



Sunday afternoon draft

INTRODUCTION

Mr. President, a lot has happened since we last met.

There was, for instance, our General Election victory in June - making it three wins in a row.

It was a historic victory. And I want to thank all those who played their part in that victory: each and every Conservative Party worker in the constituencies; the team at Central Office; and, above all, our Chairman, Norman Tebbit.

And why did we win? Because we know what we stood for. We said what we stood for. And we stuck by what we stood for.

As a party, we are entitled to some celebration. But we know that Government is about service. And at this Conference, we rededicate ourselves to the service of the whole nation.

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FROM IMPOSSIBILITY TO VICTORY

It is twelve years since I first stood on this platform as Leader of the Conservative Party.

We were all a lot younger then. Some of us still feel quite young today. And I am told that the second twelve years is much easier.

One of two things have changed since 1975. In that year we were still labouring under Labour's "social contract". People then said that we couldn't govern the country again.

Remember - we had all been lectured about political impossibility. You couldn't be a Conservative, and sound like a Conservative, and win an Election. And you certainly couldn't win an Election and then act like a Conservative and win another Election. And, what was absolutely beyond argument, was that you couldn't win two Elections and go on behaving like a Conservative, and win yet a third Election. Don't you just harbour the faintest suspicion that somewhere along the line something went wrong with that theory.

I've got a straightforward idea of my own. If you stop talking and acting like a Conservative, that's the moment you'll get beaten. And that's the time you will deserve to get beaten.

.../...

Right up to June 11th, the Labour Party, the Liberals, the SDP and the doubters were busy saying that Conservatism wouldn't work and doesn't work. Oddly enough, since June 12th, they've seen that it does. And so our political opponents are now feverishly packaging their policies to look like ours.

It's music in our ears to discover that no Party now dares to say openly that it will take away from the people what we have given back to the people.

Mr. President, Labour's language may alter, their presentation may be slicker, but it's still Socialism that's on offer.

No one should be taken in.

And the so-called "Alliance"? They are split down the middle between those who understand that times have changed and those who want to bring back the old times. To bring back the sixties. National plans; incomes policies; inflation.

Page 5

I used to wonder sometimes during the Election Campaign
what the alliance leaders meant by consensus politics.

Dr. Owen now ^{knows} does - with six inches of fraternal Steel between
the shoulder blades.

We would welcome to the Conservative Party the serious Social
Democrats who believe in an enterprise economy and a strongly
defended Britian; and the real Liberals who believe in liberty.

Work with us. Share our hopes. Help us build Britain's
future.

There is a lot more to do. There always will be. For times
change.

But already we are a successful party leading a successful
nation.

Page 6

When I am asked what is the secret, it seems to be neither very difficult to understand nor very sophisticated to explain.

What we have tried to do is to re-establish at the heart of politics a handful of simple truths.

FIRST, sound money. No economy can thrive where the currency is debased. We said that no society can be fair or stable where inflation eats up savings, and devalues the pound in everyone's pocket.

That is a battle which never ends. And that's why, year after year, we have to fight to see that we spend no more than we earn.

SECOND, men and women need the incentive that comes from keeping more of what you earn; and with it the security that comes with ownership.

And we have done these things as a positive act of policy.

We know that one of the greatest driving forces in life is the will to work for your family.

As economic growth has taken off, we have cut income tax still further. And until we have provided incentives at every level of earnings, that will remain our order of priorities. People earn more than they did under LABour. And keep more of what they earn. But we haven't reached the end of the road of tax cuts. Not by a long way.

Home ownership has soared. We had to fight the battle in Parliament every inch of the way. Against Labour oppositoin. Against Liberal opposition.

Does the Labour Leader now applaud what has happened?

Is he pleased that so many families have the same right of ownership as he.

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Does the Liberal Leader welcome it? Now that it has happened, now that it has proved so popular, is it the sort of liberal, liberating measure of which the Leader of the Liberal Party approves?

For years we Conservatives had talked about wanting to create a property-owning democracy. Looking back, I wonder whether we did as much in those days as we should have done to achieve that goal. I don't believe anyone will be able, in the years ahead, to make a similar charge against us.

Privatisation continues apace and with it increasing share ownership. And what an amazing example we have given the world. Privatisation features in countries as far apart as Togo and the People's Republic of China. In the United States and in France, in Tanzania and in Senegal, governments are following our example. It is the spring-tide of the people's capitalism which is sweeping away the remnants of marxist socialism.

