FIRST DRAFT

INTRO

Thank you, Mr. President, for that wonderful welcome so very comforting in what, as always, has been a very demanding

pear including a few of what a distinguished predecessor of

mine, Harold MacMillan, used to call "local difficulties".

We are a party which thrives on debate, as this conference has shown again, and which cares deeply about the great issues of the day. But we are also a party which knows what it stands for and what it seeks to achieve. We may argue about the methods,

but we all have a common aim: to protect, and fight for, the

There has been much sound and fury during the last few weeks.

The opposition parties have been at conference offering their easy ways out.

There has been a lot of talk of power - we'll spend more if we get power . . . we'll borrow more if we get power . . . we'll pay you more if we get power.

There has been a lot of talk of power but there hasn't been much talk of responsibility. Today, I want to speak of our responsibilities, the responsibilities of a Conservative Party that Is in power. For while others ask for power, we take responsibility: I and being the a think terreturn.

willing also Poll

Cop.

SPEECH

MORALITY 1 CNSUR VOTISM

The charge is sometimes made that our policies are only concerned with money and efficiency. That they have no regard for people or morality.

and never has been

monopoly of one party, and it would be wrong for any see party by the blank it don't own,

But it is the foundation of our policies.

- Why are we so opposed to inflation? Only because it raises costs? No, because it also destroys jobs, invites speculation and hurts pensioners. And that is moral not just economic.

- Why have we limited the power of trade unions? Only to improve productivity? No, because trade union members want to be protected from intimidation. And that is moral not just economic.

Grundley

- Why have we privatised public sector industries? Only to improve efficiency? No. But to spread the wealth of our



country among as many as possible. And that is moral not just economic.

- Why have we introduced the assisted place scheme in schools? And why are we creating new schools within the maintained sector? To establish elitism or privilege? No. But to give the families of Brent and Haringey and Liverpool greater choice in the education of their children. A choice denied them by their militant labour councils.

Extending choice, therefore, is rooted in our Conservative tradition. Greater choice means greater responsibility. It were means increased opportunities. And without that choice, talk of morality is empty.

This recel section is optional, from do output

Last week the Labour Party proudly proclaimed it was 'Putting

People First'. What an empty slogan. It was exposed by the

They decided to make private education illegal.

and subtime something our by the union thereties which could Not be exposed with combs with by union newton on explayer.

They decided to re-nationalise British Telecom, British Private Private Court of which with a court of which with a volume of which with a volume with a volume of which the court of the court of

The Labour Party has never renounced Clause 4 of its

Constitution which called for "the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange ... and control of each industry or service". Labour doesn't renounce it because that is

its goal.

We have from

policies the conference adopted.

- Nothing about regre - il

hadely had

They devided to make much reduction illeged out it is the of Count Hours.

They devided to slop the side of Count Hours.

Graph - the speed of home owner to be dear the services to the servi

'Putting Government First' is what the Labour Party believes.
But the inevitable result is 'Putting People Second'.

As the record of recent years shows choice is the only safeguard each of us has against the power of an expanding State.

(to inderdurrents of Socialism pull against that stream

breau peream or democracy Llows strongly,

The whole drift of their policy is in the direction of strengthening the hand of the State, against the independence of the individual. You can make your own mental check list. Karl Marx published his Communist Manifesto in 1849. The major changes to be brought about by revolution were the abolition of private property; a heavy progressive income tax; the abolition of the right of inheritance; nationalisation of banking, transport and the media; and education for all children in state schools. How much of that programme is repellent to the delegates who met at Blackpool last week? How much for it is attractive to those delegates? The questions answer themselves. That is where the great divide in politics still exists today.

Nitell. For subter

And lying at the heart of this change in the condition of our country is the difference between Conservatism and Socialism.

The two are as different as chalk and cheese. If we have

Lophord

Whereas Socialists believe you belong to the State,

Conservatives insist the State belongs to you.

Whereas Socialists promote State ownership, Conservatives

Push

stand for individual property rights.

Whereas Socialists work through organisations - the big battalion or block vote mentality - Conservatives work through individuals.

Whereas Socialists want to control your lives, Conservatives want to liberate them.

The one word which encapsulates these differences between >

Socialists and Conservatives is freedom.

