

INTRODUCTION

MR. PRESIDENT, THIS HAS BEEN A SUBERB PARTY CONFERENCE.

THERE HAS BEEN SERIOUS DEBATE ABOUT SERIOUS  
ISSUES AND WE HAVE KEPT OUR EYES FIRMLY ON  
THE FUTURE.

ALL OF US HAVE HEARD THE MARVELLOUS SPEECHES FROM THE FLOOR.

IN THESE PEOPLE WE HAVE A GREAT RESERVOIR OF  
TALENT.

WE CAN SEE THE FUTURE OF OUR PARTY STRETCHING  
AHEAD.

FOR I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT ONE DAY THESE PEOPLE  
WILL BE UP HERE AS MINISTERS THEMSELVES ANSWERING  
THE DEBATES.

AND DURING OUR SESSIONS WE COULD NOT HAVE WISHED FOR A  
BETTER CHAIRMAN THAN DAME JOAN SECCOMBE.

WE COME TO THIS CONFERENCE AS A UNITED PARTY.

WE HAVE SHOWN THE NATION THAT OUR GREAT  
REFORMS FOR THE THIRD TERM - MOST NOTABLY  
FOR THE COMMUNITY CHARGE AND EDUCATION IN  
OUR SCHOOLS - HAVE THE BACKING OF THE WHOLE  
PARTY.

WE HAVE HEARD MINISTER AFTER MINISTER SETTING OUT THEIR

PROPOSALS FOR ACTION FOR A THIRD TERM.

I COUNT MYSELF LUCKY - AND THE COUNTRY

IS INDEED FORTUNATE - THAT WE HAVE IN GOVERNMENT

SUCH A MAGNIFICENT TEAM OF MINISTERS:

AN ASSET THAT NO OTHER PARTY CAN BEGIN TO

TOUCH.

MR. PRESIDENT, A LOT HAS HAPPENED SINCE WE LAST MET,

THERE WAS, FOR INSTANCE, OUR ~~GENERAL~~ ELECTION VICTORY

IN JUNE.

THEY TELL ME THAT MAKES IT THREE WINS IN A

ROW. — *Just like* ↗

~~LIKE~~ LORD LIVERPOOL.

HE WAS PRIME MINISTER FOR FIFTEEN YEARS.

IT'S RATHER ENCOURAGING.

IT WAS AN HISTORIC VICTORY.

AND I WANT TO THANK ALL THOSE WHO PLAYED THEIR PART, <sup>7.7 50</sup> ~~THEIR~~ *much*

ABOVE ALL, OUR CHAIRMAN, NORMAN TEBBIT.

NORMAN AND MARGARET HOLD, AND WILL ALWAYS HOLD,

A UNIQUE PLACE IN OUR ESTEEM AND AFFECTION.

ON THE 11TH JUNE, WE EVEN WON SOME NINE SEATS WE FAILED TO GAIN IN 1983.

AND WE WON BACK THREE WE LOST AT BY-ELECTIONS.

*To the victors  
we say CONGRATULATIONS  
To our former colleagues  
who lost - we  
say COME BACK  
SOON.*

~~our warmest congratulations to the victors~~  
~~their congratulations~~

AND WHY DID WE WIN?

~~FOR A LOT OF REASONS.~~

~~BUT MOST OF ALL~~ BECAUSE WE KNEW WHAT WE STOOD  
FOR.

WE SAID WHAT WE STOOD FOR.

AND WE STUCK ~~BY~~ <sup>BY</sup> WHAT WE STOOD FOR.

SINCE THE ELECTION, IT SOMETIMES SEEMS WE ARE THE ONLY  
PARTY THAT DOES.

FROM IMPOSSIBILITY TO VICTORY

MR. PRESIDENT, TWELVE YEARS AGO, I FIRST STOOD ON  
THIS PLATFORM AS LEADER OF THE CONSERVATIVE  
PARTY.

ONE OR TWO THINGS HAVE CHANGED SINCE 1975.

IN THAT YEAR WE WERE STILL ~~TOILING~~<sup>GOVERNING</sup> UNDER  
LABOUR'S SO-CALLED "SOCIAL CONTRACT",  
AND PEOPLE SAID WE COULDN'T GOVERN THE  
COUNTRY AGAIN.

REMEMBER HOW WE HAD ALL BEEN LECTURED ABOUT POLITICAL  
IMPOSSIBILITY?

YOU COULDN'T BE A CONSERVATIVE, AND SOUND LIKE  
A CONSERVATIVE, AND WIN AN ELECTION - THEY SAID.  
AND YOU CERTAINLY COULDN'T WIN AN ELECTION  
AND THEN ACT LIKE A CONSERVATIVE AND WIN  
ANOTHER ELECTION.

AND - THIS WAS ABSOLUTELY BEYOND ARGUMENT -  
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?

RIGHT UP TO 11TH JUNE, THE LABOUR PARTY, THE LIBERALS, THE  
SDP AND ~~THE DOUBTERS~~ WERE BUSY SAYING THAT  
CONSERVATISM DOESN'T WORK.  
ODDLY ENOUGH, SINCE 12TH JUNE, THEY'VE BEEN  
SAYING THAT IT DOES.  
AND SO OUR POLITICAL OPPONENTS ARE NOW FEVERISHLY  
PACKAGING THEIR POLICIES TO LOOK LIKE OURS.

IT'S INTERESTING 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 <sup>UNDOUBTLESS</sup> IT'S STILL  
 SOCIALISM THAT'S ON OFFER.

FAR BE IT FROM ME TO DERIDE THE SINNERS THAT  
 REPENTETH.