The third main element in our down to earth philosophy has been the passionate belief that free enterprise and competition are the best engine of prosperity and the best guardian of liberty.

There's nothing very original in that. It's an idea eloquently developed by economists and philosophers over the years; an idea which has, when put into practice, shaped the political institutions of free societies and brought unimagined wealth to countries and continents.

But it's a profound truth which, perhaps because of its very clarity, we forget from time to time, forget at our peril.

With growing enthusiasm and commitment, we have rediscovered this old truth, in Britain and abroad too. We can even hear faint and distant echoes of our arguments in Moscow. What price Socialism in Britain, when Mr. Gorbachev doesn't seem too keen on its results in the Soviet Union.

But look at the results we have achieved - price stability; tax cuts; ownership; enterprise. There is a new spirit of individual initiative.

Our economic revival has now begun to cut unemployment.

Since we met last year, unemployment has fallen at record speed - by over 400,000. We fought unemployment by letting new ideas, new industries and new enterprise have their chance. There are more jobs because our industry and commerce are more successful. Winning markets is the way to create jobs.

Economic success has enabled Britain to play a more prominent and creative role in the world at large. International bankers, the Finance Ministers of other nations, all listen to you a lot harder when they owe you money rather than the other way around.

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We are now the second biggest investor in the world, the model of a stable economy. This is why Nigel Lawson has been able to play a leading role in helping to tackle the world debt crisis. In the years ahead, we shall be in the forefront of the fight to roll back protectionism and to secure free and fair trade. Once more a strong Britain counts in the world.

The old Britain of the 1970s, with its strikes, poor productivity, low investment, winters of discontent, above all its gloom, its pessimism, its sheer defeatism - that Britain is gone.

We now have a new Britain, booming, confident, optimistic, rejoicing in its economic strength - a Britain to which foreigners come:

to admire, to imitate, to invest.

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A Britain whose people are building up their own capital;
are exercising the expanded freedom of choice now open to
them; have a new-found independence. A Britain to be proud
of again.

I have reminded you where the political adventure began.
And I have point^{ed} out where the path has led. Is this where
we pitch our tents? Is this where we dig in? No - our
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ENTERPRISE

Enterprise is essentially a quality of individuals; the urge to make one's mark, to grapple with circumstance in order to achieve personal betterment. It is a central tenet of Christianity that we are all unique individuals, that we can all therefore, in varying degrees, experience the joy of personal expression which the great creative geniuses know.

*Needs
rephrasing*
But we cannot do this if we are treated, as the Socialists treat their citizens, as helpless creatures who need to be assisted and guided from the cradle to the grave by other, allegedly superior, beings.

We did not build the greatest empire the world has ever seen; or pioneer the agricultural and industrial revolutions; or repeatedly deter tyrants who aimed to destroy us; we did not achieve all these things because someone told us to do so.

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It was great individuals - brave explorers, inspired inventors, risk-taking financiers, shrewd businessmen, skilled craftsmen and conscientious workers, who made this country great. And it is such individuals who will do so again and again and again - if only we will create the conditions in which they can operate freely.

Mr. Kinnock seeks to lead the Labour Party to new horizons whilst peering backwards into the gas-lit past; dwelling on dead men's wounds, wallowing in nostalgia for the struggles of the once oppressed working class, glowering at contemporary economic success, even though it be the grandchildren of the Socialist pioneers who are enjoying it.

I revel in people's emancipation; their better houses, better health, better hospitals, better holidays, better education; their increased mobility, their greater choice in food and clothes and domestic appliances, and the rich variety of their entertainment and hobbies; much of which derives from the effectiveness of Conservative policies.

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Page 15

Now, having struck off the shackles of the economic paralysis and bureaucratic constraints which we inherited from the socialists, we must move forward to those sunlit uplands where a people rejoicing in their new found scope for personal betterment recognise the need for the exercise of public spirit.

Our Victorian capitalists have had a bad press from historians who never knew the harsh realities of the world as a market place. Yet how many of the amenities of our towns and cities - the parks and public gardens, the libraries and museums, the sports and cultural facilities - had their origin in the private philanthropy of men who having made good themselves wanted to do good for others?

