

- 2 -

be approached at an appropriate time.

The Group also considered the need to draw on those equipped to suggest new ideas on policy and presentation. The names of David Howell, Leon Brittan, William Davis and Ferdinand Mount were mentioned. The Headmaster of the Brompton Oratory School and Peter Lilley were also suggested for inclusion in work on future policy. It was suggested that both the Institute of Economic Affairs and the Bow Group might have contributions to make. So too would certain Back-Bench MPs.

RH/SS

Mr Harris and Mr Sherbourne were asked by the Prime Minister to produce a paper to be discussed at the Group's next Meeting. This paper would outline possible themes for the Manifesto. It would be based on consideration of the 1979 and 1983 General Election Manifestos and other material.

WW/GH/DH/NL
NT/JW

Members of the Group were asked to submit points for inclusion in the paper to Mr Harris or Mr Sherbourne by close of play Thursday 26th June.

NT
RH

Consideration would be given by the Party Chairman of the appropriate theme for the Party Conference. Mr Harris would report on who would be delivering the CPC Lecture. [Choice still open]. That Lecture should be given by someone capable of voicing Party aspirations for the Third Term.

The Meeting considered the possibility of publishing a document in the Autumn before the Party Conference which would set out future policy: it was agreed that this should not be done.

The Group considered which groups of the electorate should be the focus of publicity and which themes were most appropriate to them. The young and pensioners were two such groups. The theme of 'safety' (covering law and order, pensions and defence) might be important to the elderly.

2. Public Relations

It was generally agreed that the Government's and Party's public relations needed to be improved. The aim should be to have, say, three or four people of standing in the eyes of the media, preferably young, who could concentrate, in particular, on helping put the Government's case to the newspaper editors.

NL/NT

Both the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Party Chairman reported on their contacts with businessmen. It was agreed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer's contacts should at some appropriate time put their views on presentation and 'positioning' to the Group. The Chairman would discuss this further with the Chancellor.

/...3

- 3 -

It was argued that the Group should have a clear view about the best line to take against the Party's political opponents.

It was also argued that information packs should be prepared on particular topics for groups of Back-Benchers to put the Government's case in the country.

It was agreed that a paper on public relations, covering the structure and personnel required, the various initiatives planned or under way and the use of the Parliamentary Party, should be prepared at an appropriate time.

3. Public Relations in the Summer Recess

SS
PM
The Group decided that maximum use should be made of the Summer Recess in order to put the Government's views across. It was argued that the NHS and pensions were particularly suitable topics for public relations campaigns. It was decided to ask Mr Fowler to attend the next but one Meeting of the Group. A list of phased campaigns should in due course be drawn up. It was suggested that further topics such as unemployment, education and crime prevention could be included. The Prime Minister would mention at Cabinet the need for initiatives from Departments in August and early September.

Other positive issues on which initiatives should be considered were trade unions and housing.

4. Preparations for the General Election

The Group discussed the preparations needed to place Conservative Central Office on a war footing for an Election. The Chairman reported on work being undertaken to identify key Constituencies and groups.

NT/RH
The Prime Minister asked that the Conservative Central Office 'War-book', and associated preparations, should be brought up-to-date.

The Group discussed the monitoring of and response to hostile reports in the media. It was agreed that serious shortcomings were evident in some Departments. The Prime Minister would raise this with Cabinet colleagues.

The Group recognised the importance of interest groups in influencing public perceptions of the Government. More needed to be done to stimulate friendly spokesmen to speak publicly. MPs, certain Health Authority Chairmen and Hospital Managers were possible contributors to this exercise.

5. Next Meeting

SS
The next Meeting will take place at No. 10 on Monday 30th June (precise time to be notified by telephone).

RH/CR

STRATEGY GROUP

1st Meeting : Monday, 23rd June 1986

A G E N D A

1. Formation of Policy for a Third Term.
2. Themes for a Third Term.
3. Public Relations
4. Public relations during the coming Summer Recess.
5. Preparations for the General Election

At the end of the meeting you ought to have set the following work in hand.