THE TROUBLE WITH LABOUR IS THEY WANT THE BENEFIT  
 OF REPENTANCE WITHOUT RENOUNCING THE ORIGINAL SIN.

<sup>but</sup> NO-ONE ~~SHOULD~~ BE TAKEN IN. <sup>to</sup>

AND THE SO-CALLED "ALLIANCE"?

I USED TO WONDER DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN WHAT THE  
 ALLIANCE LEADERS MEANT BY CONSENSUS POLITICS.  
 I HAVE A FEELING, IF HE DIDN'T KNOW IT BEFORE  
 DR OWEN KNOWS NOW: SIX INCHES OF FRATERNAL STEEL  
 BETWEEN THE SHOULDER BLADES.

MR. PRESIDENT, WE ARE A SUCCESSFUL PARTY LEADING A  
SUCCESSFUL NATION.

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 DONE IS TO RE-ESTABLISH AT THE  
HEART OF POLITICS A HANDFUL OF SIMPLE TRUTHS.

FIRST, NO ECONOMY CAN THRIVE IF THE GOVERNMENT  
DEBASES THE COINAGE.

NO SOCIETY CAN BE FAIR OR STABLE WHEN INFLATION  
EATS UP SAVINGS, AND DEVALUES THE POUND IN  
EVERYONE'S POCKET.

INFLATION THREATENS DEMOCRACY ITSELF, WE HAVE ALWAYS

PUT ITS DEFEAT AT THE TOP OF OUR AGENDA.

THAT IS A BATTLE WHICH NEVER ENDS.

IT MEANS KEEPING YOUR BUDGET ON A SOUND

FINANCIAL FOOTING.

NOT JUST ONE YEAR, BUT EVERY YEAR.

THAT'S WHY WE NEED NIGEL LAWSON.

SECOND, MEN AND WOMEN NEED THE INCENTIVE THAT COMES FROM

KEEPING MORE OF WHAT THEY EARN.

NO-ONE CAN SAY THAT PEOPLE AREN'T INTERESTED

IN THEIR TAKE-HOME PAY.

IF THAT WERE TRUE, A LOT OF TRADE UNION LEADERS

WOULD BE OUT OF A JOB.

AS ECONOMIC GROWTH HAS TAKEN OFF, WE'VE CUT INCOME

TAX.

AND THERE'S MORE TO DO AS SOON AS WE

PRUDENTLY CAN.

~~WE KNOW THAT ONE OF THE GREATEST DRIVING FORCES~~

~~IN LIFE IS THE WILL TO WORK FOR YOUR~~

~~FAMILY.~~

~~AND THAT'S HONOURABLE AND GOOD.~~

THIRD, AS PEOPLE EARN MORE, THEY WANT TO OWN

MORE.

THEY VALUE THE SECURITY WHICH COMES

FROM OWNERSHIP - WHETHER OF SHARES

OR HOMES.

soon

~~MATVILL~~ 136  
 THERE ~~ARE NOW~~ MORE SHAREHOLDERS THAN THERE ~~ARE~~ TRADE  
 UNIONISTS.

NOT ALL TRADE UNIONISTS ARE SHAREHOLDERS -  
YET.

BUT I HOPE THAT BEFORE LONG THEY WILL BE.

~~AND~~ HOME OWNERSHIP <sup>600</sup> HAS SOARED.

AND TO EXTEND THAT RIGHT TO COUNCIL TENANTS,  
 WE HAD TO FIGHT THE BATTLE IN PARLIAMENT EVERY  
 INCH OF THE WAY.

AGAINST LABOUR OPPOSITION.

AGAINST LIBERAL OPPOSITION.

DOES THE LABOUR LEADER NOW APPLAUD WHAT HAS HAPPENED?

DOES THE LIBERAL LEADER WELCOME IT?

SURELY, NOW THAT IT'S PROVED SO POPULAR, IT MUST  
 BE THE SORT OF LIBERATING MEASURE OF WHICH EVEN  
 HE WOULD APPROVE.

FOR YEARS WE CONSERVATIVES HAD TALKED ABOUT WANTING

TO CREATE A PROPERTY-OWNING DEMOCRACY.

LOOKING BACK, I WONDER WHETHER WE DID AS MUCH  
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 THIS  
GOVERNMENT.

INDEED, EXTENDING OWNERSHIP HAS BEEN ONE OF ~~OUR~~  
*THE* FINEST ACHIEVEMENTS. *of which I am most*  
*proud.*

FOURTH, IT IS OUR PASSIONATE BELIEF THAT FREE ENTERPRISE  
AND COMPETITION ARE THE ENGINES OF PROSPERITY AND  
THE GUARDIANS OF LIBERTY.

THESE IDEAS HAVE SHAPED FREE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND BROUGHT  
UNIMAGINED WEALTH TO COUNTRIES AND CONTINENTS.

~~WE EVEN HEAR FAINT AND DISTANT ECHOES OF OUR ARGUMENTS~~

IN MOSCOW.

*ew*  
WHAT PRICE SOCIALISM IN BRITAIN, WHEN MR  
GORBACHEV DOESN'T SEEM TOO KEEN ON ITS RESULTS  
IN THE SOVIET UNION!

*Just*

~~AND~~ LOOK AT WHAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED - LOW INFLATION;

TAX CUTS; WIDER OWNERSHIP; A REVIVAL OF ENTERPRISE;

AND OVER THE LAST YEAR, UNEMPLOYMENT HAS  
FALLEN AT RECORD SPEED - BY <sup>nearly</sup> ~~OVER~~ 400,000.

OUR ECONOMIC SUCCESS HAS ENABLED BRITAIN TO PLAY A MORE  
PROMINENT ROLE IN THE WORLD AT LARGE.

