

PRIME MINISTER

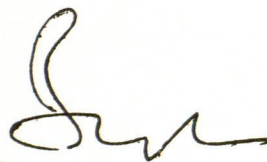
READER'S DIGEST

Reader's Digest have taken the unusual step of advertising their interview with you (conducted last January and just published) in the New York Times and also in all editions of the International Herald Tribune.

But even more unusually they have done so by taking space to print their interview in full in the advert, covering two pages.

This is the first time Reader's Digest have taken a 2-page advert in the New York Times at a cost of between \$70-80,000.

British Information Services, New York, make the point that with Reader's Digest's world-wide circulation of 100million it is hard to imagine how you could have achieved wider printed publicity for your policies.



BERNARD INGHAM
April 24, 1989

Bevan
OK 2/4
One
Frank, I have
minutes re PM

Mr Cornish

cc: Mr Burns, News Dept, FCO
Mr Bates, No. 10
Mr Noble, Info Dept, FCO

READER'S DIGEST ADVERTISEMENT ON THEIR INTERVIEW WITH PM

I attach the two page ad in the New York Times today advertising the Reader's Digest interview with the PM in the May edition. I have checked with Reader's Digest who tell me that they placed the advertisement not only in the New York Times but also in all editions of the International Herald Tribune. This is the first time that Reader's Digest have taken a two page advertisement in the NYT although they do advertise a feature for the next issue once a month in the business section. I understand that a two page ad in the NYT costs between \$70-80,000.

2 With the Reader's Digest's own circulation (100 million) the interview will thus have reached an enormous world wide circulation. It is hard to imagine how one could have achieved wider publicity for the Government's policies.

David Proxell

D R Snoxell

19 April 1989



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Press Secretary

April 20, 1989

Mr Russell,

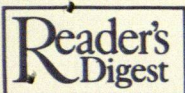
Thank you very much for the copies of British Reader's Digest in which the Prime Minister's astonishingly newsy interview appears. I would love to receive the international editions next month if you really want me to do so.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Bernard Ingham'.

BERNARD INGHAM

Russell Twisk Esq
Editor in Chief
Reader's Digest



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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: RUSSELL TWISK

April 18, 1989

Bernard Ingham Esq
Chief Press Secretary to the Prime Minister
11 Downing Street
London SW1

Dear Bernard,

Here are a few copies of British Reader's Digest. As you know, the interview is appearing in our editions throughout the world during the next week or so.

We are collating copies of all the international editions and at some point in May I wonder if I could present them to you at a "photo" opportunity, either here at Reader's Digest in Berkeley Square or at 10 Downing Street.

Kiss you

Ann.

Ann - already

Thank you v. much for
re copies of British Reader's Digest
in which the PM's autobiography
was by interview appears. I would love
to receive the international editions
next month if you really want
me to do so

RT/jcc



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April 24, 1989

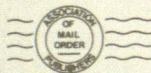
Terry Perks Esq
Deputy Press Secretary
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AA

Dear Terry

Just a note to thank you personally for all the help you gave our researcher in checking the Mrs Thatcher interview. We are delighted with the world exposure it has had.

Yours sincerely

Russell Twisk



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M. Ingham

Reader's Digest

PLEASANTVILLE, NEW YORK 10570

Both

For you file

KENNETH O. GILMORE
Editor-in-Chief

(914) 241-5189

April 14, 1989

Dear Prime Minister:

Page 31
Mag A

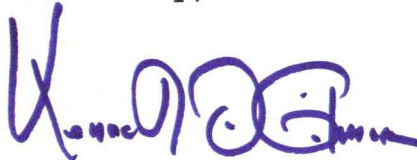
Herewith are advance copies of our interview with you as it appears in the British and United States May editions. We will shortly be sending you the interview from other editions around the world. It will be published in 15 languages and read by about 100 million people.

Pages
35-36
Mag B

I hope you will be as pleased as we are with the combination of Paul Johnson's thought-provoking article and the stimulating "conversation" with you. We plan, by the way, to run the interview in its entirety on two pages of The New York Times on April 19 and in all editions of the International Herald Tribune that same date.

