

PRIME MINISTER

MR. SPEARING'S PQ TO THE LORD PRESIDENT

Mr. Spearing is trying to make the point that Sir Leon's remarks in the C4 programme were the first time that either you, Sir Leon, or Sir Robert had mentioned Charles and Bernard and were in that sense "new". But the Report of the Select Committee mentioned names and the Government did not seek to correct those references in its response. Although we would not want to endorse the Report in all respects, we can rely on it in this one.

Content with this answer?

Yes mr

Also attached is the transcript of the C4 programme. The relevant passage is at pages 26-30.

AT

(ANDREW TURNBULL)

7 April 1989

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Re Garbure
I have highlighted
the particular
passages

Chris Moncrieff
Chief Political Correspondent
Press Association
Parliamentary Press Gallery
House of Commons
London SW1A 0AA

John 6/4

6 April 1989

Dear Chris

I enclose a copy of the script of the first
programme of The Thatcher Factor, which is being
broadcast tomorrow evening at 8pm.

As I explained on the phone, the commentary
and original interview sections are fully accurate,
but the archive material has not been fully
checked.

I hope you find this is of interest.

Yours sincerely,

Martin Stott

MARTIN STOTT
Press Officer

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PETER ROGERS, DAVID VINES, ELERI WYNNE JONES

Pre-Title sequence

Archive

Falklands victory speech
in Guildhall

THATCHER SQF

We the British people are proud
of what has been done, proud of
these heroic pages in our
island story, proud to be here
today to salute the task force,
proud to be British.

DAVID OWEN

The readiness to spill blood is
I suppose a characteristic of
her leadership, and that's what
makes her very tough and very
determined, and it is the
hallmark of a leader actually,
to know when you've got to make
enemies.

LORD JENKINS

Mrs Thatcher thinks much more
how lucky the country is to
have her, I think than how
lucky she is to be there. It
wouldn't occur to her that she
oughtn't to have climbed to the
top of the greasy pole.

LORD WHITELAW

She always had the complete
determination, and the complete
courage to pursue the course
which she believed to be
right. She's always had that
and that is why she is a very
powerful person and I believe
that is a sign of very great
strength.

Archive

Thatcher elbows to the
front in group shot with
European leaders

COMM

Over the past ten years MT has
forced herself to the front of
British and world politics.
Behind her has been her utter
certainty that she was right.

TITLES

THE THATCHER FACTOR

SHE KNEW SHE WAS RIGHT

Thatcher arrives at YC
Ball - Tory Conference
1988. MT's speech

COMM

The Conservatives, young and
old, now have the assurance of
people born to rule
indefinitely.

YC CHAIRMAN SOF

.. our most distinguished
guest, ladies and gentlemen,
the prime minister.

Music

THATCHER SOF

Mr Chairman it seems to me
you're having a very good time
and thoroughly enjoying this
party conference - yes? Of
course it's quite the best
party conference there's been
this year - but then there
hasn't exactly been a lot of
competition.

COMM

Mrs Thatcher's decade has
transformed their fortunes, and
she is serenely proprietorial
about it.

THATCHER SOF

This is the party for all the
people from all sorts of
backgrounds - whatever
background you come from.

COMM

The appeal is intended, above
all, for achievers.

PARKINSON

She hasn't forgotten her own
background - she isn't in any
way patronising about people
who started life with very few
advantages and I think that is
just why she's so relevant to
this country at the moment.

Actuality

Grantham - A Robert's
shop - exterior and
interiors

COMM

Margaret Thatcher's own background was comfortable but thrifty. She was brought up in a grocer's shop on the Great North Road in Grantham -which is now preserved as a tourist shrine. The young Margaret Robert's father was not just a shopkeeper but a committed municipal politician who became mayor of Grantham and her political mentor. He taught her how to balance the books, a lesson in good housekeeping she has never forgotten.

Archive

Miriam Stoppard
interview with MT

THATCHER SOF

SUNC My father ... I have a lot of faults - we all have. I think I inherited so much that was good from him and the other thing is you, my goodness me, you never buy anything you can't afford to buy, never.

V/O But you live according to your means. Many is the time

SYNC I can remember my mother saying when I said my friends have got more. Well we're not situated like that.

STILL

Alderman Roberts

LORD GOWRIE

She's got a lot of skill and a lot of guile and I've seen her charm people use traditional feminine wiles on people which she can do very effectively. She can be a very - her public image is somebody quite strong and strident and uncompromising but she can be very seductive when she wants to be.

ANNA MCCURLEY SYNC

She is astonishingly attractive. She has a very very female quality. There's no question of that. In fact.. I think it's probably her raunchiness that's even more attractive because you've got this slightly bi-quality of having the strong masculinity combined with this fluffy hair, these beautiful big blue eyes.

Archive

Thatcher having hair
done

Archive

MT with Gordon Reece.

