CONFIDENTIAL

10 DOWNING STREET

THIS FILE MUST NOT GO OUTSIDE 10 DOWNING ST

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FILE TITLE:	SERIES
VIPs + Ex PMs	Deaths
	PART 3
PART BEGINS: 31 July 2002	PART ENDS: 5 May 2005
	CAB ONE

Labour Administration

PREM 49/3983

CONFIDENTIAL

T.S.O. Order No. N0064510 3/98 C5 59064

PART

CLOSED

DATE CLOSED	5 MAY 2005

Series : **DEATHS**

File Title : **VIPS AND EX-PMS**

Part : **3**

Date	From	To	Subject	Class	Secret
28/10/2002		PD(SV)	London Bridge - Earl Marshal's Biennial Conference: Letter from Lieu	R	
29/09/2003			Funeral of Lord Williams	C	
10/10/2003	FCO	FA/APS	Contingency plans on the death of the Pope	R	
28/01/2004	FCO	FA/APS	Contingency Plans for the death of the Pope	R	
03/10/2004	D/C	PD(KEG)	Death of Queen Mother 30 March 2002	U	
06/10/2004			'Bridges' - Check List of Action Points	C	
06/10/2004	PD(KEG)		Guidance - deaths former PMs	C	
06/10/2004	PD(KEG)		Guidance - deaths of Royal family	C	
08/10/2004	PD(KEG)		Procedure Following the Deaths of Former Prime Ministers	C	
29/10/2004	PS/SOC	questions	Death of Former Prime Ministers	C	
29/10/2004	PS/SOC	questions	Death of Former Prime Minister	C	
24/01/2005	CWO		Previous procedure on the death of previous Prime Ministers	C	
28/01/2005			London Bridge - Planning Note	R	
07/02/2005	fco	FA/APS	South Africa Contingency plans for Nelson Mandela death	U	
25/02/2005	FA/APS	PM	The pope contingency planning	C	
04/03/2005	PRESS		Draft press release for death of Margaret Thatcher	U	
04/03/2005	PRESS		Draft press release for death of Jim Callaghan	U	
07/03/2005	DCMS	PD(KEG)	Responsibilites for the Sovereigns state funeral	U	
26/03/2005	PM		Statement on the death of Lord Callaghan	U	
27/03/2005	Germany/Chancellor	PM	(H) Condolence Letter re Death of Callaghan	U	
27/03/2005	Bangladesh/PM	PM	(H) Condolence letter re Death of Callaghan	U	
27/03/2005	South Africa/Pres	PM	(H) Condolence Letter re Death of Callaghan	U	
27/03/2005	kuwait/CP	PM	(H) Condolences on death of James Callaghan	U	
28/03/2005	mauritius pm	PM	(H) Condolence Letter re Callaghan	U	
30/03/2005	US /Pres	PM	(H) Condolence letter re Death of Callaghan	U	
30/03/2005	Gabon/PM	fco	Condolences on death of Lord Callaghan	U	
31/03/2005	PD(KEG)	PM	Lord Callaghan	U	
01/04/2005	Jamaica/PM	PM	(H) Condolences on death of James Callaghan	U	
08/04/2005	GovDir		Letter to Baronness Jay re Memorial Service - Callaghan	U	
29/04/2005	Guyana/High Commi	PM	(H) Condolence letter re Death of Callaghan	U	

Guyana High Commission
3 Palace Court·Bayswater Road·London W2 4LP
Telephone: 020 7229 7684 Fax: 020 7727 9809 E-mail: ghc.1@ic24.net

NOTE NO: 48/05

The High Commission for the Co-operative Republic of Guyana presents its compliments to the Rt Honourable Tony Blair, Prime Minister of Great Britain and has honour to forward the following message of condolence on the passing of Mr James Callaghan, former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from His Excellency Mr Bharrat Jagdeo, President of the Republic of Guyana.

Text begins:

"Excellency,

The Government and people Guyana extend our deepest sympathy to you, the Government and the People of the United Kingdom on the passing of Lord James Callaghan.

We join you in honouring his memory and celebrating the many achievements of a full and rewarding life.

Please accept my personal condolences and I would ask that you convey our sympathy to his family and relatives.

PRIME MINISTERS
DIRECT COMMUNICATIONS UNIT
29 APR 2005
RECEIVED

Bharrat Jagdeo
President of the
Republic of Guyana"

Text ends

The High Commission for the Republic of Guyana avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Rt Honourable Tony Blair, Prime Minister of Great Britain, the assurances of its highest consideration.

LONDON
22 April 2005

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

8 April 2005

Dear Margaret,

MEMORIAL SERVICE

When you are ready to make arrangements give me a ring. I'll be at Victoria Street for the election, but Switch will have all my contact numbers. Alternatively, Kate Gross at No. 10 or Sir Andrew Turnbull stand ready to help.

I attach a note Kate Gross prepared for our internal use.

Yours ever,

Sally.

BARONESS MORGAN OF HUYTON

The Rt Hon The Baroness Jay of Paddington

MEMORIAL SERVICE

In the past, No 10 and the Cabinet Secretary's office have liaised with the family on the death of former Prime Ministers to organise memorial services, paid for from the public purse, according to the family's wishes. We stand ready to do so now. However, there are some conventional constraints around the use of public funds, based on past precedent, and these are set out below. If the family did want to move away from any of the traditional options, but still wanted a public memorial service, this could no doubt be arranged, though the Cabinet Secretary might need to be consulted in what might be a pre-election period.

Location

Previous memorial services held for former Prime Ministers have all taken place in Westminster Abbey. While other locations have not, in the past, been used, there appears to be no injunction against doing so. However, if public funds are to be used to support a memorial in another location (i.e. not Westminster Abbey), it would be worth considering how accessible this is to the likely dignitaries attending (bearing in mind that this will be an event of national importance), and the Cabinet Secretary should be consulted.

Guests

In the past, No. 10 has liaised with the family to agree who should be invited. For memorial services paid for from public funds it is usual for invitations to be sent to the Leaders of the Opposition Parties in both the Commons and the Lords, the Speaker of the House of Commons and, on occasion, former PMs and other former Cabinet members, as well as current Cabinet members. Consideration should also be given to what representation would be desirable from the Diplomatic Corps, Civil Servants, the military, Lord Mayor and other local authority representatives, Members of Parliament etc. In the past, notices have been issued notifying the public of the event, with people able to apply to attend. The Cabinet Secretary's office takes responsibility for organising the logistics of issuing invitations, reserving seats, ushering etc.

Kate Gross
30 March 2005

file

SM/Baroness Jay

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

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Kate Gross
30 March 2005

① News
② Matrix
③ Cuyle Carey

SUBJECT
MASTER
Filed:

Office of the Prime Minister

Jamaica House
Kingston

April 1, 2005

Dear Tony,

It is with a sense of profound sadness and regret that I extend sincere condolences on the passing of the Baron Callaghan of Cardiff, former Prime Minister of Great Britain.

Throughout his political career, Lord Callaghan was known for his fervent desire to create a more just and fairer world for all. To this end, he was a stalwart supporter of the rights of workers as well as the politically disenfranchised. Despite holding difficult political assignments under what were sometimes very unfavourable circumstances, he maintained his sense of decency, personal warmth and dignity throughout, while carefully guarding the interests of his Country and Party.

His passing from the British political landscape will be felt keenly by not only those who worked directly with him, but also by those younger politicians whose careers he inspired and nurtured. There is no doubt that his tenacity, forthrightness and self-deprecating style will long be remembered with affection by all, regardless of where their political allegiance may lie.

During his period as Prime Minister, as the then Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, I can attest to his strong support for Jamaica at the bilateral level and for his invaluable championing of our cause in the multilateral arena, particularly with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

I also recall the dexterity with which he chaired the Commonwealth Meeting of Heads in 1979 and his adroit contribution to the Gleneagles Agreement, which slammed the door against Apartheid in the field of sports.

Right Honourable Tony Blair
Prime Minister
The United Kingdom

Right Honourable Tony Blair
Prime Minister
The United Kingdom

April 1, 2005

On behalf of the Government and people of Jamaica, I pay tribute to one of the giants of the world political landscape and am confident that his legacy is not one which will be forgotten.

Yours sincerely

P.J. Patterson
Prime Minister

Ref: 002.1

The Jamaican High Commission presents its compliments to the Protocol Division of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and has the honour to request the latter's assistance in forwarding to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the Right Honourable Tony Blair, the attached faxed letter from the Prime Minister of Jamaica, the Most Honourable P. J. Patterson, ON, PC. QC. The letter, a copy of which is attached for the Division's records, is expressing condolence on the passing of former Prime Minister Baron Callaghan of Cardiff. The original will follow as soon as possible.

The Jamaican High Commission avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Protocol Division of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office the assurances of its highest consideration.

JAMAICAN HIGH COMMISSION
LONDON

London, 4 April 2005

Protocol Division
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London

1	Update Nexus	SKP 13/4/05 ✓
2	MTX Copy	SKP 13/4/05 ✓
3	Lead PS	~~Grace Casey~~ ✓
4	Action PS Request	
5	Update Nexus	
6	Place Orig/Copy on BF	
7	Chase reply/reply recd – update Nexus & MTX	
8	Forward +pps to Lead PS	
9	GR to Despatch/ DCO fax to FCO if required	

BU Date -

*' cc Ivan Sidding FCO for info - 14/4/05 FAXED

→ Kate Gross - no action required from our side - are we passing copies to the family?
Grace
13/4

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

Date: 14/4

To: FCO *' see →

From: Duty Clerks Office

Dept:

Cc:

GTN 3580 Ext. **3025**

though on date for memorial service is fixed.
Kara
14/4

REMEMBER IF YOU ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR A REPLY TO CO-ORDINATE WITH OTHER DEPARTMENTS.

Please deal with the enclosed correspondence as:-

- ☐ PM reply
- ☐ No. 10 PS reply

PLEASE ENSURE YOU CHECK THE BACKGROUND, IS IT APPROPRIATE FOR THE PM, ONE OF HIS PSs OR EVEN YOUR OWN MINISTER TO REPLY?

- ☐ Return draft by fax to 020 7839 9044 or e-mail to Privateoffice@no10.x.gsi.gov.uk
  Before :

Thank you

As amended.

From: Kate Gross
Date: 31 March 2005

PRIME MINISTER

cc: Jonathan Powell, Ivan Rogers, Sally Morgan, David Hanson, David Bradshaw

LORD CALLAGHAN

Parliamentary tribute

You are doing a Parliamentary tribute to Lord Callaghan at 3:30pm on Monday. These usually last between 45 minutes and an hour. You speak, followed by the Leaders of the opposition parties, and then backbenchers. I attach a draft tribute for you to work on, prepared by David B, David H and Bruce, and the exchange following the death of Lord Home in 1995 for information.

Memorial service

Sally is in discussion with Margaret Jay about a publicly-funded memorial service for Lord Callaghan, which you have indicated you would attend. This would be held after the election.

Kate Gross

KATE GROSS

MATRIX

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Date: 31 March 2005

PRIME MINISTER

cc: Jonathan Powell, Ivan Rogers, Sally Morgan, David Hanson, David Bradshaw

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Kate Gross

KATE GROSS

As the House will know, Lord Callaghan died during the Easter Recess just a day before his 93rd birthday. Many present and former members and from all sides have already paid warm tribute to someone who was a Member of this House for 42 years and, uniquely, held the four great offices of state.

But these tributes, from political allies and foes, did not simply focus on his remarkable career. He was truly one of the giants of the Labour movement.

They rightly talked as much about his personal as his political qualities – about his decency, honesty and integrity, his friendship and loyalty.

In Jim Callaghan's case, you could not separate his achievements as a politician from his qualities as a man.

These were all qualities I not only recognised but have appreciated first hand over the years. Like many before me, I have personal reasons to be grateful for his wise counsel, his support and friendship.

Many of the tributes also touched on his devotion to his family and in particular to Audrey, his wife, who had died just 11 days before him. He had nursed her through a long illness. They were a true political and personal partnership.

I am sure the whole House will join me in sending our sympathy to Michael, Margaret and Julia and the wider family on this double loss.

Jim Callaghan's life almost spans the history of the Labour Party which he served so superbly. It was Labour's values of social justice, solidarity and opportunity

for all which brought him into the party and he worked tirelessly throughout his life to put them into action.

Brought up by his widowed mother, he had known hard times as a child and remembered the difference the pension provided by the first Labour Government had made to their family's life.

He left school at 16 to become a clerk in the Inland Revenue – perhaps the only one in history to climb the ladder so far he became First Lord of the Treasury.

But perhaps because he always regretted not having the chance to go to university, he was passionate throughout his political career about spreading the benefits of education as widely as possible.

His Ruskin College speech on education in 1976 which stressed the importance of raising standards bears re-reading today by all who share his passion for this subject.

He believed that every child, whatever their background, deserved the help to make the most of their talents – values which are shared by the Labour Party and Government today.

Jim Callaghan was also one of the generation who fought in the war and came back determined to build a better, fairer and different Britain in peace with our neighbours.

He had a deep patriotism, but thanks to his experiences of the war, never a narrow nationalism.

Britain was, of course, still at war when he was adopted and then elected as MP for Cardiff South – a Labour Gain.

Indeed his memoirs recall that Labour took all three seats from the Conservatives in Cardiff that election.

He continued to serve the constituency and the city with pride and affection for 42 years and took its name for his title when he went to the Lords.

It was not long before his talents were recognised by the great reforming Labour Government of Clement Attlee. Two years after he was first elected, he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary for Transport.

In his first ministerial post, he was responsible for introducing both Zebra Crossings and catseyes on trunk roads – lasting achievements of which most junior ministers of any Government would be envious.

He was also proud to have been a member of a Government that, among its many achievements, also created the National Health Service.

Jim Callaghan also proved himself, when Labour lost power, to be an effective performer in opposition. He had a rapid rise through the ranks, being elected to the Shadow Cabinet and onto Labour's ruling National Executive.

His calmness under pressure, his easy manner and ability to think quickly also meant he was a good performer not just in this House but on the new medium of TV.

His long period as Shadow Colonial Secretary strengthened his commitment to the Commonwealth and to the developing world as well as forging friendships with many of the key international players which was to later serve him and country well. I know he would have delighted at the work of this Government with the Commission for Africa.

Jim Callaghan played a major role in modernising the Labour Party and making it electable after 13 years in opposition.

Over the next 15 years, he was to hold in turn the four great offices of state - Chancellor, Home Secretary, Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister. It is a record, I strongly suspect, which will never be matched and of which he rightly took real pride.

He served in each of these posts with distinction. But in each, he was also tested by challenges and crises not of his own making.

As Chancellor, he inherited an economy badly out of kilter with an over-valued pound and record balance of trade deficits. When he was forced eventually to devalue, he insisted on resigning from the Treasury.

As Home Secretary, he inherited the deepening crisis in Northern Ireland. It fell to him to send in the Army to help protect the Catholic minority. He handled the

worsening situation with calm and confidence which only increased his standing in the party and the country.

It was also under his watch as Home Secretary that Parliament abolished for good capital punishment for murder – an example of his determination to build a more decent, civilised society.

As Foreign Secretary from 1974 to 1976, he fought – and won – a referendum on Britain's membership of the Common Market which was supposed to settle, once and for all, Britain's place in Europe.

Though by no means a natural enthusiast, Jim was convinced by the evidence that it was in Britain's strong national interest to be at the heart of Europe. A view which this side of the House, at least, still share.

All these trials and tests were preparation for when Harold Wilson stood down as party leader and Prime Minister in 1976 and he was elected his successor.

He found himself heading a Government with a tiny majority which was fast disappearing and presiding over a country whose economy remained in deep trouble.

But Jim threw himself into the job with characteristic courage and commitment. He was helped by the fact that his breadth of parliamentary and ministerial experience must have made him among the best prepared Prime Ministers of all time.

Indeed, he recalls in his memoirs about his early days at No 10 - and I quote: "In my experience the work-load was greater both as Chancellor and Foreign Secretary".

All I can say in response, is that if that is the case, I have no intention of trying either job.

In fact, Jim needed all his personal qualities to hold together both a divided party and a parliamentary pact with the Liberals – which would try anyone's patience.

It was not, however, just a matter of simple political survival. With his Chancellor and friend Denis Healey, he took the difficult but necessary steps to put Britain's economy back on course.

If he had been given time, Jim Callaghan would have made not just a good Prime Minister but a great one. Certainly, with hindsight, his three years in No 10 and his leadership is seen in a much more favourable light than it was at the time.

I wonder whether anyone who did not command such respect and affection as a leader and a man and who lacked his toughness and strength of character could possibly have lasted so long.

Finally, after almost three years, most of it without a Parliamentary majority, the Callaghan Government was defeated on a motion of no confidence.

The margin of defeat was just one vote. It says a great deal about Jim Callaghan that, even though he knew how close the vote would be, it was on his express

instruction that a desperately ill Labour member was not ordered down for the division.

It was also typical of Jim and his strong sense of duty that rather than blame others for Labour's defeat in the General Election which followed, he worried instead that he had personally let the country down.

Jim Callaghan stayed on as leader in opposition in the hope that he could help heal some of the wounds. But the party, as history shows, was not yet ready for healing.

By the time I arrived in the Commons in 1983, Jim Callaghan was no longer leader but was a respected Father of the House whose contributions in debates were always worth hearing.

Even after he left this House and went to the other place, he continued to make telling contributions to debates on subjects close to his heart including, of course, the power of education to transform lives.

I doubt whether there has ever been someone, with all his experience, better fitted for the role of elder statesman and it was one which he thoroughly enjoyed.

I know how important it was for him to see Labour back in power again and how delighted he was with this Government's commitment to education.

On a personal level once I became party leader, Jim was always ready to offer advice but only when asked. But he was also ready to offer support whenever he

thought it was needed. And I have many reasons to be grateful for both. I know many members of this House share my experience of his kindness.

Kenneth, now Lord, Morgan makes the point in his recent biography that Lord Callaghan in many personified the history of post-war Britain, its challenges and its successes.

He also embodied as a man and as a politician, Labour's essential and enduring values of fairness, compassion and solidarity. He will be sorely missed.

But as Jim Callaghan himself said in his memoirs,

"In the Labour Party, it is now the task of a new generation ...to reconcile individual freedom with the general welfare, to settle the limits of the state's reach, to grapple with and overcome racial discrimination and to assist the great mass of poor people who make up the world's population to free themselves from poverty and ignorance".

These are the goals to which we rededicate ourselves today.

Hansard – Monday 16th October 1995

Lord Home (Tributes)

3.30 pm

The Prime Minister (Mr. John Major): A week ago Alec Douglas-Home, Lord Home, died at his home, The Hirsel. Alec Home was one of those people who light up politics with their integrity. I believe that the whole House will wish to join me today in sending our deepest sympathies to his family.

I was not privileged to know Alec Douglas-Home when he was Prime Minister or Foreign Secretary; I only had the pleasure of meeting him many years later. But even in those days, as someone who watched politics from far beyond this House, I felt from a distance that here was a man of many qualities and few pretensions. He believed that people with privileges had, with those privileges, to accept obligations. He could have chosen the leisured life of a Scottish laird, but he chose to accept obligation and a duty to public service. When fate called him to serve in the highest office, he disclaimed his historic titles, a step that no one in his position could possibly have taken lightly.

Alec Douglas-Home was a modest and a likeable man--a man of dignity, charming, witty and gentle. It is not surprising that he inspired affection among those with whom he worked and among millions who never met him. He never let public life take over. He was happiest with his family, fishing the River Tweed, studying the racing form book or on the cricket field. During one election, he abandoned the election campaign for a day playing cricket, which I think is a perfectly proper sense of priorities for an Englishman--and a very enlightened sense of priorities for a Scottish man. He was a good cricketer too, the only Prime Minister ever to play for MCC. Alec Home was a family man. His wife Elizabeth, the love of his life, was both his inspiration and his most resolute champion. She shared not only his triumphs and difficulties but his sense of humour. Both of them were devoted Christians, but perhaps only Elizabeth Home could have described the parliamentary Christian wives as the "holy hens" and escaped without rebuke.

Alec Home first stood for election in Coatbridge, as Alec Dunglass, in 1929. He was shocked by the poverty and hardship that he found there. Two years later, elected for the neighbouring constituency of South Lanark, itself no stranger to poverty, he had already formed his strong belief in one nation policies. By the end of 1935, he was parliamentary private secretary at the Ministry of Labour. A few months later, Neville Chamberlain, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, invited him to become his parliamentary private secretary. Suddenly, with Neville Chamberlain's elevation to Prime Minister, Alec Home found himself at the very centre of government. Although he did not accompany Chamberlain on all his foreign travels, he was with him at that crucial meeting in Munich with Hitler. Alec Home was not, of course, personally responsible for the agreements reached, but, with a loyalty that was characteristic of the man, he would never subsequently criticise Chamberlain's actions.

