

PRIME MINISTER

PANORAMA

The latest information I have, to be read alongside my first minute (attached) is that they intend to approach the interview as follows:

1. Leadership - I have told them they will need to fall back on style because, as there is as yet no contest for the leadership, you will not have much to say about a hypothetical contest
2. Europe

On leadership I expect them to pursue your intentions as to how long you will remain leader and your style and whether you are considering changing it?

On how long you intend to stay, I suggest you make the following points frankly:

- Never my intention to win next election and then disappear; not my way of doing things
- Nor can anyone foresee 5 years or more ahead
- All you can do is to state your best intentions, which you have - to win the next election and the one after that if that is what people want. I'm not a quitter and I don't intend to be a loser.

On style I think you need to make the following points:

- you are what you are and you are not changing now
- you think your style of leading from the front has had something to do with the successes of the last 10 years; people like a leader to lead, to know that he or she knows where they are going
- never been your style to follow others but to persuade others to your point of view

- you are moreover the custodian of the Government's direction, tempo, thrust and philosophy
- but decisions are thrashed out in meetings of Ministers, Cabinet, sub-Committees, Committees and Cabinet itself
- Things are not going to change. And for all the talk and nonsense written a lot of people would be surprised if you were going to change.

We have rehearsed Europe.



BERNARD INGHAM
November 27, 1989

PRIME MINISTER

BBC TV PANORAMA, MONDAY

You are to give an interview to BBC Panorama on Monday afternoon for broadcast that evening. Your interviewer will be David Dimbleby. He will record down to time (50 minutes continuous, no break) and there will be no editing.

Mechanics

Briefing and make-up time have been set aside from 1430. You can record as soon as you feel ready to do so. You should start, however, around 1600 to allow yourself plenty of time to relax and prepare for your 1800 reception.

The interview will be conducted in No 12 because of the reception. You will be positioned in front of a fireplace and there will be a flower arrangement.

Format

It is clear from my discussions with the Editor, Glenwyn Benson (a woman) that their main interest is Europe. They want to explore your position on Europe, how you see Britain's role in it; your concept of its future; its relationship with Eastern Europe; and its defence.

If I may say so, I greatly welcome this approach. It is time you had a good TV run on this subject to demonstrate that you are a positive and not a negative force.

Europe in the round is likely to take up two-thirds of the interview. Dimbleby will then go on to:

- party leadership (I have told them you will not discuss it; they say, (though I do not believe them) they will not raise the issue if no candidate has declared himself by Monday evening.)

- how long you propose to remain in office?
- style of leadership - will it change?
- how far does Britain still fall short of your vision of what it should be?

As always, Panorama will take account of events over the weekend and, indeed, on Monday. We shall therefore be in touch on Monday morning to check up if there are any additional subjects.

The obvious one, at this stage, in view of the rather thin last third of the present agenda, is the economy, sterling and exchange rate.

Points

This interview comes when you personally and your Government are perceived to be under challenge or in difficulties; when people are wondering whether the shine has gone off your Administration; when your opponents are hopefully seeing the decline of Thatcherism and the onset of a "kinder, gentler Britain"; and when your supporters need rallying.

Consequently, this needs to be a calm, persuasive, positive and relaxed performance with a touch of steel now and again. You should keep your answers fairly short and above all you should not get bogged down in detail. It is wasted on the viewer. The Editor professes to want a relaxed and illuminating discussion and not a confrontational one.

You know the East-West/European Community/arms control subjects backwards. The tricks will be to:

- put yourself in the cockpit of Europe, confidently handling the controls and flying the European Community to a particular destination - in other words, to show that you are committed to Europe and to share your commitment to a particular kind of Europe with the viewer.

- convince the viewer that your pragmatic, flexible and evolutionary approach to Europe, taking account of developments in the East, makes sense;
- present it as taken as read that in these days of uncertainty and risk, and for the foreseeable future, NATO and the Warsaw Pact remain though, it is to be hoped, with security at agreed lower levels of armaments. (Dimbleby is likely to take you through the prospects for modernising SNF.)

On your vision of what Britain should be, the Editor has shown some interest in your Good Housekeeping remarks (to which The Times interview will give new life) about the social problems which remain amid affluence - lager louts, violence, child cruelty, drugs.

I hope they go into this because it will give you a chance to echo the *desires* of so many people for greater discipline in society, starting in the home. To repeat, there are lots of votes to be won *in this area*.

Conclusion

At the end of the interview I would like the reasonable viewer to say the following:

- well, she is certainly not beset, bothered and bewildered; looking at her, I find it difficult to believe all these stories that she is in trouble and on her way out;
- she is still very much in command of her subjects and makes a lot of sense; the Tory Party must be daft to want to get rid of her;
- I cannot imagine how anybody who is supposed to be against Europe can speak up for European co-operation as she does;

- she really cares about Britain and the British; you cannot imagine any others of that lot in the Commons leading Britain, can you?
- we have got an international figure in Maggie and we ought to keep her.

If that is what they are saying by 2215 on Monday (the programme goes out at 2130) it will have been a pretty good day's work.