Today most of us are privileged; we have laid the economic foundations of the society, we have erected the pillars of sound finance and built the walls of essential social security. Now let us crown the edifice with the roof of

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● Page 16

"noblesse", the civilised notion which involves acceptance by
the privileged individual of obligation to the wider
community. Such a roof will not lack a thatcher.

[Sunday afternoon]

← TYPE!

1. P 100520

INTRODUCTION

NOTE new
9 paragraphs
on this
page.

As a party, we are entitled
to celebration. But, as I said of the
night of victory, there can be no
slack. There is work to be done.

① Mr President, a lot has happened since we last met.

② There was, for instance, our General Election victory in

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③ And why did we win? ④ Because we know what we stood for.

We said what we stood for. And we stuck by what we stood
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③ It was a historic victory. And I want to thank all those
who played their part in that victory: each and every
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at Central Office; and, above all, our Chairman, Norman
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One or two things have changed since 1975. In that
year we were still ~~recovering from the fourth Election~~^{labouring under Labour's "social contract"}
~~defeat we suffered in the '60s and '70s.~~^{then} People/said
that we couldn't govern the country again.

page 3 was Stet
.../...

Repeat up to June 11th, [scribble], [scribble]

The Labour Party, the Liberals, the SDP and the doubters
were busy
 have been saying since ~~1979~~ that Conservatism wouldn't *work and*

Oddly enough, since June 12th, they've seen ~~it~~ that it does. And so
 and doesn't work. / *Now we learn that all our political*
now
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And
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 between those who understand that times have changed
 and those who want to bring back the old times. To
 bring back the '60s. National plans; incomes policies;
 inflation.

I used to wonder sometimes during the Election Campaign what the alliance leaders meant by consensus politics. ~~I suppose that's what we've seen them pursuing since the 11th June. If that's consensus, they can keep it.~~ ~~Poor~~ Dr Owen ^{now does —} ~~is just the latest in the line to finish up with six inches of fraternal Steel between the shoulder blades.~~

We would welcome to the Conservative Party the serious Social Democrats who believe in an enterprise economy and a strongly defended Britain; and the real Liberals who believe in liberty. Work with us. Share our ^{hopes.} ~~dreams.~~

Help us build Britain's future. *// There is a lot more to do. There always will be. For time change. // But already we are a European party leading a successful nation.*

// When I am asked what ^{is the secret} ~~we have achieved so far~~, it seems to me neither very difficult to understand nor very sophisticated to explain. What we have tried to do is to re-establish at the heart of politics a handful of simple truths.

FIRST, sound ^{money} ~~finance is vital~~. We said that ^{No} ~~no~~ economy can thrive where the currency is debased. We said that no society can be fair or stable where inflation eats up savings, and ^{devalues} ~~redistributes~~ the pounds in everyone's pocket.

That is a battle which never ends. And that's why, year after year, we have to fight to see that we spend no more than we earn.

SECOND, men and women need:

- i) the incentive that comes from keeping more of what you earn; and *with it*
- ii) the security that ~~goes~~ ^{comes} with ownership.

// And we have done these things as a positive act of ~~policy~~ policy. For we .../...

// ~~Before a person of the will to work for his family and for a better life of all I do the greater driving force in life.~~

// ~~Know that one of the greater driving forces in life is the will to work for your family. ~~So~~~~

~~So as~~ ^{As} economic growth has taken off, we have ~~tried to~~ ^{cut}
^{income} put tax ~~cuts~~ ^{still further.} ahead of ~~more public spending.~~ And until
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 Is he pleased that so many families have the same right
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~~Political slogans don't always coincide with political~~
~~actions.~~ For years ^{we Conservatives had} ~~we've~~ talked about wanting to create a property-owning democracy. Looking back, I wonder whether we did as much in those days as we should have done to achieve that goal. I don't believe anyone will be able, in the years ahead, to make a similar charge against us.

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sweeping away the remnants of marxist socialism.

*// The third main element in our doctrine is economic philosophy
has been the paramount belief that free enterprise and competition*

~~THIRD, encouraging free enterprise is vital if we want~~

~~and so best ~~engine~~ engine of prosperity and we
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~~Thank heavens,~~ ^{revived} Our economic ~~rejuvenation~~ ^{now} has begun to cut ~~into the~~ unemployment figures. ^{we met last year,} Since ~~we last met,~~ unemployment has fallen at record speed - by over 400,000 ~~in the last year.~~ We fought unemployment by letting new ideas, ^{and new enterprise} and new industries have their chance. There are more jobs because our industry ^{and commerce are} ~~is~~ more successful. Winning markets is the way to creating ^e ~~ing~~ jobs.

