

THE PERTH SPEECH, ARGUMENT.

(from David Hart)

1. The press expect a keynote speech. Peter Jenkins in his first piece for the Sunday Times alluded to the importance of the Perth Speech. The TIMES lead story did the same, yesterday. The press should not be disappointed. You should restate your vision in the boldest terms and take the gloves off to the opposition. You cannot afford any equivocation.
2. The essence of the speech is TONE. Not tone of voice. Tone of words. Everybody knows that you are strong. We must explain to them why you are strong. So that you can be seen to be as caring as I know you are. Paradoxically, hard words can demonstrate care better than soft ones.
3. It is essential NOT to announce any new policy in this speech. For example, despite the pressures, some new rates policy. If you do, the expression of your VISION will be lost in Press comment on the new policy.
4. Since the speech needs to be taken as a fundamental restatement of your political beliefs it is important that the structure does nothing to weaken the impact of such a statement. The hard, technical explanations of policy should be dealt with first and as briefly as possible. Then your vision. Broadly, they should not be intermixed.
5. When dealing with policy you should aim to show that you face problems and understand problems thus showing to ordinary people that you understand the world, IN THEIR TERMS. There is no problem at all telling people that problems are intractable, that there is a limit to the effectiveness of political solutions and the scope of politicians. It conforms with the reality that they know.
6. You should use the first person plural as much as possible. It associates the Party with you (making it harder for them to give you trouble), draws the sting of the One Person Government opposition jibe and draws to you the territory we are going to capture with this speech, the hearts and minds of the working class, 72 per cent of the population.
7. The essence of this speech is to give people a sight of a promised land. No false promises. No exaggerated claims. But a glimpse of how things can be.

THE PERTH SPEECH, A PROPOSED STRUCTURE.

1. SCOTLAND.

Obviously the speech must begin with references to Scotland and Scottish luminaries of the past. Adam Smith, James Watt, John Buchan etc, . . . Many good things have come from Scotland including the Queen's English and some ministers.

The Scots tend to see a two nation Britain. The problem needs to be addressed.

2. POLICY MATTERS.

This should include balm on the rates issue - we are dealing with the problem; watch this space for further announcements etc - and must deal with the Teachers' strike. (Note: Many women go out to work when their children are at school. Allude to it. It will demonstrate that you know what the strike is like for the housewife. The street are very cross with the teachers however many local authorities are giving them spurious respectability.)

3. VE DAY.

Explain what VE day means for us.

4. FASCISM OF 40's.

Explain Fascism and demonstrate its links with Marxism to turn the Kinnock 'Fascist' jibe onto his head.

5. DEFENCE.

Need for strong Defence.

6. DEFENCE.

And at home against the Fascism of the Left.

7. OPPOSITION.

Take them apart.

8. YOUR VISION - STRENGTH.

You have to be strong to care.

9. YOUR VISION - PLANTING TREES.

This is a government that acts for the future.

10. YOUR VISION - FREEDOM, RESPONSIBILITY, INDEPENDENCE.

The kind of people Britons are and can be.

11. YOUR VISION - THE CLASSLESS SOCIETY.

THE PERTH SPEECH, SOME PARAGRAPHS.

3. VE DAY.

It is forty years since the struggle against the Nazis was finally concluded in Europe. We commemorate the ending of that long agony with relief and with sadness.

Relief that there has not been another global conflict - we have achieved peace for forty years - an achievement we have every right to be proud of.

Sadness as we remember with gratitude the sacrifice of those who died, our own soldiers and civilians. And those of our Allies. All our allies.

Every one an individual, with his or her own concerns, his or her opinions, his or her ways of enjoying life, his or her own hopes for a future that never came.

We say that more than forty (?) million men died in the last war. The number rolls off the tongue. We tend to hide behind numbers and forget that every number was a unique individual.

This week we remember all the individuals who died so that the individuals who survived could be free.

It is our highest duty to remember. To ourselves and to our children. So that we can ensure that such devastation is not allowed, ever again, to do its deadly work. And so we reflect on the causes of the war with sombre realism.

4. FASCISM.

The dark stain of the Fascism that seized Germany and eventually spread over Europe by force of arms found its most terrible expression in the Nazis. They abolished true religion and made the state their god. They believed that they were the chosen race. And so they tried to exterminate the Jews and any other race that they thought inferior.

We must not close our eyes to the past. It is the essential quality of the human race to learn from it. From our successes and our failures. That is how we survive.

Six million innocent Jews were murdered in the camps. And other groups that incurred Nazi displeasure. There were no trials, there was no due process of law. Men and women were simply taken from their homes and destroyed often with unimaginable barbarism. No one who has seen the recent television pictures of the liberation of the concentration camps can possibly forget the depths of bestiality perpetrated in those places.

