



Jan - File

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Press Secretary

January 30, 1989

*In Answer*

YOUR BOOK

Charles Powell and I have had a session with the Prime Minister on the 24 questions you left with me and which I have numbered.

We had no success on Questions 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 19 and 24. There are others where I suspect you will feel less than satisfied, but we have tried.

I attach the answers we have obtained in narrative form.

Good luck.

Yours sincerely

BERNARD INGHAM

Christopher Ogden Esq

Q1 The challenge to Heath, when Keith Joseph was forced to drop out, you were the only challenger (after the Ducann flirtation). You were clearly upset with Heath's policies and his turn, but I'm told you were not all that enthusiastic a challenger. Is that correct?

A1 It is not correct. I was not all that optimistic a challenger but I was an enthusiastic one. The party decided there must be a contest. If no-one else was going to put themselves forward, on the basis of a different policy approach as distinct from personalities, then I most certainly was, and did.

Q2 When you won, there was a small celebration in Neave's office. Champagne served? Denis called to congratulate. How had he heard the news?

A2 I don't know. I assume it was on the radio news.  
[NB The Prime Minister is not sure there was a small celebration at that time in Airey Neave's office]

Q5 Did you first meet Ronald Reagan in California when he was Governor - an office he left in 1974 or at some other time?

A5 [NB The Prime Minister is very vague on this but she says she had noticed his speeches while he was Governor and in particular was struck by a speech he made to the Institute of Directors on a visit to London] I first met him in the 1970s in my room at the House of Commons when I was leader of the Opposition.

Q6 You've dealt extensively with four official Opposition leaders - Wilson, Callaghan, Foot, Kinnock. Would I be right in concluding that, in the House of Commons, Wilson was the sharpest politician of the lot and Kinnock the weakest?

A6 Everyone has his strengths and weaknesses. I must say that Mr Callaghan was a very skilled politician at the Dispatch Box.

Q9 By the time of the 1981 Party conference, your popularity had sunk to 28%, only 44% of the Party wanted you to stay as leader. Only 35% thought you could win the next election. Things looked pretty bleak, but you did not show any self-doubt. Did you, however, have any second thoughts about the course of the revolution at that point?

A9 I had no second thoughts. None. I never had any doubt that our policies were right.

Q10 I've interviewed Cecil Parkinson. I found him quite delightful, extremely articulate. He says you two get along because he gets things done for you. Others in your Cabinet seem quite jealous of your relationship. From your side, what makes him special?

A10 He believes in the same policies as I do and works for the same ends. But that applies to a considerable number of other people as well. He also gets things done because he believes in the same policies as I do.

Q11 The Westland Episode: My impression is that this was vastly overblown, that despite some of the reporting at the time, you were not remotely close to having to step down. I'm just curious what you learned from this episode for the future of the Government?

A11 The acceptance and observance of collective responsibility is crucial to the practice of a Cabinet system of Government.

Q13 The Queen: How do I handle all this about you and the Sovereign. I know you cannot talk about your meetings, but how can I deal with this honestly and accurately?

A13 I never discuss relations with the Sovereign.

Q14 You came back from Moscow in April 87 and, on April 15, had a political strategy meeting to review election plans. I'm told that at that session, you said you wanted to be very specific and more radical in the third term. Is that correct?

A14 We had been radical in our policies. There was an argument over whether we should consolidate or make a major step forward in enlarging opportunities in a capital owning democracy. There is no such thing as consolidation in policies. When you consolidate you only slip back.

Q15 I think this compassion issue is rubbish. My feeling is that you can give people a fish or teach them how to fish and you are doing the latter, the teaching. How would you describe it?

A15 Far too many people who talk about compassion and about larger benefits, with higher and higher taxes, fail to recognise that the more people move into benefit the more wealth creating people move out to secure elsewhere the benefits of lower taxation. That is not in the interests of those who through no fault of their own suffer misfortune.

Q16 Ronald Reagan: I am very cognizant of what you and he have done - you have both changed the political agenda. Enormously significant. I am also very aware of his very considerable strengths. Still, one awkward question: did you ever get upset with his lack of grasp of detail, for example over the pipeline controversy?

A16 I think we have worked more closely together than any President and Prime Minister since the war, and I believe he has changed the course of history.

Q17 I have travelled extensively with Presidents and Secretaries of State. They think nothing of putting down for a few days, to rest, often at great expense to the taxpayer. You do not do that. You have blue-pencilled out stops in Bali, Long Island, Northern Australia. Is that because you feel you would be wasting taxpayers' money or would get hit with it at Question Time?

A17 I don't believe my job is to travel abroad at the taxpayers' expense for pleasure. My job is to advance the interests of the UK and her people. That doesn't mean I don't enjoy my official tours. I do very much because you always learn something new. But I am always conscious I am representing the British Government and therefore working.

Q18. I don't want to spend much time on this, but Ian MacGregor and Peter Walker clearly are not best of friends. Can you give me very quick tilt on where the emphasis should be between the two of them in resolving the miners' strike. Again, I need this for guidance, not to say it came from you.

