THE NEED FOR NEW DATA

Experience gained from

Marketing a brand ~~which~~ suggests the need for <u>new data</u> was absolutely
paramount if you were to capture the electorate's imagination and make
them reappraise you ~~and~~ I would argue that the state of the opinion polls
at the moment (for the Tory party in general and for Margaret Thatcher
in particular) indicate that, without new <u>data</u> it's impossible for ~~the opposition~~ *voters*
(in a situation where the Government is thought to be doing, by the average
person, as well as is humanly possible in the circumstances) ~~is quite~~
~~impossible without new data for them~~ to have a better view of the opposition,
particularly in the situation where the opposition have ~~demonstrably~~ *previously*
failed to control the problems which seem to be endemic to the times.
~~And~~ Inflation on the one hand and relationships with people in general
and the unions in particular, on the other. So in order to get that situation
reappraised there is a vital need for new data. Can we accept that ~~as the~~
Working assumption?

For something to be new it most be believed to be new. Paradoxically
this means that it could actually in reality be old-provided it was thought
to be new. Now one of the ways you can get old data to be thought to be new
is to have new people saying it or to have the same people saying it in a
new way. But the danger ~~is~~, as far as people's perception of politicians is
concerned, *is that* the addage that the leopard doesn't change his or her spots comes
into play, so if they say that something is new and it does not <u>sound new</u>—
which is to say it doesn't depart from previously existing speech forms on
the one hand and, *stylistic* content on the other—then the presentation cannot be seen
to be new. ~~Now~~ I believe that to say new data today, the consumer, the voter
may be harmed. This offers
is so used to political speech form that, alas, even genuinely new data (whether
it's new data ~~is~~ a political idea, a new approach to a problem, an absolutely original
problem. If ~~that~~ *there's* were put across in the normal political fashion I think *they*
might not be seen to be new data. Now that's just one piece of information
being put across. If simultaneously every member of the party were putting
across new data then I believe the message would get through very quickly
and it would get through quickly because the media would pick it up, and
their interpretation of it, and their comment on events would make it new.
So one absolute necessity for new data is either that the top few people of
the party are absolutely changed in the way they approach problems in the
data they communicate, or a whole host of people in the party have to go out

and spread the message in unison. So those are two options. I believe
again that without as it were big ideas in the /process even that a lot of
people talking/would not be seen to be new data, so I've been looking for
ways of getting big ideas. | Now there are two ways really that I can see
strategically . One is to have the existing people in the party generate
them. As far as I know the existing work on the policy committees has
demonstrated fairly clearly that they are incapable, even if they have new
ideas, of getting them pas their policy committee, although I would suspect,
as an observer, that in fact they don't have new ideas. One of the things
people have presented to the Centre are techniques particularly
causality analysis; the idea of using group of people, including journalists
to generate new data these seem to come up against concerns of security
on the one hand and the possibility, because of the use of techniques, that
the existing members of the party machine and the policy committes may
lose power. So there is a people/power problem which has become apparent.
So if one is going to go the techniques route, it must be realised that this is
a change situation and people, particularly M. P. s who aic on a tradional
career path, a tradional route to the top in their own minds find it very
difficult indeed to come to terms with giving way their authority to the technique,
the technique is propounded by different people. So one must
recognise the power struggle and one has actually seen that occur in some
meetings. | Now the other way to generate new data is to take a piece of
data that already exists and feed it into the policy machine and insist that
the machine in fact puts its policies around it. the piece of new data that
I would table is related to free market, freedom, individualism. If
freedom stemming from the free market is about anything it is about individual
people fulfilling their objectives. Now the only way you can get people today
to acquiesce in any system whatsoever is if they can fulfil their objectives.
That comes down to the crucial question, that's a philosophical statement.
How do we make a philosophical statement practical working politics? Now
that frankly, in my view, is what the policy committees ought to have been
doing, but as a broad statement for a mid-term manifesto "the age of you is
here" would be a working title until some journalists could think up a better
title. "You matter, the free market makes sure you can enjoy yourself,
your spending power, your freedoms. Now that has to be put into practice
because as I will demonstrate on a piece of paper such slogans

as 'It's your choice' are unbelievable. The typical response to that would be 'It is not'. 'I suppose it could be if XY or Z happened but it won't be until that happens' or, completely cynically, 'that will be the day!' So a statement that is as bald as that runs into credibility problems, one has to be more specific, one cannot just put forward broad policy thrusts. Now that I suspect is one reason why Margaret Thatcher's score in the polls has gone so low, because At the end of the day she has not been putting forward something which can be seen to be new data because it wasn't data, it was a theme — and a theme very quickly dies because it has no substance to give it meaning. If I say 'I wish to build a beautiful house, come and look at the plans' and I keep saying that forever you finally think I'm a joke. The same things applies to stating broad policy thrusts, grand themes forever. The Details must be fleshed in.

If it should be considered that one cannot come up with policies that demonstrate that people matter, and the individual matters, and that can convince people that they will do better in their lives under a Tory government then in fact there is yet a third strategic option which is to spend ones time making it perfectly clear that one recognises the problems that exist and being more honest about them. And I have a number of suggestions as to the kind of thing which say new data which fall under that category.

On the question of opinion polls I have actually spoken off the record to the Opinion Research Centre and I've heard how the Tory party uses research data and frankly they use it much worse than the average soap-powder manufacturer. Much worse; in fact I would go so far as to say that the soap-powder manufacturer and the average packaged goods manufacturer know more about using market research data than the Tory party. And ironically the Tory party problem is a more complicated one than the soap-powder marketing problem. This is thought to be the most interesting relation. The Conservative research department ought to be using market research not just in a trend forecasting way but in a judgemental way so that they can exercise leadership based on their judgement of what the results mean.

I stress that interpretive judgemental leading view of research not just·
using it and following it blindly. Because ~~what is happening~~ at the moment,
the climate of opinion, the atmosphere has changed. Its my particular view
that we are in the midst of political discontinuity and therefore the direction
that we go is very much up to leadership, otherwise events will ensure the
direction and at the moment events are moving the Labour party's way.
Now coming back to this use of research by the Conservative Research ~~Centre~~ Dept,
really the most motivating ~~and profitable~~ research for a marketing company nowadays is
psychological research, ~~and~~ The few pieces of research that I have seen do not
go into this at all. They ask face value questions and particularly if you look
at the report that was done on workers. . . if you look at the booklet on
attitudes to work you will find that workers only want to know more about their
firm, very few of them have any hopes of advancement or promotion. In
other words the majority of the work force, if that research is typical, lack
hope. It must be the job of the ~~political~~ Tory party to give them hope ~~because~~ Only
if they have hope will they acquiesce in work, and only if they acquiesce in
work fully can productivity go up and all the money that is necessary to pay
for political programmes be obtained. So there is a major weakness at the
Conservative Research Dept and of the party's use of market research.

One of my colleagues wanted to talk to someone in the department back in
April and there wasn't a gap in this particular man's diary to see him and
his colleague until August. Quite frankly any organisation that is running like
that is not running properly. There must be thinking time, otherwise people
are running around like rats in a maze and their level of intelligence as
exhibited by performance will be perhaps just as bad.

To expect originality from people steeped in a historical culture all their
lives is like expecting an eighty year old man ~~to~~ suddenly to regain his teen-
age strength and vigour. There is no way that people who are surrounded
by the same old people and the same old ideas can suddenly burst forth with
a whole batch of original thoughts and ideas which can be classified as new
data. The only way those people can suddenly create new ideas is if they
are put in a situation where they have a catalyst amongst them and particularly
if they are put in group situations where they can all play off each other,
~~because~~ It has been shown time and time again that a group of people working

together have more ideas than individuals working ~~together~~ *alone*. Hence the
idea of group approaches to policy formation or to election strategy and
tactics with catalytic outside experts, call them analysts, consultants,
what you will, ~~they~~ *There* are experts and they can create this approach. The
other way to create this approach to originality is much more long term
and involves what is called organisational development and it should obviously
be centred on the Conservative Research Department.

As regards new data it has to be said that the new policy suggestions that I
have seen so far all sound even to my ears, even though they do contain
some new thoughts, like the normal kind of political claim. The implications
for ~~of~~ persuading the electorate that they are new are obvious. It has to be said
that the only way the Tory party can win a large enough share of the electoral
votes, so that it has a complete outright majority in the House and can genuinely
have a mandate to govern, which means to do the kinds of things it has been
critizing Labour for doing, because one thing the electorate will no longer
stand for is two-facedness, that's quite clear) ~~In order to achieve a~~
~~govern and to win by a landslide majority there must be~~ new data. There can
be no landslide majority without new data. That can't be repeated or emphasised
strongly enough. There can be no landslide majority without new data, ~~may~~
The new data ~~will either~~ be a massive failure by the Labour party, in which
case the Tories may get a landslide but they will be just as surely be defeated,
because if they are not ready with a policy then that is that.

There is such a vacuum of ideas today that any idea will be sucked in gratefully
by an empty corporate party brain cell (note the use of the word corporate
to describe the Tory party). But the fact is that the right idea is so
desperately needed by the vacuum of the country's hopes that any party
which propagates an idea which is even half right would get a landslide
majority, ~~which~~ encourages ~~the approach~~ the discontinuity approach
to generating new data. As I say ~~as I say it~~ must exhibit certain
discontinuous aspects and discontinuity is what the times are about.
Uncertainty equals discontinuity. If I recognised   continuity I would
not be uncertain. If this was a stable state it would not be a discontinuous
state.

One way of getting people to adopt new ideas is to have demonstrated previously that their proponent has had some success with them. Now success in politics is presumably measured by getting people to do what you suggest, and having your opinions taken up by the Party machine, or having demonstrabely had popular success with the people. In this regard Enoch Powell is one of the most successful politicians that the British country has seen!] The other big hang up that prevents anything happening in British society is the British disease, which is not so much the fact that our people are ineffective in their jobs if given freedom, but rather that they don't give themselves freedom. Culturally they prevent themselves from entering in to any situation where conflict rises to a noticeable level. It is only conflict that can ensure issues are discussed that people are challenged and that change occurs. Without conflict freedom is inextricably diminished in time. Now ironically the Tory party and Tories are the least conflicting personalities when it comes to new ideas or making ones presence felt or disagreeing vehemently with another person's point of view. "It is just not done old chap." "People don't do such things". Frankly, market growth, political growth, seeking out the right ideas is no respector of correct behaviour. Now this stance again can be radically altered, if not removed, by the presence of catalysts and change agent s in policy groups. Because the change agents act as the focus for distasteful behaviour and permits the illness and reticence to be drawn by their presence and behaviour, He has nothing to lose he doesn't mind if he acts in an impolite way and enables others by acting as a change agent - Chairman) to state their true views and to argue things through to a proper conclusion.

Interestingly enough extremists of any colour do not have this behaviour retisence which is one reason why because they are extremists they succeed in the British environment. They do not have the British disease in fact they have what might be called British growth. The other reason people will of course

not step outside existing cultural beliefs as to the form of behaviour, is that they believe that their subsequent promotion and career depends on it. It must be made clear that promotion depends on being sensibly outspoken and controversial in order to move forward and to cause ideas to grow and new suggestions flourish.