Nor should they. If we remember we can hope to prevent a repetition.

The Nazis thought that they could achieve their Utopia if they murdered all their opponents. That's why they had to be stopped.

But Fascism is not the only stain on the political landscape of the twentieth century. As Fascism is the arrogance of the blood, so Marxism is the arrogance of the intellect.

In the same way that the Fascists sought a world peopled by a pure race, the Marxists, just as intolerantly, want a world peopled by pure communists.

In the same way that the Fascists thought that they should conquer the world by right of race, the Marxists think that they can conquer the world by right of intellect.

We saved the world from the thousand year Reich. We must also save the world from the Marxist millenium.

5. DEFENCE.

That is why it is absolutely essential that we have strong defence. So strong that attack on us is unthinkable.

The last war taught us that appeasement doesn't make for peace. Indeed, it provokes war. It is weakness that is provocative. Not strength.

Only if our defence is strong can we safely conduct a dialogue with the Soviet Union and its allies and see if we can negotiate, realistic, balanced, verifiable treaties that reduce weapons on both sides. That is the only way to peace.

You don't get peace if one side is much stronger than the other. It's a recipe for war. Nations are not saints, anymore than individuals are. If you have an imbalance of arms the stronger nation will start to bully the weaker ones. At some point people decide that the bullying has to stop. Then war begins.

We can only hope to get arms reduction agreements with the Soviet Union from a position of strength. There is no incentive to the Soviets to enter into agreements with us to limit arms if we are busy disarming without them.

That's what Labour want to do.

Labour would get rid of our Independent Nuclear Deterrent without asking anything in return from the Soviets. They would rely, they say, on the American nuclear deterrent. But they want to close the American bases in Britain and send the Americans home.

Why should the Americans defend us if we are not prepared to defend ourselves?

We have more pride in our Country than that. This government believes that the maintenance of a strong defence is our first responsibility.

From strength we can negotiate. That is why I have agreed to join with the Americans in research into Strategic Defence weapons under President Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative.

The research is intended to discover if we can evolve weapons that will destroy enemy missiles before they reach us. SDI is not about weapons to destroy people. It is about weapons to attack weapons.

The aim of SDI is to evolve a series of non-nuclear defensive systems that make defence cheaper than offence. That make it easier for us to contemplate defending ourselves than for others to contemplate attacking us.

If we can reduce the effectiveness of offensive weapons we can make it easier to negotiate them away.

6. DEFENCE.

We must be strong to defend ourselves from threats from abroad. And we must be strong at home. To defend ourselves against those who do not want us to succeed. In the protection of our cherished freedoms. In the regeneration of our industries. In our drive for prosperity. In our determination to achieve the kind of society we believe in.

Yes, there is an enemy within. There's no point in equivocating. Fascism and its bedfellow Totalitarianism, have not confined themselves to the extreme right of the political spectrum. They have found a place to lodge and a voice on the extreme left.

The extreme left in Britain today has all the hallmarks of fascism clearly stamped on it. The arrogance. The intolerance. The hatred of freedom.

Some miners' leaders were so arrogant they called a strike without bothering to consult their members despite the rules of the union.

Some miners' leaders were so intolerant they used threats of violence and violence itself against many of their own members simply because those brave men said that they didn't agree with the strike and decided to go to work to support their families.

The strike was not of our making. But we stood up to it. We make no apology for that.

And we make no apology for defending the right of ordinary people to go to work. In the mines or anywhere else.

Recently, in an election for the leadership of Britain's largest Union, we have seen that there has been serious tampering with the ballot papers. That's not freedom. It's arrogance of the worst kind. The union, very properly, has decided to run the election again.

And we have seen the extreme left in the House of Commons itself. Some Members have sought to frustrate the usual process of Parliament. They have disobeyed the speaker. They have manhandled other members whose views they don't like. That's not freedom. That's intolerance. The kind of arrogance and intolerance that we must defend against.

There are some of these extremists who hide behind the acceptable face of socialism - if there is one. They'd soon emerge if Labour got into power.

We must make sure that these people never get into government. With or without an election.

7. OPPOSITION.

And there is another kind of intolerance we see in our opponents. They claim that they have a monopoly of compassion. They claim that they are the only ones who care about the great problems that face us today. Maintaining the Peace. Arms Control. Unemployment. The relationship between society and the unions. Our economic performance. Law and order.

They wring their hands and offer their panaceas - at your expense. Anyone can wring his hands. Anyone can offer to spend your money. It's all too easy.