At the outbreak of war, Alec Home was keen to serve. To his bitter disappointment, he was declared unfit. When tuberculosis of the spine was diagnosed, year upon year of painful treatment followed. With his spine rebuilt, his

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parting words to his doctors were typical of the man's gentle, self-mocking humour. He said, "You have achieved the impossible; you have put backbone into a politician." Time and time again during his subsequent political career he

demonstrated that backbone. He dared to criticise Churchill for the Yalta agreement and the way in which it treated Poland. But three months later, in a typical Churchillian move, Alec Home was appointed to the Foreign Office for a spell lasting only a few weeks before the 1945 election. It was, however, an important step in his political development.

Five years later, Alec Home returned to the House. Only 12 months beyond that he inherited the titles that took him to the other place. He heard the news in the Chamber. He immediately rushed away, only to discover outside the Chamber that he had forgotten his spectacles. In keeping with the tradition of the House, his return was barred now that he was a part of the other place.

With the return of a Conservative Government, Alec Home was appointed to a new post as Minister of State, Scottish Office. He cared deeply about Scotland and about the Union. He once said, "I have always taken the view that we have successfully borrowed the canniness of the highlander to make a living out of the Englishman." In 1955, Anthony Eden promoted Alec Home to Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. It was a time of unsettling change for the Commonwealth, which was struggling to adjust to the end of Empire. Alec Home was central to the Commonwealth's evolution, taking particular responsibility for developing economic co-operation. During that period, he held also the offices of Lord Privy Seal and Lord President of the Council.

Harold Macmillan increasingly relied on Alec Home's wise and honest advice. In 1960, Macmillan made him Foreign Secretary. Alec Home quickly established authority across the world during an especially sensitive period in international relations. He displayed firmness in challenging the Soviet Union and he resolved a serious international crisis in Asia. He performed his role as Foreign Secretary as he did every role, without pretension.

The sight of a British Foreign Secretary climbing from an aeroplane in a rumpled tweed suit amused many foreign dignitaries. As Macmillan later said, "The Foreign Secretary has been accused of many things but never of being the best dressed man in the Cabinet." I do not know why I look around to see whether my right hon. and learned Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer is with us this afternoon, but I am sure that there must be a reason.

When Macmillan resigned, Alec Home did not at first see himself as a candidate; but when it was clear that he was best placed to unite the Conservative party, he became one. As Prime Minister, he did unite the party. I believe that he restored confidence in political life. Just as he promised, people knew that they could rely on his plain, straight talking. He introduced the controversial retail food prices index legislation, which brought competition to the retail industry and lower prices for the consumer. He interrupted his Christmas holiday to take decisive action to prevent a bloodbath in Cyprus. Time after time he ensured that Britain came to the assistance of her Commonwealth partners in Africa.

The tribute to the mark that Alec Home made as Prime Minister was not that he lost the 1964 election but that he came so close to winning it. After his resignation as party leader, he served loyally under my right hon. Friend the Member for Old Bexley and Sidcup (Sir E. Heath), in

---

opposition, and later once more as Foreign Secretary. His stature as an ex-Prime Minister enhanced his role across the world. After he returned to the Lords, he continued to be a source of wise counsel, and he was able to enjoy his retirement back home in the house that he loved so dearly for all his life. He was once again able to pursue the life of the Scottish gentleman that he had remained for all of his days.

Alec Home's politics are best summed up in his own words. He once said:

"I want to get away from this `us and them'; Britain is one nation--it belongs to us all, and we belong to it".

Some have said that Alec Home was a politician of another age. The greatest tribute that I can pay him today is simply this: I profoundly hope not.

3.40 pm

Mr. Tony Blair (Sedgefield): It is my privilege to join the Prime Minister in paying tribute to Lord Home and to send our condolences and sympathy to his family. I never met him but, like Harold Wilson, whose life we celebrated earlier this year, he was familiar to me, and, indeed, to all my generation, as one of the great political figures of our early years. If one reads any of the obituaries about him, two words recur: affection and decency. He was a straight man--genuine, liked and trusted by political foes and friends. However satirised and disparaged, and he came in for his fair share of both, his essential and transparent decency allowed him to rise above it, and people--ordinary people--had a great affection for him. Jimmy Maxton, the Labour Member of Parliament for Clydeside, once said to him in the Commons Tea Room, "Alec, I have been thinking that, come the revolution, I'll have you strung up on a lamp post, but on reflection I'll offer you a cup of tea instead."

By making no attempt to conceal his background, and by allying it to a self -deprecating sense of humour, Lord Home turned political attacks against those making them. When challenged in the Kinross by-election in 1963 as to whether he would live in the constituency, he replied that he did not think that he would, since he had more houses than he could live in already. Most famously of all, when Harold Wilson mocked him for being the 14th Earl, he remarked that he supposed that Mr. Wilson, when one came to think of it, was the 14th Mr. Wilson.

The image that survives focuses often on Lord Home's character and the peculiarity of someone with his upbringing and apparent indifference to ambition becoming Prime Minister, but that should not cause us to overlook his substantial achievements, both as a parliamentarian and as a statesman. He entered Parliament in 1931. He secured re-election in 1935 and was, as the Prime Minister said, parliamentary private secretary to Neville Chamberlain, first when Chamberlain was Chancellor of the Exchequer and then when he was Prime Minister.

It is said against Lord Home that, working for Chamberlain, he was naturally part of Munich and appeasement and all that went with it, and I suppose that it is true to say that history has judged very harshly the motives of all those who were involved in that futile search for peace, but to my mind it is to his great credit that he never ran away from his part in Munich or ceased to defend the motives of Chamberlain. He could have

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disowned his leader--his own position in the affair was, after all, very minor--but he did not, and I think that that speaks volumes for his decency and courage.

When war broke out, Lord Home tried to enlist, as the Prime Minister has described, but through illness was unable to and spent almost two years in recuperation from tuberculosis of the spine. He used that time to read and to study voraciously. He dedicated himself particularly to the study of foreign affairs, becoming something of an expert on it, and when he returned to Parliament in 1945 he spoke out strongly in favour of the independence of Poland, which was a very brave and courageous thing to do. He spoke against the Yalta agreement and became a relentless and persuasive critic of Soviet expansion.

Throughout the 1950s, as Secretary of State for the Commonwealth and then later as Leader of the House of Lords, having gone there after his father's death, he argued a position with great clarity, of the dangers of Soviet imperialism, but typically combined it with a strong push for disarmament,

saying that Britain would be pleased to play a substantial part in such a process provided a proper response was forthcoming.

It is fair to say that, when Lord Home was appointed Foreign Secretary in 1960, there was a total furore over the appointment. Motions of no confidence were tabled in the House; the newspapers deplored the appointment of a peer--a "faceless earl", as one called him--as Foreign Secretary. As ever, he reacted by not reacting, but getting on with the job.

With hindsight, most people would acknowledge Lord Home to have been a substantial success. He was strong in standing with President Kennedy over the Cuban missile crisis; but he was also strong in standing up against the American view when he thought it right to do so, as over Laos and the provision of a seat at the United Nations for China. That was something that Home strongly supported and others did not.

A greater prize was, of course, to come. That Lord Home became leader of the Conservatives in 1963 is a fact, but how he did so remains something of a mystery. Two things stand out, however: first, how extraordinary it was that, in relatively modern times, as a Member of the House of Lords, Home could ever have become Prime Minister. He was able to do so in part--a nice irony--because, thanks to my right hon. Friend the Member for Chesterfield (Mr. Benn), he was able to renounce his peerage to fight a by-election and enter the House of Commons. His outstanding personal qualities, however, must have impressed his colleagues for such a risk even to have been considered.

As Alec Douglas-Home wrote in his autobiography, the greatest shock that he suffered was the culture shock, coming from the other place to the House of Commons. He wrote:

"My first appearance at the Box was nearly my last. I was quite unprepared for the sheer noise and if it had not been for the solid table between me and the Opposition, I should have been seen shaking at the knees."

The second remarkable feature is, indeed, how close Alec Douglas-Home came to winning the 1964 election. He believed, and later said, that had it not been for the refusal of Iain Macleod and Enoch Powell to serve under him, he might have won. After defeat, he behaved with his usual dignity. He changed the rules for electing the Tory party leader--a precedent that I understand the present Prime Minister is looking to follow. He supported

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his successor completely--a precedent that the Prime Minister no doubt wishes was followed. He served under his successor as Foreign Secretary--a precedent that the Prime Minister is perhaps unlikely to follow.

There were two other powerful points of view that Home held and articulated. He was, of course, a "one nation" Tory; but he was one of the first to make the case for Britain to join the Common Market, and for Britain's place in Europe. Although, as the Prime Minister rightly says, he was a passionate supporter of the Union between England and Scotland, he did propose--in his committee on Scottish government--devolving limited legislative powers to a Scottish Assembly, which is of more than passing interest.

What, then, is the attraction of Alec Douglas-Home, and how can we summarise it? There is an apparent contradiction. He was a laird who lived like a laird, who owned vast estates, who loved the country sports of hunting, shooting and fishing, yet was given great affection by millions of British people who shared neither his birth nor his politics. He was someone who had all the advantages of aristocracy sometimes associated with arrogance, yet was humble in his assessment of himself and

his actions. He was a person who did not need to work at all, yet worked hard all his life in the service of others.

The contradiction is resolved in this way. Alec Douglas-Home was above all a man of honour, who stayed a man of honour: a decent man who, through all the temptations and anxieties of politics, remained decent--not a man from another age, but a rarity in any age; a good servant of the people, for whose life we give thanks.

3.48 pm

Sir David Steel (Tweeddale, Ettrick and Lauderdale): On behalf of my right hon. and hon. Friends, I join in the tributes to Lord Home of the Hirsel. I am grateful to my right hon. Friend the Member for Yeovil (Mr. Ashdown) for his suggestion that, in view of our close Scottish border connections, it might be appropriate for me to say a few words on behalf of our party, and to add our expressions of sympathy to David and Caroline.

I said on the news of Sir Alec's death that he was probably the last of the gentleman politicians, motivated solely and dutifully by a call to public service. That may have made him seem, as Prime Minister, strangely old- fashioned; yet he incorporated good, old-fashioned virtues--honesty, straight dealing, hard work, lack of malice, openness and a readiness to listen. He was also self-deprecating in his enjoyment of his own caricatures, and he would have detested today's trends towards sound bites and image spin makers.

At the time, Sir Alec seemed rather set in his ways as a cold warrior, and perhaps that stemmed from a reaction to his period with Neville Chamberlain. However, he had a genuine and consistent detestation of tyranny in every form. As Commonwealth Secretary, he pursued Harold Macmillan's wind of change policy towards South Africa. As Foreign Secretary, he could easily have done a deal with Ian Smith in Rhodesia that would have been popular with sections of his party and the press but would have surrendered African majority rights. He steadfastly refused to do that.

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Sir Alec's earlier experience as Minister of State, Scottish Office led him to recognise with equal consistency the shortcomings of Scottish legislation at Westminster and, as the Leader of the Opposition has said, he advocated the creation of an elected Scottish convention. Whatever its defects in detail, that could have been a step in the right direction. In the 1979 referendum in Scotland his intervention was possibly crucial when he urged a vote against the Labour Government's devolution proposals with the promise that a Conservative Government would present better ones. It was not his fault that, with a change of leadership, that promise was never fulfilled.

The Prime Minister rightly referred to Sir Alec's

characteristically puckish sense of humour. He was a highly entertaining after-dinner speaker and, like us all, he had a small stock of well-used tales from his own life. I many times heard him recount the incident when he tried to butter up some truculent individual with forced bonhomie: "How's the wife?" he asked, only to receive the challenging reply, "Compared to what?"

One cold winter night, Sir Alec and I were driving together after a dinner in the borders to catch the Edinburgh-London sleeper at Berwick-upon-Tweed where it passed through at about half-past midnight. For those who do not know it, that station consists of one long windswept platform. As we drove along the banks of the Tweed and were about to pass the gates of the Hirsel, he looked at his watch and said, "We will be 20 minutes early at Berwick. Why don't we stop for a drink?"

We drove up the long drive to his stately home and I must admit that I had visions of roaring log fires and butlers with silver trays. Not so. Elizabeth was in London and the place was deserted. We

went in by a side door and he blundered about the rambling basement corridor searching for the light switches. He produced a jug of beer and we went upstairs to his high-ceilinged study. The central heating was off and the grate was empty. We sat huddled in our overcoats and he raised his glass in welcome and said, "I suppose you're thinking that we would have been warmer on the station platform."

As Sir Alec's books in our Library testify, his first love was the Scottish border country. He was genuinely interested in the farming of his estates, as well as the shooting and especially the fishing on the Tweed. The Hirsel stable and coach block now houses an enterprising craft centre and rural museum. My hon. Friend the Member for Roxburgh and Berwickshire (Mr. Kirkwood) and I were always astonished at the way in which in his later years this international statesman, who was fully entitled to put his feet up, never found any dinner, flower show or school prize day in the borders too insignificant to attend. He was a readily approachable local figure and I can best conclude by quoting from an editorial in one of the border newspapers. It states:

"Lord Home's traditional family values, warmth and integrity won him a special place in the affections of his fellow Borderers." He was quite simply one of the nicest people in public life and we remember him today with gratitude.

4.53 pm

Sir Edward Heath (Old Bexley and Sidcup): Sir Alec Douglas-Home's death is a sad loss to his family and friends and to all those who knew him. Our consolation is that he lived to a great age and that his was a life of

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great fulfilment. My generation first got to hear of him when he came back from Munich with Neville Chamberlain. Looking back on history, it is interesting to note that he was never tarnished with the label of appeasement. Nobody ever suspected for a moment that Alec Douglas-Home would give way to pressure and agree to something that he believed to be wrong. It was only long afterwards that he admitted that he had advised Neville Chamberlain against waving the piece of paper which he resisted at the airport. However, when he got back to the balcony of No. 10, he was so moved emotionally that he gave way and waved it with "Peace in our time". It is true that Alec Douglas-Home never criticised him, but that was certainly his view of the episode.

I sometimes felt that the four long years that Lord Home had spent on his back due to illness had led to his peacefulness but, at the same time, his determination in carrying out what he wished to do. I do not think that those years were wasted years, because they created in him the strength of purpose that carried him through the rest of his life.

After the election of 1950, Alec Douglas-Home was back in the House. When the news of his father's death came through, it fell to me, as a Whip, to rush into the No Lobby where I knew that he was voting, grab him by the arm and rush him out, trying at the same time to explain to him quietly and clearly that his father had died and that if he went through the Lobby, having inherited his title, he would be liable to a financial penalty, which I thought thoroughly undesirable. I just managed to get him out in time so he did not commit the grave offence of voting in this House when he had already become a peer.

When Lord Home became Foreign Secretary, I went with him to the Foreign Office as Lord Privy Seal. Harold Macmillan realised of course that his appointment from the House of Lords as Foreign Secretary would create a great commotion. I remember that Mr. Cecil King, the owner of the Daily Mirror , went so far as to blazon across his paper the fact that Harold Macmillan had ignored Cecil King's advice. It was, however, a very good appointment, if I may say so.

We worked closely together for three years as I was Lord Privy Seal dealing with matters in this House. Throughout the European negotiations--our first attempt to enter the Community--Lord Home backed me to the hilt in the Cabinet, in his House, in our party and at party conferences. Of course, the same occurred when we resumed negotiations in the 1970s and were successful. In one of the last telephone conversations that I had with him, he said that he had thought about it a great deal and concluded more and more that we were absolutely right to take this country in the European Community and that that was where our future rested.

When Harold Macmillan summoned us and told us that we were both going to the Foreign Office, it was late July. As we left, Sir Alec--or Lord Home, as he then was--said that we should go to his office and that the first thing to do was to settle our priorities. I said, "Of course," and, when we got there, I asked what the priorities were. He said that the first priority was to fix the date of our holidays. I asked what he proposed and he said, "I think you ought to take yours first--you're in more need of them than I." I said, "Thank you very much. I shall go to Venice." He said that I would have to be back by 10 August for "reasons that I hope you'll understand".

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While in Venice I was approached on the beach by a gentleman with a telegram from Harold Macmillan which said that we had unexpectedly had an invitation from Chancellor Adenauer to go to Bonn to discuss our entry into the Community. It said that Alec and he had agreed but had pointed out that they must leave by 8 August for "a reason that you will fully understand".

I was still on the beach when another telegram arrived saying that there was now an invitation from Mr. Fanfani, the Prime Minister of Italy, who had heard secretly about Chancellor Adenauer's invitation and wanted us to go to Rome on 16 August. The telegram said that that was of course not possible for Alec and him "for reasons that you will fully understand". It had therefore been arranged for me to go to Rome.

Then came the period after the defeat of 1964 when Sir Alec was Prime Minister. That period was controversial, as the Prime Minister said just now. I proposed legislation for the abolition of retail price maintenance which, to a certain extent, split the Cabinet. However, he backed me throughout and, when he backed one up, one knew that his backing was firm.

After the 1964 election, Lord Home made me responsible for policy, but in July he came to the conclusion that he did not wish to continue. In his book he recounts that I had nothing whatever to do with that. In some ways, I wish he had continued, but it was obvious that he was tired of it all and he firmly resolved that he would not continue because it was better that he should not.

Then I invited Alec to be Foreign Secretary in the shadow Cabinet and when I became Prime Minister I appointed him Foreign Secretary. There were never any disagreements between us, but that is not always understood. Whether on domestic or foreign policy, from 1960 onwards, when we first worked together, we always believed in the same policies and we always put them into effect. That is why there was no room in either of us for criticism of the other.

Lord Home's characteristics have been brilliantly described today by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, by the Leader of the Opposition and by the spokesman for the Liberal party, the right hon. Member for Tweeddale, Ettrick and Lauderdale (Sir D. Steel). One outstanding point is that whoever he was dealing with, it was exactly the same--everybody trusted him. It made no difference whether he was talking to somebody at the highest level in this country or to somebody at the lowest level in what was then Rhodesia--he was always the same. When he was dealing with foreign affairs at conferences, he was always respectful and polite to those with whom he was negotiating, no matter from which country they came.

In 1963, the two of us went to Moscow to sign the first test ban treaty. Lord Home's attitude to and relationship with Mr. Kruschev could not possibly have been faulted. The same was true when he was dealing with the Commonwealth, the colonies or other European states. He was held in the greatest respect.

Above all, Lord Home loved his Scotland. It is true that he wanted to see the constitutional development of Scotland. When I was Leader of the Opposition, I appointed him chairman of a very distinguished committee which included Sir Robert Menzies, the former Prime Minister of Australia. It recommended that there should be further development in Scotland, including an

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assembly. Had we been re-elected in 1974, we would have gone ahead with that; indeed, the buildings had already been prepared. That was his view of Scotland because he foresaw the dangers of a narrow Scottish nationalism and he wanted to prevent that.

As has been said, in all spheres Lord Home was notable for his modesty, for his genuine nature, for the fact that one could trust him and for the fact that he got his priorities right on every occasion. This country, and Scotland in particular, owes him a great deal.

4.2 pm

Mr. Tony Benn (Chesterfield): May I add a word or two, Madam Speaker? The right hon. Member for Old Bexley and Sidcup (Sir E. Heath) and I are the only people who sat with Viscount Dunglass MP in 1950 and 1951. At that time he was in his late forties, so I do not think many people imagined that he would go on to occupy the highest offices of state. I cannot think of any major question on which I agreed with him, but his great quality, as has already been said, was that people trusted him--a phrase not often used in political comment nowadays. He was a signpost, not a weathercock.

In 1951 Lord Home became a peer and he went quite happily to the House of Lords--unlike Lord Hailsham the previous year, who had gone with some resistance. As I was absolutely determined not to allow that fate to befall me, I was responsible for bringing Lord Home back to be a commoner, which he may not have liked, and to be Prime Minister, which he did like. Indeed, in the whole of our long parliamentary history only two men have sat in the Commons, the Lords, the Commons and the Lords successively. It is what I think of as the Hailsham-Home convention--that after every election certain persons quietly indicate in which House they want to sit. Only in this country could such a subtle combination of the ballot box and blue blood be used to such great advantage by those who could use it. Having said all that, Lord Home was a very formidable party leader--of that there was no question. He took over the fortunes of the Conservative party when it was at a low ebb, and, as the Prime Minister said, he very nearly succeeded. Only by a handful of votes did he lose. That was of course at a time when the press reported Parliament and before it began trying to replace Parliament. It was also at a time when it was possible to have passionate and serious and fundamental disagreements without the insults which now characterise and debase so much of our public debate.

In the media-orientated world in which we live, it is supposed that to succeed people have to have a good image, charisma, sound bites and a spin doctor. But like Clem Attlee before him, Alec Home had an absolute contempt for such gimmicks. He was absolutely content to be himself. I pay my respects to him because he argued his case always with great knowledge, great courtesy, great sincerity, but without ever indulging in abuse. The House might do well to follow that example.