So as I say one possible route is to act as a Management Consultant to the Conservative Research Department and put together an organisation and development programme so that ideas go out properly functioning, growth seeking, honest, purposeful and dynamic organisation, which the current Conservative Research Department clearly isn't. It is an irony that today that organisational programmes which could well save the Tory party have been generated by businessmen business techniques and business universities.

there are a whole number of other business techniques that are relevant to politics today and Here one must disagree with the whole thrust of recent Telegraph. letters to the editor that such that businessmen have no role to play in politics. It is my particular view that only if businessmen use the particular techniques, in seeking what one might term truth, that they've applied to market truth only if they apply these to idea truth will in fact things stand a chance of happening. Businessmen alone have the skill and ability to take an idea and to transform it into a concrete reality. This skill alas is sadly lacking, according to events, not just amongst politicians, but also amongst the Civil Service. The only thing the Civil Service seem to be able to transform into a working reality is a piece of paper, namely a legislative bill.

It's no good any political party working with businessmen. The

whole career structure of this ~~company~~ country has to change.
Businessmen must be accepted as MPs.   Civil Service members
must be accepted as businessmen.   Politicians must be able to
work in the Civil Service.   And everybody should change around
on some sensible time scale.   Perhaps say every 8 years on
the assumption that there are elections roughly every 4 years.
But one thing is certain there is too much happening in society
today and ~~management in whatever areas too~~ *it is often too* complicated to
assume that a stranger from one area can understand what the
reality of another area is.   There must be transfusion of talents.
The transfusion of talents, being combined with honesty, the ability
to confront reality, to argue, to act in an Unbritish way, to escape
from the British disease should ensure a healthy growing society.
A healthy growing society would subsequently attract the best
talents from the universities into industry even if it didn't go *there originally.*
Society would insist that ~~one~~ /a political, or a Civil Service, or indeed a university career,
would demand ~~as part of society the structure~~ that those self-same
talents went into industry for part of their career.   In this way
we could ensure that this insane British distaste for business
is utterly altered and that it comes purposeful, ~~and becomes transformed~~ *and*
obliterated by events.   In other words, no one ~~but no one~~ should
go to university and stay at university, *no one* should go to the Civil Service
and stay in the Civil Service, become an MP and stay an MP.
Everyone must work in business *at some time* because business is the proper
generator of the country's health.

You may say that this is not freedom, but if you believe that ultimately
our freedom is depending on the free market flourishing and working
properly you will then see that this is a necessary condition for
freedom. [Slogans are not new data anyone can utter a slogan.
It only becomes new data if there is a conviction that it can happen.
For there to be a conviction that it can happen there has to be other
new data about the people who are propounding the slogan.

Journalists are very good ~~about~~ writing <u>about</u> new data, enlarging

on it, examining its facets, <u>once they have been given the new data,</u>

but very few of them originate it. It is not in their style to

originate, it is in their style to comment and speculate. Origination

comes usually from people who spend their whole lives generating

ideas. This ought to be politicians because Idea generation is one

definition of leadership but today alas it seems that most idea

generation comes from the academic reaches of society.

There are certainly more ideas generated by journalists than by

politicians - this I do not question. I do question whether they

generate more than academics. Certainly it is in the nature of

the journalist to examine what the editor of the Times has called

<u>option research</u>, but I am not sure that option research is actually

idea generation per se. It is usually a response to an idea that

has already been generated by someone else.. To speculate with

a number of new speculations about an original thought that had

been generated by someone else is not in my view a new idea.

If there are contradictions inherent in any political problem it is

certainly not ~~sold~~ solved by leaving it in obeyance and going on to another

more interesting field of study. Certainly if there are dilemas

in a political situation one possible approach to solving those

dilemas is whatever ~~Debano~~ Edward de Bono calls lateral thinking, which could

be said to be branching away from apparent solutions to the

problems and exploring not only the boundaries but tangents to

the boundaries. However, all of this requires <u>a definite will</u>

<u>to solve the problem</u> because lateral thinking is a technique

for problem solving. Now that means that if you are going

to solve a problem you must study it resolutely, wilfully and spend

alot of time on it. You must worry at the problem and go at

it over and over again. <u>This is not an evident behavioural</u>

<u>pattern for leading politicians.</u> It is my view that they do

their country a dis-service by not solving current problems *before*
~~and~~ moving into new areas.   Their duty lies in solving problems.
Some problems identify themselves, others have to be identified.
Leadership requires the problems are identified which are of *major*
~~absolute mean and~~ importance either to today or to tomorrow.
Leadership does not require that we discuss yesterday's problems
when they are no longer relevant. In my view the growth of the
economic output of this country is no longer a relevant problem
the solutions are known.   The relevant problem is the growth
of the individuals in this country.   The data to solve the conomic
problem is already present - the ~~treadgery~~ *Treasury* are changing their
behaviour, the Bank of England are chaning their behaviour,
journalists are changing their behaviour.   The British disease
is one of flight from fight or ~~fight to~~ *fight* avoidance.   Tolerance is
exploitable, the British tolerance is exploitable ~~cos~~ *because* of the
British diseae ~~because~~ fo prevent *oneself* being exploited *on* has to be
intolerant.   To be intolerant one has to ~~be~~ express a point of view
strongly to the point where one can be seen to be an extremist
in manners and ~~terms~~ *any time* i.e. you are non-British.   So you accept
things which you would not yourself wish to accept because to
object to them would ~~be~~ place you in the ranks of the non-British.
You would not be a cultural conformists *The* British disease is not
to wish to be deviant, yet the British requirement for national
growth is that everyone in positions in authority and with ability
should be deviant when they do not believe *in* what is being said or
done, or what is *not* being said or done.   Ironically the identity
of Britain's is itself being undermined by the British disease,
As a result of the British disease the British identity is being
lost because ~~they~~ *it* will not fight the forces which ~~the force~~ must
destroy it.   Until one invents a way of presenting ~~the product~~ *a new*
or a ~~plicy~~ then, by definition the product or policy cannot exist
because it cannot be communicated.

On this tape we have discussed something like 5 separate approaches
which could be regarded as products.   Any one of them if released
into the media, at political speeches, press releases or whatever
would say new data, and any one of them would say new product or policy.
However, some of them, or one of them, are more motivating to the
voters than others and it is this approach that should be sought.
But in my personal belief that personal growth is at the heart of
this, and this coupled with all the other new data like party
reorganisation, like the recognition of discontinuity, like the
demonstration that one is prepared to stick one's neck out, make
guesses and utter statements, to have one's expertise tested, are The
all of these things, taken together, can act as the, as it were,
fertiliser, basic basic seed-corn for the original or most
important product, together the whole thing will be perceived by
the electorate, and by the media and indeed through the media to
the electorate as massive Tory new data on which hope for the
future can be built .   Without such new data no landslide majority
can be gained - without landslide majority the Tory party does
not have either the mandate or the confidence to the face up to
the unions or to the reality of what working life is about.

I am going to deal with you in an Un-British way - it is not because
I am intolerant, uncivilised or even lack the qualities of a
gentleman it is because I believe there are moments when they
you can be too gentlemanly by half.   Politics does not exist
in a vacuum, it is about dealing with the real world and with the
real people.   Yet you ask myself and my colleagues to act as
advisers to the Centre without giving us any concrete data.
We have met real people, middle ranking MPs of lower ranking
intellects - clearly frightened by us, clearly cautious, clearly
surprised and clearly above all else not prepared to open their
mouths too far.

Norman Strauss. 3 Aug 76

A SIMPLE WAY TO LOOK AT SLOGANS by NORMAN STRAUSS

1. FREEDOM & CHOICE

   SLOGAN: It's your choice

   RESPONSE: It is not, Could be if....., Won't be until...... That'll be the day!

   You can do it   Help the people

   Do what?   How?   What Tools?   What leadership?

   Greater Freedom Works

   For whom?   I'm stuck where I am. I'll never be able to afford a ......

   Tory Freedom Works

   Their freedom is my slavery. Why should I help them?

   Conclusion: Need to create time conviction that Tories can, will and
   want to change things for 'ordinary' people.

2. ENTREPRENEURIAL PROFITS

   Could you help?

   Why?   What for?   What's in it for me?

   Profits Work for Everybody

   I don't get profits, I only get paid. They're screwing me. These
   bastards have got it made. I'll never be rich.

   Profits Pay Wages

   That's true - what happens to the surplus?

   High Risk = High Reward

   I never get the chance - except gambling and that's low risk if I'm
   sensible.

   There's one rule for the rich and one for the poor.

   You've got to have money to make money. Why should I help others to
   become rich if I don't share in the gains?

   Conclusion: Need to stay in work for self-respect as well as money.
   Find people their ideal job to maximise satisfactions.
   Teach people to use their minds as well as their purses. Help people
   to grow and find themselves.

3. PATRIOTISM

   If it's good for the country it's good for me.

   Could be..... What's the country done for me recently?

   What is 'it' anyway?

   Do Scotland get their share?

   Conclusion: Need for re-building patriotism, staging events (?) without
   encouraging further devolution.

4. YOUR COUNTRY NEEDS YOU

   What would you like?

   Dunno really ...... More money I suppose.........
   Straight talking. Tell us the truth. Be honest
   I want them to care about/help the likes of us
   You tell me - you're the leaders - that's your job - it's what you're paid for.

   We know what to do
   But we can't do it without your help

   We're helpless without you - you're helpless with labour.

        We're the Conservatives

             *Help us to help you   *Here's how you can help:

   Your country needs your vote - vote Conservative

   *Your vote counts - we're helpless without it

   We're up against it - don't vote to make it worse

   Conclusion: No party or government can tell people what to do
   There is a balance of power.
   Mutual responsibility between government and the governed
   But unrepresentative power groups are usurping electorate's voting authority TUC/CBI
   The individual must demonstrably and convincingly be made to matter.

        POLICIES FOR PEOPLE

   The need for changed behaviour, style, manner, tone of voice, and, above all,
   form and content. What I call 'NEW DATA':

5. <u>BUSINESS</u>

The Business of America is Business

The Business of Britain is ????

In Britain, only business can pay for????

Whatever we want to do, business must pay for it.

If we help business, how will business help us?

I want <u>my share</u> of the profits.

Maintain Plant and Buildings

Buy new Plant to replace worn out

More jobs, promotions

USE OF PROFITS

Invest to Grow

Greater job security

Existing jobs

AFTER TAX

Pension Contributions

Pay Wages

Pay shareholders fair shares

Surplus?? Reserve? Contingencies?

<u>Conclusion</u>: Need to explain 'my share' and fair way of calculating it.

What is ? ? ? ? i.e. National purpose, values, ambitions for people

26th July 1976

<u>NSS/mb</u>

Please find attached some more information on CHANGE AGENTS.

Because Change Agent techniques have developed from the
Behavioural Sciences there are many words which sound like
jargon. Some of them are, but others represent worked out
concepts which have needed new words to describe them. For
the operation of a Change Agent Programme, one would seek
to remove the use of jargon as much as possible, but it is
difficult to do this instantly.

Change Agents are people who seek to help others with their
processes of problem solving and change, usually without
themselves becoming involved in its content. The term
describes individuals with a wide range of skills in the
so-called 'helping' professions. They could take roles such
as teacher, expert, adviser, counsellor, staff specialist,
catalyst, etc. Good Change Agents decide the appropriateness
of each role to a task. It would be wrong merely to call them
consultants, because that word conjures up images based on
people's views of management consultants. Although their
skills may relate their uses and scope are very different.

The proposed use of Change Agents for the Tory Party would be
a radical one, involving attempts to permanently improve the
'health' of the Party organisation and its operation. Specifically,
raising capacities for performing tasks, improving relationships
and creating them where none exist, learning about-and adapting
to-a turbulent and uncertain environment. This is a developmental
approach and social scientists hold it to be analogous to a person
reaching maturity.