WE ARE NOW THE SECOND BIGGEST INVESTOR IN THE WORLD, AND THE  
*VERY* 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.

INTERNATIONAL BANKERS, THE FINANCE MINISTERS OF  
OTHER NATIONS; THEY ALL LISTEN TO YOU A LOT HARDER  
WHEN THEY OWE YOU MONEY RATHER THAN THE OTHER WAY  
~~A~~ AROUND.

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, CONFIDENT, OPTIMISTIC, SURE  
OF ITS ECONOMIC STRENGTH - A BRITAIN TO WHICH  
FOREIGNERS COME TO ADMIRE, TO IMITATE,  
TO INVEST.

I HAVE REMINDED YOU WHERE THE GREAT POLITICAL ADVENTURE  
BEGAN AND WHERE IT HAS LED.  
BUT IS THIS WHERE WE PITCH OUR TENTS?  
IS THIS WHERE WE DIG IN?

NO - OUR THIRD ELECTION VICTORY WAS  
ONLY A STAGING POST ON A MUCH LONGER  
JOURNEY.

I KNOW WITH EVERY FIBRE OF MY BEING THAT IT  
WOULD BE FATAL FOR US / JUST TO STAND  
WHERE WE ARE.

WHAT WOULD BE OUR SLOGAN FOR THE  
1990's? *if we did?*

WOULD "CONSOLIDATE" BE THE WORD THAT WE STITCH ON  
OUR BANNERS?

WHOSE BLOOD WOULD RUN FASTER AT THE PROSPECT  
OF FIVE YEARS OF CONSOLIDATION?

*SECURE*  
OF COURSE, WE ~~HOLD ON TO~~ WHAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED.

BUT WE MOVE ON - APPLYING OUR PRINCIPLES  
AND BELIEFS TO EVEN MORE CHALLENGING  
GROUND.

FOR OUR PURPOSE AS CONSERVATIVES IS TO EXTEND  
OPPORTUNITY AND CHOICE TO THOSE WHO SO FAR  
HAVE BEEN DENIED THEM.

EDUCATION

*That's why*

~~I~~ BELIEVE OUR MOST IMPORTANT TASK IN THIS

PARLIAMENT IS TO RAISE THE QUALITY

OF EDUCATION IN OUR SCHOOLS.

<sup>it's</sup>  
~~THAT IS~~ IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST,

<sup>it's</sup>  
AND ~~IT IS~~ IN THE INDIVIDUAL INTEREST OF  
EVERY PARENT AND ABOVE ALL EVERY CHILD.

I WANT EDUCATION TO BE PART

OF THE ANSWER TO BRITAIN'S PROBLEMS, NOT

ONE OF THE CAUSES.

TO COMPETE MORE SUCCESSFULLY IN TOMORROW'S WORLD /

- WITH JAPAN, GERMANY, THE UNITED STATES

AND THE COUNTRIES OF THE PACIFIC / - WE NEED

WELL-EDUCATED, WELL-TRAINED, CREATIVE YOUNG PEOPLE.

FEW THINGS ARE MORE ALARMING FOR THE FUTURE OF

THIS COUNTRY THAN THE COMPARISONS OF

MATHEMATICAL ATTAINMENT AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE

IN BRITAIN AND THOSE ABROAD.

IF EDUCATION IS BACKWARD TODAY, NATIONAL

PERFORMANCE WILL BE BACKWARD TOMORROW.

YET IT IS THE PLIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL BOYS AND GIRLS

WHICH WORRIES ME MOST.

TOO OFTEN, OUR CHILDREN DON'T GET THE EDUCATION

THEY NEED / - THE EDUCATION THEY DESERVE.

AND IN THE INNER CITIES - WHERE YOUNGSTERS MUST  
HAVE A DECENT EDUCATION IF THEY ARE TO ESCAPE  
INTO A BETTER FUTURE - THAT OPPORTUNITY IS  
ALL TOO OFTEN SNATCHED FROM THEM BY HARD LEFT  
EDUCATION AUTHORITIES AND EXTREMIST TEACHERS.

~~THEY DENY THEIR PUPILS A PROPER TRAINING FOR LIFE~~  
~~AND WORK.~~

CHILDREN WHO NEED TO BE ABLE TO COUNT AND MULTIPLY  
AND OPERATE A COMPUTER KEYBOARD / ARE LEARNING  
ANTI-RACIST MATHEMATICS, / WHATEVER THAT MAY  
BE.

CHILDREN WHO NEED TO BE ABLE TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES  
IN CLEAR ENGLISH ARE BEING TAUGHT POLITICAL  
SLOGANS.

CHILDREN WHO NEED TO BE TAUGHT TO RESPECT . . . TRADITIONAL  
MORAL VALUES ARE BEING TAUGHT THEIR  
INALIENABLE RIGHT TO BE GAY.

CHILDREN WHO NEED ENCOURAGEMENT ARE BEING TAUGHT THAT  
OUR SOCIETY OFFERS THEM NO FUTURE.

THOSE CHILDREN ARE BEING CHEATED OF A SOUND START  
IN LIFE - YES, CHEATED.

OF COURSE, ACROSS THE WHOLE OF THE COUNTRY, THERE ARE  
PLENTY OF EXCELLENT TEACHERS AND SUCCESSFUL  
SCHOOLS.

EVERY GOOD SCHOOL, AND EVERY GOOD  
TEACHER, IS A REMINDER OF WHAT TOO MANY  
YOUNG PEOPLE ARE DENIED.

I BELIEVE THAT GOVERNMENT MUST TAKE THE PRIMARY  
RESPONSIBILITY FOR SETTING STANDARDS FOR THE  
EDUCATION OF OUR CHILDREN.