Archive

Thatcher cutting pound
note in half

Thatcher handing drinks
to Chinese

COMM

The novelty of having a woman
as party leader was exploited
to the full. Mrs Thatcher's
managers left nothing to
chance. Her hair was restyled
and her voice lowered, under
the hand of her professional
television consultant Gordon
Reece

SARA MORRISON

V/O For availing herself of
Gordon Reece's wizardry
SYNC is a very female thing to
work out that the softened
hair, the muted voice, the
perfect makeup and get up for
all seasons was a necessary
part of the apparatus
of being a dominant Prime
Minister. That required a
certain genius to spot his
talent though his genius I
think is apparent to anybody
who from time to time gives
themselves
V/O a pictorial trip down
memory lane looking at the 60s
and the 70s and the now perfect
apparatus which is Mrs
Thatcher.

COMM

Mrs Thatcher has also always
had a sensationally good
popular press

Music

Headlines

The Sun:

"Crisis what crisis"

"Chaos on all sides"

Daily Mail:

"Target for today - sick children"

The Sun:

"Helpless!"

Archive

Crisis speech

Headlines

"Winter if discontent

The race for No 10"

Archive

MT & Gordon Reece sweep downstairs

LARRY LAMB

SYNC We were delighted because we and when I say we I mean a very small number of people - my people in parliament, my political editor, Mr Rupert Murdoch - a merest handful of people. We regarded her as I suppose you would say the Tory most likely to succeed and we were desperate that the Tories should succeed. The Print Unions were ruining our business and in my view the Labour Party was ruining the country and V/O it had to be stopped.

COMM

As the Labour government foundered she caught the populist note of fury with the unions in the tabloid headlines and echoed it perfectly in her speeches.

THATCHER SDF

Even the Prime Minister's concluded that our troubles are serious. You don't need telling there was a crisis, as you saw the sick and the elderly made the victims of heartless action.

LARRY LAMB

SYNC Toppling governments is a lot of fun obviously.

V/O And particularly if you can get it right and

SYNC at that time I was in close touch with the PM's or Mrs Thatcher's media advisor Gordon,

V/O now Sir Gordon Reece.

SYNC I did tell her that in my view there was no without being any cause for complacency there was a great bulk of working class voters ready and waiting to vote Tory for the first time in their lives of whom I was one.

Archive
MT outside No. 10

COMM

On the day of her election, Margaret Thatcher offered a prayer for harmony.

THATCHER SOF

And I would just like to remember some words of St Francis of Asissi which I think are really just particularly apt at the moment. "Where there is discord may we bring harmony, where there is error may we bring truth, where there is doubt may we bring faith and where there is despair may we bring hope.

GOWRIE

She has a fairly innate distrust or suspicion of her own generation - I'm talking about her own generation of people who have had power

V/O and authority as she has.

Archive
Gilmour

COMM

Her shadow cabinet of paternalistic Tory gentlemen had been inherited from Ted Heath but in government they never knew how to handle her.

GOWRIE

V/O Most of the people she worked with in her first cabinet had had very little experience of arguing with women.

SYNC I mean I don't know the I can't imagine that Frances Pym's ever had a serious intellectual angry clash of opinions with a woman in his life.

LORD PYM

Well she makes it clear 9 times out of 10 what are her preferences and what she thinks the conclusion ought to be - that does sometimes have the effect of limiting the discussion but by no means always and any minister sitting round that table now not only is at liberty has a duty to say what he thinks his opinion is and I'm sure they do that.

SARA MORRISON

It's much more difficult to bawl at a woman than it is to tell a man that he's lost his marbles and I think that all that sort of barricade she used absolutely brilliantly.

Archive

Howe, Biffen, Prior outside No. 10. Nott arrives.

COMM

Mrs Thatcher put her supporters into the key economic ministries. They were a minority in the cabinet but they took control.

Archive

Nott arriving No. 10

SIR JOHN NOTT

V/O In my view, there was a group of 5 or 6 ministers in the cabinet

SYNC who actually knew exactly where they were going, what they wanted to do, broadly speaking they were in agreement with Mrs Thatcher on the measures that needed to be taken. Some of them were very difficult because they were very controversial and rather dangerous.

Archive

Thatcher opening red lunch box

COMM

Thatcherism, as it was called, immediately produced high interest rates, an industrial slump and escalating unemployment.

NOTT

V/D I would think two thirds of the cabinet didn't philosophically really agree with the kind of SYNC tough economic policies which were being advanced by Geoffrey Howe as Chancellor in 79, 80 and 81.

Actuality

Industrial wasteland

COMM

A fifth of British manufacturing industry vanished in two years, leaving a wasteland nobody had foreseen.

The moderate Conservatives, or "wets" were led by Jim Prior. They could change nothing.

Archive

Prior

PRIOR SOF

Thatcher at conference

THATCHER SOF

To those waiting with baited breath for the favourite media catch phrase the U turn I have only one thing to say, you turn if you want to.

COMM

As unemployment mounted towards 3 million, the leader held stubbornly to her course.

THATCHER

The lady's not for turning.

COMM

The rank and file liked it - though some colleagues were discomforted. The Ultras knew she was right.

SIR JOHN HOSKYN

She made it absolutely clear then, she said she would really rather go down and be chucked out quite frankly rather than do a U-turn. She was in an absolutely sort of burning the boat frame of mind on that and that was very important because it meant then that people didn't have to waste time wondering whether with their backs to the wall so to speak, the wall would suddenly fall down behind them.