Change Agents would tend to talk about the Tory Party as their 'client'
in the relationship that they would seek to establish with it. Normally
a client would give a brief in advance so that a proposal that stated
the client's needs could be suitably shaped. I hope that the Party
needs will emerge in discussion when we meet next Monday. In the
meantime I have selected one or two papers and extracts which indicate
the kinds of things that Change Agents typically become involved in
and the kind of issues that arise. I have also written a more general
document entitled 'The Role of the Change Agent', which attempts, as
a first draft, to put this whole area in some kind of operational
context. I hope this is sufficient for your initial needs and look
forward to our discussion.

N.S. STRAUSS
18 August 1976

THE ROLE OF THE CHANGE AGENT

Introduction

The political problems of suggesting change for the Tory Party are
taken as read. It is assumed that the reader shares the view that
change is vital if the Tory viewpoint is to become the dominant
political force in the land. As shown by behaviour, the current
party machine is frequently ineffective. Whilst events change
rapidly, demanding a changing response, the party machine continues
along yesterday's path. It is suffering from the British disease
of <u>self-imposed restrictions on its own freedom to manoeuvre, think
and act</u>. It refuses to challenge the conventional wisdom, even
though members at all levels have doubts. This situation is a
typical 'BRIT-TRAP', a deliberately ugly word to describe the kind of trap
Britons make for themselves in the future by the deliberate avoidance
of present reality. As stated in a previous paper on the NEED FOR
NEW DATA, the Brit-trapper's disease is particularly virulent within
the Tory Party, it is enshrined within middle-class values of tolerance
and manners.

But to challenge the present one must have a viable mechanism for
improving the future. Fortunately consultants, academics and
behavioural scientists have been using such techniques for over
20 years in order to change large and small businesses for the better.
Much of what follows is culled from the academic papers, journals and
books that now form the literature for Organisational Development and
Planned Change to help both institutions and the people that comprise
them to evolve in keeping with their environment.

Need for Change - The State of the Nation

Evolution is always necessary. We are discussing the rate and kind
of evolution necessary to survive in a turbulent environment. In
order to govern and lead one must be sensitive to events, organised
to evaluate them accurately and efficient in one's planned response.
The governed must believe in what is done on their behalf if they
are to consent willingly to the tasks that they are called upon
to perform. Today, there is no consent; Labour does not have a
majority mandate, the people are not clamouring for the Tories
to return to power. As a response to troubled, turbulent times
many are lapsing into social divisiveness and sullen withdrawal.
Fiddling, vandalism, lack of purpose, racial and class tensions
abound. Skill and effort are no longer fairly rewarded. Order
is no longer in evidence.

This is bad change because it is disintegration, the rotting of the
fabric of society. How can we seek and achieve good change, stop
the rot?

Why Isn't Good Change Happening Already; Who needs a Change-Agent?

1. Diagnosis of our Present State

The process of good change is going on all the time. It is a
natural process which can be relied upon to take place by
itself, unless it is blocked. Unfortunately, it is blocked, BRIT-TRAPS
are created by fear, despair, lack of understanding, complexity, tradition,
personal ambition, incompetence, arbitrariness, defence of the
status quo, imagined self-protection, bureaucracy, insensitivity to the need

for change , today's work pressures etc. This happens in
all walks of British life to the extent that observers
(foreign, professional) believe U.K. society to be in a state
of crisis.

So the pressures needed, to change our institutions and to
comprehend reality, are neutered by the blurring of issues,
by inflexible postures and by cynically pseudo-dynamic talk
(what I call 'a touch of the dynamic verbals') which, whether
deliberately or stupidly, remains resolutely separate from
the skills needed for relevant diagnosis, planning and action.

There is a vital need to break away from such patterns of thought,
to escape from the 'carry-over' effect of yesterday's dreams.

This approach should be demonstrated to the Nation by exposing
the Tory Party to it first. They must be seen to practice what
they preach.

2. Response - The Use of Change Agents from OUTSIDE the Party
Planned intervention for increased personal and inter-personal
competence, and for party organisational change offers the method
for improvement and hope. The CHANGE-AGENT OUTSIDER aims to enable
people to grow and realise their potential. For the Party to be successful,
people will need to become more tolerant, helpful, supportive and committed
to each other. They can develop mature relationships which are fully
integrated with the purposes of the Party and in tune with the needs of the
Country. But there are many problems of implementation and much
hard work will be needed. The same could be said for the Country.

3. <u>A Programme for Change - the Need for Good People</u>

<u>The Selection and Support of a Team of Change Agents</u>

The programme will be open and honest. In no sense does this mean that change agents will be naive.

It is vital that Mrs Thatcher be known to be fully in charge of the programme and utterly committed to it. Without top support BRIT-TRAPS will kill it.

Because of assumed, existing, internal rivalries and power cliques it is important that this responsibility should <u>not</u> be delegated to an existing Party insider, who can be identified with a faction. This should probably apply initially even if there is someone who has previously demonstrated successful skills in this area.

A team of experts should be invited to join, advertised for and appointed from, business, the universities, ex. civil servants, media, M.P.s, Central Office, Trade Unions, etc. But these would <u>not</u> be, could not be, token appointments. Each would be selected for specific skills, experience, character elements, creativity, contacts, etc., that they could bring to bear on the CHANGE project. They could be of very different ages and levels of seniority. They would, of themselves, break up rigid hierarchical perceptions of promotional ladders and rewards within the Party.

Above all, team members must have uncommitted attitudes, be
wide ranging in their views and efficient convertors of ideas
into actions. They will be asked to provide evidence of previous
practical experience in this area, or demonstrate an ability
to become skilled in it.

The team members' brief is to ensure that,within say 18 months a segment of
the Tory Party can carry on running without their help in its
new, invigorated, dynamic, purposeful form. The CHANGE AGENTS would not,
must not, become a new bureaucracy. They are outsiders in
their change agent role and must remain so. They will leave and
go on to their next task when the Tory machinery is running
smoothly again along successful lines.

The job will be a full-time one. This is a vital task. It is not
just another part-time committee. They must have time to concentrate
on problems and study the Party and its National purpose in depth.

"What does a change agent do?"
"How does he work?"

He intervenes in organisation, intergroup, team and individual development
problems at critical points of here-and-now problem solving where actual
difficulties are being experienced - there are at least nine major kinds
of interventions which can unblock indecision and relieve impasses of the
kind that frequently arise and that prevent the achievement of development
objectives. With such interventions available, developmental aims are more
likely to be realized. These kinds of interventions include the following:

a) Discrepancy. This intervention calls attention to a contradiction
    in action or attitudes. This kind of confrontation is useful for
    keeping the organisation on a new course rather than allowing it to
    shift unwittingly into old and less satisfactory behaviour patterns,
    due to momentary pressures.

b) Theory. A second kind of intervention is where a confrontation draws
    on behavioral science concepts and theory to throw into bold relief
    the connection between underlying assumptions and present behaviour.
    In addition, theory sometimes can be useful in predicting the con-
    sequences likely to follow from embarking on any specialised course of
    action.

c) Procedural. A critique of how various steps of effort in organisation
    development activities may or may not aid problem solving.

d) Relationship. This kind of intervention focuses attention of participants
    on issues which arise between people as they work together. It is needed
    to reduce or to eliminate inter-personal frictions. With this focus of
    attention on personal feelings, particularly strong negative tensions which
    hinder coordinated effort, emotions can be examined and resolved.

e) Experimentation. Another intervention involves experimentation which permits
    testing and comparing two or more courses of action before a final decision
    is taken, particularly when the way to proceed has become institutionalized
    or tradition-bound.

f) <u>Dilemma</u>. A dilemma intervention, which aids in accurately identifying a choice point in managerial actions, often can help members re-examine outworn assumptions and search for alternatives other than those under consideration.

g) <u>Perspective</u>. Many times in the intensity of the effort applied in work settings, it seems almost inevitable that individuals or teams will lose their sense of direction. Thereafter, it is increasingly difficult to reestablish a course of action which can move the situation away from momentary problem-solving toward larger issues. A perspective intervention permits present actions to be evaluated by providing a background of broader historical orientation.

h) <u>Organisation Structure</u>. It is possible to think of many organisation development efforts which leave the very structure of the organisation unevaluated and unexamined. Many causes of organisational ineffectiveness are not found in procedures, or team effectiveness, or even in the absence of performance goals. Rather, the fabric of the organisation itself can prevent communication, decision making and the application of effort from being as effective as it might be under different organisational arrangements. An organisational intervention focuses on issues which confront the total organisation membership or its various sub-components.

i) <u>Cultural</u>. A 'cultural' intervention examines traditions, precedents and established practices which constitute properties of the organisationl fabric itself. Challenging the appropriateness of organisation culture is difficult, because it permeates actions in such a silent way. Yet, the great challenge is to bring organisation culture under deliberate management. The intervention which lifts up culture for examination may indeed be one of the most critical of all.

The work of the change agent is not always to suggest specific solutions to problems identified. His purpose is to monitor and to audit progress to solve such problems, to keep attention of relevant groups focused on objectives they have set for themselves, and to aid in releasing and mobilizing efforts in problem-solving directions. Where his interventions shift away from the process of

problem solving toward content solutions, his effectiveness is likely to markedly decrease. The reason is that, by taking content positions, he is likely to be in the position of countering alternative positions which in the final analysis are ones over which the line organisation has final responsibility.

N.S. STRAUSS

18th August 1

THE ROLE OF THE O.D. SPECIALIST OR THIRD PARTY

WHY USE AN 'OUTSIDER' OR A SPECIALIST?

Many of the problems tackled in organisation development involve questions
about communication, about understanding the needs, aspirations and
expectations of others and the effects people have on one another in
interactions. But as often as not there are issues of power, influence,
status and control at stake; or conflicts between parties who are not in
real communication at all. The value of the Third Party in these situations
depends upon his detachment. To be effective, he must not be tied to any
one of the protagonists more than another. Provided he has no investment
in the outcome for any one party, he is able to step back from what is
going on and reflect for the parties a less biassed or distorted picture
of their methods of working and interaction; and to point out the consequences
of such methods and patterns of interaction. However insight alone does not
necessarily lead to change. So the Third Party makes a further kind of con-
tribution which depends partly upon his detachment from the 'politics' of the
situation and partly upon his skills and personality. He provides a climate
in which the parties feel 'safer' than usual in bringing issues into the open
and facing up to the problems which are really blocking their effectiveness.
He does this partly by controlling as far as he can the physical setting in
which meetings take place; partly by setting a personal example of candour
and openness about both facts and feelings; and partly by demonstrating an
attitude of acceptance and of careful listening as others express points of
view, often points of view which they may not find it easy to articulate.
At the same time his detachment permits him to comment more frankly on what
he sees going on in meetings and to take the risk of saying what no one else
feels free to say.

The Third Party does not merely work to help in solving current problems.
His role is to guide the parties to greater self-sufficiency in the knowledge
and skills to work on their own problems.