THAT IS WHY WE ARE ESTABLISHING A NATIONAL  
~~CORE~~ CURRICULUM, *for basic subjects.*

IT IS VITAL THAT ALL CHILDREN MASTER ESSENTIAL

SKILLS:

READING, WRITING, SPELLING, GRAMMAR, ARITHMETIC;

*and* THAT THEY UNDERSTAND BASIC SCIENCE AND  
TECHNOLOGY.

FOR GOOD TEACHERS THIS WILL PROVIDE A FLOOR ON  
WHICH THEY CAN BUILD/ <sup>WITH</sup> THEIR OWN CREATIVE SKILL AND  
PROFESSIONALISM.

BUT THE KEY TO RAISING STANDARDS IS TO ENLIST THE  
SUPPORT OF PARENTS.

~~WE ARE NOW ABOUT TO TAKE A DRAMATIC STEP FORWARD IN  
EXTENDING CHOICE IN EDUCATION.~~

THE LEFT - HARD, SOFT AND IN-BETWEEN - HATE THE IDEA  
THAT PEOPLE SHOULD BE ABLE TO CHOOSE.  
IN PARTICULAR, THEY HATE THE IDEA THAT  
PARENTS SHOULD BE ABLE TO CHOOSE THEIR  
CHILDREN'S EDUCATION.

THIS PARTY BELIEVES IN PARENTAL CHOICE.

WE ARE NOW ABOUT TO TAKE TWO DRAMATIC STEPS FORWARD IN  
EXTENDING CHOICE IN EDUCATION.

FIRST, WE WILL ALLOW POPULAR SCHOOLS TO TAKE IN AS MANY  
CHILDREN AS SPACE WILL ALLOW.

THIS WILL STOP LOCAL AUTHORITIES FROM  
PUTTING ARTIFICIALLY LOW LIMITS ON ENTRY TO GOOD  
SCHOOLS.

AND SECOND, WE WILL <sup>GIVE</sup> ~~ALLOW~~ PARENTS AND GOVERNORS <sup>THE RIGHT</sup> ~~TO~~ TAKE  
THEIR CHILDREN'S SCHOOL OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE  
LOCAL AUTHORITY / INTO THE HANDS OF THEIR OWN  
GOVERNING BODY.

<sup>FUNDED BY THE STATE</sup>  
THIS WILL CREATE A NEW KIND OF SCHOOL, / <sup>ALONGSIDE THE</sup>  
PRESENT STATE SCHOOLS AND THE INDEPENDENT / <sup>PRIVATE</sup> SCHOOLS.

THESE WILL BE

I ~~CALL THEM~~ INDEPENDENT STATE SCHOOLS,  
THEY WILL BRING TO MANY CHILDREN A BETTER EDUCATION,  
BECAUSE THE SCHOOL WILL BE IN THE HANDS OF  
THOSE WHO CARE MOST FOR IT AND ITS FUTURE.

AT ALL

THERE IS NO REASON ~~ON EARTH~~ WHY LOCAL AUTHORITIES SHOULD  
HAVE A MONOPOLY OF FREE EDUCATION.

WHAT PRINCIPLE SUGGESTS THIS IS RIGHT?

WHAT RECENT EXPERIENCE OR PRACTICE SUGGESTS

<sup>LEVEN</sup>  
IT IS SENSIBLE?

~~Mr. President~~

IN THESE WAYS, WE ARE FUTHERING OUR CONSERVATIVE  
TRADITION OF EXTENDING OPPORTUNITY WIDER,  
NOWHERE IS THIS POLICY MORE NEEDED THAN IN WHAT  
HAVE BECOME KNOWN AS THE "INNER CITIES".

MR. PRESIDENT this policy would  
be of the greatest advantage to those schools  
where the children are already satisfied with their  
children's education / but so schools where the parents  
are dissatisfied and where the parents  
could do better.

INNER CITIES

~~THE PHRASE "INNER CITIES" IS A CONVENIENT SHORTHAND FOR  
A HOST OF PROBLEMS.~~

MR. PRESIDENT, CITIES HAVE RISEN AND DECLINED THROUGHOUT

HISTORY.

RISEN BY RESPONDING TO THE OPPORTUNITIES,

MARKETS, AND THE TECHNOLOGIES OF THEIR DAY,

~~DECLINED WHEN TRADE ROUTES HAVE PASSED THEM BY, OR~~

WHEN THEY CLUNG TO OLD, OUTDATED WAYS.

*and new markets passed them by -*

THAT IS WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO MANY OF OUR

GREAT CITIES.

*OR*  
*so relevant*  
*after*  
THIS DECLINE WAS AGGRAVATED BY THE WORST FORM OF POST-WAR

TOWN PLANNING - A SORT OF SOCIAL VANDALISM,  
CARRIED OUT WITH THE BEST OF INTENTIONS BUT THE  
WORST OF RESULTS.

ALL TOO OFTEN, THE PLANNERS CUT THE HEART OUT OF OUR  
CITIES. THEY SWEEP ASIDE THE FAMILIAR CITY  
CENTRES THAT HAD GROWN UP OVER CENTURIES, ~~AND~~  
*They* REPLACED THEM WITH A WEDGE OF TOWER BLOCKS  
AND LINKING EXPRESSWAYS, INTERSPERSED WITH  
TOKEN PATCHES OF GRASS AND A FEW WINDSWEPT  
PIAZZAS, WHERE PEDESTRIANS FEAR TO TREAD.

THE PLANNERS DIDN'T THINK: "ARE WE BREAKING THE PATTERN  
OF PEOPLE'S LIVES, CUTTING THEM OFF FROM THEIR  
FRIENDS, THEIR NEIGHBOURS?"