On behalf of Russell Twisk and our international editors, thank you again for your time and your warm hospitality at Chequers.

Sincerely,



The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London SW1

A Conversation Prime Minister

Margaret Thatcher's achievements are not

As Britain's prime minister for the past decade, Margaret Thatcher has commanded worldwide attention. And this remarkable woman's influence continues to grow.

Recently, Mrs. Thatcher was interviewed by the editors of Reader's Digest and historian Paul Johnson at Chequers, traditional country home of British prime ministers. She spoke candidly of her nation's current problems, the world's challenges and her own future.

This exclusive interview will appear simultaneously in 39 editions of the May Reader's Digest, read by 100 million people in every country in the world. We present it on the eve of the prime minister's 10th anniversary in office.

Prime Minister, you are not only the leader of a great nation but a world leader as well. What do you view as the most pressing international problem?

The great unknown is whether Gorbachev's bold reforms of the Soviet system can be taken through to completion. To us, this would mean a much freer society with a proper rule of law and a genuine respect for human rights. Such a change would have an effect on so many other nations and on how people see socialism—which is not about human beings at all. Socialism is about economic plans and people having to conform to them, not about government serving the fundamental dignity and freedom of the individual. The fact that we are even considering the possibility of such a change in the Soviet Union is an enormous step forward.

What are the chances that Gorbachev can succeed?

I have no doubt that he will persist. He believes in what he is doing. For him it is an inspiration, a vision and a resolve. I think he has a good chance.

The most difficult time will be the next two or three years. People who have always been told what to do have no practical experience of their own initiative. Some are a bit fearful and may say, "Well, at least we knew where we were under the old regime."

I have not the slightest doubt that the Soviet people are enormously enjoying the greater freedom of discussion. We don't quite realize—because we have it automatically—what a joy that must be. But the next step, becoming self-starters, is the difficult one.



To what extent has your government succeeded in permanently turning the British away from socialism?

The people have truly moved away from it. But perhaps not yet permanently, because some have a vested interest in it.

Let me say this: socialism did not come from the people. It is a doctrine of intellectuals who had the arrogance to believe they could better plan everyone's life. You will see it in our left-wing Labour authorities [in local government] and in some university groups. How do they put their case to the people? They do not reveal that freedoms will go. They say, "Vote for us and you will have far more without doing as much for it." Some people are still bewitched by that.

In my time in university, people on both sides of the Atlantic still had their minds on the difficulties of the 1930s and were looking to see whether this other creed might work. How much we did not yet know at that time!

Now we are through that. We have seen how the two beliefs work in practice. There is no shadow of doubt as to which actually is better for people.

Marxism is a superficial creed,

while ours is deeply grounded in religion and a faith in human nature. Do you know the book *The Devil's Advocate* by Morris West? Toward the end a communist and a holy man, the protagonist of liberty, come together. The communist says, "When I die there will be millions to take my place, and I shall not matter at all!" And the holy man replies, "When I die, there will be millions to take my place, and the difference is that each and every one matters and *knows* that he matters!"

Today young people in Britain are beginning to understand that each of them has God-given talents which they want to use to help themselves and others too. Even the Soviets realize there is a divine spark—though they may not put it that way—in every one of them, which they must not ignore if they are to reach the right answer.

What lesson has been learned here in Britain that is applicable to other countries?

We believe a government's task is to give people opportunity, not handouts. We simply must help people who are unfortunate through no fault of their own. Basic social services are a

fundamental part of modern life. But some people twist the rules to cover those who could help themselves. So we changed our rules to say: "Yes, you get help if you are unemployed. But you must be actively seeking work. You get no help if you *choose* to be unemployed."

If you do not tackle this problem, your welfare state gets bigger and bigger.

What has been the most difficult time during your years in office?

To get things right in the long run, you often have to have a difficult time in the short term. We had to get inflation out of the system. And for the first two years, we were absolutely pilloried for doing it.

Some people still think the politician's job is to give them an easier life. It was difficult to turn it around and say: "Look to your own efforts for your standard of living, not to lobby groups and protests against the state. Secondly, if you demand more in wages than your company can afford, you must be prepared to take the consequences of putting yourself out of a job."