N. S. STRAUSS
18.8.76

PHASES IN PLANNED CHANGE

Billie T. Alban

PHASES	KEY ISSUES	ROLE OF CHANGE AGENT	STRATEGIES

1. Entry, Start-up, Initial contract	Recognizing your own motives and needs
	Finding out where the client is
	Establishing a relationship(s)
	Defining roles and expectations (yours and others)
	Defining client system or systems
	Defining client relationship to problem, his goals, motives, etc.
	Defining areas for data gathering
	Building support
		Researcher
		Explorer
		Organizer
		Helper
		Host, party giver
		Joiner
		Presenter
			Interviews
			  Group
			  Individual
			Consultation
			Informal get-togethers
			Linking
			Creating Optimism

2. Data gathering and diagnosis	Define area of stress-where is the pain? Define change problem Define change objectives Determine systems readiness and potential to change	Researcher Explorer Educator Mirrorer Giver of perspective Evaluator	Interview and feedback Survey feedback Observations and feedback Confrontation meeting Group meetings and discussion Problem census Giving support

3. Planning and Implementation	Timing and Readiness--When should we start?
	Resources - who can we get to help us - inside, outside
	Identifying leverage points for entry and action
	Identifying areas of power and legitimation
	Priorities - most important, most urgent
	Determine types of interventions needed
	Consider consequences and impact on rest of the organization, system or sub-system.
	Building understanding
		Cartographer
		  Where are we going?
		  How do we get there?
		Helper
		Theorist
		Educator
		Trainer
		Seer
		Organizer
		Designer
		Evaluator
			Individual change
			  Managerial Grid
			  Sensitivity trg.
			  Coaching
			  Counseling
			  Training
			  Developing potential catalysts
			  Life and career planning
			  Achievement motivation
			Group and inter-group change
			  Grid CD
			  Team building
			  Training in group skills

PHASES	KEY ISSUES	ROLE OF CHANGE AGENT	STRATEGIES
	Building support systems Redefining contract, establishing new contracts		Intergroup labs and workshops Management by objectives Problem solving workshops System Changes Changes in work plan Changes in appraisal and evaluation in methods Job enrichment Changes in reward system Matrix model, network, others EDP Temporary systems- formal and informal Capatalizing on intercultural potential Socio-technical systems Office landscaping and architecture Environmental Interface Changes Merger and acquisition Consumer-client organizations Inter-group conflict resolution Archetectural interventions Lobbying Organizing the social environment Creating new parallel, competitive or mediating institutions
4. Institutionalizing continued Planned change	Evaluation Self contained competency Consultancy relationship Re-new Change Terminate maintaining constant awareness of growth and change inside organization & outside Planning	Evaluator Supporter Planner Planner of succession Trainer-developer	Developing internal resources Developing continued training, education and re-education Developing norms and mechanisms for feedback, data gathering, evaluation and planning as an integral part of the system Formalizing new structures

- HIGH EXPECTATIONS
- RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL
- HONEST RELATIONSHIPS
- FREEDOM TO ACT
- TEAM ORIENTATION

INTERPERSONAL COMPETENCE

- UNDERSTANDABLE
- DESIRABLE
- ATTAINABLE
- SYNERGISTIC
- OPPORTUNITY TO INFLUENCE

ACHIEVEMENT SELF-ACTUALIZATION

CONDITIONS FOR HUMAN EFFECTIVENESS

MEANINGFUL GOALS

- PROFITABLE ORGANIZATIONAL GROWTH
- PERSONAL & PROFESSIONAL GROWTH
- COMMITMENT TO GOALS
- HIGH MOTIVATION
- DISSATISFACTION MINIMIZED
- HIGH TRUST FACTOR

HELPFUL SYSTEMS

- UNDERSTANDABLE
- GOAL-ORIENTED
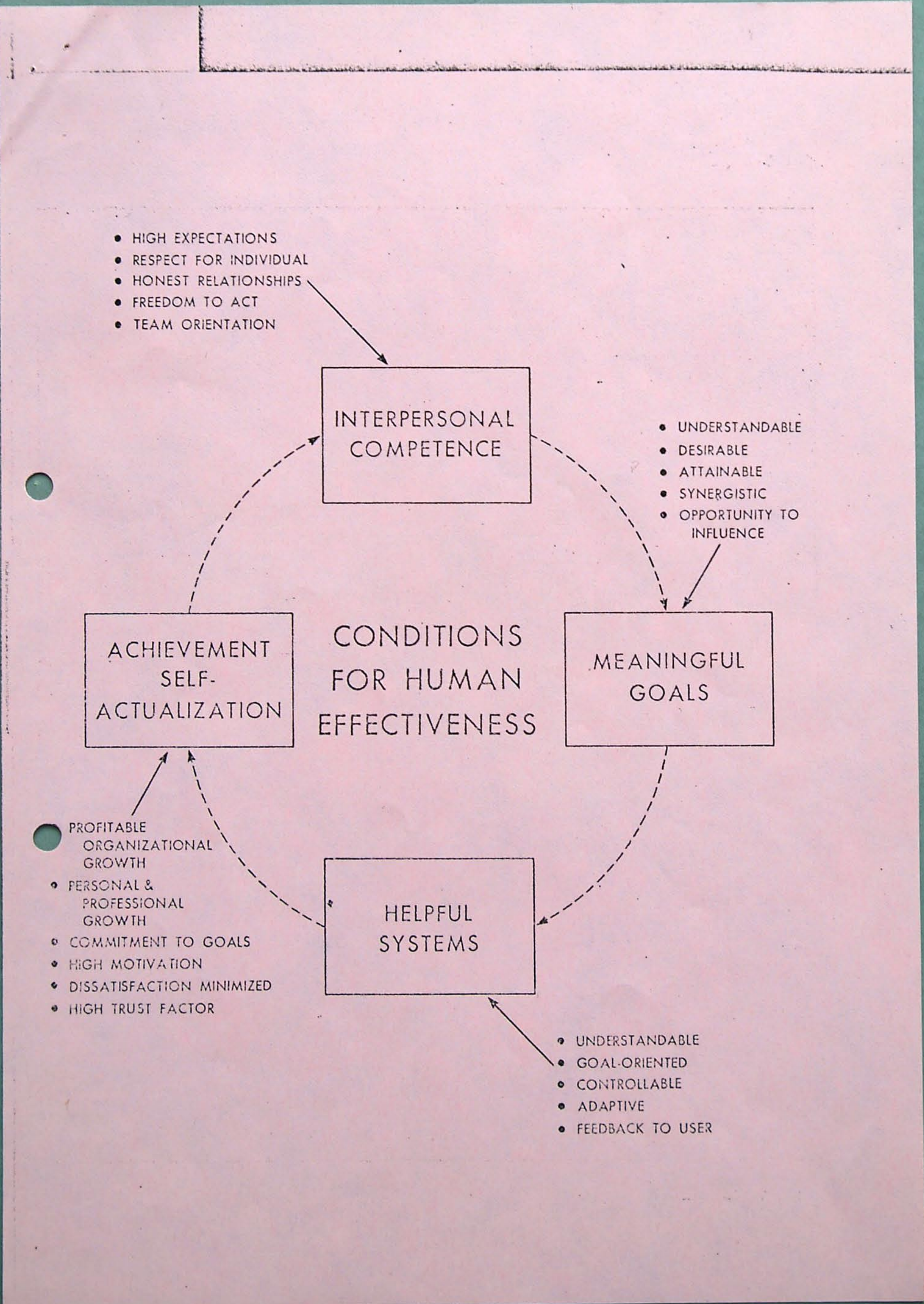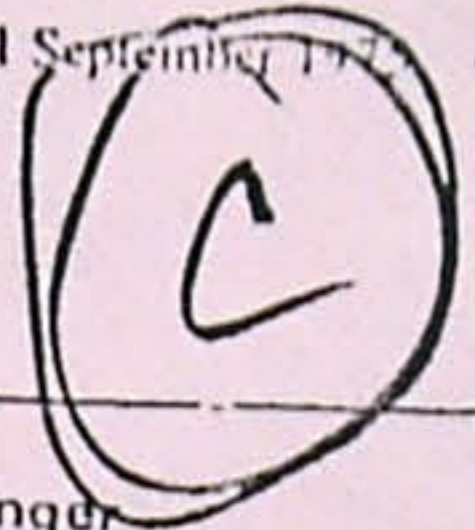- CONTROLLABLE
- ADAPTIVE
- FEEDBACK TO USER

FIG. 1 Staging posts on the developmental spiral

	Maslow	Kohlberg	Loevinger
6	**Self-actualisation** Being that self which I truly am. Being all that I have it in me to be. A fully-functioning person.	**Individual principles** True personal conscience. Universal principles fully internalised. Genuinely autonomous. Selfishness B.	**Autonomous: integrated** Flexible and creative. Internal conflicts are faced and recognised. Tolerance of ambiguity. Respect for autonomy. Feelings expressed.
5	**Self-esteem 2** Goals founded on self-evaluated standards. Self-confidence. Self-respect.	**Social contract** Utilitarian law-making. Principles of general welfare. Long-term goals.	**Conscientious** Bound by self-imposed rules. Differentiated thinking. Self-aware.

INDIVIDUAL ↑ FREEDOMS

THE GREAT GAP

SOCIALLY ↓ CONSTRAINING FACTORS

	Maslow	Kohlberg	Loevinger
4	**Self-esteem 1** Respect from others. Social status. Recognition.	**Law and order** Authority maintenance. Fixed social rules. Find duty and do it.	**Conformist 2** Seeking general rules of social conformity. Justifying conformity.
3	**Love and belongingness** Wish for affection, for a place in the group, tenderness, etc.	**Personal concordance** Good-boy morality. Seeking social approval. Liking to be liked. Majority is right.	**Conformist 1** Going along with the crowd. Anxiety about rejection. Need for support.
2	**Effectance** Mastery. Personal power. Imposed control. Blame and retaliation. Domination.	**Instrumental hedonism** Naïve egocentrism. Horse-trading approach. Profit-and-loss calculation. Selfishness A.	**Self-protective manipulative** Wary, exploitative. People are means to ends. Competitive stance. Fear of being caught. Many stereotypes.
1	**Safety** Defence against danger. Fight or flight. Fear — world is a scary place.	**Obedience/punishment** Deference to superior power. Rules are external and eternal.	**Impulsive** Domination by immediate cue, body feelings. No reflection. Retaliation fears.

After David L. Wright (1974). Omitting lowest level of Maslow (physiological) and of Loevinger (pre-social, symbiotic).

My colleagues are able to help to provide the following

services or to advise on them:

1.   Management Consultancy

(a)   Organisational revitalisation and renewal of

the Party machine, specifically the Conservative Research

Department.   Only an organic responsive structure can have

the flexibility and sensitivity to maintain contact with the

shifting mood of the times.   It must be experienced but

experimental, properly cautious but suitably courageous,

wilful and purposeful in its resolve but not stubborn and

fixed in its ways.   Is it currently all of these?