Where I switcher are willing to jespanden the delene of our sources we rejend delene on the of fine the print duly 1 of porement.



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and declares it would be immored to avail ourselves

So the Sorie Union would only have

of America's mudean shield.



to theater to un nuclear weapons apartle us and Britain would have to Surveyler. Peru without freedom, without justice. Read of any price. In Bretain' the Fastion of Labrily' This Labour policy is the hipperterbund.

I formate buch with defence policy to have beden even to have many by an Opposition leader even Jose Work War To.

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THE PRIME MINISTER

every for ation is every for country know that constant government of the Mk. will kept it of the allies and on the because it values because it values the freedom of all its cations, and the reputation of Jan' name from country.

What is it about British Societatis which which makes them so much owner falle about defence than A French?

What is it about British Socialists that they would fine up nuclear support while the USER goes on shockepting them. Why do they want weden on defens quint Community I so him weden our defens quint Community I so him British rentied? Britain? Britain? Britain?



THE PRIME MINISTER

EGNOMIC + INDUSTRIAL SECTION to ZOME for Coon (RED) wood

Some contributions included here. in the owner pyl

New Technoly Tever of God Power to the People Jo35.

RECHMOLOGY. in dus brokered world is surp. du to new tochesty old willen her doubt. were replaced by motors. be accomplished without confusion and problems. But it would be equally foolish to pretend that a country like Britain, which so heavily dependent on exports, can somehow ignore what is happening in the rest of the world - to behave as if these great events have nothing to do with us; to fight change; to turn the clock back. habou; appoint ! Yet this is exactly what the Labour party proposes to do. It wants to give back to the trade unions the powers they used to have - and we all know what that means. It wants to return to the old levels of over-manning. It wants to make life difficult for the very people on which the future of Britain depends the wealth creators. Well, that defies common sense. The British people know, & in their heart of hearts, that it is not a realistic answer. They know that we must adapt; that we must be strong enough to compete with countries like Japan and Germany in order to survive and prosper. Governments can help by encouraging enterprise, positive thinking, the pursuit of excellence in every field. the way to create new jobs it Thatcherism common sense

how to do it. The weaknesses of the case for State ownership have become all too obvious. Planners do not have to suffer the consequences of their mistakes; the Government will pick up the bill. Trade unions can - and do - insist that goods should be produced at a loss. And poor service can go on for years because there is no real compulsion to compete or excel.

When the state owns, nobody owns; and when nobody owns, nobody cares.

The job of Government is to set the right financial and legal framework and allow industry to work within it. It is to cut taxes, cut red tape, and encourage competition.

This Government has rolled back the frontiers of the state, and will continue to do so. Many other countries have followed our example. Privatisation has found its way to the Labour Government of New Zealand and to the statist bureaucracy of Brazil, to the new democracy of the Phillipines and even in an oriental version in China. Everywhere Governments are trying to cut deficits, repay debt, restrain the public sector.

We believe in popular capitalism - in a property-owning democracy.

We are proud of the fact that so many people now own their home. In Scotland recently, I witnessed the sale of the millioneth council house. The Labour party opposed us on this, even though home ownership is immensely popular with the British people.

But then the Labour party has never been very interested in what people want - it prefers to tell them what they should have.

Now for the found nuttion

5

We have also encouraged a great expansion in shareownership.

and will go on doing so, with the sale of more shares in enterprises like British Gas and British Airways. Millions of people now have a stake in the companies they work for. More than one in five British companies now operate profit-sharing schemes for their employees.

Our aim is to consign to the dustbin that most misleading of phrases "the two sides of industry", which has done so much harm to Britain.

own their home or own a car. People should not be classified as either earners or owners, as either employees or shareholders. They should be both. It is good and honourable to have a stake in the business that provides your livelihood.

Popular capitalism is nothing less than a crusade to enfranchise the many in the economic life of the nation. We are returning power to the people.

All this helps to build a robust and more responsible society.

The strength of our policies is that they are founded on the basic instincts of our people - an instinct for ownership, for thrift, for honest work, for fair rewards, and for helping others.

We do not seek to divide the country: we seek to unite it in a common purpose.

It was this basic instinct - and a spirit of adventure - which once made Britain the leading industrial mation in the world. It is still vital to our future.