4.5 pm

Mr. David Trimble (Upper Bann): It is my privilege to associate the Ulster Unionist party with the tributes that have been paid today to Lord Home. The one thing that

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has come across very clearly, not only in the House this afternoon but throughout the country during the past week, is the very great affection in which Lord Home was held. The words which have been used as being characteristic of him are decency, sense of duty and sense of integrity. It is because he had those characteristics in such full measure that he had such a place in the affections of the people of our country.

The thing that most typifies Lord Home's decency and sense of integrity was, after having been a successful Foreign Secretary, and a more successful Prime Minister than was generally acknowledged, the way in which he was prepared after leaving the leadership of his party to serve for so long and so loyally in opposition and later in government. He will be regarded as one of the outstanding Foreign Secretaries of this country in this century.

The Leader of the Opposition and the Prime Minister have both mentioned the fact that Lord Home was a unionist--that he supported the Union and believed in the United Kingdom. That is something of which we in Northern Ireland were very conscious--then and since. More than just a supporter of the Union, as a Scotsman Lord Home knew that this diverse United Kingdom is held together by a series of understandings about the relative weights of the parts of the kingdom and about the concern that should exist for the various parts of the kingdom. I am sure that in putting forward proposals for a modest measure of devolution for Scotland, he was anxious to ensure that the respect for Scotland as a constituent part of the United Kingdom was not lost in the simple majoritarianism of this House. It is for that sense of balance, which he displayed throughout his life, that he will be most keenly remembered.

4.7 pm

Mrs. Margaret Ewing (Moray): In paying a very brief tribute to Lord Home, may I associate my comments with my colleagues in the Scottish National party and the other nationalist parties in the House?

It may seem strange for a nationalist to be paying tribute to one who was seen very much as the epitome of the Scottish laird, but I have two things in common with Lord Home. First, I grew up in south Lanarkshire and as a very young child I remember the very high regard in which Lord Home was held by all his constituents, be they gamekeeper, landowner, farm worker, shopkeeper or whomsoever. Everyone regarded him as a perfect gentlemen who was prepared to give of his time to listen to problems which his constituents might have had and to meet with them.

Secondly, I also suffered from tuberculosis of the spine. During that long illness I was often reminded of the fact that Lord Home had recovered from it and that there was life ahead of that particularly difficult illness. It may well be that the Prime Minister regrets that I was not given the same kind of backbone as Lord Home. Indeed, our backbones are made of very different stuff. None the less, Lord Home was held up as an example and, like him, I learnt a great deal of patience.

There are many memories of Lord Home in Scotland. The former Prime Minister, the right hon. Member for Old Bexley and Sidcup, and the right hon. Member for Tweeddale, Ettrick and Lauderdale have already referred to the Scottish constitutional matter. It is my belief that from the declaration of Perth onwards there was a genuine

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belief among people like Lord Home that progress should be made towards the recognition of the aspirations of the Scottish people. It is, indeed, not his fault that the Government who took over in 1979 killed off the Scotland Bill, but his intervention, "Not this assembly but a better one," is seared into many psyches in Scotland. We are still waiting for that better assembly.

I hope that as we pay tribute to Lord Home and his recognition of democracy there will perhaps be some recognition on the Government Benches of the need for the people of Scotland to have that constitutional change.

4.9 pm

Mr. Bill Walker (Tayside, North): I rise to speak because the western end of my constituency was formerly Sir Alec Douglas-Home's constituency. I believe that I speak on behalf of all the people in that part of my constituency. I vividly remember what Sir Alec--Lord Home, as he was then--said to me when I inherited with the boundary changes that large part of what had been his constituency. He said, "There are some very remote parts, some very difficult roads and you will find that in the winter months when you are required to go somewhere for a meeting you will wish that you were not in fact representing that part of Scotland. But when you get there, you will find that the people there make it all worth while, and you forget the journey, you forget the difficult roads and you forget all the problems." That was so typical of the man.

The other advice that Sir Alec Douglas-Home gave me, which I have never forgotten, was, "Bill, if you have thought something through carefully and you believe that it is right, stand by it because in time you will find that you will be shown to be right." I believe that that guide that he had for himself was a guide that all politicians could well follow. He was indeed a man who left memories that are remarkable. My constituents would wish it to be put on record that anyone could telephone The Hirsel at the weekends and speak to their Member of Parliament. How many Members in the House today living in that grand manner in that grand style would answer the telephone at the weekends in the way that Alec Douglas-Home did? It is that example and leadership that we miss very much today. We think of him today.

1. MTX
~~2. File~~ News
3. LJL
(for info).

Union Travail Justice

Ambassade
de la République Gabonaise
à Londres

Londres, le 30 MAR 2005

000165/PNG/PC
N° ..... */ Amb/Gab/GB*

The Embassy of the Gabonese Republic presents its compliments to the Protocol Division of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and has the honour to inform them that further to the sad news of the death of the ex-British First Minister, Sir **James Callaghan,** last Saturday 26th March 2005, on the name of the Gabonese Government and its people, the Embassy of the Republic of Gabon would like to present to the British Government our deep and sincere condolences and could insure them of our moral support.

The Embassy of the Gabonese Republic avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office the assurances of its highest consideration./-

London, 30th March 2005

AMBASSADE DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE GABONAISE AU ROYAUME-UNI
UNION · TRAVAIL · JUSTICE

The Protocol Division
of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office
King Charles Street
London SW1A 2AH

27 Elvaston Place, London SW7 5NL Telephone: 020 7823 9986 Fax: 020 7584 0047

* * * COMMUNICATION RESULT REPORT (6. APR. 2005 11:35) * * *

TTI

TRANSMITTED/STORED FILE MODE	6. APR. 2005 11:34 OPTION	ADDRESS	RESULT	PAGE
5850 MEMORY TX		G3-AT:70082144	OK	2/2

REASON FOR ERROR
E-1) HANG UP OR LINE FAIL
E-2) BUSY
E-3) NO ANSWER
E-4) NO FACSIMILE CONNECTION

1	[illegible]	✓
2	[illegible]	✓ NOT 6/4
3	Lead PS	LJL
4	Action PS Request:	
5	Update Nexus	
6	Place Orig/Copy on BF	
7	Chase reply/reply recd – update Nexus & MTX	
8	Forward +pps to Lead PS	
9	GR to Despatch/ DCO fax to FCO if required	

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Laurie
To see - for info.

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

Date: 6/4/05

To: From: Duty Clerks Office

Dept: FCO – for info.

Cc: GTN 3580 Ext. 3025

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- ☐ Return draft by fax to 020 7839 9044 or e-mail to Privateoffice@no10.x.gsi.gov.uk
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Thank you

1	Update Nexus	✓
2	MTX Copy	✓ NO 6/4
3	Lead PS	LW
4	Action PS Request	✓
5	Update Nexus	✓
6	Place Orig/Copy on BF	N/A
7	Chase reply/reply recd – update Nexus & MTX	N/A
8	Forward +pps to Lead PS	N/A
9	GR to Despatch/ DCO fax to FCO if required	N/A

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To see - for info.

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PM 6/4.

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1	Update Nexus	✓
2	MTX Copy	✓ NS 30/3
3	[redacted] PS	AP
4	Action PS Request	
5	Update Nexus	✓ 4/4 Filed
6	Place Orig/Copy on BF	
7	Chase reply/reply recd – update Nexus & MTX	
8	Forward +pps to Lead PS	
9	GR to Despatch/ DCO fax to FCO if required	

BU Date -

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Thank you

Newsweek

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
LONDON

March 30, 2005

Dear Prime Minister:

Enclosed please find a letter that President Bush has asked that we deliver to you expressing his condolences, and those of the American people, on the death of former UK Prime Minister Lord Callaghan. There will be no signed original to follow. Please also accept my condolences at Lord Callaghan's passing.

Sincerely,

James B. Lane
Acting Minister

Enclosure: As stated.

The Right Honorable
Tony Blair, M.P.,
Prime Minister,
London.

SUBJECT
MASTER
Filed:

Dear Tony:

I was deeply saddened at the news of the passing of Lord Callaghan. We all have gained inspiration from Lord Callaghan's long record of public service to the British people. He demonstrated a strong sense of patriotism and determination to help rebuild the United Kingdom after World War II and defend the ideals in which he believed.

Laura joins me in expressing on behalf of the people of the United States our sincere condolences to you, Lord Callaghan's family, and the people of the United Kingdom for your loss.

Sincerely,

//s//

George W. Bush

The Right Honorable
Tony Blair, M.P.,
Prime Minister,
London.

SUBJECT MASTER Filed:

PRESIDENT RECEIVED FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

4) Nexus
2) MTX
3) LJL

PRESIDENT,
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

PRES/51 29 March 2005.

His Excellency,
The Rt. Hon. Tony Blair,
British Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London SW1A 2AA,

Dear Tony,

LETTER OF CONDOLENCE ON THE DEATH OF LORD JAMES CALLAGHAN

I write to express, on behalf of the Government and people of Nigeria and on my own behalf, heartfelt condolences to you and, through Your Excellency, to the bereaved family and the Government and people of Great Britain, on the passing of our dear Lord James Callaghan, former Prime Minister of Great Britain. Although it is gratifying that Lord James Callaghan died at ripe age of 93, he would be sadly missed for his notable leadership qualities.

Lord James lived a fulfilled life, having served his country energetically from his prime to become the only person ever, in the history of Great Britain, to have held the four great offices of State. A man of principle and commitment, Lord Jim, as he was fondly addressed, also embodied the virtues of labour. Indeed, James Callaghan will be remembered for his loyalty to all causes and institutions to which his heart belonged and, above all, loyalty to his country and his family.

While earnestly praying for the repose of the soul of Lord James Callaghan, I add that God Almighty gives the family, your Government and people of Great Britain the fortitude to bear the loss.

Yours sincerely
O Obasanjo

OLUSEGUN OBASANJO

1	Update Nexus	✓
2	MTX Copy	✓
3	Lead PS	LDC
4	Action PS Request	
5	Update Nexus	
6	Place Orig/Copy on BF	
7	Chase reply/reply recd – update Nexus & MTX	
8	Forward +pps to Lead PS	
9	GR to Despatch/ DCO fax to FCO if required	

BU Date -

Just sw to FCO* for info and file. Ta.

LDC 18/4

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

Date: 19/4

To: FCO see *

From: Duty Clerks Office

Dept:

Cc:

GTN 3580 Ext. **3025**

REMEMBER IF YOU ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR A REPLY TO CO-ORDINATE WITH OTHER DEPARTMENTS.

Please deal with the enclosed correspondence as:-

- ☐ PM reply
- ☐ No. 10 PS reply

PLEASE ENSURE YOU CHECK THE BACKGROUND, IS IT APPROPRIATE FOR THE PM, ONE OF HIS PSs OR EVEN YOUR OWN MINISTER TO REPLY?

- ☐ Return draft by fax to 020 7839 9044 or e-mail to Privateoffice@no10.x.gsi.gov.uk
  Before :

Thank you

1	Update Nexus	✓
2	MTX Copy	✓
3	Lead PS	GC
4	Action PS Request	
5	Update Nexus	
6	Place Orig/Copy on BF	
7	Chase reply/reply recd – update Nexus & MTX	
8	Forward +pps to Lead PS	
9	GR to Despatch/ DCO fax to FCO if required	

BJ Date -

Duty Clerks

Do we copy these in the family?

If not, NFA + file please

GC 30/3

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

Date:

To: From: Duty Clerks Office

Dept:

Cc: GTN 3580 Ext. **3025**

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  Before :

Thank you

MAURITIUS HIGH COMMISSION

32/33 ELVASTON PLACE
LONDON SW7 5NW
Tel No : 020 7581 0294/5
Fax No. : 020 7823 8437
020 7584 9859
e-mail : LONDONMHC@btinternet.com

Our Ref. : **MHCL 600/1/01**

Your Ref. :

The High Commission of the Republic of Mauritius presents its compliments to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and has the honour to transmit herewith a message addressed to the Right Honourable Tony Blair MP, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, from the Honourable Paul Raymond Bérenger, G.C.S.K., Prime Minister of the Republic of Mauritius.

The High Commission of the Republic of Mauritius would be grateful if the Foreign and Commonwealth Office could kindly forward the message to its highest destination.

The High Commission of the Republic of Mauritius avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office the assurances of its highest consideration.

London, 29 March 2005

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
King Charles Street
London SW1A 2AH

MAURITIUS HIGH COMMISSION
LONDON

Prime Minister
Republic of Mauritius

28 March, 2005

Dear Prime Minister,

We have learnt with great sadness of the demise on Saturday 26 March 2005 of Lord James Callaghan, former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

The United Kingdom has lost in him a distinguished leader and great patriot who has served his country tirelessly.

On behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Mauritius and in my own name, I wish to convey to you, to the people of the United Kingdom and to the bereaved family our deepest sympathy.

Please accept, dear Prime Minister, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Paul Raymond Bérenger, GCSK
Prime Minister

HE Mr Tony Blair, MP
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
Office of the Prime Minister
10, Downing Street
London
United Kingdom

Prime Minister
Republic of Mauritius

28 March, 2005

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Paul Raymond Bérenger, GCSK
Prime Minister

HE Mr Tony Blair, MP
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
Office of the Prime Minister
10, Downing Street
London
United Kingdom

R 1814

1. Nexus
2. MFA (FO)
3. DQ

SUBJECT MASTER
Filed

State of Kuwait
The Crown Prince
***

March 27th, 2005

The Right Honourable Anthony Blair, MP
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
10 Downing Street, London

Dear Prime Minister,

I am very sorry to learn of the passing away of Lord James Callaghan.

I had the pleasure of knowing and working with him as Home Secretary and later as Prime Minister. He was a real gentleman, and a principled statesman of great integrity and wisdom.

Please accept my expression of sincere condolences to you, the Labour Party and through you to his family.

May he rest in Peace.

Sincerely

Saad AlAbdullah AlSalim AlSabah

1	Update Nexus	✓
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4	Action PS Request	
5	Update Nexus	
6	Place Orig/Copy on BF	
7	Chase reply/reply recd – update Nexus & MTX	
8	Forward +pps to Lead PS	
9	GR to Despatch/ DCO fax to FCO if required	

BJ Date -

No reply
DQ
18/4

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

Date:

To: From: Duty Clerks Office

Dept:

Cc: GTN 3580 Ext. **3025**

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  Before :

Thank you

1	Update Nexus	✓
2	MTX Copy	✓
3	Lead PS	cc LK
4	Action PS Request	
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8	Forward +pps to Lead PS	
9	GR to Despatch/ DCO fax to FCO if required	

BU Date -

copy shd go in PM's box

LR 30/3

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

Date:

To: From: Duty Clerks Office

Dept:

Cc: GTN 3580 Ext. **3025**

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  Before :

Thank you

PM to see

PRESIDENT

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

3) GC

SUBJECT MASTER

PM Seen 3/4

March 27, 2005.

The Rt Hon Tony Blair, MP,
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London. UK.

Dear Prime Minister,

It is with a feeling of sadness that I convey to you, and through you to the Callaghan family, the Labour Party and the people of the UK, the sincere condolences of our Government as well as my own, on the death of Lord Callaghan.

Jim Callaghan served his country and people in many capacities, as a soldier during World War II, a Member of Parliament, a Cabinet Minister and Prime Minister. This long period of public service demonstrated his commitment to doing everything in his power to secure a better life for all his people.

It also meant that he played his part in many momentous events that shaped the 20th century, as well domestic developments that helped to define the nature of UK society during the post-war years.

His passing away provides an opportunity both to pay tribute to him, and to revisit the values that inspired him throughout his life, the better to understand the nature and purpose of contemporary politics, globally.

May he rest in peace.

Thabo Mbeki.

THABO MBEKI.

1	Update Nexus	✓27/3
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BU Date -

PM to see ✓

PM seen

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

Date:

To: From: Duty Clerks Office

Dept:

Cc: GTN 3580 Ext. **3025**

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- ☐ Return draft by fax to 020 7839 9044 or e-mail to Privateoffice@no10.x.gsi.gov.uk
  Before :

Thank you

+44 20 78241345

Botschaft
der Bundesrepublik Deutschland
London
Embassy
of the
Federal Republic of Germany
London

TELEFAX

Nr./No.:	Seiten/pages: 2	Eilvermerk:

An / A / To:

The Officer on duty

No 10 Downing Street 020 7839 9044

FCO 020 7008 3303

Von / De / From:
Dr. Doris Busenkell
Officer on duty
Tel.: 020 7824 1333
Fax: 020 7824 1345
Email: La-1@Lond.diplo.de

Datum / Date / Date:	27th March 2005
Gz. / Dossier nº / File No.:	
Betr. / Objet / Subject:	Letter of condolence
Bezug / Réf. / Ref.:	

Dear Sir/Madam,

I have the honor of forwarding a letter of condolence to the Prime Minister from the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of the Germany, Gerhard Schröder, on the occasion of Lord Callaghan's passing away.

The Embassy would be grateful for any information on the funeral arrangements in due course.

Yours sincerely,

Unterschrift / Signature / Signature Doris Busenkell

+44 20 78241345

BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND
Der Bundeskanzler

Berlin, den 27. März 2005

1. Nexos
2. MTR.
3. AR

Seiner Exzellenz
dem Premierminister
des Vereinigten Königreichs
Großbritannien und Nordirland
Herrn Tony Blair, M.P.
London

SUBJECT MASTER Filed:

Sehr geehrter Herr Premierminister, lieber Tony Blair,

zum Tod von Lord Callaghan möchte ich Ihnen, dem britischen Volk und vor allem der Familie von Lord Callaghan mein aufrichtiges Beileid ausdrücken.

Lord Callaghan hat in zahlreichen wichtigen Funktionen, insbesondere auch als Premierminister des Vereinigten Königreichs, einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Vertiefung der deutsch-britischen Beziehungen und zur Integration Ihres Landes in die Europäische Gemeinschaft geleistet.

Dafür gebührt ihm noch heute unser aller Dank und Anerkennung.

Gerhard Schröder

Hausanschrift: Willy-Brandt-Str. 1 · 10557 Berlin ·· Postanschrift: 11012 Berlin
☎ Vermittlung (030) 4000-0 ·· Telefax: (030) 4000 2357

2	Update Nexus	4/14
3	[redacted] Copy	4/14
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9	GR to Despatch/ DCO fax to FCO if required	

BU Date -

N/a. Thanks
GC 1/4

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

Date: 1/4/05

To: FCO

From: Duty Clerks Office

Dept:

Cc: —

GTN 3580 Ext. **3025**

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- ☐ No. 10 PS reply

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- ☐ Return draft by fax to 020 7839 9044 or e-mail to Privateoffice@no10.x.gsi.gov.uk Before :

FAXED FCO for info only no reply needed.

Thank you

High Commission for the Peopole's Republic of Bangladesh
28, Queen's Gate, London, SW7 5JA
Phone : 020-7584 0081
Fax : 020-7581 7477
E-mail : bdesh.Lon@dial.pipex.com

No. BHC(Lon)-Admn(Msg)-01/02

The High Commission for the People's Republic of Bangladesh presents its complements to Her Majesty's Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) in London and has the honour to forward herewith condolence message addressed to The Rt. Hon. Tony Blair, MP, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland by Her Excellency Begum Khaleda Zia, Hon'ble Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bangladesh upon the sad demise of the former British Prime Minister Lord James Callaghan.

It will be deeply appreciated if this message could be transmitted to its highest destination on an urgent basis.

The High Commission for the People's Republic of Bangladesh in London avails itself of this opportunity to renew Her Majesty's Foreign and Commonwealth Office the assurances of its highest consideration.

London, 30 March 2005

Her Majesty's
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
South Asian Department
Kind Charles Street
LONDON SW1A 2AH

1. News
2. Mtg (FO)
3. GC

SUBJECT MASTER Filed:

27 March 2005

His Excellency
Rt. Hon. Tony Blair MP
Prime Minister
The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
London

SUBJECT MASTER Filed:

Excellency,

I received with deep sadness the news of the demise of the former British Prime Minister Lord James Callaghan.

Lord Callaghan will be remembered for his distinguished political career that was marked with commitment to social justice and for his contribution as an important Cabinet member during the trying years of the sixties and seventies.

We, in Bangladesh, recall with deep appreciation the friendly feelings that he nurtured for Bangladesh. He was the first British Prime Minister to pay a visit to Bangladesh in 1978, which laid a solid foundation for the bilateral relations between independent Bangladesh and United Kingdom.

I wish to convey our sincere condolences and sympathies to you and through you to the members of the bereaved family and the people of the United Kingdom. I also pray for the salvation of the departed soul.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Khaleda Zia
Prime Minister
Government of the People's
Republic of Bangladesh

26/3/05

f.

Jim Callaghan was one of the giants of the Labour movement whose long and active life almost spans the history of the party he served so superbly.