THEY DIDN'T WONDER: "ARE WE UPROOTING WHOLE  
COMMUNITIES?"

THEY DIDN'T ASK: "CAN CHILDREN STILL PLAY SAFELY IN THE  
STREET?"

THEY DIDN'T CONSIDER ANY OF THESE THINGS.

NOR DID THEY CONSULT THE POLICE ABOUT HOW TO  
DESIGN AN ESTATE IN WHICH PEOPLE COULD WALK  
SAFE FROM MUGGERS AND VANDALS.

THEY SIMPLY SET THE MUNICIPAL BULLDOZER TO WORK.

WHAT FOLLY, WHAT INCREDIBLE FOLLY,

AND THE PEOPLE WHO DIDN'T FIT INTO THIS URBAN UTOPIA?

~~Not for~~  
press release

~~[THEY - WHAT WAS THE WORD THEY USED?]~~

THEY <sup>despatched</sup> "DECANTED" THEM ~~IN~~ INTO OUTLYING ESTATES WITHOUT

~~A~~ PUBS OR CORNER SHOPS OR ANYWHERE TO GO,

THE SCHEMES WON ANY NUMBER OF ARCHITECTURAL AWARDS. BUT

THEY WERE A NIGHTMARE FOR THE PEOPLE.

THEY SNUFFED OUT ANY SPARK OF LOCAL ENTERPRISE.

THEY MADE PEOPLE ENTIRELY DEPENDENT ON THE LOCAL

AUTHORITIES AND THE SERVICES THEY CHOSE TO

PROVIDE.

AS IF THAT WERE NOT ENOUGH, SOME OF OUR CITIES HAVE

ALSO BEEN DOMINATED BY LABOUR COUNCILS

IMPLACABLY HOSTILE TO ENTERPRISE,

WHEN INDUSTRIES <sup>LEFT</sup> ~~WENT~~, THEY PILED HIGHER RATES

ON THOSE THAT REMAINED,

WHEN OLD MARKETS VANISHED, THEY SOUGHT NOT

NEW MARKETS BUT NEW SUBSIDIES,

THEY CAPITALISED NOT ON THEIR STRENGTHS BUT ON THEIR

WEAKNESSES,

THEY ACCELERATED DECLINE,

DYING INDUSTRIES, SOULLESS PLANNING, MUNICIPAL

SOCIALISM - THESE DEPRIVED THE PEOPLE OF

THE MOST PRECIOUS THINGS IN LIFE:

HOPE, / CONFIDENCE AND BELIEF IN THEMSELVES.

THAT SAPPING OF THE SPIRIT / IS AT THE VERY HEART OF  
URBAN DECAY.

MR. PRESIDENT, TO GIVE BACK HEART TO OUR CITIES, WE MUST

GIVE BACK HOPE TO THE PEOPLE.

AND IT'S BEGINNING TO HAPPEN.

WHY? BECAUSE TODAY BRITAIN HAS A STRONG AND GROWING ECONOMY.

RECOVERY HAS COME FASTER IN SOME PARTS OF THE COUNTRY THAN OTHERS.

BUT NOW IT IS TAKING ROOT IN OUR MOST DEPRESSED URBAN LANDSCAPES.

WE ALL APPLAUD THE ORGANISATION "BUSINESS IN THE COMMUNITY" AND THE LEAD GIVEN BY ALMOST 300 OF THEIR MEMBERS.

FIRMS THAT HAVE COME TOGETHER TO ASSIST IN THE REVIVAL OF THE URBAN COMMUNITIES FROM WHICH MANY OF THEM SPRANG.

Tran

For we need ~~had~~ many of the  
~~business in particular~~  
activities of our towns & cities - parks & public gardens  
libraries, art galleries, churches & schools ~~and~~ had their  
origin in the philanthropy of men who having made  
good their lives wanted to do good for others.  
And that impulse that was long ago  
to the urban community we must collect today,

*D. H. Lawrence*  
 I HAVE SEEN THE START OF THE RECOVERY ~~FOR~~ MYSELF:-

ON TEESIDE, IN GATESHEAD, IN WOLVERHAMPTON  
 AND THE WEST MIDLANDS, AND IN GLASGOW, WHICH  
 IS UNDERGOING A REMARKABLE REVIVAL.

THANKS LARGELY TO THE WORK OF GEORGE YOUNGER  
 AND MALCOLM RIFKIND.

I SHALL NEVER FORGET ONE GLASWEGIAN I MET ON MY VISIT THERE.

"HOW D'YOU DO" I SAID, "<sup>My name's</sup> I'M MARGARET HATCHER".

"<sup>Mine's</sup> WELL, ~~I'M~~ WINSTON CHURCHILL" HE REPLIED.

AND ASTONISHINGLY ENOUGH, <sup>it</sup> HE WAS, AND PRODUCED  
 A DOCUMENT TO PROVE IT.

"WINSTON HARRY CHURCHILL". !

MR. PRESIDENT

*Recovery*

/ WE ARE HELPING THE PROCESS OF RECORDS IN THESE AND

OTHER PLACES WITH A BATTERY OF SPECIAL MEASURES  
AND PROGRAMMES TO ~~TURN DERELICTION INTO~~  
~~DEVELOPMENT - GRANTS~~ TO CLEAR DERELICT LAND;  
TO RENOVATE RUN-DOWN COUNCIL ESTATES; TO  
REGENERATE CITY CENTRES.

*S. Lythall -  
new draft*

BUT BY THEMSELVES THESE MEASURES ARE NOT ENOUGH.