A programme of restructuring for growth, flexibility and

idea origination and evaluation. How does one evaluate

ideas, translate them into practical working policy, com-

municate them to the electorate in a motivating and effective

way?   SEE EXHIBIT A

There is a clear need for a Director of Communications

structurally linked via the Party machine to its levels of

power (e.g. key members of the Shadow Cabinet) and to its

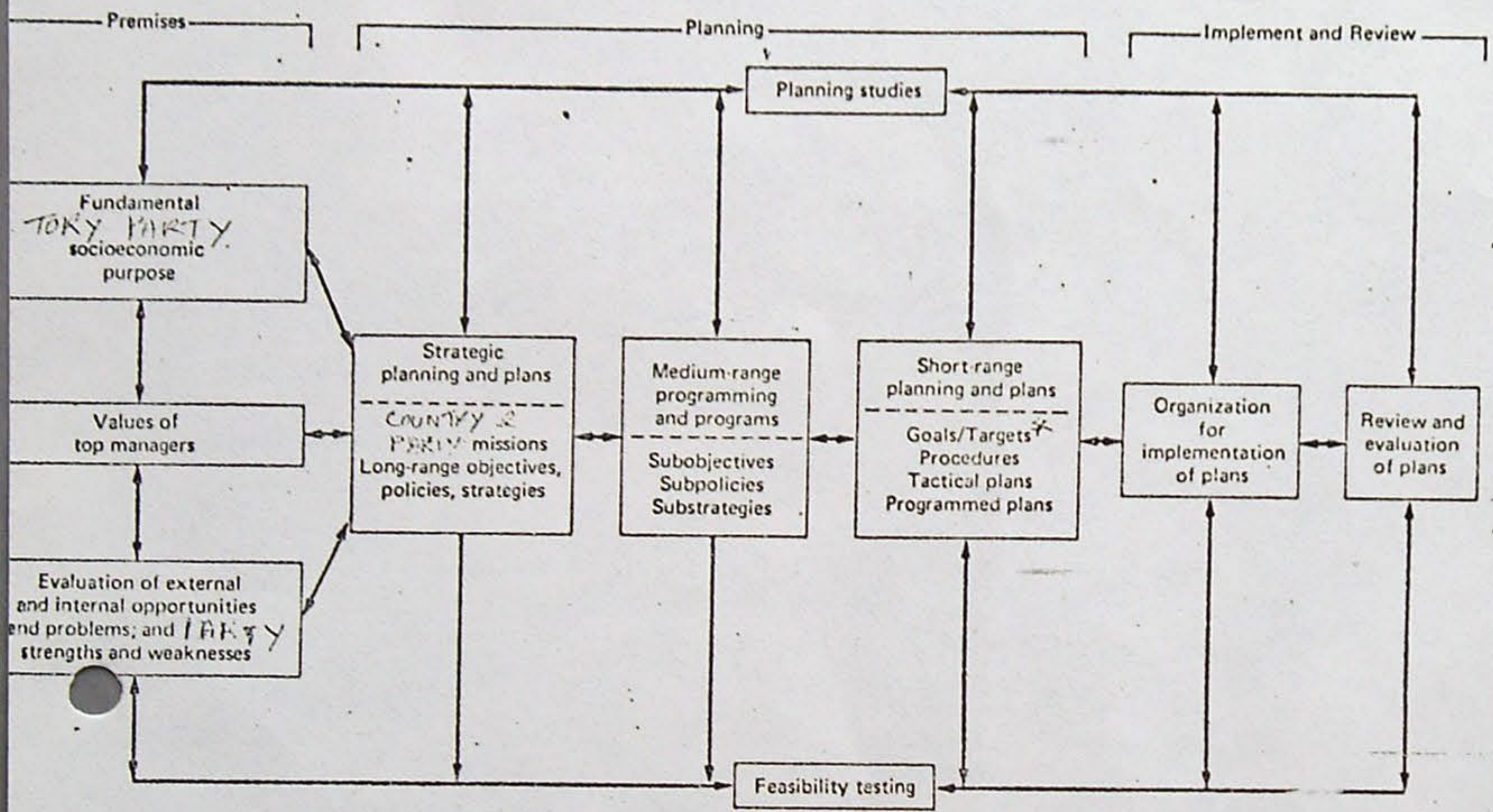information gathering processes (grass roots, market

FIGURE 17.1   THE STRUCTURE AND PROCESS OF MANAGERIAL PLANNING (George A. Steiner, *Top Management Planning*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1969, p. 33)

N.B.* ELECTION WINNING
— MUST INCLUDE, THE GAINING OF CONSENT

research, universities, business, unions, etc). This job —
must have authority; it has an originating and sifting role not
just a slogan writing and press release role.

(b)   Change agents .   MPs seem to have fixed attitudes
on many topics that cry out for an altered response.   Why is
this?   Why the fear?

The Party needs motivating ideas and policies to win a landslide
majority.   Without such a majority it will have to behave in
precisely the way it now criticises Labour for so doing.   The
electorate will, as a result, view its actions as self-interested
and will not give it their mandate (confidence, trust, public
opinion poll popularity, open support against hostile groups e.g.
extremists, unions even the CBI if it refused to encourage
investment).

Landslides depend on strongly held beliefs and convictions
not on marginal preferences for one idea or policy over
another.   This requires facts, new facts (what I call NEW
DATA) which are believed to be right, fair, orderly, practical,
workable and relevant to BRITAIN'S needs and the needs of
its people.   These facts are not currently being communicated.
Broad themes or slogans are inadequate unless they represent
the titles of well known works.   SEE EXHIBIT B
                                        PLEASE READ IT NOW

Government is about leading society from the present known, though
often imperfectly understood, position, to tomorrow's unknown
position. The duty of the Opposition is to see what is wrong with
the present position and say how tomorrow could be different if
better managed.

Even assuming Mrs. Thatcher won an election tomorrow and then 'saw
the books' she still has to forecast the unknown and demonstrate
how to manage it. Government could be called the management of the
unknown.

The person who thinks about tomorrow and plans for it is exhibiting
qualities of leadership and judgement. These are qualities required
of Party leaders. If we do not see them demonstrated in opposition
there is no credibility to support the proposition that they will
be demonstrated in Government.

The current Government have already demonstrated, having 'seen the
books', that any commitment to a detailed economic policy is today
fraught with uncertainties which demand sophisticated, informed and
rational, though still probabilistic, guesswork. The need to guess
is ever present, both for the Government and for the Opposition.
The electorate, therefore, has to judge the Opposition's qualities
and skill on the basis of its 'guesses'. Of course there is
reduced 'room for manoeuvre' once a meaningful statement is made, indeed
but the same applies with any Government policy. But, at least,
meaningful statements do have meaning. They can be measured and
monitored; their intent can be checked against the outcome. By
contrast, all we have seen or heard so far from the Tory Party are
aims, philosophy, themes, principles and broad policy thrusts, when
what we need is a convincing display of fundamental thinking, allied
to the problems of governing in today's changed, complex world.

We do not know what they mean in practice and we have no means of
judging. The rallying cry of freedom is emotionally appealing but
rationally meaningless without any indication of the new societal
infrastructure that could both make it work and provide the money
to finance it.

For the Party to work, as in Exhibit B the ideas and new behaviour must be generated from amongst the people (MPs) whose responsibility it is to communicate them. The current policy groups have not demonstrated their ability to break free from their culture.

Change or enabling agents will act as catalysts, focusses within the groups to permit candid, free and frank discussion. Such an approach permits people to become creative and original. Insiders will <u>not</u> do this without outsiders' stimuli.

(c)   <u>Techniques</u> can be used to help. Brainstorming, lateral thinking. Guests (journalists, academics, businessmen) can help. The whole process could become dynamic, hopeful.

(d)   <u>Use of Market Research and Communication</u>
The people cannot tell you what they want. Nor can a market research firm. They can only say what they currently think, feel and fear; show you by their actions their underlying psychology. You must do the interpreting. Interpreting requires judgement, demands leadership skills.

With this in mind let us re-read the booklet

WHAT ABOUT THE WORKERS?

See the page headed "Priorities of most importance for
workers to achieve". What does this really say that is
vital. Here is my judgement (based on similar thinking
for soap research experience - business has more experience
than politics in interpreting people's views).

There is no HOPE amongst the majority. If there is no
HOPE how can they care about anything at all? What is
their reason for trying to excel—be it increased productivity,
learning new skills, looking after council property?

Evidence:

1. Only 9% wanted a better system for promotion

2. Only 5% wanted better chances of promotion

3. Only 5% wanted more opportunities to retrain
   for better jobs

This demands POLICY for PEOPLE. The way to grow with
your country.

But see how complicated the Ideas of Personal Growth are.

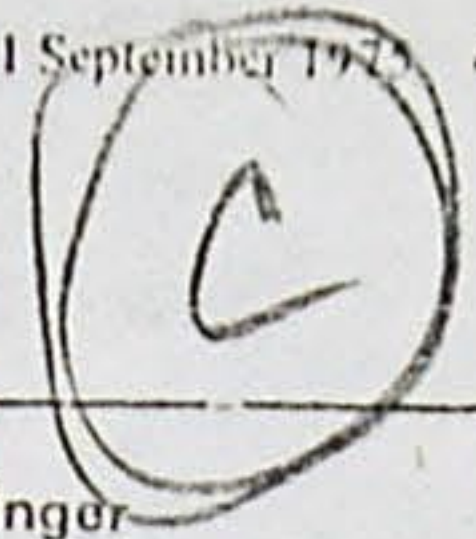This is a very skilled communication task needing linked
themes to explain it by analogy and example. SEE EXHIBITS C, D

And see how badly the Party has used ORC research in

the past SEE EXHIBIT E
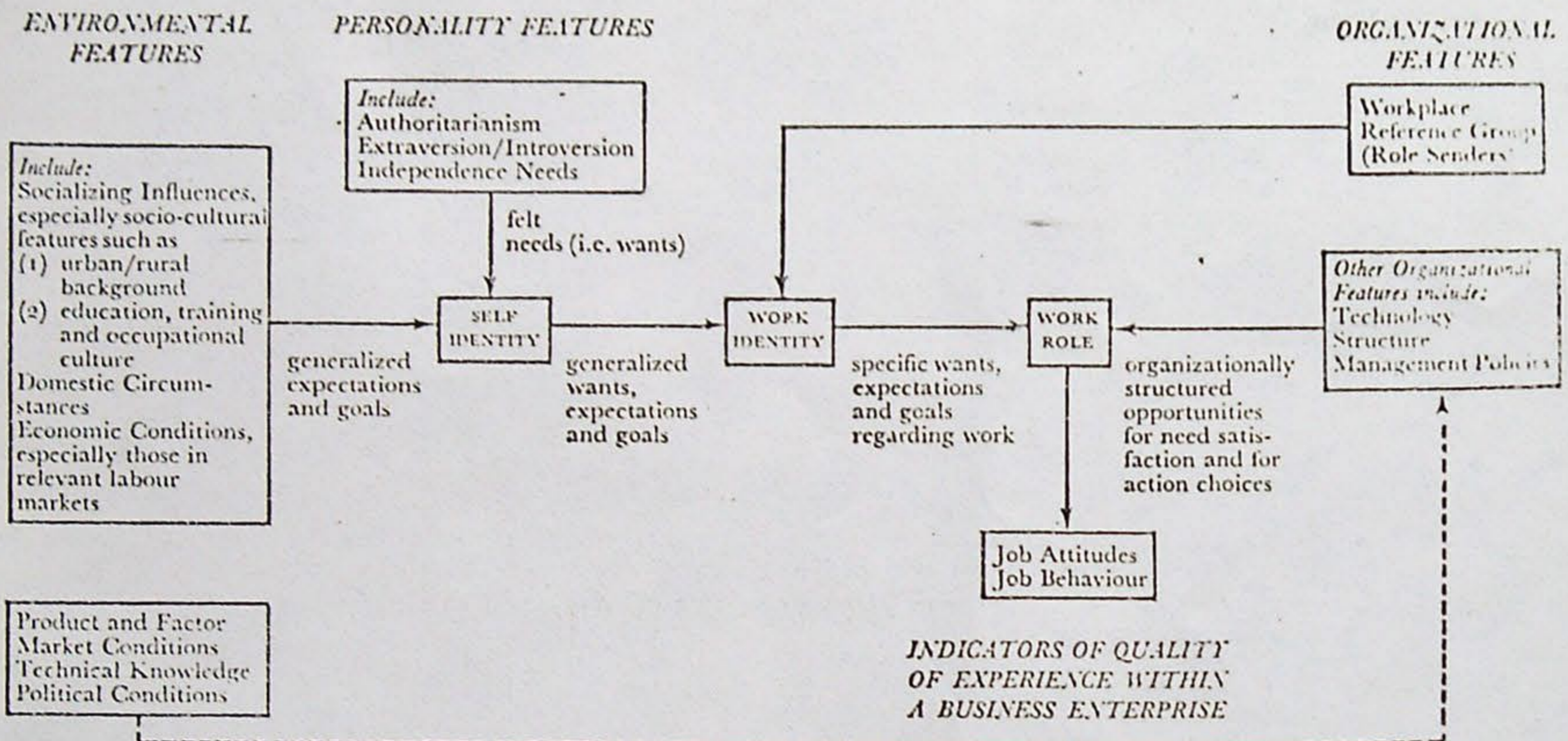
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After David L. Wright (1974). Omitting lowest level of Maslow (physiological) and of Loevinger (pre-social, symbiotic).