PRIOR

Of course we were nothing like as powerful as sometimes the Right Wing press liked to make us out or even for that matter the left wing press liked to make us out. I mean there were really never more than three wets who put their heads above the parapet at any one time.

COMM

The Treasury remained obedient. The climax of the argument with the "Wets" came over the 1981 budget when Chancellor Geoffrey Howe further tightened the squeeze.

Archive

Howe's dog - Howe in study

HOWE

V/O I was able to get in the end strong support from No. 10 SYNC and the Prime Minister the day after I produced that budget gave very strong support in the speech in the City of London because clearly people were

shocked by the scale of what we were trying to do.

PRIOR SYNC

I was very upset by the 1981 budget. I felt that it was hitting the economy and hitting people when they were already down on their knees and that this was a great mistake, that it would merely plunge us even deeper into higher unemployment and so on which of course it did. Unemployment went on rising long after 1981 budget and the signs of recovery were very very slim at that time and I did think at that time that I ought to resign.

Archive
Riots

COMM

Urban rioting, of a savagery unknown in Britain this century, burned through the summer of 1981.

To the Prime Minister this was due to nothing more complicated than human wickedness.

Archive
Thatcher - July 1981

THATCHER SOF

V/O 1000 policemen embattled in one of our great cities. 200 injured, riot shields and CS gas needed to defend the very men to whom we all turn for protection.

SYNC Nothing can justify, nothing can excuse and noone can condone the appalling violence we've all seen on television

WHITELAW

She was always very firm that unemployment was no part of it. I think she did I think very reasonably appreciate as time went on that obviously it played a part and said so. I always felt it did. I felt possibly that I was slightly out of tune on that front..

Archive

Whitelaw & Tebbit

COMM

But never out of line.
Whitelaw the natural leader of
the "Wets" was often in
alliance with colleagues
uncongenial to him.

TEBBIT

V/O Willie would always
deliver to the Prime Minister a
majority in the cabinet
SYNC even under the most
difficult times by the sheer
force of his personality. If
Willie had sided with the Wets
then I think it would have been
a very different story but he
didn't, he always sided with
the Prime Minister.

PRIOR SYNC

I think we certainly felt at
the time that Willie Whitelaw
could have been more helpful to
us, we felt basically he was on
our side but when it came to
the decisions he came down very
firmly in support of Margaret
for reasons that we all
understand but I think that yes
it would be wrong for me not to
say that at that time we were
disappointed that he didn't
give us more backing.

WHITELAW SYNC

It may not have been a popular
line. It may in their
judgement have been the wrong
line but once you have decided
that you are going on that line
they knew what I was doing.

Archive

Whitelaw and Thatcher

COMM

He was the faithful consort.

WHITELAW

V/O I am laughed at sometimes for being someone who is SYNC over loyal. I think I always found it easy to serve other people even though I didn't though I didn't necessarily agree with somebody. I've always found that something easy to do. It may be said, it may be a deficiency in my character that I enjoy serving other people more than I would actually be at the very top myself.

Archive

Gilmour

COMM

One after another, the wets were routed from power in the cabinet. Ian Gilmour, the first and most elegant internasi critic, was relieved to go. Jim Prior forlornly submitted to exile in Northern Ireland.

LORD PRIOR SOF

COMM

Harshness became the Government's dominant tone.

Archive

Tebbit applauded by Thatcher & Party at 81 conference

TEBBIT SOF

I grew up in the thirties with an unemployed father. He didn't riot, he got on his bike and looked for work and he kept looking until he found it. [applause] Yes, yes Liverpool is a blackspot. Let's never forget it and let's never forget the history of why it got that way. How many jobs went west as it was out brothers and they came out once again.

COMM

The attacks of the fully Thatcherised Tory party found Labour and the unions at their most uncertain.

HOWELLS

SYNC The Left was largely bankrupt of ideas about what to do about the problems of British industry. It seemed to believe that as I've said that job levels should be maintained simply because they existed. It did not, it seems to me, come to terms with things which Thatcher was obviously talking about which was the rationalisation of industrial production, modernising it. In a sense we became the reactionaries. We weren't the modernisers.

V/O We were singularly unsuccessful at explaining our case, I suspect because we didn't really have one.

COMM

Labour's chances of developing a case were destroyed from within. Every party conference became a battleground in the year when Mrs Thatcher was most vulnerable, the rival wings were absorbed in a bitter struggle for leadership.

ARCHIVE SOF

[Results announced]

COMM

The party's passion was entirely directed upon itself. The Labour right did Mrs Thatcher further service by splitting to form the SDP, led by Roy Jenkins.

Archive

Labour Conference 1980

Healey/Benn split screen

Archive

Roy Jenkins

JENKINS SYNC

I think she has had one enormous piece of luck which is that she has not over 9 years had an effective opposition. People have been near to being effective opposition but broadly speaking from the point of view of the opposition she has had the easiest run which any prime minister I can think of has had.

Headlines

"Most unpopular PM since records began."

COMM

The divided opposition abjectly failed to reflect opinion in the nation. Here, economic misery produced an unprecedented chorus of disapproval - and a telling satire.