1. Paper(s) on themes for a Manifesto/Third Term.
2. Paper on PR campaigns for the next six months/
twelve months.
3. Paper on proposals for PR initiatives during the
summer recess.
4. Report by the Chairman on his plans at Conservative
Central Office for Election.
5. Paper putting forward proposals on how to involve
Backbenchers.
6. We will also need to decide whether you want a large
meeting on one occasion to draw in representatives
from the Parliamentary Party, CCO and the National Union.
7. You may want a special meeting for a Young and Rubicam
presentation.
8. The group may want to decide whether there should be
any outsiders, however organised, to feed in creative
ideas to the group (eg. Bill Davis, Ferdie Mount,
Geoffrey Tucker??)

At the end of the meeting you ought to have set the following work in hand.

1. Paper(s) on themes for a Manifesto/Third Term.
2. Paper on PR campaigns for the next six months/twelve months.
3. Paper on proposals for PR initiatives during the summer recess.
4. Report by the Chairman on his plans at Conservative Central Office for Election.
5. Paper putting forward proposals on how to involve Backbenchers.
6. We will also need to decide whether you want a large meeting on one occasion to draw in representatives from the Parliamentary Party, CCO and the National Union.
7. You may want a special meeting for a Young and Rubicam presentation.
8. The group may want to decide whether there should be any outsiders, however organised, to feed in creative ideas to the group (eg. Bill Davis, Ferdie Mount, Geoffrey Tucker??)

PRIME MINISTER

Strategy Group

I attach a draft agenda for your approval/amendment which I will then make available to members at the meeting.

At the meeting, you will need to decide a programme of work for the Group. When we talked on Thursday, there was a suggestion that a number of these meetings should look at individual policy areas on a departmental basis. I am worried about this approach: it could make the exercise too compartmentalized.

Of course, we will need to know what policy initiatives are in hand in Departments which have a bearing on the Manifesto and a third term, and maybe we should ask (in the first stage) the main Departments to put in a short paper on this subject.

But much the best way to proceed would be: first, to identify the themes of the Manifesto; and, only then, flesh them out with policies.

You will also want to include in the ambit of this group the organisational preparations for an election, though you will have to be careful not to offend the Chairman by treading too hard on his toes. For instance, he wants to discuss with you critical seats. This is something where you may prefer, at least at first, a private meeting with him.

At the end of the meeting you ought to have set the following work in hand.

1. Paper(s) on themes for a Manifesto/Third Term.
2. Paper on PR campaigns for the next six months/twelve months.
3. Paper on proposals for PR initiatives during the summer recess.

.... /

4. Report by the Chairman on his plans at Conservative Central Office *for Rubicam*.
5. Paper putting forward proposals on how to involve Backbenchers.
6. We will also need to decide whether you want a large meeting on one occasion to draw in representatives from the Parliamentary Party, CCO and the National Union.
7. You may want a special meeting for a Young and Rubicam presentation. (Incidentally, Robin Harris has just reminded me of the Chairman's commitment to use Saatchis at the next election - see attached press cutting.)
8. The group may want to decide whether there should be any outsiders, however organised, to feed in creative ideas to the group (eg. Bill Davis, Ferdie Mount, Geoffrey Tucker??)

STEPHEN SHERBOURNE

20.6.86

STRATEGY GROUP

1st Meeting : Monday, 23rd June 1986

A G E N D A

1. Formation of Policy for a Third Term.
2. Themes for a Third Term.
3. Public Relations
4. Public relations during the coming Summer Recess.
5. Preparations for the General Election

PRIME MINISTER

For your approval - Are you content?

SS 20.6.86

SS
20.6.86

on about the incident from the Soviet

Gray said the Government would assess carefully the report was eventually

accident, but he said there was no direct implication for British nuclear policy because of the unique design of the Soviet reactor, which is unlike any reactor operating in the UK.

the consequences of which could not be calculated or foreseen.

Indignant Tory backbenchers accused Mr Kaufman of seeking to make political capital out of a dangerous emergency. When Mr Kaufman called on the Home Secretary to abandon his preconditions for any resumption of talks with the Prison Officers' Association, they protested that he was advocating "giving in to anarchy."

To Labour cheers, Mr Kaufman retorted: "Anarchy has been created."

Mr Hurd, who interrupted a debate on the Public Order Bill to make a statement about the prison riots, was repeatedly called on to resign by Labour MPs, who refused to accept his claim that he had not rejected Opposition warnings on Tuesday.

He attempted to calm the atmosphere by explaining that the information available to him about the outbreaks of violence was incomplete, and initially refused to follow Mr Kaufman in what he described as his "rigamarole of contentious statements."