A18. Ian MacGregor was a superb manager but we were faced with a political strike so we required both political and managerial skills.

Q20. What does Conservatism mean to you, surely not status quo because by that definition, you are a radical, right?

A20. My aim has been to enlarge opportunity for those who have never had it; to encourage them to look first to their own efforts for their standard of living and as they profit for themselves to help others and the communities of which they are a part.

Q21. One thing I have heard repeatedly, even from your critics, is that you are incredibly brave. I've seen that. Does anything frighten you?

A21. Major speeches give me nerves.

Q22. Where, so far, have you been less than fully successful?

A22. There are still some people who think that if they have any problems it is up to the Government to help them.

Q23. You seem to be lucky and we know what Napoleon said about luck - that was the primary quality he sought in his Generals. Do you feel lucky?

A23. Luck just doesn't happen. You have to work at everything.

MR POWELL

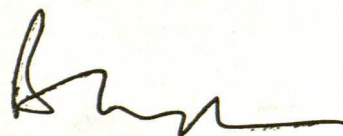
These are the questions Chris Ogden left with me. Some are more easily dealt with than others - in the sense that some are one liners and others require more explanation if we are to get it right, assuming the Prime Minister wishes to answer.

The question is how to proceed. I could have a shot at drafting answers to those marked in yellow for clearance.

But there are a number which are matters of fact which can only be answered by the Prime Minister.

The alternative would be for you and me to have 30 minutes with her just to race through the questions and get the answers.

How do you advise?



**BERNARD INGHAM**  
January 18, 1989

1 THE CHALLENGE TO HEATH. WHEN KEITH JOSEPH WAS FORCED TO DROP OUT, YOU WERE THE ONLY CHALLENGER (AFTER THE DUCANN FLIRTATION.) YOU WERE CLEARLY UPSET WITH HEATH'S POLICIES AND HIS TURN, BUT I'M TOLD YOU WERE NOT ALL THAT ENTHUSIASTIC A CHALLENGER. IS THAT CORRECT?

2 WHEN YOU WON, THERE WAS A SMALL CELEBRATION IN NEAVE'S OFFICE. CHAMPAGNE SERVED? DENIS CALLED TO CONGRATULATE. HOW HAD HE HEARD THE NEWS?

3 AT THIS POINT, GORDON REECE STARTED WORKING WITH YOU. WHAT HAS BEEN THE SUBSTANCE OF REECE'S ADVICE OVER THE YEARS?

4 DID YOU EVER PLAN TO GIVE THE SHADOW CHANCELLORSHIP TO KEITH JOSEPH?

5 DID YOU FIRST MEET RONALD REAGAN IN CALIFORNIA WHEN HE WAS GOVERNOR--AN OFFICE HE LEFT IN 1974 OR AT SOME OTHER TIME?

6 YOU'VE DEALT EXTENSIVELY WITH FOUR OFFICIAL OPPOSITION LEADERS--WILSON, CALLAGHAN, FOOT, KINNOCK. WOULD I BE RIGHT IN CONCLUDING THAT, IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, WILSON WAS THE SHARPEST POLITICIAN OF THE LOT AND KINNOCK THE WEAKEST?

7 CAN YOU GIVE ME ONE ADJECTIVE TO DESCRIBE EACH OF THOSE LEADERS? I WILL NOT QUOTE YOU ON THAT IF YOU PREFER.

8 ONE OF YOUR CABINET MEMBERS TOLD ME THAT YOU CONSIDERED JIMMY CARTER WELL-MEANING, BUT WEAK AND INCONSISTENT. IS THAT CORRECT?

9 BY THE TIME OF THE 1981 PARTY CONFERENCE, YOUR POPULARITY HAD SUNK TO 28% ONLY 44% OF THE PARTY WANTED YOU TO STAY AS LEADER. ONLY 35% THOUGHT YOU COULD WIN THE NEXT ELECTION. THINGS LOOKED PRETTY BLEAK, BUT YOU DID NOT SHOW ANY SELF-DOUBT. DID YOU, HOWEVER, HAVE ANY SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT THE COURSE OF THE REVOLUTION AT THAT POINT?

10 I'VE INTERVIEWED CECIL PARKINSON. I FOUND HIM QUITE DELIGHTFUL, EXTREMELY ARTICULATE. HE SAYS YOU TWO GET ALONG BECAUSE HE GETS THINGS DONE FOR YOU. OTHERS IN YOUR CABINET SEEM QUITE JEALOUS OF YOUR RELATIONSHIP. FROM YOUR SIDE, WHAT MAKES HIM SPECIAL?

11 THE WESTLAND EPISODE: MY IMPRESSION IS THAT THIS WAS VASTLY OVERBLOWN, THAT DESPITE SOME OF THE REPORTING AT THE TIME, YOU WERE NOT REMOTELY CLOSE TO HAVING TO STEP DOWN. I'M JUST CURIOUS WHAT YOU LEARNED FROM THIS EPISODE FOR THE FUTURE OF THE GOVERNMENT?