He worked tirelessly to put into action the values of social justice, solidarity and opportunity for all which brought him into politics and the Labour Party.

He was one of the generation who fought in the war and came back determined to build a better, fairer and different Britain in peace. In difficult times in the Labour Governments of 1964-70 and 1974-79 he occupied key offices of state with great distinction. When he finally became Prime Minister in 1976, he had a very small majority and a changing set of political times to contend with, which meant his tenure was short. Nonetheless in that brief period he came to deserve and receive great respect as a leader and as a man. He used all his skill, intelligence and resource to keep the Government together. His initiation of the major debate on the future of the education system still bears reading today.

In later times, I sought his counsel on many occasions and found his judgement and common sense invariably sound.

He was a patriot, a loyal servant of Party and country and a devoted husband and father. His love for Audrey was very special.

Jim Callaghan will be remembered with affection and respect.

Department for Culture, Media and Sport

(P) Royal Deaths
KEN
7/3/05

RESTRICTED ADMINISTRATION

RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE SOVEREIGN'S STATE FUNERAL

Note by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport

1. Introduction

The funerals of the members of the Royal Family are referred to by code names:

London Bridge	State Funeral of The Sovereign
Forth Bridge	Royal Ceremonial Funeral of HRH The Duke of Edinburgh
Menai Bridge	Royal Ceremonial Funeral of HRH The Prince of Wales

Operation Lion is the code name for the arrangements for the processional route for a State or Royal Ceremonial Funeral.

Operation Marquee is the code name for the arrangements for the Lying in State in Westminster Hall. Operation Marquee is the responsibility of Black Rod.

2. London Bridge - Responsibilities

- Earl Marshal

The responsibility for the creation and implementation of the funeral plans for the Sovereign rests with the Earl Marshal, the Duke of Norfolk. This is unlike other Royal Ceremonial Funerals which are organised by the Lord Chamberlain.

The Earl Marshal has instructed Anthony Mather, a former member of the Royal Household to draft the plans. Anthony Mather's time and most of the preparatory work is paid for by DCMS. DCMS will also be responsible for paying for the funeral when it takes place.

At the meeting with the Earl Marshal on 13 January, the Earl Marshal confirmed that London Bridge was at an advanced stage of readiness. DCMS asked for a desk top rehearsal of London Bridge to be undertaken by all the senior people in each organisation. The Earl Marshal is discussing this with the Royal Household.

- DCMS

The Department is responsible for the arrangements for the processional route for a State or Royal Ceremonial Funeral. This includes the provision of facilities for broadcasting, written media, video screens, PA system and the preparation of the ceremonial route.

The Earl Marshal's Planning Note for London Bridge forms the basis of a manual drafted by DCMS which sets out responsibilities, activities and timetables for the funeral. This is issued to those involved with the event (e.g. local authorities, police, Palace of Westminster). Six monthly meetings are then organised by DCMS to discuss any changes to the plans or highlight any problems.

DCMS is also responsible for producing media plans for State and Royal Ceremonial Funerals. These show the locations of the media and the stands that need to be constructed. There will be media coverage all along the processional route in London and Windsor. All the major media organisations are involved in creating and updating the plans. The media plans for London Bridge, Windsor and London are currently being drafted.

The Department will also advise Government Departments to fly the Union flag at half mast from day of death until the day of the funeral (subject to confirmation from the Royal Household). However, flags will be flown at half mast from the time the Principle Proclamation is made until sunset the same day.

- Permanent Secretary

Following the announcement of a death of the Sovereign, the Permanent Secretary is responsible for informing DCMS Ministers and keeping them up to date, and for attending meetings as required, with the Earl Marshal.

- Other Roles

- Royal Household – draft the requirements for State and Royal Ceremonial Funerals and co-ordinate their implementation.
- Palace of Westminster is responsible for the Lying in State ('Operation Marquee').
- Local Authorities (Windsor and Maidenhead, Westminster) are responsible for the preparation of the route.
- Police (Metropolitan and Thames Valley) are responsible for security and crowd safety.
- The Royal Parks are responsible for preparation of parts of the processional route, and are involved in the location of a media compound, screens and related facilities.
- The Prime Minister's role. The Prime Minister's only public role is to attend the Funeral Service.

3. Coronation

The Coronation is expected to take place within a few months of the funeral, rather than the 16 months in 1952-53.

The Royal Household is currently working on draft plans. The ceremony and ceremonial route are likely to be different from 1952 but no details are yet available.

As with funerals, DCMS will be responsible for the public parts of the processional route, including media stands screens etc.

Department for Culture, Media and Sport
Architecture and Historic Environment Division
1 March 2005

DRAFT: 4/3/05

Press Office

Jim Callaghan was one of the giants of the Labour movement whose long and active life almost spans the history of the party he served so superbly.

He worked tirelessly to put into action the values of social justice, solidarity and opportunity for all which brought him into politics and the Labour Party.

His political career is unlikely ever to be matched. It is hard to believe that any future politician, of any party, will have the resilience or talents to take on all four great offices of state.

Prime Minister is a challenging job in any circumstances as all those who have had the privilege to hold this post knows. But by the time Jim went to No 10, he led a Government which no longer had a Commons majority.

It was here that we saw Jim use all his political skills and personal qualities to hold the party and Government together. I believe history will be a kinder judge of his time as Prime Minister than some of his contemporaries.

Even after stepping down as leader and leaving the Commons, Jim continued to work hard for the beliefs and causes which drew him into politics in the first place. He was a regular attender, and frequent speaker, in the Lords well into his eighties.

Jim's success as a politician rested, of course, on his strengths as a man. I, like countless others, know from my own personal experience of his wise advice, sound judgement, loyalty and kindness. He will be sorely missed by all who had the privilege to know and work with him.

DRAFT: 4/3/05

Margaret Thatcher was the most remarkable and outstanding figure in Britain's post war history.

She was not only the country's first woman Prime Minister and the longest serving of the last century but her policies and personality left a deep mark on our country, the wider world and, perhaps most of all, on her own party.

It was a sign of the force of her personality and impact that, within a very short time of her entering No 10, people forgot her astonishing achievement in being elected as a woman and mother to lead her traditional party. She was quickly loved or loathed in equal measure for what she did or represented, not for who she was.

There is no doubt that Margaret Thatcher was a polarising and often divisive force on politics and in the country – and her own values and beliefs did drive her policies. Many of the reforms she put in place were necessary but could be driven through at real cost to others.

But she was also a more pragmatic politician than often painted. Recognising widespread public support for the National Health Service she could not be persuaded to alter the basis on which it was funded. Despite her rhetoric on Europe, she understood, at least when in Government, that Britain's future lay in Europe and signed the European Single Act.

She was, of course, also a huge figure internationally, revelling in her Iron Lady image and raising Britain's profile and influence. Many of the ideas and policies she championed at home were adopted abroad. She stood firm for her beliefs even if it made her unpopular at the time. Her leadership was tested and triumphed over the Falklands. Her close friendship and political alliance with President Reagan rebuilt the special relationship and, as history will show, played an important role in the fall of the Iron Curtain.

Her domination of the Conservative Party she led for 15 years continued long after she was ousted as Prime Minister. Indeed, even now her party has still to emerge effectively from her shadow.

Throughout her political life, she was supported totally and selflessly by her husband Dennis. The couple were devoted to each other and I know his death in 2003 was a terrible blow to Lady Thatcher. But she continued working, often against the wishes of her doctors, in support of her political values and friends.

Our thoughts today go out to her children and many friends. Britain has lost a remarkable woman, a champion of freedom and one of the dominating figures in our political history.

From: **Antony Phillipson**
Date: **25 February 2005**

PRIME MINISTER

cc: **Jonathan Powell**
Kim Darroch
Nigel Sheinwald
William Chapman
Ian Gleeson

THE POPE: CONTINGENCY PLANNING

While the Pope seems to be doing well he is likely to be in hospital for some time. We must also assume that following on from his severe bout of flu the likelihood of his passing away sometime soon must be increasing. It might, therefore, be worth setting out the contingency plans we have in place.

Statements

The Embassy to the Holy See will convey messages of condolence from HM The Queen, The Prince of Wales, you and the Foreign Secretary. The draft text for your statement (to the Cardinal Chamberlain) is:

> "It is with the greatest sadness that I have learnt of the death of His Holiness Pope John Paul II. His obvious and heartfelt concern for peace throughout the world, and the warmth and kindliness of his personality will be long remembered by all people of goodwill. He will be mourned everywhere. I send Your Eminence and your colleagues my deepest sympathy."

You should also send a message of condolence to Polish PM Marek Belka (The Queen will send a message to Kwasniewski):

> "It is with the greatest sadness that I have learnt of the death of His Holiness Pope John Paul II. His heartfelt concern for peace throughout the world, and the warmth and kindliness of his personality will be long remembered. He played a strong and courageous role in advancing Christian values, moderation and freedom in Poland and throughout the world and he will be mourned everywhere. I know how much his unique moral leadership and historic achievements have meant to the Polish people. I send you and your country my deepest sympathy."

Are you content with these texts? These would also form the basis of lines for any media appearances.

The Funeral

The UK would be represented by a senior member of the Royal Family and of the cabinet. A view on who it should be will be taken at the time – the Home Secretary attended the Mass for Paul VI. The Ambassador attended the Mass for John Paul I in light of the fact that he had only been in office for 33 days.

There is likely to be an ecumenical service at Westminster Cathedral which you should attend if possible along with a member of the Royal Family.

There is no other requirement for you to do anything in your official capacity.

Election of the new Pope

The Conclave which will elect the next Pope must take place within three weeks. The rules prescribe 120 Cardinal Electors. At the last Consistory in October 2003, the Pope increased the number to 135, but death and 80th birthdays (those over 80 are ineligible to vote but will make their views known) have reduced the number again to 120.

The Cardinals will be shut into the Sistine Chapel for the vote and cut off from contact with the outside world, including media and telephone contact. They will be sworn to secrecy about the whole procedure. Voting takes place four times a day. The system requires a two thirds majority for the first 34 votes, interspersed with three breaks for prayer and reflection, thereafter a simple majority suffices. The most recent elections in practice lasted only a few days.

When the new Pope is elected, he will be announced to the people in St Peter's Square. (The traditional white smoke may still appear above the Sistine Chapel though this is not specified in the rules). A Solemn Mass of inauguration at St Peter's Basilica will follow, usually on the first or second Sunday after the election.

William's recent note set out some possible contenders. When the new pope is elected you should send a message of congratulations. I will show you a draft text.

ANTONY PHILLIPSON

Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

7 February 2005

Dear Laurie,

South Africa: Contingency Plans for Nelson Mandela's Death

CC JB
NS
AP
Dstycle
Piers

Although we have no reason to believe that Mandela's health is in rapid decline, at 86, he is becoming frailer. He retired from public life in August 2004 and the only public engagements he attends are connected with his HIV/AIDS work. The death of his remaining son from AIDS earlier this year will have taken its toll. It is therefore timely to make contingency plans for his death.

We expect that the South African Government will honour Mandela with a state funeral. HRH the Prince of Wales or, if not available, another senior member of the Royal Family should represent the Queen. The Foreign Secretary will represent HMG.

At the time of death, the Prime Minister will wish to write to President Mbeki and Graca Machel, Mandela's wife. I enclose draft messages. Draft messages from the Foreign Secretary to Foreign Minister Zuma, from The Queen to Mbeki and Graca Machel, and from The Prince of Wales to Graca Machel have also been prepared. I have enclosed a copy of the Contingency Plan.

These messages and other arrangements are subject to fine-tuning at the time of death. We are seeking approval from the Palace for these contingency plans.

Ever

(Kara Owen)
Private Secretary

Laurie Lee Esq
10 Downing Street

DRAFT CONTINGENCY PLAN FOR DEATH OF NELSON MANDELA

1. On receiving news of death, BHC Pretoria should seek official confirmation and inform AD(S) or, if outside office hours, FCO Response Centre by telephone. They in turn should contact:

In office hours	**Out of hours**
Private Office	Duty PS
Press Office	Duty press officer
Protocol Div	AD(S) wkd duty officer
	Protocol wkd duty officer

Condolence Messages

2. Messages will be sent by the Foreign Secretary to Foreign Minister Zuma and from The Queen and the PM to both President Mbeki and Graca Machel, and from The Prince of Wales to Graca Machel. (To be sent if he does not attend the funeral)
Action: AD(S) to finalise texts with Private Office/Protocol/No.10 and transmit messages to Pretoria.

Funeral Attendance

3. The South African Government is likely to honour Mandela with a State Funeral. HRH the Prince of Wales or, if not available, another senior member of the Royal Family should represent the Queen. The Foreign Secretary should represent HMG.
Action: Pretoria to confirm timings/logistics and inform AD(S)/FCO Response Centre, who will liaise with Private Office/Protocol.

Half-masting of Flags

4. Flags in the UK and at all diplomatic missions overseas should be flown at half-mast on the day of death and on the day of the funeral.
Action: Protocol to issue telegram to all diplomatic posts with half-masting instructions.

EU Presidency

5. EU-X and AD (S) stand ready to issue a statement or guidance to other member states on half-masting of flags if the UK holds the EU Presidency at the time.
Action: AD(S) to confirm need for statements/guidance with EU-X and draft COREU accordingly.

We stand ready to adjust these arrangements in response to requests from the South African Government on marking the death and amend messages if circumstances change.

AD(S)
January 2005

DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO PRESIDENT MBEKI

Cherie and I wish to extend our deepest sympathy to the people of South Africa on the death of Nelson Mandela. He made an immense contribution to the history of your country, to Africa and the world. He will be universally missed.

I will remember Nelson Mandela for his integrity and strength of personality and for his pivotal role in South Africa's peaceful transition to democracy. I am so proud to have been able to call him a friend. We will not see his like again.

[*Victoria Harrison, AD(S), 7008 2540*]

DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO GRACA MACHEL

Cherie and I were deeply saddened to hear of Nelson's death.

His contribution to South Africa, Africa and the world was immense. I have sincere admiration for his tireless work for peace and reconciliation. His dedicated campaigning on HIV/AIDS brought so much hope to so many people.

You and your family are in our thoughts and prayers. I am grieving the loss of Nelson not only as a world statesman but also someone I was so proud to call a friend.

[*Victoria Harrison, AD(S), 7008 2540*]

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

DEPARTMENT/SERIES PREM 49 PIECE/ITEM 3983/1 (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details: PLANNING NOTE DATED JANUARY 2005	
CLOSED UNDER FOI EXEMPTION 40(2)	09/10/24
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Instructions for completion of Dummy Card

Use black or blue pen to complete form.

Use the card for one piece or for each extract removed from a different place within a piece.

Enter the department and series,
eg. HO 405, J 82.

Enter the piece and item references, .
eg. 28, 1079, 84/1, 107/3

Enter extract details if it is an extract rather than a whole piece.
This should be an indication of what the extract is,
eg. Folio 28, Indictment 840079, E107, Letter dated 22/11/1995.
Do not enter details of why the extract is sensitive.

If closed under the FOI Act, enter the FOI exemption numbers applying to the closure, eg. 27(1), 40(2).

Sign and date next to the reason why the record is not available to the public ie. Closed under FOI exemption; Retained under section 3(4) of the Public Records Act 1958; Temporarily retained; Missing at transfer
or Number not used.

PREVIOUS PROCEDURE ON THE DEATH OF PREVIOUS PRIME MINISTERS

The current parliamentary arrangements upon the death of a former Premier are set out in William Chapman's note to Murdo Maclean of 29 July 1994.

- If death was announced before midday, tributes would be paid at start of business and then the Houses adjourned for the rest of the day.
- If death was announced after midday, tributes would probably be paid at start of business the following day and then the House adjourned for the rest of the day.
- If death occurred during recess Parliament would probably not be recalled. Tributes would take place on first sitting day back but Parliament would not adjourn'.

In a letter written to the then Prime Minister in 1993 from the Lord President, he and Lord Wakeham agreed that some consideration to the manner in which the two Houses of Parliament should respond in the event of the death of a former Prime Minister was –

We have borne in mind three considerations:

(i) The response of the two Houses should be consistent with each other.

(ii) The responses should be consistent with recent precedents.

(iii) In the case of former Prime Ministers, the responses should not be affected by considerations such as party or length of service.

Annex A sets out the most recent Commons precedents for the deaths of former Prime Ministers.

Annex A

Lord Wilson - Died 24 May 1995

On the day of death questions went ahead as usual. After tributes from the Prime Minister, Leader of the Opposition and others the House adjourned until the next day.

Lord Stockton - Died 29 December 1986

Lord Stockton died during the Christmas Recess. Both Houses paid tribute on the next sitting day on 12 January 1987, the House did not adjourn.

Lord Avon - Died 14 January 1977

Lord Avon died on a Friday, both Houses paid tribute on the following Monday, 17 January 1977 and then adjourned. On that occasion there was some criticism on the Commons of the decision to adjourn.

A memorial service was held in Westminster Abbey on 15 February 1977. The Secretary of the Cabinet's Office organised Ministerial attendance (including former Ministers) and provided six ushers.

Lord Attlee - Died 8 October 1967

The Cabinet paid tribute at their meeting on 11 October 1967. Tributes were given in the House of Commons on 23 October 1967 (when the House first met after the Recess). A semi—private funeral service was held on Wednesday 11 October 1967 in the Temple Church, followed by a private cremation. The funeral service was attended by the Prime Minister and Mrs Wilson and one or two other Ministers or former Ministers. A memorial service was held in Westminster Abbey on 7 November 1967: the Private Secretary to the Secretary of the Cabinet wrote to senior Ministers, (Only members or the Cabinet, Ministers in charge of Departments, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Minister without Portfolio and the Paymaster General were included in the Cabinet Office arrangements; all other Ministers were included in separate arrangements made for both Houses of Parliament and notified by the Whips Offices.)

Sir Winston Churchill - Died 24 January 1965

Sir Winston Churchill died on Sunday 24 January 1965. The House met on Monday 25 January 1965. The Prime Minister announced a message from Her Majesty the Queen directing that his body shall lie in State in Westminster Hall and there after a funeral service at Westminster Abbey would take place. The Prime Minister then thanked Her Majesty for her message. Tributes from other members were also heard. The House then adjourned. On Tuesday 26 January 1965 the Speaker announced both messages of condolence and that the House was told it would be adjourned until Monday 1 February. The funeral was to take place on Saturday 30 January.

The House resumed business as normal on Monday 1 February following several messages of condolence read by the Speaker.

Lord Baldwin - Died 14 December 1947

Tributes were given and both Houses adjourned for a day as a mark of respect, the Commons on 15 December 1947, and the Lords on 17 December 1947. (The Government, which was pressed for Parliamentary time, had hoped to avoid an adjournment).

Lord Baldwin was cremated on 17 December 1947. A memorial service was held in Worcester Cathedral on 20 December 1947. Burial at Westminster Abbey was offered but refused. A memorial service was held in Westminster Abbey on 14 January 1948: the Private Secretary to the Secretary of the Cabinet wrote to senior Ministers, notifying them of the time and date and asking them whether they wished to attend; the tickets appear to have been issued by the Chapter Office, Westminster Abbey, on the provision by the Cabinet Office of a list of those who wished to attend. The Civil Service, Board of Admiralty and Army and Air Councils were represented.

Lord Lloyd George - Died 26 March 1945

Lord Lloyd George died in the evening of Monday 26 March 1945. After questions on the 27 March the Prime Minister announced the fact that the Leader of the House moved the Adjournment, tributes were paid after questions on the 28 March 1945.

The Funeral was private. A memorial service, arrange by No10, was held on 10 April 1945. The cost was borne on public funds. A memorial stone to Earl Lloyd George was unveiled by the Prince of Wales in Westminster Abbey on 27 July 1970. The Cabinet Office was responsible for inviting all Ministers.

Lisa MacDonald

24 January 2005

Deaths

CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL

Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service

From the Private Secretary

NICHOLAS HOWEARD

cc Gay Catto
Sue Gray
Penny Ciniewicz

DEATH OF FORMER PRIME MINISTERS

--- You asked for clarity on responsibilities in the event of the death of a former Prime Minister. We have consulted the precedent book on this matter and attach the relevant extracts for you. You will note that there is no set procedure for handling the death of a former Prime Minister.

What seems clear is that, in the past, Number 10 have taken the lead in liaising between the current Prime Minister and the family of the bereaved in order to ascertain the special funeral or memorial arrangements to be put in place (see para 10.6), including covering the practical details (para 10.9).

The Cabinet Secretary should be involved in preliminary consultations on questions of attendance (para 10.22a). The Cabinet Office then takes the lead in implementing the agreed arrangements; e.g. protocol matters, dispatching invitations, seating, ushers.

Ref: AO2004/1469

To our knowledge, there are no contingency plans in place for extant former Prime Ministers (Callaghan, Heath, Thatcher and Major).

Please do not hesitate to contact me to discuss this issue further.