Companies had to be made just as accountable. Until we came into

n with the er

Just a British phenomenon. They are global.

power, when a big company got into trouble, in came the government with a big subsidy to bail it out. That meant a long-term decline.

So the first thing we had to say was: "No! We are not going to bail you out. You must accept the consequences of your own irresponsibility. You are not making the right products? Your price is too high? Out you go!"

Unfortunately, this led to a big increase in unemployment. At the same time, we had to spend more on defense and on law and order. To give people an incentive to work harder, we cut down the proportion of their earnings which the state was taking directly. But because we had a recession and some incomes went down, for a while it looked as if the state were taking *more*. It was a very difficult time.

Can you tell us your reactions to the Irish Republican Army's bombing of your hotel in Brighton in 1984? What passed through your mind when you first realized what had happened?

My first instinct was to keep calm and see if everyone was all right. My husband, Denis, and I went to check on our people, and gradually they collected in my office. Then, frankly, I thought, *Which way are we going to go out?* Knowing that these IRA people are pretty terrible, I thought it quite possible they had bombed all the exits.

The firemen came along and said, "Wait here a moment!" Eventually they said it was all right to go out through the main part of the hotel. Then, of course, we saw that a section of the front of the building had collapsed. We knew that some of us were all right, and assumed that more were all right than was the case. We still did not know fully what had happened.

We came out and spoke to television, then went off to the police station. There I said, "Look. If it is possible, we would like to carry on with the conference this morning. It is vital that we do."

You must always make certain that the terrorist does not think he has got your morale, your spirit. He might have got some people, but he must never get your spirit. We had to get on that platform at 9:30 sharp. And we did.

When did it first hit you that you nearly died?

Later, some of my people went back to see if we could pick up my clothes. In my room, they looked into the bathroom and saw the ceiling down. I will tell you why it struck me. On the night of the bombing, I had just

finished reworking a speech at quarter to three and realized I *had* to get some sleep. Just then, my secretary, Robin Butler, came in and said, "I am sorry, but there is a decision I simply must have." He thrust a set of papers in my hand and, while I was reading them, the explosion went off. Had I not been reviewing those papers, I would have gone straight into the bathroom and would have been there. Another person whose bathroom was a few floors above mine had done exactly that, and was virtually blown to bits.

Do you think the bombing has had any effect on your thinking about Northern Ireland?

No. It only reinforced my feeling that the terrorists must not win. There is something I must get over to you: Northern Ireland terrorism is not like PLO or African terrorism. In Northern Ireland, every single person has full civil rights and an equal vote. The reason some of them turn to terrorism is that they do not like the results which democracy gives. Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom because the majority of the people there wish it so.

Despite such hazards, you obviously enjoy governing. Can you tell us why you get such fulfillment out of being in charge?

It is not fulfilling to be in charge. It is fulfilling because of this enormous and visionary task. I remember being taught by my parents from my earliest childhood that the one thing about being British was you did not have to be told what to do. You rose to your responsibilities and took the initiative. This is the British character. Religious belief played a fundamental part in shaping that character because, whether you take the Old Testament or the New Testament, it puts the emphasis on the dignity and responsibility of the individual. You are accountable because you have freedom.

That whole idea had been undercut by the socialists, who said: "The state will take care of you! The state will provide!" But they did not say, to do that, the state would have to take more from someone else.

I knew that socialism was not right for Britain, because only freedom and responsibility will give you two things: first, dignity and meaning to life; and second, prosperity.

So I had more than a job to do. I had a task: a task I have to bring to fruition.

People feel more secure when they have the power to stand up against a government; the power that having their own home gives them, the power that controlling their own money

provides. And that is why now, in this Parliament, we are trying to enlarge opportunity. The tax is still going down. We are putting the schools more in the control of the people. Next will be the hospitals, because if you believe in the responsibility of people, you gradually delegate and disperse the power.

This is one reason we denationalized. Governments do not know how to run industry. People do. The moment you get governments doing it, they are running away from their more difficult tasks.

I say to people on the Continent: "Stop talking about worker participation in business management. You are back in the Marxist era! Workers participate through the political process. The rest should be based on merit. True worker participation is giving workers a chance for ownership."