Economic success has enabled ^{Britain} us to play a more prominent and creative role in the world at large, ~~arguing for the same approach to the world's economic problems that has helped us tackle our own.~~ International bankers, the Finance Ministers of other nations, all listen to you a lot harder when they owe you money rather than the other way around. We are now the second biggest investor in the world, the model of a stable economy. This is why Nigel Lawson has been able to play a leading role in helping to tackle the world debt crisis. In the years ahead, we shall be in the ^{forefront} ~~vanguard~~ of the fight to roll back protectionism and to secure ^{and fair} free trade. ~~We shall be fighting for the steady reform of the food and budgetary policies of the European Community. A~~

^{Once more a} strong Britain counts ~~again~~ in the world.

I sometimes wish some of our commentators also kept up to date with their ideas, and especially their ideas about Britain. They should recognise, as the world outside is doing, that Britain is a changed nation these days.

The old Britain of the 1970s, with its ~~endless~~ strikes, poor productivity, low investment, winters of discontent, above all its gloom, its pessimism, its sheer defeatism - that Britain is gone ~~for ever~~.

We now have a new Britain, booming, confident, optimistic, rejoicing in its economic strength - a Britain to which foreigners come ^{new line} to admire, to imitate, to invest ~~to admire, to imitate, to invest~~.

A Britain whose people ^{are building up their own capital;} ~~own their own homes,~~ are acquiring a stake in their economy, are exercising the expanded freedom of choice now open to them; We now have A Britain to be proud of again.

Have a new-found independence.

I have reminded you where the political adventure began.

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for enterprise

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any promises or undertakings from the people who so cynically betrayed us by ganging up with Hitler in 1940, who still show by manifestations like the Berlin Wall that they have moral standards totally alien to our own, and which involve staking our future on their good faith. When Denis Healey and Hugh Gaitskell visited Russia in August 1959 Gaitskell asked Krushev if unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain would find any response from them. In addressing the party Krushev said "We do not want our grandchildren to call us fools"¹. Gaitskell returned from Moscow and in a memorandum to the Shadow Cabinet set out a clear case for a Labour defence policy in which, pending multilateral disarmament, Labour was committed to effective defence through a NATO Alliance with adequate arms, nuclear and conventional, to deter or resist Soviet attack. That was the only sensible defence policy then; it is the only sensible defence policy now, and only idiots or dreamers or fellow-travellers could think otherwise.

ENTERPRISE

Enterprise is essentially a quality of individuals; the urge to make one's mark, to grapple with circumstance in order to achieve personal betterment. It is a central tenet of Christianity that we are all unique individuals, that we can all therefore, in varying degrees, experience the joy of personal expression which the great creative geniuses know.

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we will create the conditions in which they can operate freely.

Mr. Kinnock seeks to lead the Labour Party to new horizons whilst peering backwards into the gas-lit past; dwelling on dead men's wounds, wallowing in nostalgia for the struggles of the once oppressed working class, glowering at contemporary economic success, even though it be the grandchildren of the Socialist pioneers who are enjoying it.

I revel in ~~modern working class~~^{people's} emancipation; their better houses, better health, better hospitals, better holidays, better education; their increased mobility, their greater choice in food and clothes and domestic appliances, and the rich variety of their entertainment and hobbies; much of which derives from the effectiveness of Conservative policies.

Now, having struck off the shackles of the economic paralysis and bureaucratic constraints which we inherited from the socialists, we must move forward to those sunlit uplands where a people rejoicing in their new found scope for personal betterment recognise the need for the exercise of public spirit. // Our Victorian capitalists have had a bad press from historians who never knew the harsh realities of the world as a market place, yet how many of the amenities of our towns and cities - the parks and public gardens, the libraries and museums, the sports and cultural facilities - had their origin in the private philanthropy of men who having made good themselves wanted to do good for others? // Today most of us are privileged; we have laid the economic foundations of the society, we have erected the pillars of sound finance and built the walls of essential social security. Now let us crown the edifice with the roof of "noblesse", the civilised notion which involves acceptance by the privileged individual of obligation to the wider community. Such a roof will not lack a thatcher.

Let us all here today rededicate ourselves to more public service. Let us go forth from this place and tell the good