1. MR BUTLER 2. Mr. Sharbourne

2. PRIME MINISTER

CONFERENCE SPEECH

I promised to set out some ideas for your speech on October 12.

You have decided that the theme should be freedom v. coercion;

liberty v. dictatorship. But in conversation over lunch yesterday,
both David English and I stressed the need to counter the idea that
you do not care about people. You found the notion "People Count"

I have, therefore, wondered whether we could marry the theme of freedom v. coercion with that of "People Count". My suggestion is "people v. the machine". That, incorporating the freedom message, has the merit of being entirely relevant to the sufferings of ordinary decent miners and ordinary decent, but demoralised, Liverpool council house tenants.

as very trite. I agree.

Consequently, I wonder whether you might say on October 12 something like this:

"What has clearly emerged in 1984 - perhaps only too appropriately in 1984 - is the true width of the gulf that has opened up in British politics.

"That gulf is not between Left and Right; it is between the Outside Left, who now control the Labour Party, and the rest.

"There are, of course, substantial differences in political philosophy among the rest.

"But all of us share, to a greater or lesser extent, but none more firmly than the Government, three basic tenets of faith:

- first, the liberty of the individual;
- second, our belief in democracy and in the supremacy of the ballot box;
- third, in the rule of law.

"The Outside Left share none of these. Daily, hourly, their actions demonstrate:

- their subjugation of the individual;
- their lack of reverence for the ballot box;
- their fundamental lawlessness; their willingness to observe laws which serve only their own purposes of the moment.

"We have seen in 1984 the blatant disregard of the ballot box, the conning of the miners into a strike.

"We have seen in 1984 unprecedented lawlessness - violence, intimidation and thuggery in the coalfields. And we have seen a hijacked Labour Party embrace lawlessness in relation to local authority overspending - not to mention treat the concept of one-man-one vote as an optional extra.

"But today in 1984 I want to dwell on the most insidious of the Ultra Left's works - the systematic suppression of individual freedom; the subjugation of the individual to the requirements of the machine.

"I believed 1979 was a watershed; the last chance for libertarians to halt the encroachment of the State.

"This has been amply confirmed by my 5 years in office. Those 5 years have amply demonstrated the true nature of the Ultra Left. They have also amply demonstrated why the country needs a Conservative Party to safeguard freedom - and to extend it.

"What then have we seen in 1984?

 continuing efforts by the Ultra Left to stop the extension of the rights of individual trade union members

- continuing efforts to block the introduction of real democracy into trade unions
- continuing NUM determination to refuse individuals the right to a ballot and to ignore the outcome of a ballot where it has been held
- a continuing battle to deny people the right to buy their own home; to keep them in a Tammany Hall thralldom
- a continuing fight against putting state industries into private hands, and especially their shares into the hands of their own employees
- a continuing vilification of the police who stand only four-square for the rule of law and the liberty of the citizen to go peacefully about his lawful business
- a continuing refusal to allow those who want to go to work to do so

"In all these ways the machine of the Ultra Left seeks to suppress individual liberty.

"And where developments - like no strike agreements, lower rates of pay, greater flexibility in working practices or even better education - get in the way of the machine's interests then much needed jobs or opportunities can go hang.

"If something which might help people to better themselves does not fit in with the requirements of the class war they ceaselessly wage, then it is simply killed.

"And yet these are the people who sanctify their handiwork by a deep and abiding concern for ordinary people.

"As though ordinary folk give a fig for such outmoded concepts as the class war.

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"What they want is to live their lives in peace, justice, freedom and increasing prosperity with an ever increasing ability to lead their lives in their own way.

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"We see people as individuals whose freedom to choose for themselves must be ever extended.

"The Ultra Left see individuals not as people but primarily as voters whose lives must be so organised as to perpetuate the class war. If that means denying them home ownership, the right even to paint their home or to keep a cat, then too bad.

"This Government's record of concern to protect and extend the freedom of ordinary people, even at the depths of the worst recession for 50 years, is distinguished.

In education - raising standards.

In training - TVEI; every unemployed youngster into some form of training.

In housing - right to buy, cooperatives.

In union rights.

In share ownership.

In protecting savings and pensions (including lowest inflation for 16 years; pension rights).

"We positively want men of property to proliferate.

The Ultra Left positively want to keep people poor and without for that is how they aim to keep their class war infantry replenished.

"For them the war machine is more important than the person. For us it is the individual who matters first and last."

I hope you will find this useful.

BERNARD INGHAM

BERNARD INGHAM 4 October 1984