To Government cheers he

tion to your office, and ask them to suspend their action and to come back in the morning to talk.

Mr Rees warned that, without this approach, the breakdown of law and order would get worse and no amount of "Saatchi and Saatchi words" would deal with it.

Mr Hurd assured the House that he was not dealing in "Saatchi and Saatchi words." He promised a further statement today so that the House could be informed more fully about what had occurred and the steps the Government thought it right to take in the future.

Mr Jerry Hayes (C, Harlow) was cheered by his colleagues on the Government backbenches when he claimed that the prison officers themselves would be shocked and horrified by the cynical attempts by many Labour MPs to seek political advantage out of the developments in the prisons.

Mr Harry Ewing (Lab, Falkirk East) retorted that the Home Secretary was the responsible minister and should expect to be criticised for what had occurred.

Local week and votes

MP from neighbouring field, has spoken to a meeting at Belper. Bill Moore, the Labour MP, apologetically explained that he did not turn up for the meeting until after Mr had finished speaking and in any case, the engagement had been arranged before the election was called. Moore is, however, very optimistic about a forthcoming visit from Mr Ken Stone, the former GLC. Mr Moore says that the "hate figure" has been transformed into a loyal Labour supporter.

In Ryedale, 100 miles to the north, Mr Marcus Fox, the Conservative MP for Shipley is acting as "minder" to Neil Balfour, the Conservative candidate, claims there is no strong Alliance momentum. However, he admits "certain apathy" among Conservative voters.

John Selwyn Gummer, Minister of State for Agriculture and former chairman of the Conservative Party, who is to support Mr Balfour, the impression that he is leaning on a straw in his

decided the Liberals' agricultural policy and said it meant a statutory minimum for pig weaning. Why ignorant townie Liberals even know that pigs are sentiently, nevertheless, a chat with farmers at their cattle market in town of Malton indicates many of these traditionally supporters are saying will abstain this time. Meanwhile, at a Liberal meeting Thornton Dale in the vicinity, a bewildered little asked the MPs on the platform: "But, when you win the election where will all the Conservatives go?" as the politicians say, a hypothetical question.

Caution on 'elfare'

Young stressed that the operating in the US had had full co-operation from trade unions and a large number of other bodies. Stoddart of Swindon, a frontbench spokesman, noted Lord Young's recognition of the need to handle the with care. He believed that the US "smacked of cheap

Labour poll lead increases

By Peter Riddell, Political Editor

LABOUR has extended its lead over the Tories in the past month, following its victory in the Fulham by-election and the US bombing of Libya.

A Market and Opinion Research International survey in yesterday's London Standard puts Labour at 39 per cent, ahead of the Tories on 34 per cent, and the Alliance at 25 per cent—its lowest rating for some time.

Over the past month Labour support has gone up three points entirely at the expense of the Alliance.

The poll findings will obviously be a fillip to Labour ahead of next week's local elections, though it is equally significant that Government support and the approval ratings for Mrs Thatcher have remained stable over a difficult period.

The fall in Alliance backing is causing concern within the SDP and Liberal leadership.

The survey was carried out between April 19-22 among nearly 1,800 adults.

Labour moves to trip Tories

THE Labour Party will this afternoon attempt to embarrass 47 Tory backbenchers on the subject of carers.

The party is copying the exact wording of a cross-party Commons motion on carers signed by the MPs in its motion for an Opposition day debate this afternoon.

The Tory backbenchers backed a motion calling on the Government to take urgent action to improve the position of those who care for the disabled and elderly. Ms Harriet Harman, one of Labour's social services team, said the 47 Tories now had a chance to vote for the policies they supported.

Bill change

PROVISIONS redefining the new offence of disorderly conduct were embodied in the Public Order Bill in the Commons last night.

Gas Bill threatens delay to Lords timetable

THE GOVERNMENT'S plans to under the bill and the inclusion of tougher consumer safety provisions could be wrecked.

Most peers are over 70, and all parties are now having difficulty keeping members in the House late every night. The Government has promised to give Labour and the Alliance two more committee days on the Gas Bill, but an all-night sitting may be necessary if the bill is to complete this stage before the Whitsun recess.