THE PRIME MINISTER

Great Ham fassa for han been made by one opposed that it's six weder. In more new job. - will - to that has happen with that I read I read that Great graph that I read I read that Could deliver most

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But do they perhaps mean a promise of a net increase of a million jobs. Well, we've done that too - there are a million more people in work now than there were at the last election.

So which is it Mr. Kinnock? A million jobs or a million additional jobs? Or don't you know the difference?

Either way it doesn't matter because we've done it already and we're doing it now and we're going to go on doing it.

A million more in work; many more jobs for women; a higher proportion of our working age population in work than almost anywhere else in Europe; more new jobs created than the rest of the European Community added together. Unemployment among young people falling. Unemployment among the older, long-term unemployed about to fall as a result of our Restart programme to help them.

These are just some of our achievements on jobs and there's much much more we've done for better training and for enterprise in our Action for Jobs campaign. It's all in the excellent Action for Jobs booklet.

We don't just talk about the problems. Our care can be seen in what we do about them. And I lower r routing the

spire of enterprine.

MODULE 3

JOBS COM

In the last few weeks Labour has carried on its Autumn redecoration. This season's new colour is grey. Red reminds too many of red flags and red ink, the usual state of Labour's bank balance. It might even remind us of the militant lining to Labour's new coat. Grey was a good choice. It captures the mood of Labour's relaunched drab policies, shown in many off the cuff speeches at this Autumn's political fashion parades. It's about as up-to-date as Eastern European dresses on a Parisian catwalk.

Colores polivis 1 ou sproment

They have revealed their destruction of employment plan, an all embracing winter outfit. First to be sacked would be all the workers building nuclear power plants. Everyone employed in existing nuclear power stations might also be given their marching orders. And Individed heprets there she will be used by the combined the part of the way feel combined the first mulan for the first mulan proceedings. The next to go would be the jobs of all those selling

things to South Africa - 120,000 to 140,000 redundancies overnight.

Out would go the American nuclear deterrent and with it all of the American military bases in the United Kingdom another 30,000 jobs destroyed _ and War would be !! of his rentules make in the munding men

16

Younger people would be attacked by Labour's minimum wage

legislation. A quarter of a million jobs mainly for the young

would be lost or forced underground by any such law.

Labour says that there would be other job opportunities.

There would be the new army of porters at British Rail stations

who probably wouldn't even carry your bags. Every letter would

be delivered by at least two postmen and at British Steel we

could return to having the least efficient works in Europe.

Far from creating jobs, forcing the public sector to take on

people to do things that don't need doing would simply put up

prices and destroy jobs elsewhere.

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TAX'

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M Other parties want to increase taxation and

borning.

We are the only party which does not.

We want to reduce both, and we have:

Indeed we have abolished three taxes.

But I can assure you of one thing above

al[1].

We shall only reduce taxes if it is

prudent to do so.

Some say that we shall use the proceeds from privatising British Gas to finance a pre-election giveaway next March.

There is absolutely no truth in that.

If tax cuts cannot prudently be afforded

and I note it with the state of achievements of the past seven years, and you would not want me to.

Rime! Prime mil onder 1 http.

[I will also say this.

People who talk about pre-election
giveaways next March know much more about
the date of the election than I do.]

to ignore the basic fact of economic life: that you have to create wealth before you can spend it, and that wealth is created through the effort of the individual

They are the same people who have never had anything good to say about anyone or anything, including their country.

In their eyes, everything that Britain does is wrong.

Every setback, however small, is seen as proof that the situation is hopeless. Their favourite word is "crisis". It's a crisis when the pound goes down, and a crisis when the pound goes up.

It's a crisis when the price of oil goes down and a crisis when the price of oil goes up.

It's a crisis when the price of oil goes down and a crisis when the price of oil goes up.

They are reluctant to acknowledge good news and take a duffer perverse pleasure, in failure.

Their thinking is dominated by cynicism, pettiness, and envy.

They are the hand-wringing is downered by cynicism, pettiness, and envy.

The spirit of adventure, pride in achievement, patriotism all these things are ancered at

It is extraordinary that so many other countries have far more good to say about Britain than we do ourselves.