Anyone for Denis

SDF

Of course the rate of inflation is still high and unemployment figures are still rising but you can't seriously expect me or the Conservative government to take responsibility for things like that. If they were to fall dramatically then of course we shall take full responsibility but you know if there's one thing I've tried to get across again and again, it is this: whatever happens it's your fault.

Archive

Crowds in Buenos Aires

COMM

But whose fault was General Galtieri's seizure of the Falkland Islands, which drove satirical plays out of business? Images of shame produced an early casualty.

Stills

Archive
Casualties

Archive
English soldier with
Union Jack

CARRINGTON SCF

V/O Well I think that what has happened in the Falkland Islands is a national humiliation

SYNC and I have been responsible for foreign affairs and I do not think it is right that when that happens the minister responsible should just go on as if nothing had happened and I think that the honourable thing to do is resign.

POWELL

SYNC If I'm asked whether any of Mrs Thatcher's recent predecessors would have done what she did in April 1982, I'm afraid that I'd have to say no. They were after all gentlemen and they were gentlemen who knew perfectly well that all the papers had been across their desk which spelt out clearly enough and she's not unintelligent, clearly enough

how the Falklands was going to be handled and they

V/O would simply not have had a woman's shamelessness in changing their minds to say well that was yesterday, this is today and out you go.

COMM

The Task Force went out, and triumphed - though at great human cost. Politically, the homecoming was what mattered. it tapped a productive well of patriotic emotion.

Archive

Homecoming - troops from
Falklands

HALL

V/O I think the Falklands was
in that sense an absolute
Godsend. I mean it mobilised
everything
SYNC fighting the war, the war
against the dictator -
Churchillism, back to the wars,
we can do it you can't treat
the British lads. These may
sound like just empty myths but
actually they are what
mobilised the nation.

ARCHIVE SOF

The very fact that we could
still go to the South Seas and
impose our will on some tinpot
dictator down there. We both
laugh at it and are caught up
in that revival of national
sentiment and it came at such a
strategic moment. It came at
the moment

SYNC when it really looked as
if Labour might make gains in
London, might make real success
in local government elections
and it really just transformed
it by intergrating the whole
Thatcherite project with a new
notion of the nation abroad.

COMM

There were political dividends
for Mrs Thatcher herself. She,
not a Queen or Prince, took the
salute at the victory parade.

Thatcher/Pym at Press
conference

HALSEY

V/O One has to wonder about
Mrs Thatcher as to whether
SYNC she was narrowly or
widely based. Whether she knew
what she was doing or not.
Whatever the answers are, it's
certainly true

Archive

Victory Parade

V/O that there are parts of
Mrs Thatcher's outlook which go
with the grain of ordinary
popular aspirations. In all
sorts of ways,

SYNC the animosity any real
animosity which is felt towards
her is also very qualified by a
sense of yes but she really
does have it right in some ways

Archive

Michael Foot - 1983
election campaign

Headlines

THE SUN:

Do you seriously want
this old man to reign in
Britain

Archive

Thatcher visiting
factory

Press conference

Cartoon

COMM

In the 1983 election she was
certainly found to have it more
right than Michael Foot. The
Labour leader, a face from the
past, proved a poor match for
the prime minister's smoothly
managed elan.

While he was lampooned and
smeared by the tabloid press,
Mrs Thatcher moved effortlessly
from one photo opportunity to
another.

She humiliated Francis Pym,
Foreign Secretary and surviving
wet. when he suggested
negotiations with Argentina.

LORD PYM SOF

THATCHER SOF

COMM

Pym sacked from the Foreign
Office, was the first victim of
a landslide victory.

But triumphalism wasn't the
only emotion it produced.

Party chairman, Cecil
Parkinson, was soon brought
down by a personal scandal
which even the Tory press
couldn't resist.

But Mrs Thatcher didn't desert
her loyalists when they were in
trouble.

PARKINSON SYNC

I think she is a very good
friend and she is a very
understanding person and I
think most colleagues know
that. I mean she's very tough
sometimes and I'm not
pretending that but she is a
good friend and she's very very
kind to a lot of colleagues -
if a colleague has a sick child
or something of that kind. I
mean she's just amazing.

Archive

Brighton bombing October
1984

COMM

In 1984 the Prime Minister faced an ultimate confrontation - with terrorism. At Brighton she came within a few feet of death from an IRA bomb. Her colleagues were distraught but she preserved a nerveless facade.

THATCHER SOF

You hear about these atrocities, these bombs, you don't expect them to happen to you. But life must go on as usual. The conference will go on as usual. Alright John the conference will go on as usual.

COMM

Some of Mrs Thatcher's colleagues were mutilated or killed as others already had been. Terrorism had touched Mrs Thatcher personally, and not for the first time.

GOWRIE

SYNC Terrorism has enormously touched her life. There's not only the experience at Brighton but the knowledge she has to live with that she will always be under very considerable personal threat

V/O and she is a brave and courageous and I don't think people quite realise what it's like living with that permanent threat.

Archive
Funeral

Archive
Bobby Sands poster

COMM

She dealt with the powerful IRA weapon of the hunger strike by pitting against it the same brand of inflexible determination.

THATCHER SOF

There can be no question of political status for someone who is serving a sentence for crime. Crime is crime is crime.

