

PRIME MINISTER

ROB SHEPHERD

You are giving an interview at 12.00 tomorrow to Rob Shepherd on your impressions and recollections of Iain McLeod. We have given him 30 minutes.

Rob Shepherd is writing a biography of Iain McLeod with the full co-operation of Lady McLeod. You will recall that Rob Shepherd is a former member of the Conservative Research Department and was at one time Special Adviser to Jim Prior. Since then, he has been working as a television producer for Channel 4.

Rob Shepherd has sent a note detailing the sort of areas on which he would like to question you. I have asked the Conservative Research Department to produce a note giving a brief biography of Iain McLeod, which may help as an aide-memoire. These are attached.

I will sit in, and a COI recorder will also be present.

JAW
→

MS

JOHN WHITTINGDALE

13.4.89

ROB SHEPHERD: QUESTION AREAS

Your personal recollections of Iain MacLeod in chronological sequence:

Any meetings with him or opportunities to hear him speak before you entered Parliament;

Any recollections of his role as Minister of Health or Minister of Labour; or on his role in the "One Nation Group";

When you were on the back benches, any recollections on his period as Colonial Secretary - in the House, particular speeches or events;

Any thoughts on his time as Leader of the House/ Party Chairman (1961-63): what sort of Leader was he? Any particular speeches or events as Chairman which stand out?

The 1963 leadership contest: your recollections and experience. MacLeod's article on the "Magic circle" - what was your view of what happened?

1964-65: Did you think he would ever become leader? Had he ruled himself out of the running by then?

When he was Shadow Chancellor, what was your view of his economic policies? On race relations and immigration, do you think he was too liberal?

Your recollections of the 1970 election campaign?

Finally, what is your overall assessment? What is your judgement on the magnitude of his loss? What was his contribution generally? What did he stand for? Was he part of the Butler/ MacMillan consensus, or was he a radical Tory?

Iain MacLeod
Summary of his Life

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Iain MacLeod - a short biography.

A. The Butler generation.

Iain MacLeod entered politics when he joined R.A. Butler's Conservative Research Department after the war. It was here that the new post-war philosophy of Conservatism was formulated in response to the shock of the 1945 election. MacLeod was the epitome of the new Butlerite 'classless' politician, along with contemporaries Enoch Powell and Reginald Maudling.

B. 'One Nation' and Minister of Health.

MacLeod entered Parliament as M.P. for Enfield in 1950, and helped form the 'One Nation' group of M.P.'s in 1951, along with Heath, Carr, Powell, Maude, Lord Alport and others. They were consciously 'progressive', seeking the goal of a property owning democracy and opportunity for all. In opposition, at the CRD, MacLeod was largely responsible for setting the 300,000 houses per annum target that was to make Macmillan's reputation.

MacLeod was, unlike many of his contemporaries, interested in and a specialist on, the social services. On March 27th 1952, he made his first great speech in the House on the second reading of the National Health Service Bill, with an effective attack on Aneurin Bevan (with whom he was to become great friends).

Six weeks later, Churchill appointed him Minister of Health. He used his expertise to consolidate the Health Service with high capital expenditure and his period of office was marked by a tireless dedication to its needs. In June 1955, under all-party pressure against him, he banned the use and manufacture of heroin.

C. Minister of Labour and National Service.

MacLeod was promoted in December 1955 to the Ministry of Labour and National Service - a post to which he was well suited at a time when government-union relations were becoming strained. R.A. Butler called him 'a negotiator par excellence', reflecting MacLeod's bi-partisan, non-ideological approach to industrial and employment problems.

MacLeod promoted, but failed to introduce, a Workers' Charter to balance security of employment combined with the need to encourage greater labour mobility. His ideas formed the basis of the 1971 Industrial Relations Act. He was particularly concerned with the impact of technological progress on traditional sectors of employment.

In 1957 he presided over the abolition of National Service.