MARK TALBOT

29 October 2004

Heritage CROXLEY

CHAPTER TEN

MEMORIAL AND OTHER SERVICES

GENERAL

10.1 This chapter covers the main points of concern to the Cabinet Office relating to the organisation of memorial and similar services, including special services of intercession or thanksgiving. (Most of this chapter is concerned with the former rather than the latter but the same general considerations apply (the latter type is perhaps more likely to be organised by a Government Department eg. the Falklands Thanksgiving).) Not all the points noted call for action by the Cabinet Office but are intended to be helpful in dealing with miscellaneous enquiries. This chapter does not deal with Royal Funerals and the Demise of the Crown (for which see Chapter Eleven).

10.2 Details of memorial services etc, in which the Cabinet Office have been involved, to greater or less extent, is given in Annex C. It can be seen from the lists there how unsystematic Cabinet Office involvement is. A good deal still depends on the Private Secretary, or the Appointments Secretary at No 10, happening to notice that a memorial service is being arranged and thinking it worthwhile for the Government to be represented, and Cabinet Ministers and others informed.

10.3 When the Cabinet Office is directly involved at all, its formal responsibilities are generally limited to the arrangements for the attendance and seating of Cabinet Ministers but, on occasion, this may extend to the attendance and seating of the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Leaders of the Opposition Parties in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and former Prime Ministers and Members of the Cabinet. The Cabinet Office has only once (in very special circumstances in 1944 - see

note 4) been responsible for the overall organisation of a service but has often been asked for advice on miscellaneous matters arising.

10.4 Apart from the exceptions noted, the Government takes the initiative in arranging a service only in connection with Royalty, Prime Ministers and a few Heads of State.

10.5 Following this principle Departments have no responsibility for organising memorial services for their former Ministers[2]. However, in the case of a Minister who dies in office a memorial service, if the relatives agree, would normally be arranged by his Department[3]. The Cabinet Office offered assistance in the arrangement of the memorial services for Lord Hankey, Lord Normanbrook[4] and Lord Trend.

10.6 Special arrangements have been made by No 10 Downing Street (in consultation with the relatives) on the death of a former Prime Minister[5].

10.7 Services for Commonwealth or foreign dignitaries are usually organised by the High Commissioner in London or by the Embassy or Legation concerned[6].

10.8 General responsibility for special services of intercession, etc sponsored by the Government usually rests with the Home Office or the Ministry of Defence[7].

Practical Arrangements

10.9 Questions to be considered in the arrangement of a memorial service include:[8]

a. Special wishes of the relatives

b. Choice of Church and arrangements with the Church authorities. (St Margaret's is normally used when there are

Parliamentary associations; Westminster Abbey, when large congregations have to be catered for; and St Paul's Cathedral mainly for special services of intercession, etc.)

c. Date and time[9].

d. Terms of notice in the Press (this may be in the form of an advertisement or of an announcement issued officially).

e. Order of service (the Church are responsible for printing).

f. Means of admission and reservation of seats (admission by ticket only or limited reservation of seats).

g. Particular interests to be invited or represented.

h. Traffic arrangements (special car labels are sometimes issued).

Representation of the Government

10.10 There is usually little difficulty in deciding whether the Prime Minister or Cabinet Ministers should be invited to attend or to be represented at a memorial service, or whether the Government should be represented in some other way (eg by a junior Minister). There is no need for the Government to be represented separately at services at which members of the Government are present. Where there is doubt about representation this will be resolved, if necessary by the Prime Minister, following discussion between No 10 Downing Street, the Cabinet Office and any Departments concerned[10]. (There is at Annex D a note, prepared by the Secretary for Appointments at 10 Downing Street, on Government representation at memorial services, etc.)

Attendance of Cabinet Ministers

10.11 The Cabinet Office is quite often involved in the arrangements for the attendance of Cabinet Ministers (apart from those services organised by the Government itself). This may mean simply informing Cabinet Ministers of the details of the service, ascertaining which Ministers wish to be present or represented, or ensuring that the Government is represented appropriately. On occasion it may be appropriate for the Cabinet Office to take the initiative (see, eg, case of service for Lord Citrine 1983).

10.12 The first step will usually be to ascertain the Prime Minister's own intentions and wishes. The Prime Minister may be represented at a memorial service either by a Cabinet Ministerial or by the Secretary for Appointments. Representation, as distinct from attendance, is inappropriate at services for Members of the Royal Household.

10.13 Where a memorial service clashes with a Cabinet meeting (see note 9) there are precedents for Ministers being excused from Cabinet in order to attend a memorial service[12]. On other occasions Cabinet has been managed to enable Ministers to attend memorial services[13].

Other Invitations for which the Cabinet Office may be Responsible

10.14 It is usual, particularly when the occasion is one of a national character (see paragraph 10.23 below), for special invitations to be sent to the Leaders of Opposition Parties in the House of Commons and the House of Lords. This is done by letter from the Secretary of the Cabinet (or at Private Secretary level), in terms broadly similar to that sent to Ministers' Private Secretaries.

10.15 An invitation is usually sent to the Speaker or the House of Commons, by letter to his Private Secretary.

10.16 On some occasions invitations are also sent to former Prime Ministers or former members or the Cabinet who are not otherwise provided for.

Other Interests

10.17 Other special invitations, depending on the occasion, are handled as follows (if the service is being organised by a Government Department the details are usually adjusted at inter-departmental meetings):

Diplomatic Corps and Commonwealth representatives	-	Foreign Office
Civil Servants	-	Cabinet Office (OMCS)
Service representatives	-	Ministry of Defence
Lord Mayor, other local authority representatives, other bodies	-	Organisation responsible for the service
Members of Parliament and Peers	-	Organisation responsible for the service. If tickets are being issued and if the occasion has Parliamentary associations it is usual for a number of tickets to be given to the Whips for the use of those

who wish to attend. If tickets are not being issued no special arrangements would be made.

Seating of Cabinet Ministers

10.18 The arrangements made for seating Cabinet Ministers and those mentioned in paragraphs 14, 15 and 16 naturally depend on the seating plan in the Church, but to some extent they depend also on the nature or the occasion. The Church authorities usually suggest an appropriate arrangement and the Cabinet Office need usually do no more than provide a list of those who intend to be present arranged in order of precedence. Otherwise it may be necessary to consider the following points:

a. The Lord Chancellor and the Speaker

The Lord Chancellor takes precedence over the Prime Minister; and the Speaker usually has a special seat.

b. ~~Wives~~ Spouses of Cabinet Ministers, etc

Usually these are seated with Ministers, etc, but sometimes they are seated together in a separate block of seats.

c. Leaders of the Opposition

It is usual to seat them with the leading Members of the Cabinet.

d. Members of previous Cabinets

If members of previous Cabinets not otherwise provided for are to attend it is usual to seat them behind the Cabinet.

e. Ministers' Representatives

Some hold that representatives should be given the places which would have been taken by those they are representing.

This, however, sometimes leads to an anomalous arrangement (eg where the representative is a junior Private Secretary) and there are occasions when it is better to compromise and to place them in appropriate seats behind.

f. Chiefs of Staff, etc

These are usually seated behind Ministers together with other official representatives.

These questions need to be settled in advance in consultation with the Department or organisation responsible for the service. In practice the Cabinet Office are usually given an allocation of seats in particular blocks, and the problem then becomes one of arranging Ministers and others in due order.

10.19 To help ushers in identifying Cabinet Ministers, etc their names should be written or typed boldly on the top of the admission tickets, if these are used. In any event, place cards with the names should be prepared and arrangements made with the ushers to put them on the appropriate seats in accordance with the agreed order of seating. (This will not be necessary if only a few Ministers are attending.)

Ushers

10.20 If the numbers attending make this desirable, it is usual for one or more ushers to be provided, to see to the seating of Ministers etc, from the Cabinet Office, 10 Downing Street or elsewhere according to the nature of the occasion. The responsibility for providing or seeking ushers rests on the organisation arranging the service (in consultation with the Church authorities).

Expenses

10.21 Where a memorial or similar service is organised by a Department necessary expenditure may be met out of public funds (either by the Department concerned or by the Treasury). The main expenses are Church fees (organist, choir etc), printing of the order of service, Press advertisement (if used) and printing of admission tickets (if used).

Summary of Action by the Cabinet Office

10.22 Action by the Cabinet Office in normal circumstances may be summarised as follows:

a. Preliminary consultations with interests concerned (including 10 Downing Street) on questions of attendance.

b. When date and time have been settled:

i. circular letter to Ministers' Private Secretaries on attendance of their Ministers

ii. letters to Leaders of the Opposition and others (as appropriate).

c. collation of replies to invitation and preparation of list in proposed order of seating.

d. Issue of admission tickets marked with names (if used).

e. Preparation of place tickets (if required).

f. Arrangements for ushers (if required).

Government Representation at Memorial Services, Letters of Condolence, etc.

This note sets out the arrangements for dealing with [redacted]vernment representation at funerals and memorial services, and tters of condolence. This note does not cover:-

a) Arrangements for funerals of members of the Royal Family (and former Prime Ministers), which are covered separately.

b) Arrangements for Government representation at funerals etc. of foreign Heads of State or Government, which are the responsibility of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

A procedure is needed to cover the following situations:-

i) Government representation at the funeral/memorial service of someone who has given outstanding public service, including consideration of whether members of the Cabinet, etc. (see paragraph 3 below) should be notified of the funeral arrangements.

ii) Representation of the Prime Minister personally at a similar service.

In some cases, there may be no true distinction from (i), and it is difficult to imagine an occasion at which separate representation both of the Government and the Prime Minister would be appropriate. But how any representation is best described needs to be considered in each case, bearing in mind that press reporting may sometimes give greater prominence to attendance by a representative of the Prime Minister personally, rather than to attendance by a representative of the Government as a whole.

iii) Representation of the Prime Minister at a service for a leading member of the Prime Minister's political party.

REPRESENTATION OF OPPOSITION PARTIES

10.23 The arrangements for representation at the annual Service of Remembrance at the Cenotaph developed in an ad hoc fashion over the years and in 1981, 1982 and 1983 questions were raised over the non-inclusion of the Leader of the Social Democratic Party (SDP). After the 1983 Election when the SDP became a national party with a number of members elected under the party name this led to considerable controversy. In the end a full review was conducted of the arrangements for representation of opposition parties at the Cenotaph (and on other state occasions - see File ~~68/3~~ 63/8).

Cenotaph Service

10.24 The eventual outcome, so far as the Cenotaph Service was concerned, was that it was decided that the winning of at least six seats in the last General Election should qualify the leader of a party both to attend and lay a wreath and that leaders of parties which win more than one but less than six seats at a General Election should be invited to attend but not to lay wreaths. Changes in representation through bye-elections between General Elections should not affect representation at the Ceremony; leaders of the minority parties could not be represented by alternates.

Other State Occasions

10.25 It was agreed that the 'six-member rule' should be used as a guide for other state occasions. (File ~~68/3~~ 63/8, Folio 10).

ANNEX B
CHAPTER TEN

CONTACTS IN OTHER DEPARTMENTS

10 Downing Street	Secretary for Appointments (and Private Secretaries)

General advice on organisation and attendance; Memorial services for former Prime Ministers; attendance of Prime Ministers, etc.

Cabinet Office (Office of the Ministry for the Civil Service)	Ceremonial Officer
Foreign and Commonwealth Office	Vice-Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps (and Protocol Department generally)

Attendance of diplomatic (including Commonwealth) representatives; general organisation where foreign or Commonwealth interests predominate. (The actual attendance of representatives of the Diplomatic Corps is arranged by the Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps, Buckingham Palace.)

Lord Chamberlain's Office	Comptroller

Attendance of representatives of the Royal Household; organisation of Household services, etc.

Westminster Abbey	Receiver General
St Paul's Cathedral	Receiver
St Margaret's, Westminster	Dean

ANNEX C
CHAPTER TEN

MEMORIAL AND OTHER SERVICES: LIST OF CASES

The Lists below are as complete as the filing system, and time, allow. The cases have been divided into the following categories:

i. Former Prime Ministers
ii. Ministers dying in office
iii. Former Ministers
iv. Members of the Royal Family
v. Commonwealth leaders
vi. Foreign Heads of State, etc
vii. Civil Servants and Diplomats
viii. Military leaders
ix. Miscellaneous - individuals
x. Other services

i. Former Prime Ministers (See Annex A, Note 5)

November 1937 Ramsay MacDonald (funeral)
November 1940 Neville Chamberlain (funeral)
April 1945 Lloyd George
January 1948 Stanley Baldwin
January 1968 Winston Churchill (funeral, St Paul's, Operation HOPE NOT)
November 1967 Clement Attlee
February 1977 Lord Avon (Anthony Eden)

ii. Ministers dying in office

April 1940 Sir John Gilmour (Minister for Shipping)
December 1940 Lord Lloyd (Secretary of State Colonies)
September 1943 Sir Kingsley Wood (Chancellor of the Exchequer)

iv) Representation of the Prime Minister on personal grounds.

No. 10 Downing Street will be responsible for initiating action under all these headings. On occasions covered under (i) above, No. 10 will consult the Private Secretary to the Secretary of the Cabinet and discuss with him whether the service arrangements should be drawn to the attention of Cabinet Ministers, the Leaders of the Opposition Parties, former Prime Ministers, or others so that they can take appropriate steps to attend or be represented. If so the Cabinet Office will make the necessary arrangements. The Private Secretary to the Secretary of the Cabinet and the Private Secretary of the Minister most directly concerned (where one can be identified) should also be consulted about Government representation. Points to consider are whether the Prime Minister should be advised to attend the service himself or whether he should be represented by a Minister (senior or junior), a Private Secretary, or perhaps, on rare occasions, a senior official.

On occasions covered by (iii) the Prime Minister's political office will be consulted.

4. Within 10 Downing Street, the Secretary for Appointments will be responsible for initiating action.

5. When representation has been agreed, 10 Downing Street (or the Department which has accepted responsibility) becomes responsible for two things:-

i) Informing the church where the service is taking place, or those responsible for arranging the service, and making sure that a seat is reserved,

ii) Notifying the Press of the official representation at the service. The Press Office of No. 10 or the responsible Department should invariably make sure that this is done.

In cases where Cabinet Ministers and others are invited to the

service, the Cabinet Office will generally arrange tickets and seats for those who wish to attend.

Letters of Condolence

6. It is for individual Departments to advise their Minister to send a letter of condolence. Within 10 Downing Street, the Secretary for Appointments will be responsible for advising the Prime Minister to send a letter of condolence, or for doing so on his behalf.

JULY 1976
10. Downing Street

Sir Winston Churchill Died 24 January 1965

Sir Winston Churchill was given a State Funeral in St Paul's Cathedral on Saturday 30 January. The arrangements, planned as Operation Hope Not, are described in some detail in the note at Annex F (see also file 32/492 Parts 1 to 8, file 29/31 and file 80/56).

Lord Attlee Died 8 October 1967 (file 63/1 Part 2)

The Cabinet paid tribute at their meeting on 11 October (CC(67) 58th Conclusions, Item 1). Tributes were given in the House of Commons on 23 October (when the House first met after the Recess). A semi-private funeral service was held on Wednesday 11 October in the Temple Church, followed by a private cremation. The funeral service was attended by the Prime Minister and Mrs Wilson and one or two other Ministers or former Ministers.

A memorial service was held in Westminster Abbey on 7 November 1967: the Private Secretary to the Secretary of the Cabinet wrote to senior Ministers in the usual way, notifying them of the time and date and asking them whether they wished to attend. (Only members of the Cabinet, Ministers in charge of Departments, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Minister without Portfolio and the Paymaster General were included in the Cabinet Office arrangements; all other Ministers were included in separate arrangements made for both Houses of Parliament and notified by the Whips' Offices). The public notice of the service requested former Ministers to apply to the Secretary of the Cabinet if they wished to attend. Tickets (for those who needed them) were subsequently issued by the Cabinet Office. The Cabinet Office provided one usher for the service.

were reserved for members of both Houses of Parliament but admission cards were not issued and it was necessary to have ushers who could identify the invitees. The staff of the War Cabinet Office assisted the staff of No 10 in regard to the clerical work etc, which was involved in making the arrangements. There was no memorial service.

Lord Lloyd George Died 26 March 1945

House adjourned on 27 March, tribute on 28 March. The Funeral was private at his request. A memorial service in the Abbey was held on 10 April 1945. This was arranged by No 10. The cost was borne on public funds. A memorial stone to Earl Lloyd George was unveiled by the Prince of Wales in Westminster Abbey on 27 July 1970. The Cabinet Office was responsible for inviting all Ministers.

Lord Baldwin Died 14 December 1947

Tributes were given and both Houses adjourned for a day as a mark of respect, the Commons on 15 December 1947, and the Lords on 17 December. (The Government, which was pressed for Parliamentary time, had hoped to avoid an adjournment - CM(47) 95th Conclusions of 15 December 1947). Lord Baldwin was cremated on 17 December. A memorial service was held in Worcester Cathedral on 20 December. Burial at Westminster Abbey was offered but refused, the ashes went to Worcester Cathedral. A memorial service was held in Westminster Abbey on 14 January 1948: the Private Secretary to the Secretary of the Cabinet wrote to senior Ministers in the usual way, notifying them of the time and date and asking them whether they wished to attend; the tickets appear to have been issued by the Chapter Office, Westminster Abbey, on the provision by the Cabinet Office of a list of those who wished to attend. The Civil Service, Board of Admiralty and Army and Air Councils were represented.

CONFIDENTIAL

Lord Balfour Died 19 March 1930

House adjourned on 19 March, tribute on 20 March. Lord Balfour was buried on 22 March at Whittinghame, Dunbar. Burial in Westminster Abbey was offered by refused. (The Dean offered before prompting); Lord Balfour wished for a private funeral. A memorial service was held in Westminster Abbey on the same day, the King and the Prince of Wales were represented. No 10 issued tickets to the Cabinet and other officials in consultation with the Chapter Clerks' Office. The cost was borne on public funds.

Mr Ramsay MacDonald Died 9 November 1937 in Bermuda

Tribute and House adjourned 10 November. Mr MacDonald's body was brought back on HMS Apollo. Burial in Westminster Abbey was offered but refused by the family although the first part of the funeral service was held there on 26 November 1937. The pall bearers were the Prime Minister, the Speaker, Sir John Simon, Earl De La Warr, Lord Baldwin, Mr Attlee, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Mr Kerr, Mr E A Morrison, Sir Walter Citrine. Tickets for the Cabinet were issued by No 10. The body was then taken to Golders Green for cremation and then to Lossiemouth. The Prime Minister wrote to Mr Malcolm MacDonald on behalf of the Cabinet. There was no memorial service.

Mr Neville Chamberlain Died 9 November 1940

The Prime Minister informed Cabinet that, although it was usual for the House to adjourn after the payment of tributes, there would be no immediate adjournment on this occasion since a Funeral Service was to be held in Westminster Abbey on 14 November 1940 (Mrs Chamberlain having accepted the offer of burial there) which would involve the adjournment of the House on that day. Because we were at war, the Prime Minister ruled that the time and place of the funeral should be kept secret and that attendance should be kept as small as practicable. Seats

On the death of Lord Bridges (second Secretary of the Cabinet) in 1969, the lead in issuing invitations etc for the memorial service was taken by the Civil Service Department.

5. The initiative and responsibility for advising the Prime Minister on funeral and memorial services for former Prime Ministers lies with 10 Downing Street. (see letter McIndoe/Hewitt of 13 April 1965 attached to folio 6 on 63/1 Part 2). The precedents are:

Mr Bonar Law Died in the Recess (1923)

Tributes were paid on the first day the House met. No adjournment. Burial in Westminster Abbey (the Prime Minister approached the Dean) on 5 November 1923, after a service at St Columba's, Pont Street. Arrangements made by No 10. Pall bearers were the Prince of Wales, the Prime Minister, the Speaker, Lord Balfour, Mr Asquith, Lord Fitzalan, Lord Carson, Lord Beaverbrook, Mr Austin Chamberlain and Mr Ramsay MacDonald. There was no memorial service.

Lord Oxford (H H Asquith) Died 15 February 1928

The Prime Minister gave notice that he would move motion next day and the House adjourned next day (16 February). The Prime Minister wrote to Lady Oxford expressing the sympathy of the Cabinet. Lord Oxford was buried at Sutton Courtney on 20 February at his own request. Burial in Westminster Abbey was offered but refused (the Prime Minister approached the Dean). A memorial service was held in Westminster Abbey on 21 February; the King and the Prince of Wales were represented. Tickets were issued to the Cabinet by No 10. The cost was borne on public funds.

Lord Home (Tributes)

3.30 pm

The Prime Minister (Mr. John Major): A week ago Alec Douglas-Home, Lord Home, died at his home, The Hirsel. Alec Home was one of those people who light up politics with their integrity. I believe that the whole House will wish to join me today in sending our deepest sympathies to his family.