Let's turn to a foreign-policy issue. Were reports in the U.S. press accurate that you opposed any military action to destroy the poison-gas plant in Libya, a nation you have referred to as a terrorist state?

No, that is an utter distortion of what I said. I had a question put to me after the Pan Am jumbo jet was bombed by terrorists: "Do you believe in 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth'?" I said, "No, of course not." It would be totally wrong to do something similar in revenge.

At the same time, I do not rule out other actions. If a request comes to me, I say: Is it, under all circumstances, reasonable? Does it qualify as legitimate self-defense? That was the case when we allowed the United States to use our bases for the strike against Libya in 1986.

How satisfied are you that Western governments, including your own, are pursuing the right policies to secure the release of hostages held by Middle Eastern terrorists?

I am absolutely certain we are right never to pay ransom in any form. The terrorists are acting in a totally uncivilized way, and we must not resort to anything which would give

them reason for taking more hostages.

You have touched upon a fundamental problem. Under national law, we have a means to fight terrorism. We cannot always find the terrorists, but if we do, we can bring them to trial. There is no international law to enable us to do that.

Nonetheless, it is our duty to fight terrorism, because terrorists recognize no law and no rights of fellow human beings. Internationally, we all have to pillory those nations that sanction terrorism.

Britain has agreed to cede Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China in 1997. Do you have any misgivings about whether Hong Kong will remain free thereafter?

We had to do what we did, because 95 percent of the territory is under a lease which expires in 1997. Unless we had negotiated when we did, we would have had no power to help keep Hong Kong's way of life, which has been so fruitful for both them and China.

And I have noticed this about communist nations: when they negotiate internationally, they like to be seen as upholding their treaties.

So you have got two very different things, and they are both powerful: reputation and economic interest. What I am saying is, we did the best we could.

You have been enormously successful, winning three elections in a row. Don't you sometimes think: "I must not let this go to my head"?

It won't go to my head—the press will jolly well see that it doesn't! The media today are more unbridled than they have ever been, more distorting than ever—on both sides of the Atlantic. So I do not think the tendency you're speaking of is as dangerous as it used to be.

Also, I have far too much to do. My creed is just to get things done. I do not want office for the sake of power. I am not likely to cling. I will know when the time comes. But I want to make certain that the things I passionately believe in will continue—and that others will carry on with the task.



Reader's
Digest

We make a difference
in 100 million lives worldwide.



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Press Secretary

January 31, 1989

Mr Russell,

I am sorry it has taken a little longer than I hoped it would to provide you with the answers to your two questions of the Prime Minister on Europe. They are attached. I hope they satisfactorily complete your article within the deadline.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Bernard Ingham'.

BERNARD INGHAM

Russell Twisk Esq
Editor in Chief
Reader's Digest

Q. Some Europeans view you as a stumbling block to a unified Europe. What is your reaction?

A. I think you must distinguish between reality and rhetoric. It is true that a great many people in Europe talk air-fairily about European union, a united Europe and so on. But when I challenge them to say precisely what they mean it rapidly becomes clear that very few, if any, of my colleagues around the table at European Councils have any intention of returning to their Parliaments with the news that they are to be stripped of power in favour of a government in Brussels. Of course, there are some federalists but I believe that most people share my concept of a Europe based on willing and active co-operation between individual sovereign states. So, having set aside the rhetoric, the reality is that far from being a stumbling block, Britain is on so many issues in the lead in developing the European Community - in putting its finances on a sounder and fairer basis; in controlling agricultural production; in completing the single internal market; in eliminating exchange controls; and in developing the wider use of the European currency unit (ecu).

Q. Is Britain's special relationship with the US compatible with a full commitment to the European Community?

A. Yes. The two are in no way incompatible. We are and always have been European. We are also close allies within NATO of both European partners and the USA. And we secured a declaration at the Rhodes European Council in December last year that the European Community, in moving to a single internal market would not erect new trade barriers to the outside world. We have explicitly ruled out the idea of Fortress Europe. In all these circumstances our special relationship with the United States, which I think both our nations cherish, is therefore not merely compatible with a full commitment to the European Community but an asset both to the Community and the USA.