Britain.

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It should be as natural for people to own shares as to own their home or a car. People should not be classified as either earners or owners, as either employees or shareholders. They should be both. It is good and honourable to have a stake in the business that provides your livelihood.

Popular capitalism is nothing less than a crusade to enfranchise the many in the economic life of the nation. We are returning power to the people.

All this helps to build a robust and responsible society. The strength of our policies is that they are founded on the basic instincts of our people - an instinct for ownership, for thrift, for honest work, for fair rewards, and for helping others. We don't seek to divide the country: we seek to unite it in a common purpose.

It was this basic instinct - and a spirit of adventure - which once made Britain the leading industrial nation in the world. It is still vital to our future.

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THE KNOCKERS

Some people think it's clever to deride it. They choose to ignore the basic facts of economic life: that you have to create wealth before you can spend it, and that wealth is created through the efforts of the individual.

They are the same people who never have anything good to say about anyone or anything, including their country. In their eyes, everything Britain does is wrong. Every setback, every difficulty, however small, is seen as proof that the situation is hopeless. "Crisis" is their favourite word.

They are reluctant to acknowledge good news and take a perverse pleasure in failure. Their thinking is dominated by cynicism, pettiness, and envy. They are the hand-writing merchants of gloom and despondency. The spirit of adventure, pride in achievement, pride in one's country - all these things are sneered at.

Well, Maggie is not sneering. I despise such a negative, destructive attitude. I applaud endeavour in every field. I admire people who do their best, and I am certainly not ashamed of being a patriot.

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I don't ignore this country's problems and I certainly do not flinch from the challenge they present. But I see no reason why we should indulge in the tiresome old practise of self-denigration, the defeatist view that nothing we do as a nation is ever right.

There is a great deal to be proud of.

The success of our companies in world markets.

The impressive advances in science and industry.

The successful efforts to create new enterprises and new jobs.

Inflation has been brought down from the horrifying levels reach^{ed} under the last Labour Governments, and is now at its lowest for many years.

The number of days lost through strikes has fallen dramatically.

Industry has become more efficient, more able to compete in a fiercely competitive world.

Rates of income tax have been reduced.

Personal ownership has grown.

The standard of living is higher than ever before.

These are genuine achievements, in which we can all take pleasure and pride. We shouldn't be afraid of good news.

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We have heard a great deal about the disruptive effects of new technology. But what about the benefits? It has created new opportunities - and new jobs - and has made life easier in the home, in the office, and in the factory. It is taking over tedious tasks, speeding up communications, helping to educate our children and contributing to further advances in many fields, including health care.

Yes, it brings problems. But these problems are surmountable, if we have the will, the courage, the imagination, and the determination to meet them head on.

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I CARE

I make no apology for preferring success to failure. You don't have to make millions to be someone: you just have to be good at what you do. I admire and applaud the pursuit of excellence in every field - in business, in education, in medicine, in agriculture, in the service industries, and - yes! - in Government. The people who give their best not only gain immense personal satisfaction but also do the greatest service to the community.

I care about the freedom of the individual to run his own life, instead of having it done for him by the state. Personal liberty - and the right to make the most of one's life - has to be constantly defended and strengthened: it should never be taken for granted.

I care about people being able to own their own home, to have a stake in the business they work for, and to determine their own future. The notion that ceilings should be set on this and that - so dear to the left - and that effort should be punished rather than rewarded, should fill everyone with dismay.

I care about the principle I was taught when I was young - an honest day's pay for an honest day's work. I have no time for the idea that you can do what you like as long as you can get away with it.

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I care about making sure that Britain's best brains and brightest talents are not driven away by excessive taxation. That is why we have brought income tax down; both the Labour party, and the Alliance, want to put it up. They want to put their hands in your pockets.

I care about all the people, especially the nine million pensioners, who saw their savings devastated by runaway inflation under a Labour Government. That is why we have given such high priority to reducing the inflation rate.

I care about law and order - the right of decent people to be protected against crime, hooliganism, and the cancer of drugs.

There is no excuse for those who do not respect that right. ~~There is no excuse for those who do not respect that right.~~ There is no excuse for the burglar, the bully, the rapist, the evil dealer in drugs. There is no excuse for the terrorist. This party, and this Government, have always backed the police, and the courts, in their battle to uphold the rule of law. We shall go on doing so.

The battle calls for the resolve and commitment of the British people. Our institutions of justice, the courts, and the police call for the unswerving support of every law-abiding citizen. No one is above the law.

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I care that people would be looked after when they are ill. That is why we are spending more on the health service than ever before and why we have launched the biggest hospital building programme in this country's history. I have visited five hospitals in the past year and have been much impressed by the dedication of our doctors and nurses. I appreciate and applaud their efforts. I have said it before and say it again: the health service is safe with us.

The challenge for all of us who truly care is how to help as generously as possible without undermining the efforts of others who can, and do, take care of themselves. We must help those who cannot help themselves without making individuals and families endlessly dependent on an ever more powerful State.

I care about parliamentary democracy and free speech; I don't want to see a Britain run by militants who want to destroy it.

I care about the education of our young people and their future. So do my colleagues. This is why we have devoted so much time and attention to education and why we have launched the largest youth training programme ever seen in this country. I am delighted by the enthusiastic response of so many young men and women. We hear too much about the shortcomings of the young; we need to hear much more about the genuine efforts made by so many to lead a productive, responsible, and sensible life.

We in this party are deeply concerned about the young and we are doing everything we can to help. But we don't want to see this country handed over to the glib advocates of a Socialist Utopia - the people who want to create a new Soviet Union, a new Poland, a new Czechoslovakia, a new East Germany. The young are intelligent enough to know what those societies are like, and we have no intention of going down that road.

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MY VISION

We have talked, this week, about the Next Move Foward. I have a vision of the future.

I want to see a Britain which recognises the realities of a challenging period in our history and comes to terms with them - a Britain which makes most of its opportunities in a changing world.

✓ I want to see a Britain in which our people are free to develop their full potential - in every field of endeavour. _____

I want see a Britain free from the shackles of excessive State control.

✓ I want to see a Britain which admires initiative, effort and success instead of denigrating it. _____

✓ I want to see a Britain which has no truck with outmoded Marxist doctrine about class warfare. For us it is not who you are, what your family is, or where you come from that matters. It is what you are, and what you can do for our country, that counts.

✓ I want to see a Britain where many, many more people have genuine new jobs - jobs which will last - and where the burden of taxation is reduced still further.

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I want to see a Britain in which there is a high standard of health care, where savings keep their value, where the standard in our schools are a source of pride, where people can look forward to a secure old age, ~~and~~ ~~where everyone respects the rule of law.~~

I want to see a Britain which is respected in the world, not pitied; a Britain which is strong, not feeble; a Britain which is positive, not defeatist.

Above all, I want to see a Britain which values the great benefits of living in a free society, and which is determined to ~~preserve~~ ^{defend} them.

That is my vision, which I know you share. It is a vision worth fighting for, and we shall fight - for however long it takes. The Next Move Forward is a programme not just for this parliament, or the next, but for the rest of this century.

We have accomplished much, and I most warmly thank you all for the important part you have played in our great endeavour.

Let's not be deterred by the cynics, the woe-mongers, the self-appointed levellers, the petty would-be dictators, the people with glib solutions and cheap compromises, the faint-hearted, the people who reject common sense because it does not suit their purpose.

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We intend to win the next General Election - whenever that may be.

Let us go forward from this conference with the resolve to do our very best for this party - and for this great country.

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