I was not privileged to know Alec Douglas-Home when he was Prime Minister or Foreign Secretary; I only had the pleasure of meeting him many years later. But even in those days, as someone who watched politics from far beyond this House, I felt from a distance that here was a man of many qualities and few pretensions. He believed that people with privileges had, with those privileges, to accept obligations. He could have chosen the leisured life of a Scottish laird, but he chose to accept obligation and a duty to public service. When fate called him to serve in the highest office, he disclaimed his historic titles, a step that no one in his position could possibly have taken lightly.

Alec Douglas-Home was a modest and a likeable man—a man of dignity, charming, witty and gentle. It is not surprising that he inspired affection among those with whom he worked and among millions who never met him. He never let public life take over. He was happiest with his family, fishing the River Tweed, studying the racing form book or on the cricket field. During one election, he abandoned the election campaign for a day playing cricket, which I think is a perfectly proper sense of priorities for an Englishman—and a very enlightened sense of priorities for a Scottish man. He was a good cricketer too, the only Prime Minister ever to play for MCC.

Alec Home was a family man. His wife Elizabeth, the love of his life, was both his inspiration and his most resolute champion. She shared not only his triumphs and difficulties but his sense of humour. Both of them were devoted Christians, but perhaps only Elizabeth Home could have described the parliamentary Christian wives as the "holy hens" and escaped without rebuke.

Alec Home first stood for election in Coatbridge, as Alec Dunglass, in 1929. He was shocked by the poverty and hardship that he found there. Two years later, elected for the neighbouring constituency of South Lanark, itself no stranger to poverty, he had already formed his strong belief in one nation policies. By the end of 1935, he was parliamentary private secretary at the Ministry of Labour. A few months later, Neville Chamberlain, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, invited him to become his parliamentary private secretary.

Suddenly, with Neville Chamberlain's elevation to Prime Minister, Alec Home found himself at the very centre of government. Although he did not accompany Chamberlain on all his foreign travels, he was with him at that crucial meeting in Munich with Hitler. Alec Home was not, of course, personally responsible for the agreements reached, but, with a loyalty that was characteristic of the man, he would never subsequently criticise Chamberlain's actions.

At the outbreak of war, Alec Home was keen to serve. To his bitter disappointment, he was declared unfit. When tuberculosis of the spine was diagnosed, year upon year of painful treatment followed. With his spine rebuilt, his parting words to his doctors were typical of the man's gentle, self-mocking humour. He said, "You have achieved the impossible; you have put backbone into a politician." Time and time again during his subsequent political career he demonstrated that backbone. He dared to criticise Churchill for the Yalta agreement and the way in which it treated Poland. But three months later, in a typical Churchillian move, Alec Home was appointed to the Foreign Office for a spell lasting only a few weeks before the 1945 election. It was, however, an important step in his political development.

Five years later, Alec Home returned to the House. Only 12 months beyond that he inherited the titles that took him to the other place. He heard the news in the Chamber. He immediately rushed away, only to discover outside the Chamber that he had forgotten his spectacles. In keeping with the tradition of the House, his return was barred now that he was a part of the other place.

With the return of a Conservative Government, Alec Home was appointed to a new post as Minister of State, Scottish Office. He cared deeply about Scotland and about the Union. He once said, "I have always taken the view that we have successfully borrowed the canniness of the highlander to make a living out of the Englishman."

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Harold Macmillan increasingly relied on Alec Home's wise and honest advice. In 1960, Macmillan made him Foreign Secretary. Alec Home quickly established authority across the world during an especially sensitive period in international relations. He displayed firmness in challenging the Soviet Union and he resolved a serious international crisis in Asia. He performed his role as Foreign Secretary as he did every role, without pretension.

The sight of a British Foreign Secretary climbing from an aeroplane in a rumpled tweed suit amused many foreign dignitaries. As Macmillan later said, "The Foreign Secretary has been accused of many things but never of being the best dressed man in the Cabinet." I do not know why I look around to see whether my right hon. and learned Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer is with us this afternoon, but I am sure that there must be a reason.

When Macmillan resigned, Alec Home did not at first see himself as a candidate; but when it was clear that he was best placed to unite the Conservative party, he became one. As Prime Minister, he did unite the party. I believe that he restored confidence in political life. Just as he promised, people knew that they could rely on his plain, straight talking. He introduced the controversial retail food prices index legislation, which brought competition to the retail industry and lower prices for the consumer. He interrupted his Christmas holiday to take decisive action to prevent a bloodbath in Cyprus. Time after time he ensured that Britain came to the assistance of her Commonwealth partners in Africa.

The tribute to the mark that Alec Home made as Prime Minister was not that he lost the 1964 election but that he came so close to winning it. After his resignation as party leader, he served loyally under my right hon. Friend the Member for Old Bexley and Sidcup (Sir E. Heath), in

Lord Wilson (Tributes)

3.30 pm

The Prime Minister (Mr. John Major): I beg to move, That this House do now adjourn.

This morning we heard the sad news of the death of Lord Wilson. As the House well knows, Lord Wilson had been ill for a very long time and had endured that illness with courage and with great good humour. I know that the whole House would wish to join me in sending our sincerest condolences to Mary Wilson, who nursed and cared for him with such devotion for so long, and also to his sons, Robin and Giles.

I did not know Harold Wilson personally when he was at the height of his powers, but I knew him from afar as a formidable political opponent. I believe that history will remember him for the sharpness and shrewdness of his mind; for his two periods of service as Prime Minister in difficult circumstances; and for his energy and enthusiasm, as well as for his many achievements. And also, perhaps here of all places, he will be remembered for his wit and his humour—often shown to such devastating effect on the Floor of the House. But that is the public man. His friends who knew him well speak also of the private man—of his great personal kindnesses and generosity. He expected loyalty from those around him and he offered it in full measure in return.

Harold Wilson was a Yorkshireman whose roots mattered to him. His background motivated his politics. His family's experience during the depression, when his father was unemployed, shaped his politics, his thinking and his future policies. In becoming Prime Minister, he broke through many of the traditional class barriers of the day.

I do not believe that it is too generous to describe Harold Wilson as one of the most brilliant men of his generation. He gained an outstanding first-class degree at Oxford. He was an exceptionally young and able don at New college and then a fellow at University college. He worked for William Beveridge on his great study of unemployment. His ability as a statistician was legendary and those who knew him well will recall his remarkable memory, which was displayed with such pleasure so often and to such good effect.

At the outbreak of war, Harold Wilson's capacity for incisive thought and rigorous analysis took him to the economic section of the Cabinet Office and then to the Ministry of Fuel and Power. Over the years, by his remarkable work in those positions, he caught the attention of leading Labour party figures such as Clem Attlee. Then, in 1945, at the relatively young age of 28, he was elected for the first time to the House as the Member for Ormskirk. He was quickly given a ministerial post and a mere two years later he became President of the Board of Trade, the youngest Cabinet Minister in the House since 1806.

As a Minister, Harold Wilson quickly established a strong reputation. He was responsible for the removal of the rationing controls on clothes and textiles that had remained from the war and also for the relaxation of dozens of other regulations. He was active, far beyond his time, in opening up important trade links with Russia.

In 1950, following boundary changes, Harold Wilson was elected to the seat of Huyton, which he was to represent with great distinction for another 33 years. In 1951 he resigned from the Front Bench over the imposition of health charges before Labour's election defeat, which, for him, led to 13 long years in opposition. It was in that time that he developed from the brilliant academic to become the sparkling political figure of later years.

The tragic, untimely death of Hugh Gaitskell brought Harold Wilson to the leadership of his party earlier than he might have expected. His election was widely welcomed. He was recognised as a man of both intellectual and political skills. In choosing his first shadow Cabinet, he displayed his willingness to select people of ability, whether or not they agreed with his point of view. That ability to conciliate—often a scorned attribute, but a necessary one—was displayed continually throughout his leadership of the Labour party. He narrowly won election as Prime Minister in 1964 and secured a large majority in 1966. In government he placed a strong emphasis on technology and innovation, to be carried through with a new emphasis on state planning. His social policies embodied the liberal spirit of the time.

During six years of government, Harold Wilson faced many difficult problems—the ever-present currency crisis; Northern Ireland; the Rhodesia crisis; controversy over whether British troops should become involved in the war in Vietnam; the uncertainty over whether Britain would or would not join the then European Community; and industrial unrest, particularly in the docks. Those problems faced him continually as Prime Minister. I believe that history will judge that Harold Wilson kept a clear and a cool head in the face of those difficulties. For my generation at least, as observers through television and from a distance, his ever-present pipe became a symbol of tranquillity in times of some turmoil.

Harold Wilson had much to his credit in those days. He was responsible for the rapid expansion of higher education, including the development of the polytechnics. He was personally involved in, and rightly proud of, setting up the Open university. He was aware of the dangers of excessive concentration of trade union power and he was brave enough to tackle it, alas without the complete support of many of his colleagues at the time. Of course, he was the only British Prime Minister to preside over England's winning the World cup. He was a remarkable man. He was not ready to give up as Labour leader following defeat in 1970. He was right, and he proved it with two further election victories in 1974. With them, he became the only Prime Minister this century to have emerged victorious from four general elections.

When Harold Wilson stood down as Prime Minister in 1976, many were surprised, even shocked. Why had he done it? What did he mean by it? The fuss was considerable, and how much he must have enjoyed it at the time. Even those who had tried for so long to unseat him could not accept that he had stood down of his own accord; but he had. He had served longer than any Prime Minister before him this century and it was perfectly natural that he would wish to enjoy his retirement.

What was Harold Wilson really like? I have formed my judgment. He was a complex man, certainly, a clever man, a sensitive man, a man who could be bruised and hurt and who never wore the armadillo skin of the fictional politician. He was a man of many achievements and, perhaps above all, a very human man who served his country well and honourably and who has earned, by that, a secure place in its history. In the ledger of life, his credit

Lord Avon (Anthony Eden) Died 1977

A memorial service was held in Westminster Abbey on 15 February 1977. The Secretary of the Cabinet's office organised Ministerial attendance (including former Ministers) and provided six ushers.

6. Exceptionally, in November 1947, the Foreign Office were responsible for the memorial service for Mr John Winant, United States Ambassador in London during the Second World War; and the Commonwealth Relations office sometimes took the lead when Commonwealth interests predominated.

7. See 63/1 Part 1 folios 28 to 30 for refusal by Cabinet Office to circularise Ministers about a service in Westminster Abbey to inaugerate the International Year for Human Rights.

8. For a good example of the practical problems (including some unusual ones) involved in arranging a memorial service see Private Office papers on the memorial of Sir Robert Mayer (1985). This was organised as a semi-private venture by the Secretary of the Cabinet and Mr Edward Heath.

9. Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral have been asked, to avoid, so far as possible, arranging memorial services which are likely to involve the Prime Minister or members of the Cabinet for Thursday mornings. (see file 63/1 Part 3 folio 71).

10. There are no set rules about the occasions on which the Government should be represented. Thus Ministers generally were invited to attend the memorial service in August 1966 for 3 policemen killed on duty, and the Minister for Transport (Mr Mulley) represented the Government at the memorial service for those killed in the Moorgate tube disaster in March 1975. See also the correspondence on 63/1 Part 5 (folios 18 and 19) about whether there should be representation at the memorial

CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL

Ref. A091/261

MR TURNBULL

Death of Former Prime Ministers

Your minute of 30 January to Sir Robin Butler asked about the Government response to the death of former Prime Ministers, and responsibility for organising memorial services. I was relieved on turning to our Precedent Book to find that we have a summary of the arrangements made in each case since the death of Mr Bonar Law in 1923. A copy of the relevant extract is attached; you will see that it begins with the statement that responsibility for advising the Prime Minister in these cases rests with No 10.

2. The Precedent Book does not cover Lord Stockton's death in 1987; in that case two memorial services were held. One was organised by the University of Oxford and held at the University Church. The other was held at Westminster Abbey. Cabinet Office handled applications to attend from present and former Cabinet members and advised on their order of precedence (as we do normally for major memorial services).

3. We are not aware of any contingency plans in hand for any of the five extant former Prime Ministers.

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DRAFT: being checked with Sir Andrew Turnbull's office.

Confidential

KO1
8/10

Procedure following the deaths of former Prime Ministers

No 10 role

The responsibility for advising the prime Minister on funeral and memorial services for former Prime Ministers lies with No 10.

Responsibility for ascertaining the wishes of the family about funeral and memorial service arrangements rests with No 10 though no formal instructions exist on how this should be done – Cabinet Office to confirm if this is correct?

Cabinet Office role

Responsibility for organising memorial services lies with the Cabinet Office. Could we have more detail of what this involves (eg contacting Westminster Abbey? Publicising arrangements? Invites etc?

Cabinet Office are not aware of any contingency plans in hand for the four living former Prime Ministers.

Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral have been asked to avoid so far as possible, arranging memorial services which are likely to involve the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet for Thursday mornings.

A summary of the arrangements made in each case since the death of Mr Bonar Law in 1923 is attached.

A: Mr Bonar Law
B: Lord Oxford (H H Asquith)
C: Lord Balfour
D: Mr Ramsay Macdonald
E: Mr Neville Chamberlain
F. Lord Lloyd George
G. Lord Baldwin
H. Sir Winston Churchill
I. Lord Atlee
J. Lord Avon (Anthony Eden)
K. Lord Stockton (Harold Macmillan)
L. Lord Wilson
M. Lord Home

October 2004

A. Mr. Bonar Law (died in the Recess - 1923)

Tributes were paid on the first day the House met. No adjournment. Burial in Westminster Abbey on 5 November 1923, after a service at St Columba's, Pont Street. Arrangements made by No 10. Pallbearers were the Prince of Wales, the Prime Minister, the Speaker, Lord Balfour, Mr Asquith, Lord Fitzalan, Lord Carson, Lord Beaverbrook, Mr Austin Chamberlain and Mr Ramsay MacDonald. There was no memorial service.

B. Lord Oxford (H H Asquith) (died 15 February 1928)

The Prime Minister gave notice that he would move the motion next day when the House adjourned (16 February). The Prime Minister wrote to Lady Oxford expressing the sympathy of the Cabinet. Lord Oxford was buried at his request at Sutton Courtney on 20 February. A memorial service was held in Westminster Abbey on 21 February; the King and the Prince of Wales were represented. No 10 issued tickets to the Cabinet. The cost was borne on public funds.

C. Lord Balfour (died 19 March 1930)

House adjourned on 19 March, tribute on 20 March. Lord Balfour was buried on 22 March at Whittinghame, Dunbar. Burial in Westminster Abbey was offered by refused. The Dean offered before prompting; Lord Balfour wished for a private funeral. A memorial service was held in Westminster Abbey on the same day; the King and the Prince of Wales were represented. No 10 issued tickets to the Cabinet and other officials in consultation with the Chapter Clerks' Office. The cost was borne on public funds.

D. Mr Ramsay MacDonald (died 9 November 1937 in Bermuda)

Tribute and House adjourned 10 November. Mr MacDonald's body was brought back on HMS Apollo. Burial in Westminster Abbey was offered but refused by the family although *the* first part of the funeral service was held there on 26 November 1937. The pall bearers were the Prime Minister, the Speaker, Sir John Simon, Earl De La Warr, Lord Baldwin, Mr Attlee, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Mr Kerr, Mr E A Morrison, Sir Walter Citrine. No 10 issued tickets for the Cabinet. The body was then taken to Golders Green for cremation and then to Lossiemouth. The Prime Minister wrote to Mr Malcolm MacDonald on behalf of the Cabinet. **There was no memorial service.**

E. Mr Neville Chamberlain (died 9 November 1940)

The Prime Minister informed Cabinet that, although it was usual for the House to adjourn after the payment of tributes, there would be no

immediate adjournment on this occasion since a Funeral Service was to be held in Westminster Abbey on 14 November 1940 (Mrs Chamberlain having accepted the offer of burial there) which would involve the adjournment of the House on that day. Because we were at war, the Prime Minister ruled that the time and place of the funeral should be kept secret and that attendance should be kept as small as practicable. Seats were reserved for members of both Houses of Parliament but admission cards were not issued and it was necessary to have ushers who could identify the invitees. The staff of the War Cabinet Office assisted the staff of No 10 with clerical work etc involved in making the arrangements. There was no memorial service.

F. Lord Lloyd George (died 26 March 1945)

House adjourned on 27 March, tribute on 28 March. The funeral was private at his request. A memorial service in the Abbey was held on 10 April 1945. No 10 arranged this. The cost was borne on public funds. A memorial stone to Earl Lloyd George was unveiled by the Prince of Wales in Westminster Abbey on 27 July 1970. The Cabinet Office was responsible for inviting all Ministers.

G. Lord Baldwin (died 14 December 1947)

Tributes were given and both Houses adjourned for a day as a mark of respect, the Commons on 15 December 1947, and the Lords on 17 December. (The Government, which was pressed for Parliamentary time had hoped to avoid an adjournment). Lord Baldwin was cremated on 17 December. A memorial service was held in Worcester Cathedral on 20 December. Burial at Westminster Abbey was offered but refused. The ashes went to Worcester Cathedral. A memorial service was held in Westminster Abbey on 14 January 1948: the Private Secretary to the Secretary of the Cabinet wrote to senior Ministers notifying them of the time and date and asking them whether they wished to attend. The tickets appear to have been issued by the Chapter Office, Westminster Abbey, on the provision by the Cabinet Office of a list of those who wished to attend. The Civil Service Board, the Board of Admiralty and Army and Air Councils were represented.

H. Sir Winston Churchill (died 24 January 1965)

Sir Winston Churchill was given a State Funeral in St Paul' s Cathedral on Saturday 30 January.

I. Lord Attlee (died in Recess - 8 October 1967)

The Cabinet paid tribute at their meeting on 11 October. Tributes were given in the House of Commons on 23 October (when the House first met

after the Recess). A semi-private funeral service was held on Wednesday 11 October in the Temple Church, followed by a private cremation. The Prime Minister and Mrs Wilson and some Ministers and former Ministers attended the funeral service. A memorial service was held in Westminster Abbey on 7 November 1967: the Private Secretary to the Secretary of the Cabinet wrote to senior Ministers notifying them of the time and date and asking them whether they wished to attend. (Only members of the Cabinet, Ministers in charge of Departments, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Minister without Portfolio and the Paymaster General were included in the Cabinet Office arrangements; all other Ministers were included in separate arrangements made for both Houses of Parliament and notified by the Whips' Offices). The public notice of the service requested former Ministers to apply to the Secretary of the Cabinet if they wished to attend. Tickets (for those who needed them) were subsequently issued by the Cabinet Office.

J. Lord Avon (Anthony Eden - died 1977)

A memorial sec-vice was held in Westminster Abbey on 15 February 1977. The Secretary of the Cabinet's Office organised Ministerial attendance (including former Ministers) and provided six ushers.

K. Lord Stockton (Harold Macmillan – died 29 December 1986)

L. Lord Wilson (died May 1995)

M. Lord Home (died October 1995)

Prime Ministerial tributes to deceased post war Prime Ministers

Baron Home of Hirsel. Died 09/10/95. Parliamentary tribute date: 16/10/95

The Prime Minister (Mr. John Major): A week ago Alec Douglas-Home, Lord Home, died at his home, The Hirsel. Alec Home was one of those people who light up politics with their integrity. I believe that the whole House will wish to join me today in sending our deepest sympathies to his family.

I was not privileged to know Alec Douglas-Home when he was Prime Minister or Foreign Secretary; I only had the pleasure of meeting him many years later. But even in those days, as someone who watched politics from far beyond this House, I felt from a distance that here was a man of many qualities and few pretensions. He believed that people with privileges had, with those privileges, to accept obligations. He could have chosen the leisured life of a Scottish laird, but he chose to accept obligation and a duty to public service. When fate called him to serve in the highest office, he disclaimed his historic titles, a step that no one in his position could possibly have taken lightly.

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The sight of a British Foreign Secretary climbing from an aeroplane in a rumpled tweed suit amused many foreign dignitaries. As Macmillan later said, "The Foreign Secretary has been accused of many things but never of being the best dressed man in the Cabinet." I do not know why I look around to see whether my right hon. and learned Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer is with us this afternoon, but I am sure that there must be a reason.

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opposition, and later once more as Foreign Secretary. His stature as an ex-Prime Minister enhanced his role across the world. After he returned to the Lords, he continued to be a source of wise counsel, and he was able to enjoy his retirement back home in the house that he loved so dearly for all his life. He was once again able to pursue the life of the Scottish gentleman that he had remained for all of his days.

Alec Home's politics are best summed up in his own words. He once said:

"I want to get away from this `us and them'; Britain is one nation--it belongs to us all, and we belong to it".

Some have said that Alec Home was a politician of another age. The greatest tribute that I can pay him today is simply this: I profoundly hope not.

Baron Wilson of Rievaulx. Died 24/05/95. Parliamentary tribute date: 24/05/95

The Prime Minister (Mr. John Major): I beg to move, That this House do now adjourn.