Headlines

'Bobby Sands Dies'
'Thatcher Blasted'

Archive

Violence - Ireland

Signing of Hillsborough
Agreement

COMM

Eleven hunger stikers died, amid worldwide protests. The prime minister showed herself to be a politician of exceptional hardness, when she saw the issue as quite clearly cut.

But the tragedy intensified sectarian violence. To much astonishment, the conflict drove Mrs Thatcher to sign an agreement with the Irish prime minister, Garret Fitzgerald, for co-operation on Northern Ireland.

PATTEN

SYNC A lot of the prime minister's closest political supporters were hostile to the Hillsborough Agreement.

V/O But I think she also had sufficient imagination to see that we had to find

SYNC a better way of reflecting the fact that we share these islands and have made rather a mess of doing so over the last couple of hundred years.

Archive

THATCHER SOF

I want to offer hope to young people particularly that the cycle of violence and conflict can be broken. I believe in the union and that it will last as long as the majority so wish.

POWELL

SYNC I don't believe that the prime minister when she said in 1979 I'm a rock hard unionist was telling an untruth. I think she was correctly describing herself.

V/O She hated doing it. You only had to watch the prime minister in November 1985.

SYNC She was a picture of misery. She just hated it and it's I suppose, I suppose it's to her credit that having been convinced at that time that an overriding national interest was involved, she overrode her opinions her wishes and her instincts.

Archive
Ireland

COMM

This unionist prime minister was pilloried by Unionists as a betrayer. Uncomfortably, she's discovered that this is no simple conflict of right and wrong. Each assertion of one side's right exacts a terrible price, with the state also driven to a violent response.

POWELL

SYNC She does believe in right and wrong. She does believe that they are different and that you can pick them out. Now I'm afraid that I think there are circumstances in which it is very hard to know. And very hard to pick them out. And many circumstances in which they shade horribly, even tragically into one another but that kind of finesse

V/O is not for Margaret Thatcher.

END OF PART ONE

PART TWO

COMM

In 1984, Arthur Scargill, leader of the miners union, provided for Margaret Thatcher her perfect opponent when he called a strike over pit closures.

SCARGILL SOF

This conference further agrees to call on all areas to join with the 80% who are already on strike.

[Cheers and applause]

I call on behalf of the NUM on every single working miner to stop work and join the strike

COMM

He was manoeuvred into beginning the strike when coal stocks were high, and the Government had spent months in preparation. Three years earlier, the Thatcher cabinet had backed away from a confrontation with the miners.

TEBBIT SYNC

We've used all sorts of words to cover our embarrassment at the time but the plain fact was we were not in a position at that stage to deal with a major coal strike. We couldn't have carried it through and so the Prime Minister showed her sense of tactics - she wasn't going to get into a battle she couldn't win. But there was I think fairly clearly a note on her pad that the next time things were going to be rather different.

Archive
Scargill

Notts miners

COMM

Now they were ready for Scargill. His Yorkshire flying pickets tried to close the Nottinghamshire pits, without the national ballot that had always been binding on miners. The Notts miners stayed at work, and demonstrated the union split for all to see.

HALL

V/O I think the failure to have a ballot

SYNC represents a deeply patronising view of what ordinary men and women in the mining communities are capable of.

V/O They must have some democratic voice in whether they are ready to go or not. I mean that's just so basic a principle the notion that some vanguard leadership

SYNC which of course was right about the attack which the coalboard was launching on the community but Arthur Scargill was absolutely right about that but nevertheless if you want to mobilise politics around that you have to win the consent of people.

HOWELLS SYNC

The one strength that the NUM had which so many unions didn't have was that it was the one organisation which bargained on behalf of miners, all miners in the industry and of course once that was broken, then in a sense we were finished.

Archive

Thatcher - Carlton Club
Nov 84

MARGARET THATCHER SOF

This year as before in our history we have seen men and women with brave hearts defying violence, scorning intimidation and defending their rights to uphold our laws.

Archive

Ian McGregor down mine

COMM

From the start the strategy was to drive the NUM towards surrender, not agreement. The Coal Board chairman Ian MacGregor, was kept firmly though covertly, under political control.

PETER WALKER

V/O I think Ian had never been involved in a political strike. He had been involved in industrial strikes and he had had the experience of the steel dispute.

SYNC What he didn't calculate here was we weren't talking about industrial strike we were talking about totally politically motivated organised strike by somebody who was using methods and their methods involving violence and picketing of the nature we all saw.

Archive

Police in riot gear

HOWELLS

V/O The police were very very well organised. Confronted with policemen suddenly who were armed with shields and batons visors and helmets was very very intimidating and scary experience. There would be a lot of noise there would even be these terrible occasions when the police would actually beat their shields when they seemed to be like lines of zulus coming towards you. It sickened me

SYNC to see young men who believed so passionately in the cause that they were fighting for in teeshirts and what we in South Wales call daps rubber shoes hurling themselves against lines of policemen wearing medieval battle gear.

Archive

Orgreave -
confrontations police &
miners.

COMM

At the Orgreave coking depot they made their decisive and bolldiest charge.

Rarely have so many been assembled in an English field or unleashed such public violence.

To Mrs Thatcher the miners were simply "The Enemy Within".