FIGURE 1—A model of variables influencing quality of experience within the
business enterprise as indicated by job attitudes and behaviour

ENVIRONMENTAL
FEATURES

PERSONALITY FEATURES

ORGANIZATIONAL
FEATURES

Include:
Authoritarianism
Extraversion/Introversion
Independence Needs

Workplace
Reference Group
(Role Senders)

Include:
Socializing Influences,
especially socio-cultural
features such as
(1) urban/rural
    background
(2) education, training
    and occupational
    culture
Domestic Circum-
stances
Economic Conditions,
especially those in
relevant labour
markets

felt
needs (i.e. wants)

Other Organizational
Features include:
Technology
Structure
Management Policies

SELF
IDENTITY

WORK
IDENTITY

WORK
ROLE

generalized
expectations
and goals

generalized
wants,
expectations
and goals

specific wants,
expectations
and goals
regarding work

organizationally
structured
opportunities
for need satis-
faction and for
action choices

Job Attitudes
Job Behaviour

Product and Factor
Market Conditions
Technical Knowledge
Political Conditions

INDICATORS OF QUALITY
OF EXPERIENCE WITHIN
A BUSINESS ENTERPRISE

N.B. Some variables such as organizational size or an employee's age and sex are normally associated with several of the more immediate determinants shown in this diagram. They are omitted in order to preserve a simple presentation, but are discussed further at various points in the text.

ORC

I have spoken to one of the expert services that the Party uses
and this has confirmed my feeling that the data generated is not
being used effectively. The days when internal political
considerations outweighed the need to affect the external
environment are, certainly for the moment, over. Yet this is not
borne out by behaviour. The way Heath chose to ignore ORC data,
for example, as to the timing of the 1974 election demonstrates this
point in a way that nothing I could say could improve upon. Once
you realise the problem exists in one area of gathering for new
data then you realise that the sensitivity of the Party is suspect It is perfectly well
understood that politicians are subject to enormous local and
Party pressures but, if we are in a state of change, politicians
themselves must learn to change in the way that they respond to such.
pressures. The more intense the pressures of the office that arise
the more important is the need to respond quickly. Provided the
problem is recognised techniques for managing the situation can be
used so that people are not upset, angry, or frustrated, by having
to deal with change. But if the issues are ignored and if no new
techniques for dealing with them are provided then the machinery
of Party decision making will become overheated and bits of it may
breakdown or prevent other bits from functioning smoothly.

Is this already the case?

PRIORITIES OF MOST IMPORTANCE FOR WORKERS TO ACHIEVE

Priority	% OF WORKERS GOING FOR EACH ITEM
More information from the top on what is happening and why	26%
Better incentive to improve productivity and efficiency	23%
Better pay	21%
Bigger say in day-to-day running of company	19%
Bigger say in how own work is planned and organised	15%
Better working conditions	12%
Part ownership or shares in company they work for	12%
More interesting work and less boring work	11%
Better pension arrangements	10%
A better system for promotion	9%
Shorter working hours	8%
A bigger say in management decisions on finance and investment	6%
Better chances of promotion	5%
More opportunities to retrain for better jobs	5%
Longer holidays	4%
Workers having seats on the board	3%
Better canteen and welfare arrangements	3%
None of these	1%
Don't know	3%

And don't think ORC can do it for you.   They usually

draw your attention to the big numbers.   So 26% want

more information from the top on what is happening and

why.

This knowledge they suggest will give workers satisfaction.

Do you believe it? ?

Yet this is what "better communication" has been interpreted

to mean.

This kind of communication without motivational relevance

is useless to the real problem.   How can the non-copers,

the uncertain, and those of average intelligence be made

to feel that they matter, that they have influence and that

they live in a compassionate, friendly, secure society?

How can they be given understanding?   This is a job for

political leadership, not the Board of Directors of the

employee's firm.   Intelligent use of research and communi-

cation skills can help to generate conviction and consent.

SEE EXHIBIT F

But, in the end, politics is about leading people, permitting

them willingly to agree with Government, encouraging them

to elect you as their Government, the winning of CONSENT.

To influence people's behaviour in order to achieve consent

is very complex.   To maintain their trust and loyalty,

COMMUNICATION TECHNIQUES
LINKED THEMES or PERCEPTUAL THEMATIC BRIDGES

Could the country benefit from the kind of expertise that now exists
in companies like Lever Brothers? The process of Government
communication with the electorate is much more complicated than the
process of brand communication with the consumer. There is much
more noise. This is because the media hardly ever spend their time
commenting on what our advertising has said to consumers, what our
Board say to each other, or what our Company Chairman has said to
the factory. Contrast this with the Cabinet, the Opposition and any
party political speech. It is instantly seized upon by, or leaked
to, the media, twisted this way and that, every facet examined, every
meaning massaged into shape, gloss added or subtracted, and conclusions
drawn. This can be confusing, is frequently dull and boring, and is
not always of obvious and immediate relevance to individual members
of the electorate (our consumers).

There is no reason why a politician should understand how best to
communicate an idea in a way that creates conviction. There is
certainly no reason why a politician should be able to originate a new idea
and test its relevance in the same way as we can originate new product
ideas and test their relevance. In fact, politicians rarely generate
new functional data (c.f. the new or improved brand) and do not, it seems, pre-check
its relevance to the country (c.f. test marketing).
for voters as often as brands do for users.
The traditional political skills are those of "knowing" what is possible,
what to talk about, how much should be said, to whom, by whom, when,
in what situation, and how, in order to achieve political ends. Sadly,
this is insufficient for today's sceptical crisis climate. In the Their skills
practice have too often led to them all saying similar things

including that of ones own colleagues and the media, is

even harder.   EXHIBIT G shows just some of the

important factors contributing to behaviour.

<div align="right">SEE EXHIBIT G</div>

HOW TO EVALUATE THE BEHAVIOUR OF PEOPLE!

It's very complex....
It involves MIND ⟶

Figure 1: Activities of the mind

These are the 'unobservables' in the data of psychological inquiry (alias 'intervening variables' and 'hypothetical constructs constructs'.