Traditionally, the timetable for the Government in the Lords is put under pressure during the summer months, but the problem has been made worse this year by a large backlog of legislation arising from the Commons and the fact that much time was taken in the Lords earlier this year discussing the Shops Bill.

Tories 'will stick to Saatchi'

BY OUR POLITICAL EDITOR

SAATCHI AND SAATCHI will remain as the Conservative Party's advertising agency throughout the campaign until the general election.

To squash speculation, Mr Norman Tebbit, the Conservative Party chairman, said last night that there was no thought

in his mind that there might be any change.

Saatchi, which advised the Tories ahead of both the 1979 and 1983 general elections, would continue to work with Conservative Central Office on its communication strategy up to the general election, and, he hoped, beyond.

New Issue April 30, 1986

Federal 1/5/86

Form Credit Bank

FT 15/86

From Brian Griffiths

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

20 June 1986

STRATEGY GROUP

The decision to set up a high-level and high-powered Strategy Group is an excellent one. It would be useful if at the beginning of the meeting next Monday you emphasise once again the far-reaching, comprehensive and radical nature of the exercise. As it is the first meeting, the task should be to sort out procedures and allocate responsibilities rather than engage in a major discussion of policy.

Policy for the Third Term

Subjects

You might start by suggesting that the initial meeting focus on the future policy of departments whose Ministers are represented on the Group itself. A suggested timetable is in the attached Annex. It begins with Economic Policy on 30 June, Foreign Affairs on 7 July, and Home Affairs on 14 July. It would then be possible to have two more meetings before the Recess, possibly discussing DHSS and Education issues. On this basis, and reconvening on 7 September, it would be possible to cover the whole field of policy by the end of September (again, see Annex).

After having had papers from individual Ministers regarding their own departments, you may wish to start in October by

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

requesting papers in greater depth in particular areas -
eg: housing, nuclear energy, as well as papers dealing with
interdepartmental issues, such as:

- i. The Family
- ii. Privatisation
- iii. Benefits & Taxes
- iv. Enterprise

A Typical Paper

I suggest you begin by setting up arrangements for
commissioning papers from relevant Ministers. It is important
that you specify the kind of paper you require. It should not
be a departmental brief. You may feel that all papers
should:

- be comprehensive, covering all subjects which are the
responsibility of the department
- specify the objectives of policy and be careful to
separate objectives from the changes recommended to
achieve them
- include a section outlining policy initiatives Ministers
are expected to take before the Election, and the way
they will relate them to explicit Manifesto commitments

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- 3 -

- be submitted by the Thursday preceding the Monday on which they are to be discussed, so that the Policy Unit can comment.

Co-ordination

You need to state explicitly that each Secretary of State who presents a paper should involve others within Government (Junior Ministers) and colleagues within the Parliamentary Party (especially Chairmen and members of back-bench committees). They should also consult groups such as No Turning Back.

Themes for the Manifesto

The themes for the 1979 and 1983 Manifestos were spelt out in terms of five tasks which were then developed into the structure of the Manifesto itself (copies attached). Four tasks were common to each Manifesto, the difference being that incentives and prosperity were a separate task in 1979; and the environment given a specific section in 1983.

1979

Stable Economy
(Trade Unions)

Prosperity

Law and Democracy

1983

Stable Economy
(Jobs)

Law and Democracy

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- 4 -

1979

Family

1983

Family and Responsibility

Environment

Defence and Rôle in the
World

Defence and Rôle in the
World

This general approach is clearly something we should follow, but it needs to be put in the changed circumstances of 1986/7/8.

It might be useful to have more than one item on the Agenda each week, and therefore one might invite the Chancellor of the Duchy to prepare a paepr on The Tasks Facing us.

B.

BRIAN GRIFFITHS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

<u>Date</u>	<u>Sec.of State</u>	<u>Subjects</u>
30 June	Chancellor (Lord Young might attend for this part)	MTFS Tax Privatisation Employment
7 July	Foreign Secretary (Defence Secretary)	NATO Europe Trade South Africa
14 July	Home Secretary (Lord Chancellor, Law Officers)	Police Crime Prevention Penal policy (prisons) Immigration BBC Charities
21 July	Health & Social Security	Health Benefits
28 July	Education & Science & Employment (Training)	Radical options for schools Universities & status of Polytechnics Voluntary sector Science policy Training