Archive

Peter Jay/Thatcher
interview

Headlines

"Scargill's real aim is
war"
"Scargill bid to cripple
Britain"
"Scargill's war on
democracy"

Archive

Miners wives attacking
working miner's wife in
car.

THATCHER SOF

The enemies within are those
who do not believe in the
democratic system but who use
violence or intimidation, some
other means than democracy to
attain their aims.

INTERVIEWER

Do you think that that kind of
language is the best for a
prime minister - I'm not
talking about some ravid junior
politician but for a prime
minister.

MARGARET THATCHER

Under the circumstances under
which I used it - yes. People
could see the violence they
knew of the intimidation - oh
they knew they knew they found
an echo they were watching it
on their screens.

DAVID HART

SYNC Propaganda is a vital
weapon and it was particularly
during the miners strike. A
very substantial amount of our
efforts were directed towards
trying to achieve a perception
on the part of the public of
our point of view in the miners
strike and trying to prevent
the public perceiving
V/O things the way Scargill
was trying to perceive them.

HOWELLS SYNC

The press, it seemed to us was
being manipulated and I think
that we did very little to
counter that. What we did
really was to tell lies to each
other.

COMM

As the war of attrition ground
the miners down, bitterness
between strikers and workers
turned into communal violence.

SOF

DAVID HART SYNC

The strike ended without a settlement. It is quite clear that a settlement wasn't required. Indeed it is clear that the only condition for victory the only possible definition of victory was for us an ending of the strike without settlement.

Archive

Miners march back to work

COMM

The miners marched back to work striving for dignity behind the banners. They had held out for a year, but the popular majority and the unshakeable force the Government had mobilised against them were bound in the end to prevail.

HOWELLS

V/D We were undoubtedly defeated. People argued that we weren't defeated SYNC that the victory was the fact that the strike went on for a year that we sustained it for a year. It was an enormous defeat. I think an irreversable defeat for the NUM and for mining trade unions in general. It was also a defeat for trade unionism as we knew it up until the 1980s.

Archive
Helicopter

Thatcher, Heseltine &
Howe

Heseltine

COMM

It was an obscure dispute over the future of Westland Helicopters which brought Mrs Thatcher down to earth. It grew into a titanic and almost fateful clash. The Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine wanted the near bankrupt Westland to find a European partner. The company backed by the Prime Minister wanted an American solution, and Government supporters massed behind it led by Industry Secretary Secretary Leon Brittan. Heseltine, prevented from putting his case to the full Cabinet, was isolated.

BIFFEN

V/D It was insensitive for the Prime Minister to have SYNC dismissed in quite the way that she did his particular option for Westland and I think that it was a dispute which cast quite an insight into the way in which government proceeded.

Headlines
"Great Cabinet Shambles"

COMM

The attack on Heseltine intensified when a warning letter to him from the Solicitor General was deliberately leaked to the press by Brittan's department.

LORD HAVERS

And I heard about this on the 5 o'clock news and was very cross because there's a very strong convention that Law Officers letters or communications are never leaked without their permission and this had been leaked without either my permission or even more important the writer of the letter, the Solicitor General. Y/O I couldn't bring myself to believe that a QC who was a Cabinet minister would authorise a leak of that sort when the of the rules forbade it and so I just thought it was some civil servant who was deciding to perhaps get his own back from the DTI against Michael Heseltine.

Drawing - Cabinet

COMM

The last straw for Heseltine came when the Prime Minister suddenly demanded in Cabinet that he clear all his future statements on Westland with her secretariat. To his colleagues' amazement he picked up his papers and walked out.

Archive

Heseltine outside No. 10

HESELTINE S.O.F

I have resigned from the Cabinet and I will make a full statement later today.

Drawing

COMM

The resignation left the Govt shaken and another bombshell set to explode. Mrs Thatcher had been forced to agree to an enquiry by Cabinet Sec Sir Robert Armstrong into the leak from Brittan's dept. The leak had come from Colette Bowe, press officer at the DTI - but on whose orders?

Archive

Colette Bowe

COLETTE BOWE SOF

You should direct any questions about leak enquiries to the No. 10 press office.

LORD HAVERS

V/O I had seen her before and she seemed to me to age over that period tremendously.

SYNC She had done her best - she'd tried to get hold of the Permanent Secretary of her department. She then gets firm instructions from the private office of the Secretary of State you are to do this and I assume that she would be advised by

Archive
Bernard Ingham

V/O Bernard Ingham to do what her department was telling her.

COMM

Bernard Ingham, chief press officer at No. 10 is the Prime Minister's longest serving official. What had he known? Had she set up Armstrong to enquire into a leak organised by her own underlings?

LORD HAVERS

V/O Sir Robert took I'm guessing now about 10 days to complete the enquiry.

SYNC He finally came in, I was there at the Prime Minister's request and said I'll give you a summary of my enquiry and unless the Prime Minister is the most marvellous actress that I've ever seen in my life, she was as shocked as anybody that in fact it was on Leon Brittan's instructions.