Mental processes may be regarded as forming a 'system' in which the constituents interact with one another. The above items suggest one possible set of mental constituents, others are, of course, possible. The arrows show some of the interactions which take place even in a very simple behavioural act. Arrow paths indicate some possible sub-systems.
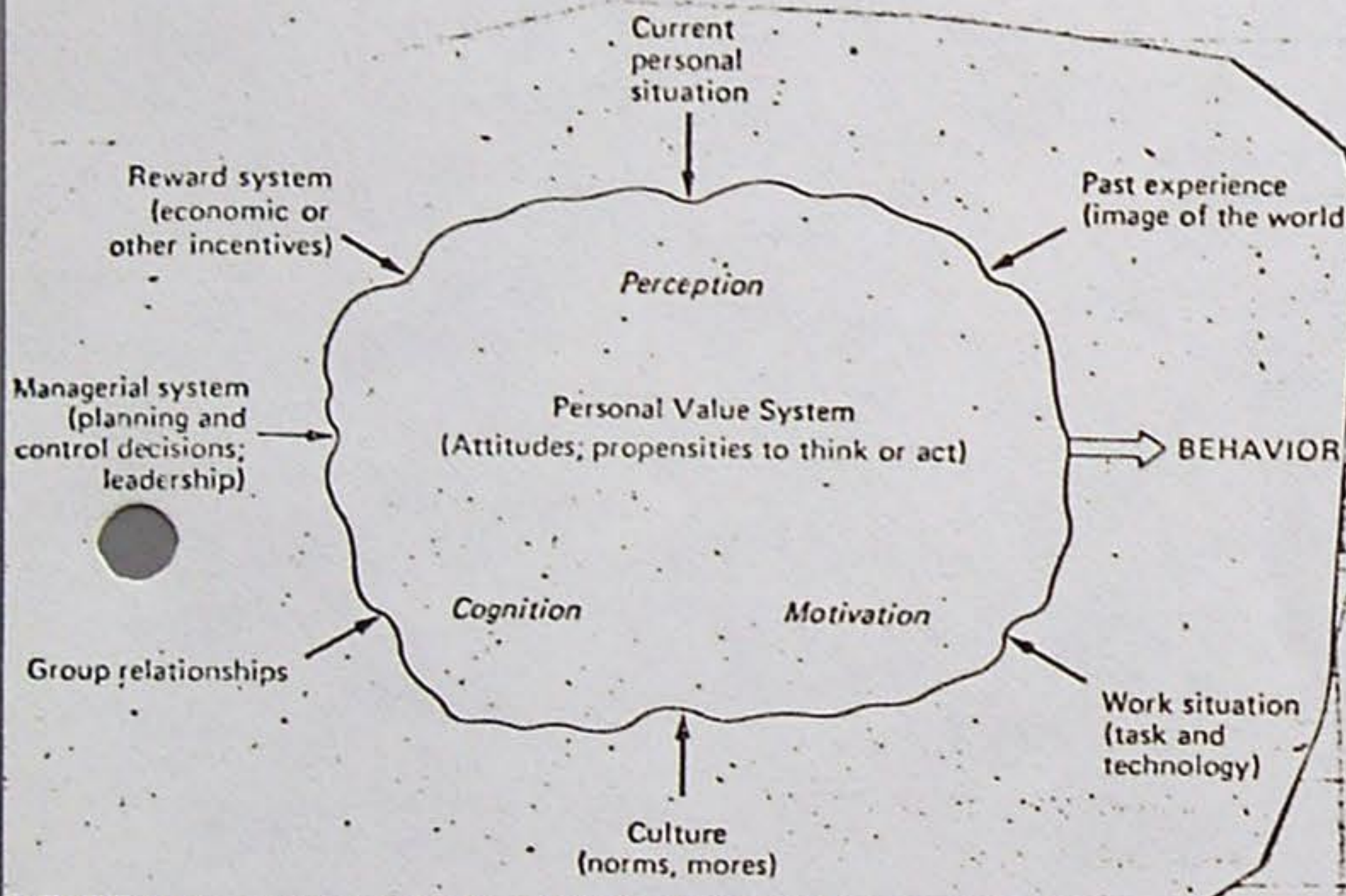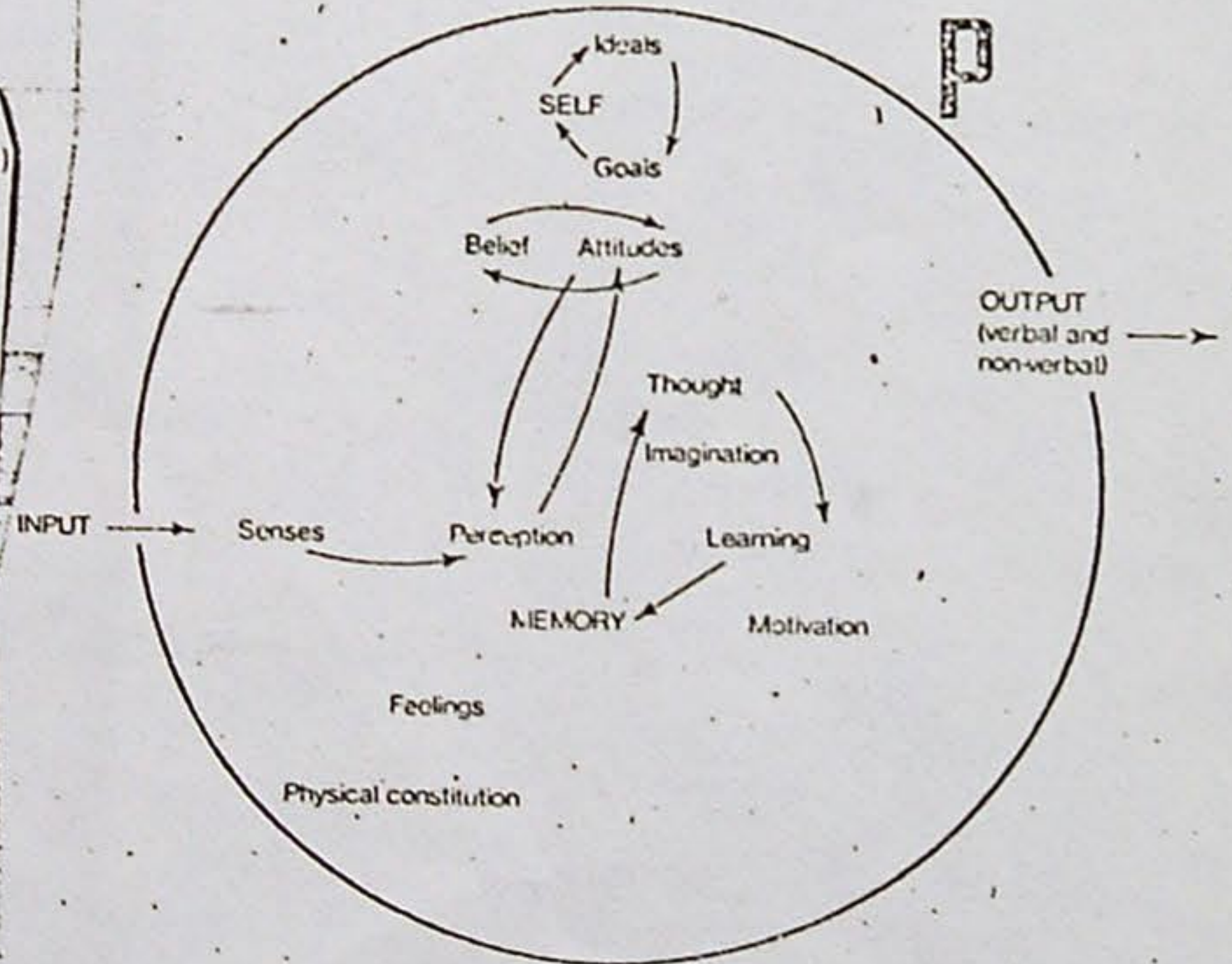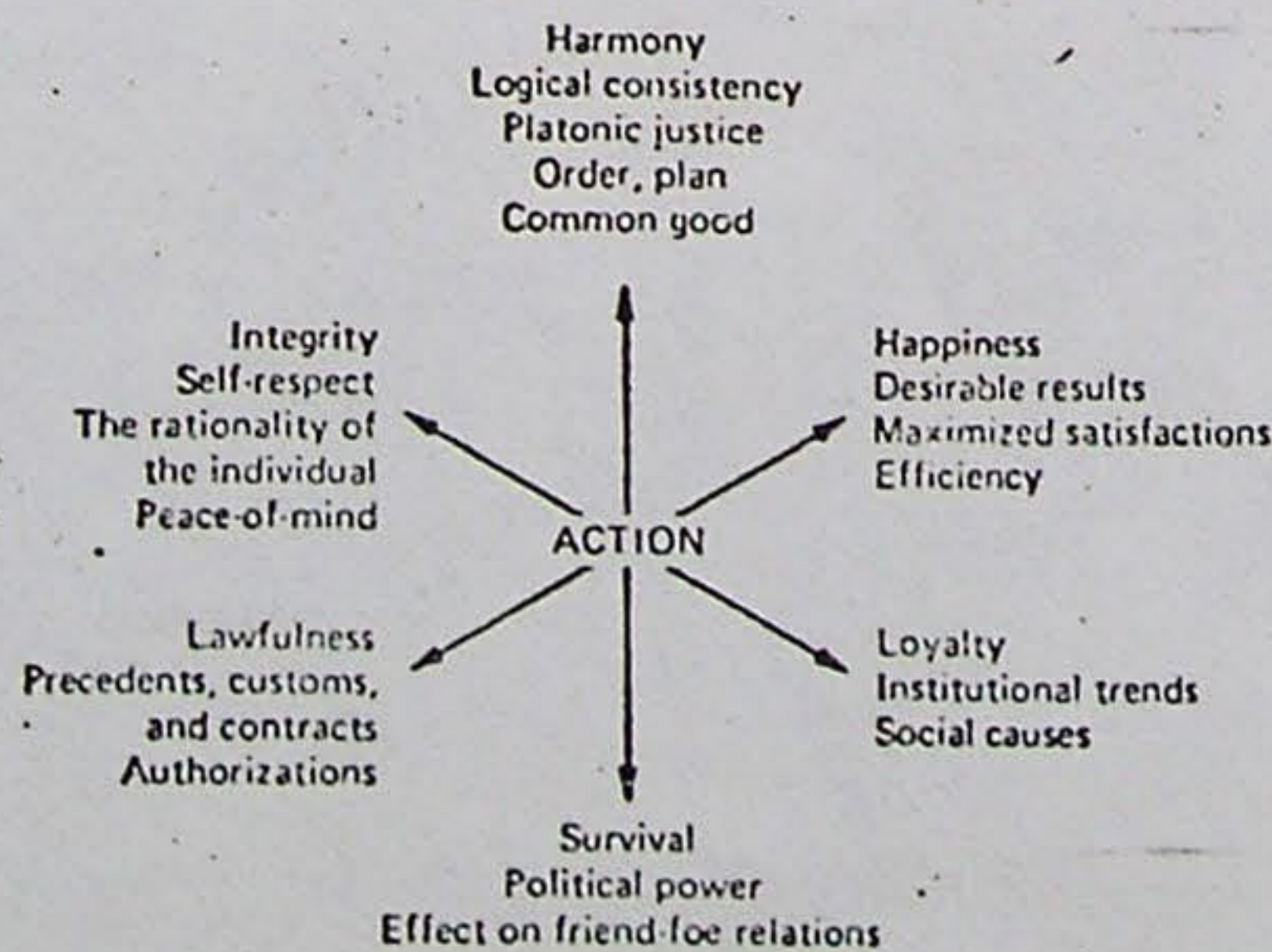

FIGURE 10.2 SOME INFLUENCES ON BEHAVIOR IN A WORK SITUATION

It involves VALUES and other INFLUENCES ⟶

It involves DECISION MAKING ⟶

Behaviorial Aspects of Decision Making 421

Harmony
Logical consistency
Platonic justice
Order, plan
Common good

Integrity
Self-respect
The rationality of
the individual
Peace-of-mind

Happiness
Desirable results
Maximized satisfactions
Efficiency

ACTION

Lawfulness
Precedents, customs,
and contracts
Authorizations

Loyalty
Institutional trends
Social causes

Survival
Political power
Effect on friend-foe relations

1. Happiness—Epicurus, Bentham, Mill
2. Lawfulness—Thomas Aquinas
3. Harmony or Consistency—Plato, Kant
4. Survival—Hobbes
5. Integrity—Epictetus, Spinoza, Santayana
6. Loyalty—Hegel, Marx, Royce

FIGURE 16.2 THE RELATIONSHIP OF VALUES TO DECISION MAKING (Adapted from Wayne A. R. Leys, "The Value Framework of Decision-making," in Sidney M. Mailick and Edward H. Van Ness (eds.), Concepts and Issues in Administrative Behavior, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1962, pp. 87-88)

What is wanted is something like the following guidelines. They do provide room for manoeuvre, but they also demonstrate clearly qualities of judgement and leadership.

The electorate ought to want to see proof that the Tory Party can:

1. Be alert to new economic effects and responsive to their implications.

2. Exhibit the flexibility necessary to change previous assumptions.

3. Recognise when a discontinuity is upon it and have the ability to move to new grounds

4. Demonstrate the quid pro quo between /Government and consent. *open*

5. Indicate specific qualitites of firmness and conviction on key selected controversial issues such as Union monopoly power. This in the context of mutual responsibilities and concern by both Government and the governed.

6. Explode the myth of fairness implied by the proponents of the corporate state.

7. Demonstrate a typical /structure that will effectively de-politicise common ground issues. *institutionalised — or an organic, evolutionary approach*

8. Plan for the restoration of stable growth or explain the necessity for a decline, even if that requires changing existing stable (i.e. fossilised) concepts, institutions and relationships.

9. Explain the true role of consumption, material possesions and increased (or reduced) earning power via 10.

10. Enumerate the possibilities for workers to enhance their quality of life by opportunities for personal growth, by means of increasing their self-respect, by generating alternative means of self-fulfilment (family, firm, community service), by enlarging spiritual and intellectual awareness.

If Mrs. Thatcher does not act for tomorrow, today, there will be no tomorrow for the Tory Party as they will not have earned the consent necessary for firm, purposeful government.

You are probably aware of the view of some journalists that the media generally, and T.V. in particular, are perpetuating a bias against understanding.

If When one sets out to make a speech, one wishes to say what one considers important; but it one then feels unable to say it, because the media will not regard it as news, then it can truly be said that the media have prevented the understanding of that speech from being communicated to the public who need (and probably want desperately) to hear this kind of information rather than "Maggie's speech wins great applause at Conference".

If the speech opens by putting this situation fairly and squarely to the press and challenging them to report the content fairly analytically and dispassionately, before they talk about the News of end how the speech was received, they the press will then have done their duty of helping the public to understand the content of your speech as being rather more important than its effect on the Conference audience.

I fear that not to face up to the reality of the above is to be trapped by the media and conference conventions.

One more thought, what Heath says will be reported as Statesman-like understanding of the national problem, and there is a danger that what you say will be reported as speaking to the Tory Tea-ladies.

Can you really afford not to face up to the media problem, and pull the rug from under them by challenging them to break through the conventions of how they report conferences because you are breaking your conventions of the content of the conference speech.

This is new data that is News. If the content is good they will forgive the challenge and indeed welcome it. If not you can see the risks as well as I. I do not believe you have any real alternative in opinion poll terms other than to take the risk.

Tom Akers

27th September 1976

P.S. Have you considered a 2 part speech?
1. Conference Applause-seeking
2. Dealing seriously with problem
Developing change arguments.

"Maggie spells it out"

Vision / Managerial Problems.