This morning we heard the sad news of the death of Lord Wilson. As the House well knows, Lord Wilson had been ill for a very long time and had endured that illness with courage and with great good humour. I know that the whole House would wish to join me in sending our sincerest condolences to Mary Wilson, who nursed and cared for him with such devotion for so long, and also to his sons, Robin and Giles.

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1951 he resigned from the Front Bench over the imposition of health charges before Labour's election defeat, which, for him, led to 13 long years in opposition. It was in that time that he developed from the brilliant academic to become the sparkling political figure of later years.

The tragic, untimely death of Hugh Gaitskell brought Harold Wilson to the leadership of his party earlier than he might have expected. His election was widely welcomed. He was recognised as a man of both intellectual and political skills. In choosing his first shadow Cabinet, he displayed his willingness to select people of ability, whether or not they agreed with his point of view. That ability to conciliate--often a scorned attribute, but a necessary one--was displayed continually throughout his leadership of the Labour party. He narrowly won election as Prime Minister in 1964 and secured a large majority in 1966. In government he placed a strong emphasis on technology and innovation, to be carried through with a new emphasis on state planning. His social policies embodied the liberal spirit of the time.

During six years of government, Harold Wilson faced many difficult problems --the ever-present currency crisis; Northern Ireland; the Rhodesia crisis; controversy over whether British troops should become involved in the war in Vietnam; the uncertainty over whether Britain would or would not join the then European Community; and industrial unrest, particularly in the docks. Those problems faced him continually as Prime Minister. I believe that history will judge that Harold Wilson kept a clear and a cool head in the face of those difficulties. For my generation at least, as observers through television and from a distance, his ever-present pipe became a symbol of tranquillity in times of some turmoil.

Harold Wilson had much to his credit in those days. He was responsible for the rapid expansion of higher education, including the development of the polytechnics. He was personally involved in, and rightly proud of, setting up the Open university. He was

aware of the dangers of excessive concentration of trade union power and he was brave enough to tackle it, alas without the complete support of many of his colleagues at the time. Of course, he was the only British Prime Minister to preside over England's winning the World cup. He was a remarkable man. He was not ready to give up as Labour leader following defeat in 1970. He was right, and he proved it with two further election victories in 1974. With them, he became the only Prime Minister this century to have emerged victorious from four general elections.

When Harold Wilson stood down as Prime Minister in 1976, many were surprised, even shocked. Why had he done it? What did he mean by it? The fuss was considerable, and how much he must have enjoyed it at the time. Even those who had tried for so long to unseat him could not accept that he had stood down of his own accord; but he had. He had served longer than any Prime Minister before him this century and it was perfectly natural that he would wish to enjoy his retirement. What was Harold Wilson really like? I have formed my judgment. He was a complex man, certainly, a clever man, a sensitive man, a man who could be bruised and hurt and who never wore the armadillo skin of the fictional politician. He was a man of many achievements and, perhaps above all, a very human man who served his country well and honourably and who has earned, by that, a secure place in its history. In the ledger of life, his credit

balance is very high. It is a privilege for me, as one, nominally, of his political opponents, to pay him this tribute and I do so unreservedly.

1st Earl of Stockton (Harold Macmillan) died 26/12/86. Parliamentary tribute date: 12/01/87

Earl of Stockton (Tributes)

3.31 pm

The Prime Minister (Mrs. Margaret Thatcher): Since we last met, and in addition to the other sorrows that you have reported to us today, Mr. Speaker, we heard the sad news of the death of Harold Macmillan, the Earl of Stockton. We mourn his loss and send our deepest sympathies to his family.

We pay tribute to his memory and to a life which spanned the transition from empire to Commonwealth and Community; from the Victorian to our present Elizabethan age. His part in that history began in the trenches of the western front in the first world war, where he served with distinction. He was wounded three times, most seriously during the battle of the Somme. His experiences in that war—the slaughter of the trenches and the loss of so many of his friends—imbued him with a profound horror of war which remained with him throughout his life.

In his autobiography, he said of his generation:

"We almost began to feel a sense of guilt at not having shared the fate of our friends and comrades.

We certainly felt an obligation to make some decent use of the life that had been spared to us".

The phrase "some decent use" is a characteristic understatement.

Harold Macmillan entered this House as the Member for Stockton, a seat which he held from 1924 to 1945 with a break of only two years — 1929 to 1931. His subsequent choice of the title, Earl of Stockton, testifies to the affection and concern he felt for his constituency and its people. The deprivation which he saw there made its mark on him and left him determined to raise the standard of life for all the people of this country. His firm belief that economic freedom is a necessary condition for political freedom is one which he continued to stress throughout his political career.

He became a Minister during the second world war and proved outstandingly successful, first as a junior Minister to Herbert Morrison, for whom he developed a warm regard, and, secondly, as Minister Resident in Algiers, which gave him the ideal opportunity to exercise both his diplomatic and his administrative skills. He became virtually viceroy in the Mediterranean and played a major part in drafting the peace treaty with Italy and in saving Greece from Communism. The late Richard Crossman, who worked for Harold Macmillan at the time, paid him this tribute, describing him as

"a dashing man of action, self-confidently poised in his behaviour, gambling on his hunches and, when we lost, as we sometimes did, loyal to his subordinates".

Having been in office, it was a bitter blow to Harold Macmillan when the Conservative party lost the 1945 election and he lost his seat at Stockton. However, he soon returned as the Member for Bromley and set about framing a political approach which would take this country into the post-war era.

Harold Macmillan returned to office after the Conservative victory in 1951 as Minister for Housing. It was the post which made him a popular and widely acclaimed political personality. He combined a great organising ability with a zest for political communication. His success was a major contribution to the post-war improvement in living standards.

His achievements as Housing Minister were followed later by his subsequent work as Chancellor of the Exchequer. He understood the aspiration of people for a better way of life. Material success was, in Harold Macmillan's view, nothing to be ashamed of. With his characteristic flair for a popular idea, he was responsible for the introduction of premium bonds, which even today, 30 years later, are a part of the lives of millions of people.

When in 1957, after Suez, Harold Macmillan became Prime Minister, his first task was to restore Britain's confidence and standing in the world. He re-established the special relationship with the United States through his close friendships with President Eisenhower and President Kennedy. He made a substantial contribution to the relaxation of tension between the Soviet Union and the West, most notably through his work to achieve the nuclear test ban treaty.

As with so much of his life, he was motivated in the search for peace by his sombre memories from the great war. But he also understood that peace was best served by a strong defence, and at Nassau he negotiated the Polaris agreement which allowed Britain to continue to enjoy the protection of an independent nuclear deterrent.

Under his leadership, withdrawal from empire continued in as orderly and peaceful a way as possible. It was in character that such a radical policy was executed with such shrewd caution. There was no more telling political phrase than "the wind of change", which he pronounced during his African tour in 1960.

Harold Macmillan will also be remembered by his work for European co-operation, and in particular for paving the way for British membership of the European Community. The second world war persuaded him that a new political order was needed in Europe to heal the divisions that had caused the conflicts of 1914 and again of 1939. He saw most clearly that the emergence of Russia and America as global powers required a more unified European voice if her counsel were not to be lost.

As Prime Minister he launched a determined bid to secure British membership of the European Community, and, although his initiative was thwarted by the opposition of President de Gaulle, he nevertheless had the satisfaction of seeing his ambitions fulfilled when my right hon. Friend the Member for Old Bexley and Sidcup (Mr. Heath), as Prime Minister, secured British membership of the Community in 1972.

Harold Macmillan loved this House, and I believe the House returned his affection. There are only a handful now in the House who were Members with him. I recall vividly his dominance in the early years of the 1959 Parliament before illness compelled him to relinquish office in 1963.

In his retirement Harold Macmillan occupied a unique place in the nation's affections. He continued to play his role as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, a position he held for over a quarter of a century, and which gave him immense enjoyment. He wrote an autobiography full of insight into the age in which he had lived. And when, on his 90th birthday, he became the Earl of Stockton he found another public platform from which to stimulate, inspire and not least entertain us.

For over six decades Harold Macmillan served his country, as a man of courage, determination, wit, and compassion. He lived through a period torn by great conflict, political upheaval, social change and technological advance. But always Harold Macmillan kept his eye firmly and positively on the future.

[The Prime Minister]

He showed generations to come how to grasp the opportunities of the future, while never forgetting the legacy of the past. As he said on the closing page of the sixth and last volume of his autobiography:

"Nothing in my long experience or in my observations of the youth of today makes me fear that the people of Britain, in every walk of life, will shrink from the new challenge or fail to rise to the level of events.

But to do so they must restore and strengthen the moral and spiritual, as well as the material, base on which they have rested for so many generations through so many troubles and tribulations."

His vision of the future tells us as much about the man as it does about our country.

All of us, Mr. Speaker, today feel the greatness of the example set by Harold Macmillan and the corresponding magnitude of the nation's loss.

3.41 pm

1st Earl of Avon (Anthony Eden) died 14/01/77. Parliamentary tribute date: 17/01/77

EARL OF AVON

Motion made, and Question proposed, That this House do now adjourn.— [*Mr. Coleman.*]

3.48 p.m.

The Prime Minister (Mr. James Callaghan): When we trace the threads of Anthony Eden's political life, we are at the same time drawing a picture of an era in our history that came to an end with his departure from office in 1957, 34 years after he had entered Parliament. He won his first election, in the early 1920s, at a time when Britain seemed still to be at the height of her power. Germany had been defeated in the First World War, and the Russian Revolution had removed that great country from the world scene for a time.

There were no international problems in which we did not exercise a large and, on occasions, a decisive influence, but few recognised that the source of our strength and influence was already on the wane. It came to depend more and more on Britain's Imperial connections and on her control of a vast empire, and less on our own innate industrial strength.

But this was not yet clear, and Britain's all-encompassing rôle in international affairs must have seemed an attractive world for a gifted young man to enter, tempered as he was by his war-time experiences and deeply resolved for peace. With his family background and his talent for patient persistent work he could well have made a successful career in the Diplomatic Service if he had not chosen politics.

Certainly it seems that political life was for him another means of finding his way into foreign affairs, for from the beginning his interest in the Chamber was concentrated on them and was reflected in his speeches in this Chamber. His skills and talents were quickly recognised, leading him shortly from being Parliamentary Private Secretary to Sir Austen Chamberlain to the high office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at the age of 38—the youngest Foreign Secretary in this century.

He maintained his interest and concern in foreign affairs right to the end of his life. It is only a short while ago that he

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was writing to me on a matter that I had been handling as Foreign Secretary and expressing his views to me.

There is little doubt that his personal experience and knowledge of the horrors of the First World War influenced him very considerably. He had lost two of his brothers during the First World War, one in the Army, the other in the Navy. He was himself courageous. He knew fear, but he overcame it. He became a resolute believer in the need for collective security to face and deter aggression and a strong supporter of the covenant of the League of Nations.

It was his work at the League of Nations which first brought him to public notice, and his stand captured the imagination of the public. He seemed to be a voice speaking out for truth, decency and honour. He was young, he spoke up clearly, he stood for the principles of the League of Nations and the covenant, and he opposed the growing menace of Mussolini and Hitler.

All these things commended him to a great body of men and women in this country, much wider than his own party. He was always a faithful member of the Conservative Party but he did not always agree with it.

This is not the occasion for me to go deeply into the twists and turns of British foreign policy in the 1930s. Those of us who were young then held strong views, as the young always do. We were outside Parliament—we listened to the debates; we read what was said—and Eden seemed to us to be the one saving grace of the Administration. We were not alone in thinking that. The words of Churchill have been recalled more than once in recent days, together with his vivid description of the impact that Anthony Eden's stand against the dictators made on him personally.

What Anthony Eden stood for was even more important than what he did. He symbolised the opposition that the British people felt, ever more strongly as the 1930s wore on, to the unceasing and insatiable demands of the dictators.

He finally broke with the Government, and resigned in 1938. He was right to do so. Nothing became him so much as that courageous stand. He thought at the time, as he wrote since, that he would never return to office. But that was far from the truth. He came back very quickly when the war came. Whatever our party differences and our final disagreement, we shall always remember him, and history will always recall him for the judgment and courage of his resignation.

It was inevitable that when war came he should be recalled and he served successively in the Dominions Office, at the War Office and later in the Foreign Office once more. He was also Leader of the House from 1942 to 1945. Then came six years of Opposition.

His resumed life as Foreign Secretary in the Conservative Government of 1951 was marked by intense diplomatic activity, particularly in the aftermath of the Korean War. Two events of that period which stand out were his policy in the conflict in South-East Asia and the way in which he helped to facilitate a Franco-German understanding at a time when that seemed very difficult to achieve.

He showed a much better understanding than John Foster Dulles about the nature of the conflict in Indo-China, and he was right in his hostility to the proposals for massive American air strikes to assist the French in the war against the Vietminh. All of his very remarkable qualities were shown to the full in the Geneva Conference of 1954 which resulted in armistice agreements being signed which effected at least a temporary improvement in the situation, which, alas was not to last.

As to Europe, it was almost entirely due to his initiative and energy that the nine-Power conference of 1954 came to a conclusion that materially assisted in the permanent reconciliation of France and Germany—a reconciliation which has itself done so much to promote the greater sense of security in Western Europe that we now enjoy.

One of the major strokes of his policy was the unprecedented treaty arrangement under which Britain undertook to maintain on the mainland of Europe permanent armed forces. We have done so to this day at great cost to ourselves. But his decision at that time ensured that France did not feel isolated in Europe and it enabled the Federal Republic of Germany to be given its full place in Western Europe. It led to a concerted

Western policy between France, Germany, the United States and Britain, whose purpose was to ensure the peace of Europe—and so it has been.

Anthony Eden always believed in working closely with the United States, even though at times the policies of our two nations diverged. He was on familiar terms with all the world's leading statesmen. They respected and admired his industry and his energy, and his standing undoubtedly contributed to Britain's influence in the early 1950s. He was not only the longest serving Foreign Secretary since Grey but one of the outstanding holders of that great office.

When we come to his period as Prime Minister, we have to accept that his name can never be dissociated from the ill-advised Suez adventure. There are some in the House who can speak about that period with greater authority than I, for they served with him. I can only say, as an observer sitting on the Opposition Front Bench at the time, that when we heard that British troops were actually going ashore in Egypt, the news came as a thunderbolt.

For those of us who had watched the Eden of the 1930s his actions seemed totally out of character. He was one Minister who had always been able to command a hearing from the Labour Benches when we were in Opposition. We listened to him because he spoke without rancour. He was never excessively partisan. Indeed, on one of the comparatively rare incursions that he made into speeches on domestic matters, on an occasion in the 1945-51 Parliament, when he spoke on the Coal Mines Nationalisation Bill in 1945, which a handful of people will still remember, I think it is fair to say that his heart hardly seemed to be in the task at the time. Perhaps he was influenced by his Durham background.

He certainly recognised the need for change. But I wonder whether his intense concentration, which lasted throughout his life, on foreign affairs prevented him from fully comprehending the social revolution that was taking place in Britain. However, we all knew of, and remarked on, his courtesy, his fairness and his truthfulness, and we knew of the great personal courage that he had shown.

But we were not prepared for Suez. I do not pretend to know whether physical disability contributed to the decisions that he took at the time. It may be that he over-reacted because he remembered his experiences with Mussolini and he did not intend to allow what he saw as a dictatorship to prey on British weakness. Ever afterwards he vigorously defended the policy that he had followed, and at the time his actions achieved considerable short-term popularity among many sections of the British people.

On the Labour Benches we thought that he was wrong, very wrong. The policy divided the nation. The successors of the young people who had supported him in the 1930s were now deeply offended because our actions seemed to be naked aggression against the Charter of the United Nations.

Many will recall how the scenes in the House mounted day by day. It was a sad period. They were the fiercest I can ever recall, and they taxed both his health and his nerve. It was no surprise that they taxed them to the limit, and shortly afterwards it led to his resignation.

Anthony Eden never changed his view about the correctness of his policy, and those of us who fought against it most strongly will always recognise that he honestly believed that what he did was in the interests of his country and of the international community. Suez, as we all know now, marked a watershed in our nation's history. As Lord Blake wrote yesterday, Anthony Eden behaved as though Britain was still a great Power, and he had to confront a crisis which proved that she was not.

He was the victim of that period rather than the villain—a period in which he had failed to recognise that our rôle in the world had changed since the time 20 years earlier when he had first become Foreign Secretary.

I cannot claim to have known Anthony Eden personally, but when our paths did cross, as they do occasionally in this House, he was always kind and courteous, as indeed he was to all younger Members on both sides of the House. Despite those last few weeks of office, which I have touched upon because in any review of this man's life it is necessary to do so, I want to make it clear that he always enjoyed great respect and affection in the House as a

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parliamentarian who combined a unique experience of foreign affairs with great determination and courage.

Twenty years have passed since Anthony Eden left Parliament. During that period he lived quietly away from politics, yet he kept a close and active interest in foreign affairs. He was dogged by recurring ill-health, but he was rewarded with the enjoyment of a happy family life, and for that we pay tribute to the matchless devotion and care of Lady Avon. Our sympathy and our respect go out to her today as we mourn the passing of this most distinguished man.

4.1 p.m.

1st Earl of Attlee died 08/10/67. Parliamentary tribute date: 23/10/67

Mr. Crosland : May I answer that question, because a very important point of public interest is involved. I must reiterate that no Comets have been grounded as a result of this crash. My hon. Friend may be referring to a totally different fact, which is that two Comets have suffered from engines which have overheated, but has nothing to do with the Comet whatsoever, and, indeed, is something, which, as he, with his experience, must know, is liable to happen to the engine of any aircraft at any time. These two questions are totally unconnected with each other.

TRIBUTES TO THE LATE EARL ATTLEE

3.37 p.m.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Harold Wilson) : Since we last met the House and the country have suffered a grievous loss by the death of Lord Attlee. He was a Member of this House for 33 years, and since 1955 had maintained his connection with the Parliament he loved through his membership of another place.

Clem Attlee was born and brought up in the Victorian age, but there are few men, if any, who have done more in our own generation to speed the process of change from the country he knew as a young man to the country in which we are living today. The need for that change he saw when, as a young man, down from Oxford, he threw himself into social work in the East End of London. His keen brain and his deep social conscience enabled him to translate the problems which he saw all round him as a social worker at Toynbee Hall into the policies which found expression in the minority Report of the Poor Law Commission in 1909, a Report which he worked on with the Webbs and Beveridge, a Report which charted the course of social reform for the next 40 years.

His service in the war of 1914-18 equally opened his eyes to world problems and to the causes of war. He came back to his social work hating war, but, equally, as a result of all that he had seen, reinforced in his dedication to a classless society. He entered local government. He became Mayor of Stepney and, when he came to the House in 1922, he not only knew the problems of poverty in an area where to be old, to be sick, to be disabled, to have a large family entailed conditions which meant, as he saw it, a denial of fundamental human freedom ; he felt these problems himself, and he dedicated himself to ending them.

Thirteen years later he became Leader of the Opposition—a stop-gap appointment, as it was then regarded, but an appointment which his Parliamentary ability and his personal and political integrity made a lasting one.

His experience, first in junior and then more senior office, strengthened his administrative grasp and, at the same time, he extended his knowledge of world affairs.

The India Commission gave him a knowledge—and a mission—which he could never lay aside. His early realisation of the Nazi threat led him with great courage to proclaim the need for adequate British defences at a time when for him, as for Winston Churchill on the other side of the House, this needed courage in dealing with those who did not see the issues as clearly as they did.

When the fateful decisions had to be taken, his resolve was never in doubt. He led his party into the great wartime coalition. As Deputy Prime Minister, he played an invaluable part in the war, not least in forging with Winston Churchill the national unity necessary to mobilise our people for victory.

Loyally playing his full part in every major war decision, he took charge of the Cabinet Committees dealing with the home front, and in the later war years—as the requirements of the war and of allied consultation meant that Winston Churchill had to be away from this country for long periods at a time—Attlee presided over the Cabinet, as Sir Winston later testified, with imagination and crisp effectiveness.

In 1945, he led his party to a great electoral victory and became Prime Minister of a country shattered by the war but determined to rebuild our industry, our economic strength and our influence in the world.

The vast problems occasioned by the transition from the war economy to peace economy were overcome with calm

efficiency and the minimum of social disturbance, in marked contrast to the years after the First World War of which Attlee had such vivid memories.

Never for one moment in those years of unprecedented economic difficulty did he lose the vision which had launched him into national politics—the vision of a social revolution. Fainter hearts than his would have used the nation's economic difficulties as a reason for postponing social advance. He felt, on the contrary, that the greater the economic difficulties, the greater the need for social justice.

So the creation of the Welfare State, the attack on poverty, was given a very real priority in the work of his Government and the work of the party which he led. Before he laid down office, he could have claimed—though it was not in his nature to claim—that Britain's social services led the world and were a model for the world to copy.