BRITTAN SYNC

Well the release of the Solicitor General's letter was something which was approved by Mr Charles Powell - the relevant private secretary in No. 10 and it was approved by Mr Bernard Ingham, the prime minister's press secretary and as I made clear at the time there would have been no question of the release of that document without that express approval from No. 10

COMM

Charles Powell seconded from the Foreign Office and Bernard and Ingham were and are the two civil servants closest to the Prime Minister. They see her every day.

Their express approval of the anti-Heseltine leak raised the question of Mrs Thatcher's own prior knowledge of the plot.

LORD HAVERS SYNC

I had a look at the statment he began to make and made some suggestions but I think her problem was that everybody was saying on the Labour side and quite a lot of newspapers that she must have known. And all she was able to do and you can't prove negatives was to get up in the house and say I didn't know, I wasn't told and its a difficult thing to do.

Archive - parliamentary
sof

Drawing - Thatcher in
the Commons

MARGARET THATCHER SOF

It was accepted that the Department of Trade & Industury should disclose that fact and that in view of the urgency of the matter the disclosure should be made by means of a telephone communication to the Press Association.

Page 30

ANNA MCCURLEY

V/O The worst moment I've ever seen her in was probably the Westland speech in the House of Commons.

SYNC The tension was enormous that day it was quite electric and the chamber was extremely crowded

V/O you got the feeling that she was desperately uncomfortable.

SYNC The gestures - her head was bent most of the time and normally it's straight up and eyeing the enemy and she was plucking away at Denis's pearls.

Archive - Parliamentary
50f

MARGARET THATCHER SOE

... just in fact sent out for my official brief and what the secretary ... and what the Department of Trade and Industry officials believe..

ANNA MCCURLEY

There were issues of principle at stake - there's no doubt about it. Whether she was telling the truth to the House for example, what had happened. You got several variations on a theme. You got the strong suspicion that there were people involved in Downing Street in this that shouldn't have been there.

Headlines

Daily Mail:

"the Blood Sacrifice"

COMM

Leon Brittan became the scapegoat for the Westland leak. His resignation saved the Prime Minister.

Archive

Press conference

She refused to allow Powell or Ingham to give evidence at a parliamentary enquiry into Westland. Both have been promoted.

INGHAM SOF

Good evening ladies and gentlemen. The Prime Minister will say a few words and then we'll take questions ...

HEALEY

I think one of the worrying things is the way in which No. 10 has come to replace the Cabinet and the people who work for her at No. 10 in her press office in her private office are now taking the sort of decisions which should be taken by cabinet as a whole or at least by ministers - you know the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and so on and the extent to which she has a personal court is worrying. What is very bad for the constitution is the extent to which she's used officials to undermine the position of colleagues.

COMM

John Biffen was one such victim. A frank television interview by John Biffen, the last independent-minded minister, led to a briefing by Bernard Ingham that he was 'semi-detached' and due for dismissal. Biffen was a lame duck from then on.

JOHN BIFFEN SYNC

To have one's departure widely canvassed in the press in circumstances where you know that the author must be Bernard Ingham and he only would be doing it with the acquiescence of the prime minister, I found distasteful, but not altogether surprising because exactly the self same technique had been used in respect of other ministers like Peter Rees and Patrick Jenkyn.

LORD GOWRIE SYNC

If you let her down or if you are disloyal at a time when she feels vulnerable which is what she thought happened I think she exaggerated a bit what she thought happened in the case of John Biffen. She doesn't become vindictive, she doesn't bitch to use a rather unattractive word but she does withdraw affection and in that way she can be quite glacial and quite monarchical.

JOHN BIFFEN SYNC

I never regarded my job as Leader of the House of Commons to be just a hired executive to deliver the behaviour of the House of Commons as though they had about as much animation as a line of groceries in Sainsburys.

Archive

Cabinet posing for photo

COMM

By 1986 the cabinet was her cabinet. Eighteen ministers had resigned or been sacked Personal domination carried her through the crisis.

NORMAN TEBBIT SYNC

Well those difficult times of 85 and 86 lead to a lot of problems for the government. Its a characteristic of the prime minister's image that when the public can see where she's going when they know what she's after whether they agree with her or not they regard her as a very considerable leader. If they can't see what she's trying to do, if they think she's muddled, if they think the government is confused then those very positive attitudes turn right round to extremely negative attitudes. Instead of being a great leader, she's a bossy woman.

Archive
Margaret & Denis
Thatcher in garden

ENOCH POWELL

SYNC Nobody should underestimate in observing a prime minister the sheer strength which the Queen's chief minister has simply by dint of being the Queen's chief minister. And I suppose the longer you remain in that position

V/O the more people make the error of supposing that having been there long you're likely to remain there.

COMM

The Thatcher's have made Downing Street a family residence.

MARGARET THATCHER SOF

Do you want packed lunch?

DENIS THATCHER SOF

Well a little bit, not too much.

MARGARET THATCHER SOF

Yes alright, with a beer cheese and

DENIS THATCHER SOF

Better keep my fingers crossed for that as well.

MARGARET THATCHER SOF

Hello Emma, hello dear, hello ...

LORD BRUCE-GARDYNE

V/O One of her strenghts I think is that she has an instinctive feel I believe for what the ordinary

SYNC Tory voter out in the Shires is liable to be thinking and worried about at any given time and I think that there Denis her husband has quite an important influence too.