National Chord.
Show me you recognise the problem
Display means not ends

Individuals   Sense of Isolation < Loyalty
                                     Comradeship

Norman Strauss
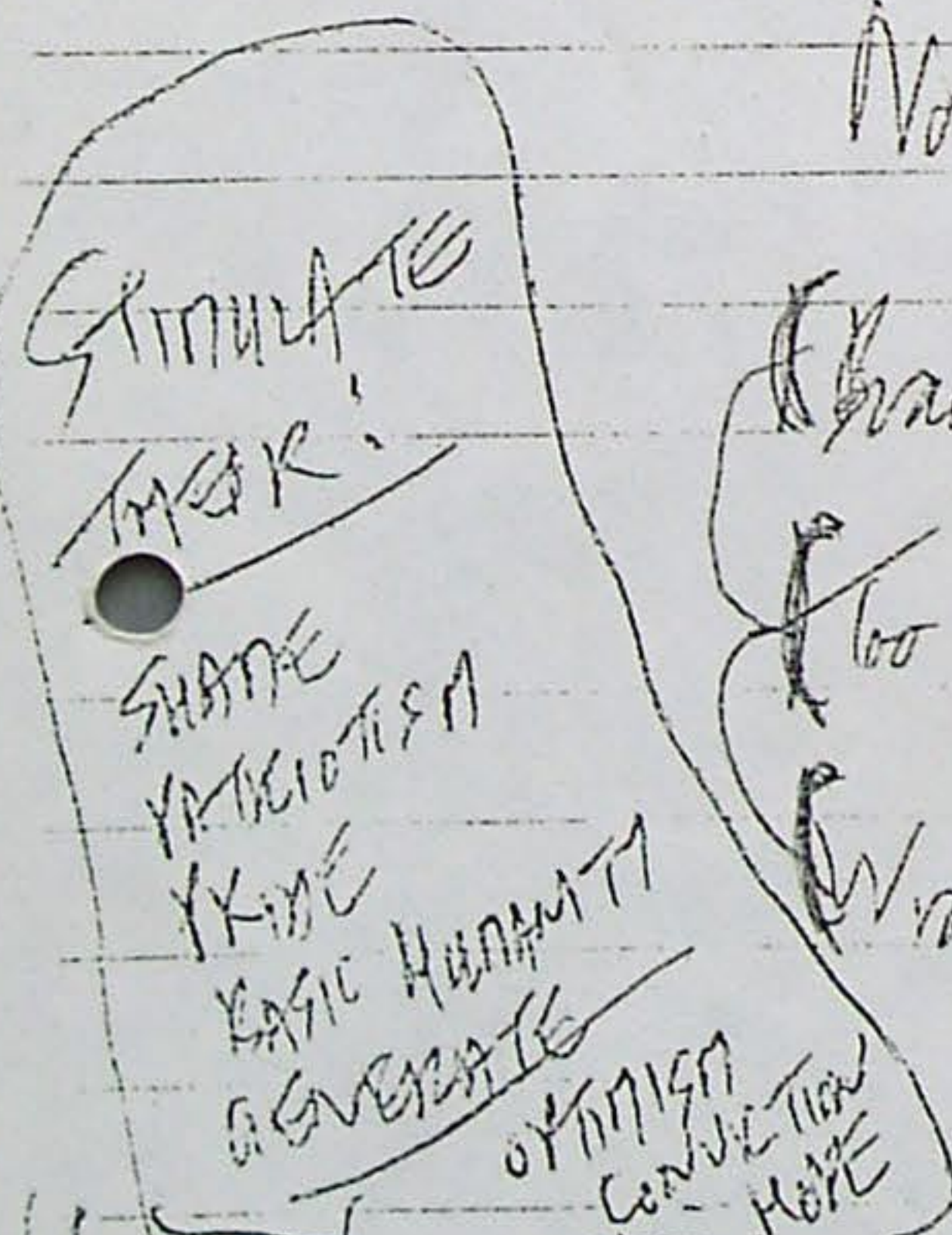to Margaret Thatcher
30 Sep 76

Fear of job future

Dislike of change mobility

Lack of self respect, self confidence.

Feeling of Helplessness

No ability to control/influence events.

ESTIMATE
THEM!

SHAME
PATRIOTISM
PRIDE
BASIC HUMANITY
& GENERATE
OPINION
CONVICTION
HOPE

Brain overload   Inability to understand
    MANIA
    too complex environment

Wrong stimuli   (Always bad news)
                 No explanation

How to motivate change: Provide encouragement, explanation
                        understanding, hope

Earn their trust and respect

The way to tap the qualities of the people

Please find enclosed the document by Professor Sykes titled
'Free Enterprise V Marxism'.

We both found it interesting and do, of course, agree with its thrust.
When he says that the attack on socialism must be systematic and
unceasing and that the key word is repetition, he is moving in the
realms of propaganda and communication strategy which is, as you know,
my particular area of expertise. He even uses the word 'campaign'.

I also found resonance with my views on British values being moderate,
when he says that 'one can be moderate or socialist but it is impossible
to be both'.

He says a systematic and continuous flow of propaganda should attack
socialism and create new myths.

This is the real problem - everybody can work out what is wrong and
can start attacking our 'socialist history'. You rightly alighted
on my phrase 'the balance sheet of socialism' as a most compelling
one. I hope that you will use it as a means to help to structure
a section of your conference speech, as I believe it links in
graphically with the decline of the pound and our country's
fortunes.

But when we spoke to you on the evening of Sunday, 26th September,
you had expected us to tell you specifically what the changes were
that the Tory party could announce to the Nation for a new Britain
based on stable values. You cannot just attack socialism without
linking the attack to this alternative solution. But this solution
has barely begun to be generated in terms of values, or in terms of
a definition of the linkages between freedom, responsibility, human
dignity, prosperity, equality of opportunity, welfare, innovation,
efficiency and a sense of national dynamism and resolve. You are
asking us to tell you the answers when we were trying to point out
to you - and I got the impression failing to put it logically and
clearly enough - that you cannot answer these questions without a
massive amount of work based on change agent philosophies /having/been)
applied to key decision points in society and its institutions.

This is a massive managerial and creative task and it will demand re-
structuring ~~and~~ style and ethos of many British institutions, not the
least the Civil Service, the Treasury, the City and even politicians
and ministers themselves. It was for this reason that I was most
disappointed when you did not feel able to announce the small
beginning along this road which changing the Tory party machinery
in this way would have implied.

I think you will see that events at the Labour Party Conference have
indicated that it is possible to make speeches which are not designed
for Conference applause, and few journalists were silly enough to
comment on the applause aspect.

May I reiterate the underlying strategy and structure that we were
suggesting for your speech? It is all in the document I left you
that defined target audience and went on to outline communication
strategy, but the nub point is that unless you can persuade the
Nation that you have a better grasp of the problem than Labour they
will not give you more of their votes than they give Labour and you
will therefore, even if crisis brings you to power, almost certainly
be forced by events into a coalition position. My colleagues and I
passionately believe that such an outcome would be the worst possible
for both country and party - that is why I have been trying so hard
to indicate to you a means of increasing your opinion poll share to
land-slide proportions. However, it seems that we have been trying
to set aside existing conventions (or brit-traps) too quickly for our
mutual comprehension of the approach. May I express the hope that
you can find time to come back to this issue after Brighton.

In the meantime, should you wish us to improve any of the sections we
suggested could comprise the structure of your speech, we are prepared
to do so. Indeed I have kept next week entirely free for this purpose
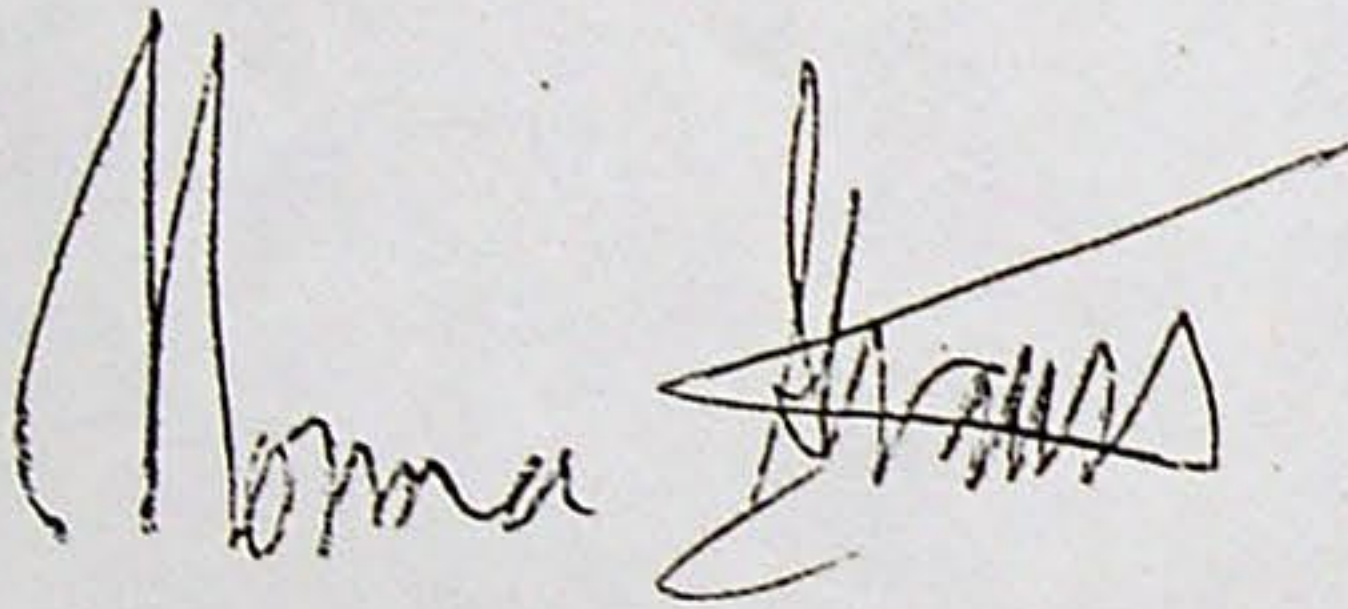should this be required.

It became clear to us that there were elements of the content which
only you could write, which is why we presented you with a strucure
not a speech. Unfortunately you thought we had given you a speech

which led us to spend a lot of time discussing sentences rather than strategy. I hope that the time was not wasted. We, certainly found it helpful to hear more of your thoughts and <u>philosophy</u>.

As a result of that may I make the following comment to you: you rightly say that there can only be progress based on stability of shared values derived from our history and traditions. You point out that this provides the security, certainty and assurance necessary to create the firm foundation on which change for the future can be built. I think there is a dichotomy here which it is vital to point out to you. Social stability *disorder* and order must be based on personal freedom for those who ~~would~~ seek to improve society, respect for human dignity, ~~and~~ appreciation of the finer qualities of life, ~~and~~ opportunities for increasing personal and family growth, and self-awareness. All of this does indeed require firm ground as described above. Now comes the split and it is <u>a vital one for our country's success.</u> Innovation in technology, in engineering and in industry and in some Institutions, e.g. Civil Service, Unions, can <u>not</u> respect those same traditions in its terms; because if/~~it did~~ so, ~~they~~ current state can/change *never* for the better. You see, industry etc. has essentially now built up a back-log of <u>bad operational traditions</u> *habits* as well as Worker, Manager, Shareholder <u>relationships</u>, so the ~~values~~ *habits* that these people apply to industry, <u>cannot be the same</u> values that they apply to their personal life, or nothing will change for the better. Putting it another way, the values on which their personal lives are based are good, the ~~values~~ *habits* on which industrial and institutional life is based - in so far as this has proved inefficient and stagnating - are bad. Specifically the <u>manners and tolerance</u> that <u>are shown in our personal life</u>, and that you rightly say Jim Callaghan shows to you, must <u>not</u> be confused with the <u>lack of tolerance necessary to challenge bad traditions</u> *habits* and <u>badly functioning institutions and industries.</u>

But of course, inevitably, the Conservative tradition finds it difficult to realise that the same value which is held dear in one area of life e.g. respect for others and an unwillingness to upset them - and which has made that area of life so pleasant over the years can be counter-productive not to say <u>unpatriotic</u>, if allowed to intrude into work in indystry and institutions.

This is so important that I would like to have the opportunity to discuss it with you when the rush of Conference has subsided.

30th September 1976