WE MUST ALSO GIVE ~~THE~~ PEOPLE IN THE INNER  
CITIES BOTH THE OPPORTUNITY TO IMPROVE  
THEIR OWN LIVES / AND THE BELIEF THAT THEY CAN DO  
IT.

THE MAJOR REFORMS IN OUR PROGRAMME ARE OF COURSE  
DESIGNED FOR THE WHOLE COUNTRY.

BUT THEY WILL BE OF PARTICULAR BENEFIT TO THE  
INNER CITIES.

WE WILL FREE TENANTS FROM THEIR DEPENDENCE ON COUNCIL

LANDLORDS.

WE WILL FREE PARENTS TO CHOOSE THE SCHOOLS

THEY WANT FOR THEIR CHILDREN.

WE WILL FREE BUSINESSES IN THE URBAN

DEVELOPMENT AREAS FROM IRKSOME PLANNING

RESTRICTIONS AND CONTROLS.

*Our*  
AND WITH THE ~~INTRODUCTION OF OUR~~ RATE REFORM LEGISLATION,

~~NO LONGER~~ WILL SOCIALIST COUNCILS <sup>*NO LONGER*</sup> ~~BE FREE TO~~ <sup>*APPLY*</sup>

DRIVE OUT SMALL BUSINESSES AND DESTROY EMPLOYMENT

BY IMPOSING SKY-HIGH RATES.

ABOVE ALL, THE COMMUNITY CHARGE WILL MAKE LOCAL COUNCILS  
 FAR MORE ACCOUNTABLE TO <sup>all</sup> THEIR VOTERS.

TAKEN TOGETHER, THESE MEASURES WILL GREATLY REDUCE THE POWER  
 OF LOCAL COUNCILS <sup>the</sup> OVER TENANTS, PARENTS, PUPILS  
 AND BUSINESSES ~~and greatly increase the opportunities open to~~ <sup>to them</sup>

IT IS "AN IRREVERSIBLE SHIFT OF POWER TO WORKING PEOPLE  
 AND THEIR FAMILIES".

MR. PRESIDENT, THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF SOME INNER CITIES  
 ARE INDEED DEEP-SEATED AND QUICK AND EASY  
 SOLUTIONS ARE NOT POSSIBLE.

BUT THE PHILOSOPHY OF ENTERPRISE AND OPPORTUNITY,

WHICH HAS PUT THE SPARK BACK INTO OUR NATIONAL  
ECONOMY, IS THE WAY TO REJUVENATE OUR CITIES

AND RESTORE THEIR CONFIDENCE AND PRIDE.

BUT OUR GREATEST CONCERN, IN INNER CITIES AND ELSEWHERE,  
IS TO REVERSE THE TIDE OF CRIME WHICH DISFIGURES  
OUR LIVES.

ON WEDNESDAY, <sup>we</sup> ~~OUR~~ CONFERENCE DEBATED CRIME WITH A  
DEPTH OF CONCERN THAT REFLECTS THE FEELINGS  
OF EVERY DECENT PERSON IN THE COUNTRY.

CRIME INVADES HOMES; IT BREAKS HEARTS; IT DRAGS DOWN  
NEIGHBOURHOODS; IT SPREADS FEAR.

~~THAT'S WHY~~ THE GOVERNMENT IS PLAYING ITS FULL PART IN THE  
FIGHT AGAINST CRIME.

WE HAVE STRENGTHENED THE POLICE.

WE HAVE INTRODUCED TOUGHER SENTENCES.

VIOLENT CRIME CONCERNS US ABOVE ALL. 

IT'S NOT JUST THAT VIOLENT CRIME IS WORSE THAN  
OTHER CRIME.

IT'S MUCH WORSE.

AND THAT'S WHY WE ARE NOW TAKING STILL TOUGHER ACTION  
AGAINST KNIVES AND AGAINST GUNS.

EVEN SO THE FEELING PERSISTS IN OUR COUNTRY THAT SOME  
OF THE SENTENCES PASSED BY THE COURTS HAVE NOT  
MEASURED UP TO THE ENORMITY OF THE CRIME.

DOUGLAS HURD ANNOUNCED THIS WEEK, WE SHALL THEREFORE BE INTRODUCING LEGISLATION TO PROVIDE FOR AN APPEAL AGAINST SENTENCES WHICH ARE TOO LENIENT. IT WILL BE THE SECOND TIME <sup>the</sup> ~~THE~~ GOVERNMENT HAS BROUGHT A MEASURE OF THIS KIND BEFORE PARLIAMENT. I HOPE THAT THIS TIME IT WILL RECEIVE A SPEEDY PASSAGE ON TO THE STATUTE BOOK.

BUT WE WILL MAKE LITTLE PROGRESS IN THE DRIVE AGAINST CRIME IF WE EXPECT THE POLICE AND THE COURTS TO TAKE ON THE WHOLE BURDEN.

WHEN WE ARE SICK, WE TURN TO THE DOCTOR; YET WE

ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR TAKING GOOD CARE OF OUR  
HEALTH.

WHEN FIRE BREAKS OUT, WE CALL IN THE FIRE  
BRIGADE; YET WE KNOW IT IS UP TO US TO TAKE  
SENSIBLE PRECAUTIONS AGAINST FIRE.

SO IT IS WITH CRIME.

IN NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH; IN BUSINESS WATCH; IN CRIME

PREVENTION; IN PROMPT REPORTING OF CRIME SEEN  
OR SUSPECTED; IN READINESS TO GIVE EVIDENCE;

THERE IS ENORMOUS SCOPE FOR THE PUBLIC TO

HELP THE POLICE IN WHAT IS AFTER ALL, A COMMON

DUTY.