In October 1957, MacLeod averted a threatened rail strike by negotiating Frank Cousins' TGWU pay demand down to 3%. He used Court of Inquiry wage settlements to avoid trials of strength with the ship-building and engineering unions, and to prevent strike action. In 1958, MacLeod crushed Hugh Gaitskell in the Commons after the latter's censure motion on the London Transport Strike.

A Commons debate on unemployment in January 1959 was a personal triumph for Macleod. This prompted Michael Foot to say: 'Don't under-rate Mr. Iain Macleod...he is much the most intelligent member of the Stupid Party'. Harold Wilson would later say that Macleod was the only Conservative politician he feared.

D. Secretary of State for the Colonies.

MacLeod was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies in October 1959. It was here that he made his name as a radical, deciding that the only way African nationalism could be contained was through swift independence (the international background was de Gaulle's bloody Algerian War). He received much criticism for this approach, particularly from the Conservative right wing and 1922 Committee.

Too slow independence, he felt, was more dangerous than too fast, but he approached the transition from Empire to Commonwealth with pragmatism: he declared in 1960, 'I fear stagnant thinking and I fear wishful thinking'. Black majority rule had to be accepted if the democratic future of Africa was to be assured.

During his period in office Nyasaland and Tanganyika gained independence. Furthermore MacLeod was the motive force behind the independence of Uganda (1962) and Kenya (1963), the latter through the coalition of white and black moderates against entrenched white settler opposition.

The question of North Rhodesian independence and the confrontation with Roy Welensky's white minority Federation generated political controversy. Duncan Sandys and Lord Salisbury mobilised the right wing, with Salisbury's 'too clever by half' jibe against Macleod over Zambia. Macleod was mistrusted by white settlers, and estranged from the party right.

E. Leader of the House/Chairman of the Conservative Party.

MacLeod was appointed to both posts in October 1961. The press tipped him as Macmillan's successor, but he saw himself as successor but one after Butler whom he replaced as Leader of the House. MacLeod was a respected Leader; he was perfectly suited to the post because of his bi-partisan political approach, and he secured the passing of a heavy legislative programme during 1961/2.

He was a less successful Chairman hampered by the growing unpopularity of the Government. He recognised the 'time for a change' mood of the nation, seen most spectacularly in March 1962 at Orpington.

As Chairman, he continued to propogate the 'new vision' of Butler-Woolton Toryism in his 'One Nation' speeches. 'Socialism is about equality, Conservatism is about opportunity'. He felt his message to be particulary relevant to the young, with speeches such as that in February 1962 to the Oxford University Conservative Association. The new Tory generation came to prominence after Macmillan's July 13th 1962 'Night of the Long Knives'. However, they were undermined by de Gaulle's January 1963 veto of European membership for which they fought and based their aspirations on.

F. The Leadership Contest.

Macmillan's government was discredited by Vassall, Profumo, and rising unemployment. Butler, the obvious Commons leader, would have made Macleod Chancellor, but Macmillan refused to accept Butler as party leader, choosing instead Lord Home. MacLeod refused, with Powell, to serve in Home's Cabinet on principle, after the selection of a party leader from the Lords.

He received further criticism after his 17 January 1964 article in the Spectator (of which he was editor) attacking the 'Magic Circle' group of the aristocratic Conservative elite for deliberate sabotage of Butler's leadership hopes. This attained wide publicity. Many within the party saw this as disloyalty and a demonstration of Macleod's political misjudgement. It was seen as a slur on the rest of his career, and perpetually damaged his leadership aspirations.

However, the article did have effect. The 1965 leadership contest was opened to a parliamentary selection process, for which Macleod had campaigned. He supported Heath against Maudling, as the stronger political personality.