Because sometimes it is said you know that Denis represents the opinion on the 19th hole of every golf course in middle England

V/O There's some truth in that.

Archive

Photo-call - Margaret &
Denis Thatcher

Archive

Russia

Labour PPB

Archive

Thatcher arriving in
Moscow.

Archive

Labour Party Political
Broadcast

COMM

This carefully arranged
photo-call was the preamble to
a campaign for the third term
that had seemed out of reach at
the height of the Westland
affair.

MARGARET THATCHER

If we have an election early, we
go on holiday in August. If we
have an election late

DENIS THATCHER SOF

We won't go at all.

MARGARET THATCHER SOF

No holiday, that's right.

DENIS THATCHER SOF

I'll believe it when I see it.

MARGARET THATCHER SOF

I thought we'd go to Cornwall
again because we love it.

COMM

But before Cornwall, Moscow -
under Ingham's ever watchful
eye the leader who came to
power as the iron lady ranged
against the all evil empire
began her third election
campaign in the Soviet Union
with dividends back home.

But there was a new opponent.

NEIL KINNOCK SOF

Whether they agree with me or
disagree with me they know
they're gonna get a straight
answer and makes it easy for me
to be in touch, to keep in
touch.

COMM

Briefly Labour threatened with a fully modernised campaign revolving around Neil Kinnock. For the first time the famous Thatcher public relations campaign seemed to meet its match. The leader herself sometimes lost her perfect self control

Public alarm about Labour on defence and taxation, coupled with increased prosperity, gave Margaret Thatcher an unprecedented third term.

This was the election that made the difference, consolidating Thatcher revolution and its leader in power. Old favourites could be brought back or pensioned off.

It was time to make up for the faltering second term.

Archive

9 O'clock News - June 87

MARGARET THATCHER SOF

Now we have manufacturing industries, service industries that are fit which are competing the world over and that has been achieved alongside a reform in trade union law which was sorely needed and a higher standard of living for everyone. But please if people just drool and drivel they care I turn round and say right, I also look to see what you do.

DIMBLEBY SOF

why do you use the words drool and drivel that they they care - is that what you think saying you care about people's rights amounts to?

MARGARET THATCHER SOF

No, I don't I'm sorry I used those words.

HOSKYNS

V/O The Government seemed to think its real task had been completed whereas in fact the really difficult bit which is the reform of things like the reform of the education system, the health service, the whole social security system, all of which were really in a state of total disarray were not addressed.

SYNC They did then get back a second wind. They started generating the ideas and of course the moment the ideas come, the energy and commitment V/O and the adrenalin level of the government as a whole begins to rise.

Archive

Thatcher picking up
litter

COMM

The Prime Minister 's new pace, has been directed to some unexpected causes witht he image makers never far behind crafting the public's impression. Her anti-litter campaign made some headlines, but the men who spread the rubbish for her to pick up somehow didn't make it to the 10 o'clock news.

MARGARET THATCHER SOF

Nearly 10 years yet its still we Conservatives who set the pace, generate the ideas'and have the vision. (aplause)

COMM

Her political dominance has scarcely been challenged.

Tory Conference

MARGARET THATCHER SOF

A man may climb Everest for himself but at the summit he plants his country's flag.

COMM

Her style and appearance have become positively imperial.

BRENDA FOLAN

V/O She has discovered for herself a sort of power dressing. Margaret Thatcher when one first became aware of her was middle class mumsy. She looked like a middle class mum would do on speech days, like a lady magistrate, like the vicar's wife. It was very unthreatening. When Margaret Thatcher arrived in Poland recently, you couldn't ignore the fact that rather like a Holbein painting of Henry VII, here was a figure which was saying, I am powerful. Mrs Thatcher is accused of looking more royal than the Queen but in fact she's expressing what the Queen doesn't have which is power.

HEALEY

V/O She has done for the Tory party which no one has yet done for the Labour party. She's adjusted it the new social realities. She's taken it away from the landowners

SYNC and given it to the estate agents and there are some advantages in that even for the country. But she is also very like Mao Tse Tung in style. She believes in the permanent revolution. She believes if you don't keep sharpening the blade, it will rust.

TEBBIT SYNC

I think that in the past 14 years British politics has been about Mrs Thatcher. I think that that's because she held some ideas which were clear. They weren't complex but she understood them well. She managed to strike a cord with the electorate and she has not been diverted from carrying those policies through and I think she's had a far better and fuller understanding of all the implications and ramifications of her policies sometimes to an extent which is quite distressing to her ministers.

JOHN BIFFEN

And you can be very determined in your objectives and you can be very certain that is what the situation requires - its just possible you could be wrong and therefore if you are going to have these strengths you have to avoid the downside consequences of self righteousness and intolerance.

PATTEN

SYNC Maybe it was always going to be the case that it would take sharp elbows and chariot wheels to begin to turn the economy round and to deal with all the paraphernalia of Scargillism

V/O I don't think that it would have been possible to move things in Britain without having somebody who was prepared to run a couple of hundred yards down the road and shout alot.

Archive

Thatcher elbowing her way to the front with European leaders.

Archive

Margaret & Denis Thatcher

END TITLES