

Press and
Publicity

PRIME MINISTER

Party Political Broadcast

I understand that Michael Dobbs mentioned to you the other day that Central Office had in mind a PPB the purpose of which would be to show the continuing thread running through the post-war Conservative Party and that they hoped you might record a few words on Harold Macmillan. (I did not bother you with this because I had not yet received the outline of the PPB which I was sure you would first want to look at.)

However, following the death of Maurice Macmillan the whole basis of the PPB is being revised and the need for any recording by you on Harold Macmillan does not therefore arise.

Stephen

MS

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Memorandum from: ... Anthony Shrimpsley To: Stephen Sherbourne

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Party Political Broadcast - 21 March

I attach a revised outline for the proposed Broadcast from Saatchi's. As you will see, it involves a comment by the Prime Minister, all-be-it a brief one. There is considerable enthusiasm here for the concept of using the Macmillan senario as a way of emphasising the continuity of leadership which the Conservative Party offers as represented specifically in this script by Churchill, Macmillan and Margaret Thatcher.



What follows is an outline framework for the broadcast. All the Macmillan quotations are actual: we are trying to find recorded voice versions of them (or similar) - though in two cases, marked VO, this will not be possible, and they will have to be quoted by the voice over (Anthony Quayle). What the script does do is illustrate the particular aspects of Macmillan's premiership that we wish to feature - all of which are being paralleled today: something that the final voice over will up, in addition to making the links indicated below.

Open with just a few seconds worth of quick chronological cuts, eg two still shots (as a soldier in the 1914-1918 war, and with his bride on his wedding day), then with Churchill, ending with his becoming Prime Minister in January 1977.

Cut to Margaret Thatcher

MARGARET THATCHER

For me he has been one of the great figures of our nation. I was a junior minister in his government and later when I became leader of the Conservative Party I often made a point of seeking his advice on particular problems.

His life has represented a continuity of leadership and experience which has always been a great theme of the Conservative Party and of Conservative Governments.

Cut to Macmillan becoming Prime Minister (picking up from the last of the chronological cuts from above): footage outside in Downing Street, cut to his address:

MACMILLAN:

This afternoon, the Queen did me the great honour to ask me to form a Government.

Close up.

We have a difficult task before us in the country - all of us. It will need our courage and our strength, and we shall need the sympathy, the good will and the understanding of everyone in the country, whatever their party or beliefs. I believe we shall have that sympathy. And I am certain that with the efforts of all we can succeed.

Anthony Quayle talks over appropriate footage about how he did succeed. We are looking here for a tribute to the qualities and values of Conservative leadership - exemplified by Macmillan - that run like a great river through the best years of Conservative government since the war.

HAROLD MACMILLAN VOICE OVER:

Appropriate footage.

We have built our defences against want and sickness, and we are proud of it. Of course, however well it is managed, it costs and must cost a great deal of money... How are we going to pay for it? There is only one way. By our work, our skill, our brains, our know-how - in a word, our character.

Macmillan knew that Britain's future depended upon a world that was changing: a world in which two super powers were competing. Macmillan was convinced that only a strong, united Europe could secure Britain's future prosperity.

Appropriate quotation to be found:

Macmillan's belief in a role for Britain was based on his conviction of Britain's greatness (a view that, later, became lost until restored by the present government).

HAROLD MACMILLAN:

(From broadcast on
17 January 1957:)

Every now and again since the war I have heard people say: "Isn't Britain only a second or third-class power now? Isn't she on the way out?" What nonsense! This is a great country and do not let us be ashamed to say so. It has a superb record of achievements of every kind. The country that has produced men such as James Watt and his steam engine, the men who first mastered the atom.. has no reason to quiver before temporary difficulties.

Macmillan's belief in Britain also won the respect of America.

MACMILLAN VO:

Over footage of Macmillan
with Eisenhower

Any partners are bound to have their differences, now and then. But true partnership is based upon respect. We do not intend to part from the Americans, and we do not intend to be satellites. I am sure they would not want us to be so. The stronger we are, the better partners we shall be.

But here, there was another factor that had to be taken into account. The growing tensions between East and West. Macmillan had the courage to do something about this. In 1959, he visited Russia in the belief that, through dialogue,

VO: "We shall at least reach a better understanding of our points of view. Perhaps in this way our visit may help to alleviate some of the caes that at present bring anxiety to the world. That, at least, is my objective. Let us see if we can achieve it, together." (From reply to Krushev's welcome at the airport.)

This visit led to the signing of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty: a major victory. But Macmillan realised that the only way forward was through controlled multilateral disarmament. Cut to Macmillan speaking at the United Nations:

MACMILLAN:

It is not enough just to sign agreements: we must have assurance that the agreements will be rigorously adhered to.
APPLAUSE

In Africa too, Macmillan foresaw the future - in his famous speech to the South African Houses of Parliament, in which he warned that:

VO: "The wind of change is blowing through this continent, and whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must all accept it as a fact, and our national policies must take account of it."

Macmillan's world vision gave him a keen insight into economic dangers that we faced at home... he began a speech which began, "Most of our people have never had it so good". Everyone remembers this phrase - few people remember the context, because Macmillan went on to warn,

VO: "Is it too good to last? For amidst all our prosperity, there is one problem that has troubled us, in one way or another, ever since the war. It is the problem of rising prices... The great mass of the country has been able to contract out of the effects of rising prices. But they will not be able to contract out forever, if inflation prices us out of world markets. If that happens, we will be back in the old nightmare of

unemployment. The older ones among you will know what this means. I hope the younger ones will never have to learn it."

When Macmillan left office, inflation after 13 years of Conservative government was 2.3 percent. But it soon started to climb - and, as it climbed, so as he had predicted, unemployment began to rise.

(Over footage of Macmillan with Margaret Thatcher). It has now been the work of another Conservative Prime Minister to undo the harm of rising prices, by curbing inflation. (Appropriate footage.) Margaret Thatcher too has taken Britain back onto the world stage, and is seeking peace through dialogue. The Conservative values of Churchill, of Macmillan, are being continued today.

Much of what Harold Macmillan hoped for has been accomplished. Much more remains still to be done. We are grateful that he is still with us to give us his advice that has stood Britain so well.

To applause greeting him:

Super: 11th Feb. 1979

MACMILLAN:

I have noticed that my very infrequent appearances - only two or three on a political platform in the last fifteen years - tend to cause some flutter in the dovecoats in the Conservative establishment. But they need not be alarmed. (SFX: laughter.)

I have no intention - no present intention - (SFX: laughter) of running for Parliament. I leave all these current politics to my youngers and betters...

Dissolve to end of speech.

We must never forget that divided, as we have seen of recent years, this country gets very weak. But if it can be led to understanding its duties, it can be very strong, very powerful, and always insofar as I know in the course of recorded history, in the end victorious. (APPLAUSE.)

You can do this, while we old people can only sit back, and pray God's blessing on your labours.

Voice over applause: In February this year, Harold Macmillan celebrated his ninetieth birthday, and accepted to become the Earl of Stockton, taking his place in the House of Lords on (date).

End.