BERNARD INGHAM

23 November 1989

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EUROPE

Let me put paid once and for all to the absurd notion that I am in some way against Europe.

I have always been a supporter of a strong European Community and Britain's membership of it. I was part of the Government which took us into Europe. I have always believed - and said publicly - that our destiny is in Europe, as part of the Community. I want to see Europe more united and with a greater sense of common purpose.

May I also remind you that I was the first to press for the completion of a real Common Market in Europe, and that Britain has therefore been the prime mover in what has come to be called in short-hand 1992: that is a Europe in which the barriers to trade, to investment, to freedom to do business of every sort are eliminated.

And not only have we been right in the lead in pressing for 1992 and a real Common Market, we also have by far the best record in implementing it. We have implemented 65 of the 68 directives agreed in Europe which is more than anyone else. You can't call that lack of enthusiasm for Europe.

May I also remind you that I was the first to urge the European Community to respond to the changes going on in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. There is a bit of a tendency in the Community to be pre-occupied, even obsessed, with our internal arguments. Europe needs to raise its eyes to the horizon - because it is out there in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe that the most important changes which have taken place in your lifetime and mine are being enacted. In my Bruges speech, I reminded people that Europe was not just the Community, that Prague, Warsaw and Budapest were just as much European cities as the capitals of Western Europe, and that the Community must therefore show itself outward-looking and welcoming to them.

That is very much my vision of Europe. A Europe built on

freedom, enterprise and initiative. A Europe which looks outward to the rest of the world, not a centralised, subsidised and protectionist bloc. That would be entirely alien to Britain's traditions. I don't want a federal Europe or one which takes away the powers of our national Parliament - and that is precisely what the proposals for Economic and Monetary Union in the Delors Report would do. Hardly anyone in our Parliament wants to see that happen - and that was absolutely clear when Parliament debated the matter three weeks ago. All parties were opposed to it. And I believe that, as other countries in Europe come to study it more closely, they too will realise that the Delors proposals will take away essential decisions about tax and public spending and the management of the economy from national control - and they will not want to see that.

All right, I do sometimes take a very forthright line in discussions in Europe. I don't apologise for that. Often it is left to me to say things which others think but don't like to say themselves. And when Britain's interests are at stake, you will never find me hanging back. I believe in fighting for Britain and I shall go on doing so - and look what it's done. By the end of next year we shall have got 10 billion back from Europe - money which no Labour government would ever have got.

So yes I am an enthusiastic European, enthusiastic for the sort of Europe I believe in and which I believe the vast majority of people in this country believe in.

PRIME MINISTER

In the Panorama interview on Monday David Dimbleby could ask you about the problem of human behaviour. Attached are marked up extracts about human behaviour from your Good Housekeeping awards speech on 25 September and from your interview with The Times earlier in the week.

T. J. P.

TERRY J PERKS
24 November 1989

a lot about them now in connection with aerosols and the ozone layer. They were new substances, they were a great advance because they were stable, they allowed us to do more in dry cleaning, more in electronics, they allowed us to have aerosols, they allowed us to have better refrigeration, they were stable, they were excellent for people to work with, they were the new thing of the time. And isn't it fascinating that within sixty-five years they have turned out to be the very thing which because they were so stable on earth found their way up to the ozone layer where they did immense damage and caused the problems in it. It is fascinating to see that sometimes one scientific advance can years later cause problems, and we now have them with the environment.

You have indeed spanned a whole age of scientific advance and in some ways enormously to our advantage and in some ways giving us problems.

And the third thing I wish to say briefly. After the chapter of social history, chapter of scientific advance, is we now have a chapter of new problems. For years when I was young and in politics with all hopes and dreams and ambitions, it seemed to me and to many of my contemporaries that if we got an age where we had good housing, good education, a reasonable standard of living, then everything would be set and we should have a fair and much easier future. We know now, that that isn't so. We're up against the real problems of human nature. All of these things you deal with in your most excellent magazine.

Why is it that we have child cruelty in this age?
Why is it that we have animal cruelty? Why is it that we have violence? Why is it that only a month after Hillsborough, which was a terrible football occasion we had so many arrests and problems on the football field? Why is it that people take to terrorism? Why is it that people take to drugs?

These are much, much more difficult problems to deal with. And I see in some of the awards you'll be giving tonight, you're

giving them to people who are attempting to tackle these problems. Why, when you have got everything do some people turn to those fundamental things which undermine the whole of civilisation? Our job is to try to find constraints so that great civilisation can go on.

But what I want to say to you is that all of these things have been discussed regularly in your magazine Good Housekeeping. The Institute, whose anniversary we celebrate tonight, has been so meticulous and so careful in testing everything that we at home and way beyond the home use and was the first consumer test that we could really rely upon.

It is we, Mister Chairman, who should be giving you the accolade this evening, for your sixty-five years' marvellous service to our country and the consumer. And we do indeed honour you for it and thank you for the most wonderful occasion in this historic hall and our wonderful country and our great friendship with the United States.