CONFIDENTIAL

If it were possible to meet four times in September, the whole field could be covered before the Party Conference:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Sec.of State</u>	<u>Subjects</u>
8 Sept.	Environment MAFF	Local Government Conservation Housing Planning Sport
15 Sept.	Energy Transport	Coal, Electricity, Gas, Oil, Nuclear Power Railways, Buses, Air- lines and Airports, Shipping
22 Sept.	DTI Arts Civil Service	Regional & Industrial Policy; Competition Policy; Art; Civil Service
29 Sept.	Scotland, Wales N.Ireland	

Conservative manifesto 1979

Our five tasks are:

- (1) To restore the health of our economic and social life, by controlling inflation and striking a fair balance between the rights and duties of the trade union movement.
- (2) To restore incentives so that hard work pays, success is rewarded and genuine new jobs are created in an expanding economy.
- (3) To uphold Parliament and the rule of law.
- (4) To support family life, by helping people to become home-owners, raising the standards of their children's education, and concentrating welfare services on the effective support of the old, the sick, the disabled and those who are in real need.
- (5) To strengthen Britain's defences and work with our allies to protect our interests in an increasingly threatening world.

This is the strategy of the next Conservative government.

FOREWORD by The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher

1. OUR FIVE TASKS
2. RESTORING THE BALANCE
 - The control of inflation
 - Better value for money
 - Trade union reform
 1. Picketing
 2. The closed shop
 3. Wider participation
 - Too many strikes
 - Responsible pay bargaining
3. A MORE PROSPEROUS COUNTRY
 - Cutting income tax
 - A property-owning democracy
 - Industry, commerce and jobs
 - Nationalisation
 - Fair trade
 - Small businesses
 - Energy
 - Agriculture
 - Fishing
 - Animal welfare
4. THE RULE OF LAW
 - The fight against crime
 - Deterring the criminal
 - Immigration and race relations
 - The supremacy of Parliament
 - Northern Ireland
5. HELPING THE FAMILY
 - Homes of our own
 - The sale of council houses
 - Reviving the private rented sector
 - Protecting the environment
 - Standards in education
 - Parents' rights and responsibilities
 - The arts
 - Health and welfare
 - Making sense of social security
 - The elderly and the disabled
6. A STRONG BRITAIN IN A FREE WORLD
 - Improving our defences
 - The European Community
 - Africa and the Middle East
 - Rhodesia
 - Trade, aid and the Commonwealth
7. A NEW BEGINNING

THE CONSERVATIVE MANIFESTO 1983

THE CHALLENGE OF OUR TIMES

Foreword by THE RT. HON. MARGARET THATCHER

1. THE ROAD TO RECOVERY

What we have achieved

2. JOBS, PRICES AND UNIONS

Success against inflation

Commonsense in pay bargaining

Trade union reforms

Political levy

Essential services

Involving employees

Unemployment: coping with change

Removing the barriers to jobs

Training

The nationalised industries

3. ENCOURAGING FREE ENTERPRISE

Lower and simpler taxes

More small firms

Help for the new technologies

Regions, enterprise zones and freeports

Planning

Energy

Better transport for industry

Tourism

Farming and fishing

We now have five great tasks for the future. They are:

- to create an economy which provides stable prices, lasting prosperity and employment for our people;
- to build a responsible society which protects the weak but also allows the family and the individual to flourish;
- to uphold Parliamentary democracy and strengthen the rule of law;
- to improve the quality of life in our cities and countryside;
- to defend Britain's freedom, to keep faith with our allies in Europe and in NATO, and to keep the peace with justice.

4. RESPONSIBILITY AND THE FAMILY

Housing: towards a home-owning democracy

Protecting the pensioner

Social security

The National Health Service

Partnership in care

Schools: the pursuit of excellence

Higher education

Sport and recreation

Safety, quality and value for money

Supporting family life

5. LAW, DEMOCRACY AND THE CITIZEN

Backing the crime-fighters

Immigration: firm and fair

The supremacy of Parliament

Northern Ireland

The quality of government

Local government: saving ratepayers' money

6. IMPROVING OUR ENVIRONMENT

Reviving Britain's cities

Public transport

Rural policy and animal welfare

Controlling pollution

Arts and the heritage

7. BRITAIN IN THE WORLD

The protection of peace

Civil defence

Britain in Europe

A trading nation

Our wider role

8. THE RESOLUTE APPROACH