G. Shadow Chancellor, 1965 - 1970.

MacLeod called at the 1965 Conservative Party conference for 'a nation-wide capital-owning democracy'. He identified high taxation as the great problem afflicting the economy. As Shadow Chancellor he concentrated on tax reform and simplification, particularly:

- a one rate corporation tax,
- a levelling of excessive rates of income tax, but promoted a wealth capital tax,
- shifting the burden of taxation on spending by increasing higher levels of VAT.

Barber's first two budgets encapsulated much of Macleod's economic philosophy.

Economically, MacLeod was seen to represent the middle ground between Maudling and Keith Joseph. Inflation, he believed, was the great evil, and he opposed the Labour government's wages policy, although he saw some form of institutionalised pay bargaining system as necessary. He was an effective critic of the universalism of the Labour Welfare State, and its transformation towards a welfare society.

During 1965/6 MacLeod was Chairman of the Young Conservatives, necessitating a tireless round of speeches, combined with a continuous presence in the Commons Chamber. He failed to offer a liberal lead over UDI, but was an effective critic of Government economic policy.

He was shocked by the racial character of the February 1968 Immigration Bill which responded to Kenya's 'Africanisation policies' and the potential arrival of '200,000 Asians' (Powell). 35 Labour, the Liberals, and 14 Conservative M.P.s voted against, including MacLeod. For him, 'One Nation' consensus included race, wealth, education and class. He strongly supported Heath's dismissal of Powell from the Shadow Cabinet after the latter's Birmingham speech.

H. 1970 Election Campaign.

He was loyal to the party, and furious with Powell during the campaign. Heath chose him as Chancellor after the election, and the Government was severely weakened by his death on 20th July 1970.

I. General Assessment.

He re-interpreted Conservatism to equip it for a post-war world. On 4th July 1977, in the 'Iain Macleod Memorial Lecture' Mrs. Thatcher, then Leader of the Opposition, talked of 'his life's work, the restoration of the Conservative heritage'.

He was loyal to the party despite incurring the wrath of the right wing as Colonial Secretary and 1963-4. He saw himself representing new Conservatism, and always sought the bi-partisan consensus. A pragmatist - for him, Conservatism was the British solution to Britain's problems.

'He and the "One Nation" group set the tone for much of post-war Conservative thought and action', Mrs. Thatcher, 4th July 1977.



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

17th April, 1989

Dear Rob,

It was very good to see you again last week and I hope that you thought the interview helpful. As promised, I enclose a transcript.

As agreed, I should be grateful if you would let us see any passage in the book in which you would like to include a direct quotation from the Prime Minister.

With best wishes.

Yours,

John

JOHN WHITTINGDALE
Political Secretary

Rob Shepherd Esq

Sheph

MR PERKS

As requested (some time ago), I attach a brief biography of Iain Macleod, which has been prepared by the Conservative Research Department.

The Prime Minister may find this useful as background for her interview with Rob Shepherd on 14 April.

JAW
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JOHN WHITTINGDALE
Political Secretary

30 March 1989

PRIME MINISTER

INTERVIEW WITH ROB SHEPHERD

You are giving an interview tomorrow morning at 10.45 to Rob Shepherd, formerly of the Conservative Research Department and a special adviser. Thirty minutes has been set aside.

Mr Shepherd is writing a biography of the late Iain MacLeod with the full cooperation of Lady MacLeod. He is interested in asking you for your impressions and recollections of MacLeod, particularly any insights or personal experiences you may have.

I attach a note of the question areas he would like to cover. As you will see, this is very much a chronological list.

I shall be present. COI will record as usual.

Content to use the Study?

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Mike Bates', written in a cursive style.

MICHAEL BATES
Press Office
12 January 1989

MR WHITTINGDALE

This interview has now been postponed until Friday 14 April.

In the meantime could you arrange for some research to be carried out to help jog the Prime Minister's memory so that she is in a better position to answer the questions enclosed when she meets Rob Shepherd.

T.J.P.