EVEN THAT IS NOT ENOUGH.

WE MUST DRAW ON THE MORAL ENERGY OF SOCIETY.

WE MUST DRAW ON THE VALUES OF FAMILY LIFE.

FOR THE FAMILY IS THE FIRST PLACE WHERE WE LEARN THOSE  
HABITS OF MUTUAL LOVE, TOLERANCE AND SERVICE ON  
WHICH EVERY HEALTHY NATION DEPENDS FOR ITS  
SURVIVAL.

CIVILISED SOCIETY DOESN'T JUST HAPPEN.

IT HAS TO BE SUSTAINED BY STANDARDS WIDELY  
ACCEPTED AND UPHELD.

IT WAS SIR WILLIAM HALEY IN HIS LAST SPEECH AS EDITOR  
OF THE TIMES, TWENTY YEARS AGO, WHO SAID  
"THERE ARE THINGS WHICH ARE BAD AND FALSE AND  
UGLY AND NOT AMOUNT OF ARGUMENT OR SPECIOUS  
CASUISTRY WILL MAKE THEM GOOD OR TRUE OR BEAUTIFUL.  
IT IS TIME THAT THESE THINGS WERE SAID".  
AND HE SAID THEM.

IF WE ARE TO SUCCEED TODAY, ALL THOSE IN AUTHORITY MUST  
RECOVER THAT CONFIDENCE AND SPEAK WITH A STRONG,  
EMPHATIC AND SINGLE VOICE.  
TOO OFTEN, THEY SPEAK IN DIFFERENT AND  
CONFLICTING VOICES.

THE GREAT MAJORITY OF CRIMES ARE COMMITTED BY  
YOUNG PEOPLE, IN THEIR TEENS AND EARLY TWENTIES.

// IT IS ON <sup>such</sup> IMPRESSIONABLE YOUNG PEOPLE THAT  
ANTI-POLICE PROPAGANDA AND THE GLAMORISATION  
OF CRIME CAN HAVE THE MOST DEADLY EFFECT.  
WHEN <sup>left wing</sup> LOCAL COUNCILS AND LEFT WING TEACHERS  
CRITICIZE THE POLICE, THEY GIVE ~~A~~ MORAL  
SANCTION TO THE CRIMINALLY INCLINED.

WHEN THE BROADCASTERS FLOUT THEIR OWN STANDARDS ON  
VIOLENT TELEVISION PROGRAMMES, THEY RISK A  
BRUTALISING EFFECT ON THE MORALLY UNSTABLE.

WHEN THE LABOUR PARTY REFUSES TO SUPPORT THE  
PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT - AN ACT THAT SAVES  
LIVES - THEY WEAKEN SOCIETY'S RESISTANCE TO THE  
MODERN SCOURGE OF TERRORISM.

LOCAL COUNCILS, TEACHERS, BROADCASTERS, POLITICIANS,

<sup>WE</sup> ALL HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO UPHOLD THE  
CIVILISED VALUES OF SOCIETY WHICH UNDERPIN  
THE LAW.

<sup>WE</sup> ~~THEY~~ OWE IT TO SOCIETY OF WHICH <sup>WE</sup> ~~THEY~~ ARE A  
PART.

<sup>WE</sup> ~~THEY~~ OWE IT ESPECIALLY TO FUTURE GENERATIONS  
WHO WILL BE HEIRS TO THE SOCIETY WE CREATE.

*President*

MR. CHAIRMAN, OUR CONFERENCE TAKES PLACE AT A TIME WHICH

COULD PROVE TO BE A HISTORIC TURNING POINT

IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

AND WE CAN SAY - WITH SOME PRIDE - THAT BRITAIN

HAS PLAYED A MAJOR PART IN CREATING THE

OPPORTUNITIES WHICH WE NOW ~~SEE~~ ~~OPENING~~ UP

BEFORE US.

IT IS OF COURSE A TIME OF TENSION AND EVEN OF DANGER IN THE

PERSIAN GULF.

HERE TOO BRITAIN IS GIVING A STRONG LEAD.

I AM SURE THAT I SPEAK FOR THIS WHOLE  
CONFERENCE - AND INDEED THE PEOPLE OF THIS  
COUNTRY - WHEN I EXPRESS OUR THANKS AND OUR  
APPRECIATION TO THE MERCHANT OFFICERS AND  
SEAMEN WHO SAIL THAT VITAL WATERWAY;  
AND TO THE OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE ROYAL NAVY'S  
ARMILLA PATROL AND ITS MINESWEEPERS WHO  
PROTECT THEM.  
WE SALUTE THEIR DEDICATION AND THEIR COURAGE.

BUT TODAY IS ALSO A TIME OF HOPE.

THERE IS NO MISTAKING THE BRACING AIR OF  
CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION.

IN MY MANY HOURS OF TALKING WITH MR. GORBACHEV  
IN MOSCOW, <sup>earlier this year</sup> HIS DETERMINATION TO BRING ABOUT  
FAR-REACHING CHANGE WAS PLAIN.

~~HE RECOGNISES THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL NEVER  
PRODUCE THE GOODS UNLESS HE CAN INSTIL A SENSE  
OF INITIATIVE AND ENTERPRISE INTO THE  
PEOPLE.~~

THE DIFFICULTIES AND OBSTACLES CONFRONTING HIM ARE  
MASSIVE.

BUT WE MUST RECOGNISE THAT ANYTHING WHICH INCREASES

INDIVIDUAL HUMAN LIBERTY AND WHICH <sup>extends</sup> ~~ENLARGES~~

THE BOUNDARIES OF DISCUSSION, <sup>which increases individual & collective</sup> IN THE SOVIET

UNION IS OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE IN TERMS

OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THAT IS WHY I HAVE WELCOMED AND ENCOURAGED THOSE ASPECTS

OF MR. GORBACHEV'S REFORMS WHICH DO THIS.