12 ANY PARTICULAR REASON WHY YOU DIDN'T FIRE HESELTINE WHEN HE DIDN'T COME BACK INTO THE FOLD?

13 THE QUEEN: HOW DO I HANDLE ALL THIS ABOUT YOU AND THE SOVEREIGN. I KNOW YOU CANNOT TALK ABOUT YOUR MEETINGS, BUT HOW CAN I DEAL WITH THIS HONESTLY AND ACCURATELY?

14 YOU CAME BACK FROM MOSCOW IN APRIL 87 AND, ON APRIL 15, HAD A POLITICAL STRATEGY MEETING TO REVIEW ELECTION PLANS. I'M TOLD THAT AT THAT SESSION, YOU SAID YOU WANTED TO BE VERY SPECIFIC AND MORE RADICAL IN THE THIRD TERM. IS THAT CORRECT?

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NY 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24

I THINK THIS COMPASSION ISSUE IS RUBBISH. MY FEELING IS THAT YOU CAN GIVE PEOPLE A FISH OR TEACH THEM HOW TO FISH AND YOU ARE DOING THE LATTER, THE TEACHING. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE IT?

Handwritten notes in the top right margin, including "eye row 27 28" and a list of numbers: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

RONALD REAGAN: I AM VERY COGNIZANT OF WHAT YOU AND HE HAVE DONE--YOU HAVE BOTH CHANGED THE POLITICAL AGENDA. ENORMOUSLY SIGNIFICANT. I AM ALSO VERY AWARE OF HIS VERY CONSIDERABLE STRENGTHS. STILL, ONE AWKWRD QUESTION: DID YOU EVER GET UPSET UP WITH HIS LACK OF GRASP OF DETAIL, FOR EXAMPLE OVER THE PIPELINE CONTROVERSY? *changed - looking - 4/22/86*

16

I HAVE TRAVELED EXTENSIVELY WITH PRESIDENTS AND SECRETARIES OF STATE. THEY THINK NOTHING OF PUTTING DOWN FOR A FEW DAYS, TO REST, OFTEN AT GREAT EXPENSE TO THE TAXPAYER. YOU DO NOT DO THAT. YOU HAVE BLUE-PENCILED OUT STOPS IN BALI, LONG ISLAND, NORTHERN AUSTRALIA. IS THAT BECAUSE YOU FEEL YOU WOULD BE WASTING TAX-PAYERS MONEY OR WOULD GET HIT WITH IT AT QUESTION TIME?

17

I DON'T WANT TO SPEND MUCH TIME ON THIS BUT IAN MACGREGOR AND PETER WALKER CLEARLY ARE NOT BEST OF FRIENDS. CAN YOU GIVE ME VERY QUICK TILT ON WHERE THE EMPHASIS SHOULD BE BETWEEN THE TWO OF THEM IN RESOLVING THE MINERS' STRIKE. AGAIN, I NEED THIS FOR GUIDANCE, NOT TO SAY IT CAME FROM YOU.

Handwritten notes on the right side of the page, including "Macgregor" and "Peter Walker" and some illegible scribbles.

18

HOW IS THE TORY PARTY MOST DIFFERENT NOW THAN WHEN YOU TOOK IT OVER?

19

WHAT DOES CONSERVATISM MEAN TO YOU, SURELY NOT STATUS QUO BECAUSE BY THAT DEFINITION, YOU ARE A RADICAL, RIGHT?

20

ONE THING I HAVE HEARD REPEATEDLY, EVEN FROM YOUR CRITICS, IS THAT YOU ARE INCREDIBLY BRAVE. I'VE SEEN THAT. DOES ANYTHING FRIGHTEN YOU? *Napier speaks never*

21

WHERE--SO FAR--HAVE YOU BEEN LESS THAN FULLY SUCCESSFUL?

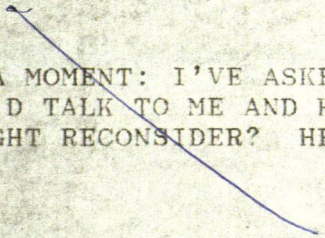
22

~~YOU SEEM TO BE LUCKY AND WE KNOW WHAT NAPOLEON SAID ABOUT LUCK--THAT WAS THE PRIMARY QUALITY HE SOUGHT IN HIS GENRALS. DO YOU FEEL LUCKY?~~ *luck of 6/21/86*

23

BACK TO DENIS FOR A MOMENT: I'VE ASKED THROUGH AN INTERMEDIARY IF HE'D TALK TO ME AND HE POLITICELY DECLINED. DO YOU THINK HE MIGHT RECONSIDER? HE DOES KNOW YOU BEST.

24





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*None. I never had any doubt that we would win now*

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Seth

This is the transcript of  
the PM's interview with  
Chris Ogden. It contains  
a lot of valuable personal  
information about the PM.  
We need to put it on  
screen & for each member  
of the press to read it.  
But it needs to be  
copied & checked man this.  
Can I have a copy  
pl.

1/10  
13