And it leads, all too easily, to higher taxes, higher inflation, higher unemployment. Everything higher.

Yes, high unemployment follows high inflation. That's why we have to get inflation down and keep it down.

Unemployment is the greatest domestic problem facing the government. There are no easy solutions. To offer them is a cruel deceit.

If we adopt the reflationary policies urged on us by those of all political persuasions we would only be putting off the evil hour. The only jobs that can possibly last are those that are earned by selling goods or services at prices people are prepared to pay.

Jobs purchased by reflation are not real jobs. They will not last. People know it. People know that sham solutions create sham jobs.

When reflation is the invoice, inflation is the only available settlement.

And, as I have said, high inflation leads to high unemployment. Firms facing rising costs - of materials as well as of labour - lay off workers. They have little option. They cannot manufacture without their raw materials.

Reflation is no solution to unemployment. Because it

causes inflation it is the very opposite of compassion. It is not and never will be Government policy while I lead the Party.

There is no compassion, either, in abolishing choice. Our opponents want to abolish choice. Not just Labour. Remember the changes Mrs Williams forced on our schools.

People should be able to choose which school they send their children to. People should be able to choose what kind of pension they can plan for. There's no compassion in forcing people to go by train when they want to go on the bus.

There are many great failures of Socialism. Perhaps the greatest is the elimination of personal choice.

8. YOUR VISION, STRENGTH.

It's easy to say you care. Much more difficult to do something about it.

The first part of caring is facing the truth and telling the people the truth. We do both.

You have to be strong to face the truth. You have to be strong to tell the truth. You have to be strong to transform compassion into action. To do something about problems instead of simply complaining about them.

Getting things right can often take a long time. There are no easy solutions. If there were, the problems would have been solved. People know that. Of course they do. Opposition quack remedies won't deceive the voters.

We have to be strong to solve the problems.

Strong on Defence. So that we can have peace.

Strong on inflation. So that people can face the future with confidence - individuals and businesses.

Strong on workers rights. We must make sure that workers wishes are heard by their leaders.

Strong on welfare. It is our pleasure as a civilised people to look after our needy. Our Conservative record is unimpeachable in welfare. In the health service we are spending more. On pensions we are spending more. Across the entire range of welfare provision it is our policy to see that the needy are properly provided for.

Carefully, sensibly, efficiently - so that the people's money isn't wasted.

And yes, there are cuts. Cuts in waste. Cuts in inefficiency. Cuts in welfare for those that do not need it.

It really is intolerable to tax earners to provide welfare for those who don't need help.

9. YOUR VISION, PLANTING TREES.

But there is more to the duty of government than providing for people's present needs. We must also plant trees for the future. Sometimes a future that we will not see. Out of respect for ourselves. For if we believe in our vision we must do what needs to be done so that it can be carried into the future.

We are a government that will not shirk difficult decisions simply because they offer no immediate political gain. Where we find that it is better to take steps now to avoid a future problem, even if the ultimate beneficiary will be a future government, we will not duck the decision.

10. YOUR VISION, FREEDOM, RESPONSIBILITY, INDEPENDENCE.

And there is more to government than executive action. We must lead the national debate. We must inspire people. We must explain to people by word and by example what kind of people we are and what kind of people we want to be.

We must go out into the streets and tell the people that we believe in freedom and accept our responsibilities. To ourselves, to our families, to the community.

We must go out into the streets and tell the people that there is no reason to be ashamed of capitalism. We must tell them that we want them to be proud of being a householder, proud of being a shareholder in that great enterprise we call Great Britain. Independence comes from owning property.

We must go out into the streets and give people back their legitimate pride. In themselves. In their families. In their friends. In their country.

11. YOUR VISION, THE CLASSLESS SOCIETY.

We are Conservatives and we are not ashamed of it. Nor are we ashamed of our vision. Of a society where everyone, whatever his background, has a chance to own his own home, to own his own shares, to have an occupational pension, to provide for his own health care if he wishes, to educate his children at a school of his choice.

To run his own life.

It's not just that we want our people to be prosperous. But prosperity is the product of good social relationships. If people are getting on well with each other they prosper together. If there are divisions in society economic activity declines.

Our opponents are the great engineers of division. Between them and us. Between the haves and the have nots. Between the right and the left. Between the worker and the manager. Between the shareholder and the customer.

We are the Party that aims to put an end to these divisions and to put an end, finally, to that greatest injustice of all - class division.

It is our opponents who wage class war. How they love to sow the seeds of discontent.

We are the architects of the classless society. We are the peacemakers. For we stand, not on the right, not on the left, not on the middle ground - we stand where the people stand of the Common Ground of politics.