Well, Maggie is not sneering. We despise such a negative.

destructive attitude. I applaud endeavour in every field, we want to be a shamed of being a patriot. The best and I am certainly not ashamed

To say this is not to be complacent - far from it. There is much to be done, and we shall do it. We do not ignore this country's problems, nor do we flinch from the challenge they

Where the formalie like number round

present. But I see no reason why we should indulge in the tiresome old practise of self-denigration, the defeatist view that nothing we do as a nation is ever right.

There is a great deal to be proud of. The successes of our exporters. The impressive advances in science and industry.

The effort of millions of our people to create new enterprises and new jobs. The outstanding our former law have much the south of the south of the successes of the successes

Inflation has been brought down from the horrifying levels reached under the last Labour Government, and is now at its lowest for many years. The number of days lost through strikes has fallen dramatically. Industry has become more efficient. Rates of income tax have been reduced. Personal ownership has grown. The standard of living has never been higher. We are not lurching from one financial crisis to another, as we have done in the past.

These are genuine achievements in which we can \underline{all} take pleasure and pride. We shouldn't be afraid of good news.

Much has been said and written about the disruptive effects of new technology. But what about the benefits? It has created new opportunities - and jobs - and it has made life easier in the home, in the office, and in the factory. It is taking over tedious or intractable tasks, improving the quality and efficiency of existing technologies, speeding up communications, helping to educate our children and contributing to further substantial advances in fields like medicine.

Pice on Heart kunci (coming from

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winter the beautiful the hear

I make no apology for preferring success to failure.

But let no-one say that this party, this Government, this Prime

Minister lack compassion for those who are going through difficult

times, through no fault of their own. We have done a great

deal to help. But compassion has to be tempered by realism.

As every housewife knows, you can't just spend, spend, spend without regard for what you earn or can afford. Government money is not some abstract concept; it has to come from somewhere. Britain is not lurching from one financial crisis to another because we are careful.

not in the business of buying votes, with the ven remover

I care about the sick, which is why spending on the health service is higher than ever before. That is Conservative care in practise.

I care about the unemployed. Scarcely a day passes without the government looking at new ways of speeding job creation.

pensioners - who saw their savings devastated by runaway inflation was shown head to make the wife of the wind and a solution under a Labour Government. That is why we have reduced the

inflation rate to the lowest level in two decades.

I care about law and order - the right of decent people to be protected against crime, hooliganism, and the cancer of drugs. There is no excuse for those who do not respect that right. There is no excuse for the burglar, the bully, the rapist, the evil dealer in drugs. There is no excuse for the terrorist. This party, and this Government, have always backed the police in their battle to uphold the rule of law. We shall go on doing so. That battle calls for the resolve and commitment of the British people. Our institutions of justice, the courts and the police require the unswerving support of every law abiding citizen. No one is above the law.

I care about the freedom of the individual to run his own life - instead of having it done for him by the State. Personal

liberty has to be constantly defended and strengthened; it should ever be taken for granted.

I care about the pursuit of excellence in every field.

success need not necessarily be measured in financial terms;

buy food doubt would and have you fait
what matters is giving one's best. There I would, for the

I care about people being able to own their home and to have a stake in the business they work for a scut of pulling

The notion that ceilings should be set on this and that - so dear to the left - should fill everyone with dismay. Not everyone can be rich - not everyone wants to be - but in a free society we all have the right to enjoy the rewards of effort. Set artificial ceilings and you deny people the chance to improve their lives through their own efforts. The lowest common denominator becomes all-important. The speed of the convoy becomes the speed of the slowest ship.

Savings, income, property, whatever you call it, it's nice to have a little bit of your own.

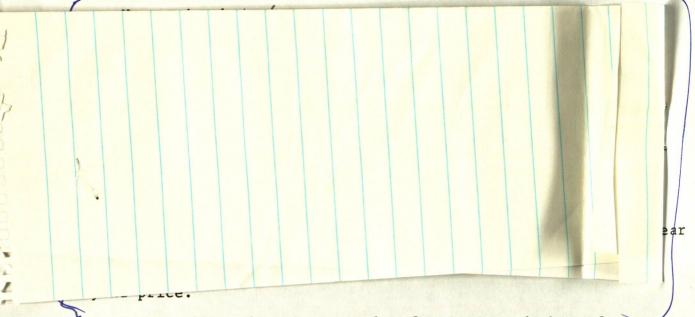
I care about the principle I was taught when I was young - an honest day's pay for an honest day's work.