TERRY J PERKS
Deputy Press Secretary

13 January 1988

PRIME MINISTER

INTERVIEW WITH ROB SHEPHERD

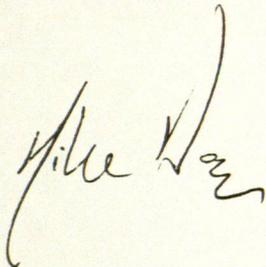
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Your recollections of the 1970 election campaign?

Finally, what is your overall assessment? What is your judgement on the magnitude of his loss? What was his contribution generally? What did he stand for? Was he part of the Butler/ MacMillan consensus, or was he a radical Tory?



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

13 January 1989

Dear Rob,

This is just to confirm our telephone conversation to say that we have rearranged for you to interview the Prime Minister on Friday 14 April at 12 noon.

My apologies once again for your wasted journey this morning.

Yours sincerely,

MICHAEL BATES
Press Office

Mr Rob Shepherd.

PRIME MINISTER

INTERVIEW WITH ROB SHEPHERD

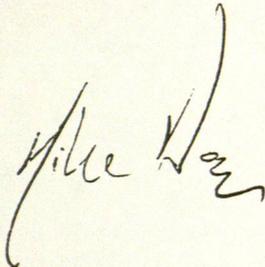
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MICHAEL BATES
Press Office
12 January 1989

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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

12 December 1988

Dear Mr Shepherd,

Further to my letter of 7 December I have now been able to find a date for you to see the Prime Minister in connection with the book you are writing on Iain Macleod.

The date for the interview is Friday, 13 January at 10.45 am. Perhaps you could contact me nearer the date.

Yours sincerely

TERRY J PERKS
Deputy Press Secretary

Rob Shepherd Esq
87 Elm Park Mansions
Park Walk
Chelsea
LONDON SW10 0AP



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

7 December 1988

Dear Mr Shepherd,

You wrote to the Prime Minister recently about the possibility of interviewing her in connection with the biography you are writing on the late Iain Macleod.

I am pleased to be able to tell you that she has agreed. I am now trying to find a date and as soon as I have done so I will contact you again.

Yours sincerely

TERRY J PERKS
Deputy Press Secretary

Rob Shepherd Esq
87 Elm Park Mansions
Park Walk
Chelsea
LONDON SW10 0AP



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

25 November 1988

Dear Mr Shepherd

This is just a short note to acknowledge your letter of 21 November to the Prime Minister seeking an interview with her for inclusion in your biography of the late Iain Macleod.

I confirm that your request has gone forward for consideration and, when we are able to let you have a firm response, we shall get in touch with you again.

Yours sincerely

BETH FRIER
PRESS OFFICE

Rob Shepherd Esq
87 Elm Park Mansions
Park Walk
Chelsea
LONDON SW10 0AP

Rob Shepherd

ROB

Terry
This must be put
to the PM
H

87 Elm Park Mansions
Park Walk
Chelsea
London SW10 0AP
Telephone: 01-352 1770

21st November 1988

Dear Prime Minister,

I have been commissioned by the publishers, Century Hutchinson, to write a biography of the late Iain Macleod. Lady Macleod of Borve is giving her full co-operation.

Since my spell in the Conservative Research Department and in Government as a special adviser, I have been working as an independent television producer/director and author - my book on the debate over appeasement in the 1930s, *A Class Divided*, was published by Macmillan earlier this autumn.

I would greatly appreciate any help which you feel able to offer, and would be delighted if there was an opportunity at some point over the next few months to interview you about your impressions and recollections of Iain Macleod.

Yours sincerely,
Rob Shepherd.

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

From: Stephen Sharbourne, **Sharbourne**

38 Whittingstall Road
London SW6 4EB

Wed 14 Nov 1990

Dear Prime Minister,

ms

Just to let you know

- though you need no reminding -
that I am 110% behind you.

I am working with Tim
to help in whatever way I can
and I will do everything possible
to help you secure a convincing
win.

Very sincerely,

Stephen.