THEY ARE GENUINELY COURAGEOUS - NOT LEAST IN

THEIR ADMISSION THAT AFTER SEVENTY YEARS THE

SOCIALIST SYSTEM HAS FAILED TO PRODUCE THE

STANDARD OF LIFE THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE WANT.

← BUT WE HAVE YET TO SEE THAT CHANGE CARRY THROUGH INTO

THE SOVIET UNION'S POLICIES TOWARDS THE OUTSIDE WORLD

*All the hand, willunets*

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AFGHANISTAN IS STILL OCCUPIED.

THE BERLIN WALL STILL STANDS.

AND SOVIET WEAPONS ARE STILL POURING INTO THIRD  
WORLD COUNTRIES WHICH NEED NOT ARMS BUT FOOD.

THERE IS HOWEVER HOPE IN THE AGREEMENT WHICH NOW SEEMS  
CERTAIN TO BE SIGNED LATER THIS AUTUMN BY THE  
UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION TO ELIMINATE  
MEDIUM AND SHORTER-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES.  
WE WELCOME THAT AGREEMENT, INDEED BRITAIN  
CONTRIBUTED IN A MAJOR WAY TO ITS ACHIEVEMENT.  
IT IS A SUCCESS FOR THE WEST.

BUT LET US REMEMBER ONE THING ~~ABOVE ALL~~.

IF WE HAD LISTENED TO THE LABOUR PARTY, TO  
CND - INsofar AS YOU CAN DISTINGUISH THE  
TWO - ~~TO THE UNILATERAL DISARMERS~~, THAT  
AGREEMENT WOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED.

THE RUSSIANS WOULD HAVE KEPT ALL THEIR 1300  
NUCLEAR WARHEADS, WHILE THE WEST WOULD HAVE  
GIVEN AWAY ITS 300 FOR NOTHING IN RETURN.

*That lesson must never be forgotten*  
~~WE MUST NEVER LET PEOPLE FORGET THAT LESSON.~~

REDUCTIONS IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS COME ABOUT NOT FROM  
WEAKNESS BUT FROM STRENGTH, ~~AND RESOLVE IN~~  
~~NEGOTIATION.~~

MR. PRESIDENT, OUR POLICIES, CONSERVATIVE POLICIES ARE

BEARING FRUIT AND WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO BE

~~SATISFIED.~~ *PLEASANT*  
*SATISFACTION*

BUT WE MUST NOT LET ~~HOPE~~ BECOME EUPHORIA.

WE ARE READY FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

*CANNOT AFFORD*  
BUT WE ARE ~~NOT WILLING~~ TO TAKE ANYTHING ON TRUST.

*DECEIVED*  
NOR SHOULD WE BE ~~BEMUSED~~ BY CHANGES IN STYLE

RATHER THAN SUBSTANCE.

*CONTINUE TO*  
WE SHALL JUDGE THE SOVIET UNION NOT BY

WHAT THEY SAY BUT BY WHAT THEY DO.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS OF THE UNITED

STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION COULD BE REDUCED BY

50 PER CENT WITHOUT ENDANGERING OUR SECURITY.

*The Soviet leaders know that people in the West want to believe that when not necessary will end Russian expansion. They play*

BUT SO LONG AS THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUES  
 TO ENJOY MASSIVE SUPERIORITY IN CHEMICAL AND  
 CONVENTIONAL FORCES, WE <sup>SAY</sup> MAINTAIN THAT REDUCTIONS  
 IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE HAVE GONE FAR ENOUGH.  
 AS THE NEW SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER IN EUROPE  
 REMINDED US RECENTLY: IT IS NOT A NUCLEAR-FREE  
 EUROPE WE WANT, IT IS A WAR-FREE EUROPE.  
 NUCLEAR WEAPONS WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY A VITAL  
 ROLE IN PREVENTING WAR IN EUROPE, *as they have*  
*done for 60 years*  
 WHICH IS WHY THE MODERNISATION OF OUR DETERRENT  
 WITH TRIDENT <sup>and</sup> WILL GO AHEAD.

*That is why we will  
 see PROSPERITY  
 (with) with*

AND TO THOSE WHO CLAIM THAT WE ARE BUILDING UP BRITAIN'S  
NUCLEAR FORCES WHILE OTHERS ARE REDUCING THEIRS,  
I WOULD SAY THIS:  
TRIDENT WILL REPRESENT A SMALLER PROPORTION OF  
SOVIET STRATEGIC NUCLEAR MISSILES - EVEN AFTER  
THE LATTER ARE REDUCED BY 50 PER CENT - THAN  
POLARIS WAS IN 1970.  
THAT SHOWS CONCLUSIVELY WHO IS INCREASING NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS.

MR. PRESIDENT, ~~OUR PEOPLE~~, THE BRITISH PEOPLE WANT PEACE.

~~IT IS THEIR DEEPEST LONGING.~~

*But not peace at any price,*

IT MUST BE A PEACE WITH FREEDOM AND JUSTICE.

THAT PEACE IS ONLY ACHIEVED BY KEEPING OUR DEFENCES  
STRONG, BY RESISTING VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION  
AT HOME, BY STANDING UP TO TYRANTS AND  
TERRORISTS ABROAD.

THAT IS THE TRUE SPIRIT OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE, <sup>UP</sup> WHICH  
<sup>US</sup> SUSTAINED ~~THEM~~ THROUGH TWO WORLD  
WARS AND GUIDES US STILL.