I care about parliamentary democracy and free speech with the speech with the

I care about making sure that BritaIn's best brains and brightest talents are not driven away by excessive taxation. That is why we have brought income tax down; our opponents want to put it up. They want to put their hands in your pockets, your pockets, not just those of the rich.

I <u>care</u> about our friendship with the United States - a country which has done so much to uphold freedom in the democratic world, and which has fought so valiantly against tyranny of every kind. We in Britain value our independence, but we also value our friends.

I <u>care</u> about the defence of this country. This Government has never faltered in its resolve to defend Britain from aggressors and never will.



I care about the young people of Britain and their future.

That is why we have launched the largest youth training programme this country has ever seen. I am much impressed - and encouraged - by the enthusiastic response of so many young men and women.

We in this party are deeply concerned about the young and we are doing everything we can to help. But we don't want to see this country handed over to people who want to create a new Soviet Union, a new Poland, a new Czechoslovakia, a new East Germany. The young are sensible enough to know what those societies are like, and we have no intention of going down that road. This lady has seen enough of life - and the world - not to believe in a socialist Utopia.

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THE PRIME MINISTER

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So have others. Alexander Solzhenitzyn has warned the West against what he called "the misty phantom of socialism".

Socialism, he said, "has created the illusion of quenching people's thirst for justice; socialism has lured their conscience into thinking that the steamroller which is about to flatten them is a blessing in disguise, a salvation. And socialism, more than anything else, has caused public hypoerisy to thrive".

Andrei Sakharov, the Nobel prize winner and dissident, has also urged us to beware of what he called "the pursuit of leftish liberal fadishness". The leftists, he said, usually accept too trustingly the dogmas of the socialist system, and avoid listening to anything that contradicts it."

They are warnings that should be heeded.

V(SioN)

I have a vision of the future.

I want to see a Britain which recognises the realities of a challenging period in our history and comes to terms with them - a Britain which makes the most of its opportunities in the world.

I want to see a Britain in which people remain free to develop their full potential, in every field of endeavour.

I want to see a Britain which has no truck with outmoded Marxist doctrine about class warfare. For us it is not who you are, who your family is, or where you come from that matters. It is what you are and what you can do for our country that counts.

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I want to see a Britain free from the shackles of excessive state control.

I want to see a Britain in which people show compassion for their fellow citizens and are prepared to help those in genuine need, but don't expect Governments to do everything for them.

I want to see a Britain which admires initiative, effort and success instead of denigrating it.

I want to see a Britain where many, many more people have genuine new jobs - jobs which will last - and where taxation is reduced still further.

I want to see a Britain in which there is a high standard of health care, where savings keep their value, where the standards in our schools are a source of pride and where people respect the rule of law.

I want to see a Britain which is respected in the world, not pitied; a Britain which is strong; not feeble; a Britain which is positive, not defeatist.

Above all, I want to see a Britain which values the great benefits of living in a free society - and which is determind to preserve them. That is my vision. It is a vision worth fighting for, and I shall fight - for however long it takes.

We have accomplished much, and I most warmly thank you for all your efforts.

Let us not be deterred by the cynics, the woe-mongers, the self-appointed levellers, the petty would-be dictators, the people with glib solutions and cheap compromises, the

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Fuch - yello come

The Return of National Pride.

The opposition parties have one thing in common. They like nothing better than to knock Britain.

They tell us that the economy is in terminal decline, that we have cut spending on the Health Service, that we cant afford to defend ourselves.

The opposition try to make Britons ashamed of themselves.

When we look back over the last seven years of Conservative government we have nothing to be ashamed of.

First and most important, because we have called on the nation to face up to its responsibilities - to provide a credible defence, to maintain law and order, to provide for the needy, to protect individual rights - and because the nation has responded, there has been a renewal of national pride.

Seven years ago there was very little for the nation to be proud of. Socialism had seen to that. As it always does. Now that we have solid national achievements to our credit we see a return of confidence.

That's why our opponents try to con people into believing their horror stories. They know that national morale has improved enormously under this Conservative government and it doesnt suit their purposes.

Our opponents vision of Britain bears as much resemblance to reality as the kind of horor film that Messer's Hammer are so good at making. You know, the films they show on television late on Saturday nights when the children have gone to bed. The ones that make your hair stand on end.