His personal identification with this task—and here I know that I can call to witness my right hon. Friend the Member for Llanelly (Mr. James Griffiths)—his support, when support was needed, in launching the National Health Service, I believe gave him the greatest satisfaction of anything that he achieved in the whole of his public life. He insisted on speaking on the Second Reading of the National Insurance Bill, and those of us who heard and were moved by that typically brief speech know why he had chosen to speak and how much depth of feeling and experience, too, lay behind the words which he used. I remember noticing his insistence on the rôle of the local authorities in the Welfare State when he spoke that afternoon.

These were the years, too, of post-war reconstruction of a shattered Europe and a divided world. With Ernest Bevin, he set out to exert a moral influence in world affairs, as Ernest Bevin reminded us, far beyond the influence which Britain's military position and run-down economic position might have been thought to justify.

Clem Attlee was one of the first to see the need for the Western Alliance and played a historic part in creating it. But his vision was always of a world in which regional alliances, though envisaged in the United Nations Charter which he had helped to create, would disappear in a wider world unity leading to his vision of a world Government.

But the greatest expression of his vision for the future was his historic decision to give freedom and self-government to the people of India and Pakistan, of Burma and Ceylon. This, for him, was the logical consequence of his work on the Royal Commission. It was the logical outcome, too, of all he had seen during a war which, by its world-wide character, by its very nature, had liberated forces which history and common sense demanded must be given expression. A historian to his innermost being, he applied the lessons of the nineteenth century to the problems of the twentieth. He recalled that the hopes of the new Europe after Napoleon were frustrated by a Holy Alliance, which attempted to hold back the forces of nationalism, of self-determination, which were then sweeping Europe.

Equally, he recognised that after the First World War the League of Nations, which he had so firmly supported, had died, not only because it lacked authority, but because it failed to assert the need for change. The lessons which, as a historian, he had learnt from Europe, as a citizen of the world he knew must be applied to Asia.

When, therefore, he decided on Indian independence—none knew more than he all the problems that had to be solved—he insisted on the magic of the time-table which has become an essential part of constructive decolonialisation. It was a conscious decision to realise and not to contain the forces of history. But it was more than that. It was an irreversible blow for the dignity of man being struck by a man who had come from Stepney to this House determined to assert the dignity of man.

It was also a signal that the old imperialism had ended and that a new Commonwealth had been called into being. Lord Attlee was the architect of the Commonwealth as we know it today. It was his decision at one stroke—to give freedom and self-government to 400 million people, to give to them the means not only of controlling their own destinies, but of raising themselves from the primeval poverty of centuries. Because it was done in friendship, those millions

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were able to go forward—and had the good sense to go forward—on the basis of an administrative machine which Britain had created. But, against a wider background of history, it created a new alternative in the world, a third road which was neither the Communist road nor the road of old or new imperialism.

Mr. Speaker, when that decision was taken, nothing gave him more satisfaction than the moment—one of those moments we will all remember—when, across the Floor of this House, Winston Churchill ended a generation of controversy by praising not only the outcome, but—with a generosity that moved all of us—the man who had made that outcome possible.

The day Clem Attlee died, I said:

"Centuries from now when the history of our age comes to be written, this act of statesmanship will be recognised as one of the most important events of our time".

I am confident that that judgment will stand the test of time.

Mr. Speaker, as one of those who were privileged to serve in Clem Attlee's Administration, there are many things, many stories of his greatness and of his humanity, which today, had I time, I would feel like recording.

I have referred to his essential greatness of vision, vision for his own people here at home and vision for the world. But that vision was made a reality by his sharp administrative grasp, and his insistence that Cabinet government must be made to work. He laid down the rules for his Government like a martinet, and he enforced them. Except in an emergency papers had to be circulated in good time and had to bring out the essentials of the problem, the points for decision.

Woe betide—and there are right hon. Friends of mine today who will confirm what I am saying—the Minister who submitted a paper that was sloppy in its expression, or who was not on top of his job, or who relied on civil servants to do his thinking for him. His rebukes—whether in Cabinet, or in private meetings at No. 10 when he summoned the Ministers to his presence—were fierce and devastating. But, equally, when understanding and help were needed, Clement Attlee never failed.

Today, we mourn one of our colleagues, a great Parliamentarian and an orator who let words—and as few of them as possible—and facts speak their own message. We mourn a man who, in his quiet, effective, modest way, led a great democracy out of the age in which he was born and had spent his youth into the world in which we are now living. We mourn a colleague who had a vision of the world he wanted to see and who had the courage to play his part in making that vision a reality. But for very many of us, not only those who served under him in that great post-war Administration, but of all parties here, we mourn the passing of a friend, a friend who was generous to his colleagues in success, who was understanding in times of difficulty and stress, a man of enormous courage, and not only in his public life.

To those in this House who knew him best, he was a man who drew great strength from his family life, even after the tragedy which overtook him when Lady Attlee died. Because that was what his life was about. It was his devotion to his own family which enabled him to express in his public life the social conscience which had brought him into Parliament, the Socialist faith which inspired him for 60 years, and which, in his public life, found expression not in political abstractions and arid controversies, but in seeking to use the power—power which he never sought for himself—to enrich the lives of countless families in this country, and by his fight for peace and democracy to give to others far beyond our shores the happiness that he had found for himself.

3.53 p.m.

Mr. Edward Heath (Bexley): I rise to join the Prime Minister in paying tribute to the late Lord Attlee, and I do so on behalf of my right hon. and hon. Friends.

The Prime Minister has been able to make his eloquent tribute as one who served in Lord Attlee's Administration and knew him intimately. For most of us here Lord Attlee came from another political generation. Most of his work, first as Leader of the Opposition, then as Deputy Prime Minister in time of war and this country's greatest need, and finally as Prime Minister, was accomplished before many of us were Members of this House.

Sir Winston Churchill died 24/01/65. Parliamentary tribute date: 25/01/65

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Monday, 25th January, 1965

The House met at half-past Two o'clock

PRAYERS

[Mr. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

DEATH OF SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL

The Prime Minister (Mr. Harold Wilson) (*at the Bar*) acquainted the House that he had a Message from Her Majesty the Queen to this House, signed by Her Majesty's own hand. And he presented the same to the House, and it was read by Mr. SPEAKER (*all the Members of the House being uncovered*), as follows:

I know that it will be the wish of all my people that the loss which we have sustained by the death of the Right Honourable Sir Winston Churchill, K.G., should be met in the most fitting manner and that they should have an opportunity of expressing their sorrow at the loss and their veneration of the memory of that outstanding man who in war and peace served his country unfailingly for more than fifty years and in the hours of our greatest danger was the inspiring leader who strengthened and supported us all. Confident that I can rely upon the support of my faithful Commons and upon their liberality in making suitable provision for the proper discharge of our debt of gratitude and tribute of national sorrow, I have directed that Sir Winston's body shall lie in state in Westminster Hall and that thereafter the Funeral Service shall be held in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul.

ELIZABETH REGINA.

The Prime Minister: I beg to move,

That Her Majesty's Most Gracious Message be taken into immediate consideration.

Question put and agreed to.

The Prime Minister: I beg to move,

That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty humbly to thank Her Majesty for having given directions for the body of the Rt. Hon. Sir Winston Churchill, K.G., to lie in state in Westminster Hall and for the funeral service to be held in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul and assuring Her Majesty of our cordial aid and concurrence in the measures for expressing the affection and admiration in which the memory of this great man is held by this House and all Her Majesty's faithful subjects.

In accepting this Motion, this House and, by virtue of its representation in this House, the nation, collectively and reverently will be paying its tribute to a great statesman, a great Parliamentarian, a great leader of this country.

The world today is ringing with tributes to a man who, in those fateful years, bestrode the life of nations—tributes from the Commonwealth, from our wartime allies, from our present partners in Europe and the wider alliance, from all those who value the freedom for which he fought, who still share the desire for the just peace to which all his endeavours were turned. Winston Churchill, and the legend Winston Churchill had become long before his death and which now lives on, are the possession not of England or Britain, but of the world, not of our time only but of the ages.

But we, Sir, in this House, have a special reason for the tribute for which Her Majesty has asked in her Gracious Message. For today we honour not a world statesman only, but a great Parliamentarian, one of ourselves.

The colour and design of his greatest achievements became alive, on the Parliamentary canvas, here in this Chamber. Sir Winston, following the steps of the most honoured of his predecessors, derived his greatness from use through this House and from use through his actions here. And by those actions, and those imperishable phrases which will last as long as the English language is read or spoken, he in turn added his unique contribution to the greatness of our centuries-old Parliamentary institution.

He was in a very real sense a child of this House and a product of it, and equally, in every sense, its father. He took from it and he gave to it.

The span of 64 years from his first entry as its youngest Member to the sad occasion of his departure last year covers the lives and memories of all but the oldest of us. In a Parliamentary sense, as in a national sense, his passing from our midst is the end of an era.

He entered this House at 25—already a national and controversial figure. He had fought in war, and he had written of war, he had charged at Omdurman, he had been among one of the first to enter Ladysmith, an eye-witness of the thickest fighting in Cuba, a prisoner of a Boer commando—though not for as long as his captors intended.

And he brought his own tempestuous qualities to the conduct of our Parliamentary life. Where the fighting was hottest he was in it, sparing none—nor asking for quarter. The creature and possession of no one party, he has probably been the target of more concentrated Parliamentary invective from, in turn, each of the three major parties than any other Member of any Parliamentary age, and against each in turn he turned the full force of his own oratory. If we on this side of the House will quote as a classic words he uttered over half a century ago, about the party he later came to lead, hon. Members opposite have an equally rich treasure-house for quotations about us, to say nothing of right hon. and hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway.

When more than 40 years after his first entry as a young M.P. he was called on to move the appointment of a Select Committee about the rebuilding of this Chamber, he proclaimed and gloried in the effect of our Parliamentary architecture on the clarity and decisiveness of party conflict; he recalled, with that impish quality which never deserted him, the memories of battles long past, of his own actions in crossing the Floor of this House, not once in fact but twice.

For those who think that bitter party controversy is a recent invention and one to be deplored, he could have had nothing but pitying contempt. And as he sat there, in the seat which I think by general wish of the House should be left vacant this afternoon, in those last years of the last Parliament, silently surveying battles which may have seemed lively to us, could we not sense the old man's mind going back to the great conflicts of a great career and thinking perhaps how tame and puny our efforts have become?

A great Parliamentarian, but never a tame one—they misjudge him who could even begin to think of him as a party operator, or a manipulator, or a trimmer, or a party hack. He was a warrior, and party debate was war; it mattered, and he brought to that war the conquering weapon of words fashioned for their purpose; to wound, never to kill; to influence, never to destroy.

As Parliament succeeded Parliament he stood at this Box, at one time or another holding almost every one of the great Offices of State. He stood at the Box opposite thundering his denunciation of Government after Government. He sat on the bench opposite below the Gangway, disregarded, seemingly impotent, finished. His first Cabinet post—the Board of Trade—made him one of the architects of the revolution in humane administration of this country. He piloted through the labour exchanges; he led the first faltering steps in social insurance.

The Home Office and then the more congenial tenure of the Admiralty—Ministerial triumph and Ministerial disaster in the First War. Colonies, War, the Treasury: the pinnacle of power, and then years in the wilderness. The urgent years, warning the nation and the world, as the shadow of the jackboot spread across an unheeding Europe. And then came his finest hour. Truly the history of Parliament over a tempestuous half-century could be written around the triumphs and frustrations of Winston Churchill.

But, Sir, it will be for those war years that his name will be remembered for as long as history is written and history is read. A man who could make the past live in "Marlborough", in his dutiful biography of Lord Randolph, who could bring new colour to the oft-told tale of the history of the English-speaking peoples, for five of the most fateful years in world history, was himself called on to make history. And he made history because he could see the events he was shaping through the eye of history. He has told us of his deep emotions when, from the disaster of the Battle of France, he was called on to lead this nation.

"I felt"

he said,

"as if I were walking with destiny, and that all my past life had been but a preparation for this hour and for this trial. Ten years in the political wilderness had freed me from ordinary party antagonisms. My warnings over the last six years had been so numerous, so detailed, and were now so terribly vindicated, that no one could gainsay me. I could not be reproached either for making the war or with want of preparation for it.

[THE PRIME MINISTER.]

I thought I knew a good deal about it all, and I was sure I should not fail. Therefore, although impatient for the morning, I slept soundly and had no need for cheering dreams. Facts are better than dreams."

His record of leadership in those five years speaks for itself beyond the power of any words of any of us to enhance or even to assess. This was his finest hour, Britain's finest hour. He had the united and unswerving support of the leaders of all parties, of the fighting services, of the men and women in munitions and in the nation's industries, without regard to faction or self-interest. In whatever rôle, men and women felt themselves inspired to assert qualities they themselves did not know they possessed. Everyone became just those inches taller, every back just that much broader, as his own was.

To this task he brought the inspiration of his superlative courage, at the hour of greatest peril; personal courage such as he had always shown, and indeed which needed a direct order from his Sovereign to cause him to desist from landing on the Normandy beaches on D-Day; moral courage, the courage he had shown in warning the nation when he stood alone, now inspired the nation when Britain and the Commonwealth stood alone. There was his eloquence and inspiration, his passionate desire for freedom and his ability to inspire others with that same desire. There was his humanity. There was his humour. But above all, he brought that power which, whenever Britain has faced supreme mortal danger, has been asserted to awaken a nation which others were prepared to write off as decadent and impotent, and to make every man, every woman, a part of that national purpose.

To achieve that purpose, he drew on all that was greatest in our national heritage. He turned to Byron—"blood, tears and sweat." The words which he immortalised from Tennyson's "Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington" might well be a nation's epitaph on Sir Winston himself.

> "Not once or twice in our rough island-story,
> The path of duty was the way to glory:
> He that walks it, only thirsting
> For the right, and learns to deaden
> Love of Self, before his journey closes,
> He shall find the stubborn thistle bursting
> Into glossy purples, which outredden
> All voluptuous garden-roses."

The greatest biographer of Abraham Lincoln said in one of his concluding chapters:

> "A tree is best measured when it is down."

So it will prove of Winston Churchill and there can be no doubt of the massive, oaken stature that history will accord to him. But this is not the time.

We meet today in this moment of tribute, of spontaneous sympathy the House feels for Lady Churchill and all the members of his family. We are conscious only that the tempestuous years are over; the years of appraisal are yet to come. It is a moment for the heartfelt tribute that this House, of all places, desires to pay in an atmosphere of quiet.

For now the noise of hooves thundering across the *veldt*; the clamour of the hustings in a score of contests: the shots in Sidney Street, the angry guns of Gallipoli, Flanders, Coronel and the Falkland Islands; the sullen feet of marching men in Tonypandy; the urgent warnings of the Nazi threat; the whine of the sirens and the dawn bombardment of the Normandy beaches—all these now are silent. There is a stillness. And in that stillness, echoes and memories. To each whose life has been touched by Winston Churchill, to each his memory. And as those memories are told and retold, as the world pours in its tributes, as world leaders announce their intention, in this jet age of coming to join in this vast assembly to pay honour and respect to his memory, we in this House treasure one thought, and it was a thought some of us felt it right to express in the Parliamentary tributes on his retirement. Each one of us recalls some little incident—many of us, as in my own case, a kind action, graced with the courtesy of a past generation and going far beyond the normal calls of Parliamentary comradeship. Each of us has his own memory, for in the tumultuous diapason of a world's tributes, all of us here at least know the epitaph he would have chosen for himself: "He was a good House of Commons man."

HEATH

"He represents everything that is best in the new progressive modern Tory party. He is one of the creators of the new policies which are brought up to date with modern life…He stands for the new philosophy and modern thought in the party. You send him back, for he is a good man." *(Harold Macmillan, to Bexleyheath election meeting, 1959 - taken from Oh Prime Minister, by J B Seatrobe, Pg 201, Published 1999).*

His Chancellor of the Exchequer and neighbour, Anthony Barber, recalled that 'if Ted had had a depressing day, he knew that he could always walk through to No 11 and there would be awaiting him a bottle of his favourite malt'. *(taken from 'The Prime Minister: The Office and its holdings since 1945, Peter Hennessy, Published 2000.')*

'The years of Mr Heath's government should be regarded as a necessary first attempt, the rough work of pioneers for the reforms that were put in place in the 1980s." *(Douglas Hurd, quoted in 'The Prime Minister: The Office and its holdings since 1945', Peter Hennessy, Published 2000.)*

"He's an educator, Ted. If he hadn't been a politician I think he would have been a don or a schoolmaster. He believes that people are entitled to the truth." *(Douglas Hurd, quoted in 'The Prime Minister: The Office and its holdings since 1945',pg 349, Peter Hennessy, Published 2000.)*

"He was perhaps the last Prime Minister – though perhaps James Callaghan was another – who truly respected the British administrative and academic establishment…" *(William Waldegrave, quoted in 'The Prime Minister: The Office and its holdings since 1945',pg 354, Peter Hennessy, Published 2000.)*

Facts:

Apart from music, sailing was the other great love of Heath's life. In 1967 he bought a yacht called Blue Heather. Two years later, at Cowes Week, he was able to show off what was perhaps his favourite boat, Morning Cloud. In 1971 he won the Admiral's Cup with it. When offered two members of the SAS to protect him he replied, "Only if they are light, and only if they can sail." *(taken from Oh Prime Minister, by J B Seatrobe, Pg 73, Published 1999).*

Edward Heath's well-known passion for Europe has been frequently recognized, from the Charlemagne Prize in 1963 (worth around £450, which he used to buy a Steinway grand piano) for 'the most notable achievement in the service of encouraging international understanding and co-operation in Europe' (following his leading role in the abortive negotiations on Common Market entry) to Germany's Great Cross of Merit with Star and Sash in 1993. He also has been the recipient of awards such as the Gold Medal of the City of Paris in 1978, the European Peace Cross in 1979 and the World Humanity Award in 1980. *(taken from Oh Prime Minister, by J B Seatrobe, Pg 84, Published 1999).*

Heath was given a piano for his ninth birthday. It had cost £42, and remained in the house for the next forty years. When he became Prime Minister, Heath moved his own piano into Number 10. It was a Steinway that he had bought with the money he had won as a prize for his work towards European unity. It was placed in the White Drawing Room on the first floor, looking out over Horse Guards Parade and St James's Park. It was the first time a piano had been kept permanently at Number 10 since Arthur Balfour's tenure, which ended in 1905, Heath would play it at every opportunity, even at lunchtimes and after late sittings at the Commons. *(taken from Oh Prime Minister, by J B Seatrobe, Pg 84, Published 1999).*

Anecdote:

While visiting the washroom in his London club one day, Edward Heath happened to encounter Lord Beaverbrook, who had recently printed an insulting editorial about the young MP.

"My dear chap," Beaverbrook remarked, "I've been thinking it over, and I was wrong. Here and now, I wish to apologize." "Very well," Heath sighed. "But next time, I wish you'd insult me in the washroom and apologize in your newspaper!" (*www.anecdotage.com)*

CALLAGHAN

"His political skills are of no ordinary kind. They stem from a remarkable control of his variegated constituency base in Cardiff South (or South East). To see Callaghan on the move in Cardiff, subtly adapting his approach as he ambles on from proletariat Splott through the mixed residential population of Llanrumney and on to the genteel villadom of Penarth, taking in myriad ethnic minorities in the old dockside communities en route, is to see a master craftsman at work, his technique tempered by a genuine humanity and directness." *(Callaghan Biographer Ken Morgan, quoted in 'The Prime Minister: The Office and its holdings since 1945',pg 349, Peter Hennessy, Published 2000)*

"Callaghan is a symbol of our present age as well as our past. New Labour as well as Old. He links the age of Clem Attlee and that of Tony Blair." (*Callaghan Biographer Kenneth O. Morgan, Callaghan: A Life, by Kenneth O. Morgan 1997)*

James Callaghan famously remarked during the 1979 election campaign that: There are times, perhaps once every 30 years, when there is a sea change in politics. It does not matter what you say or what you do. There is a shift in what the public wants and what it approves of. I suspect there is now such a sea change." *(The Times – 12/06/02)*

"He told an aide a few days later once installed in Number 10 (in a very Jim-like aside), 'There are many cleverer people than me in the Labour Party, but they're there and I'm here'. This book explains why. Callaghan had shrewdness and en-durance and knew how to convert every ounce of power to political advantage, until those last dreadful months in office." *(Peter Hennessy, writing in The Observer – 14/09/1997)*

Anecdotes:

1)One day in 1978, British prime minister James Callaghan attended a formal reception to open a new Anglo-Austrian Society building in Queen Anne's Gate, London. Among his duties was the official unveiling of the Society's plaque.

"Why don't you tell me when you'd like me to pull the ribbon?" he asked the assembled photographers. "I tell you what. I'll count to five, and then pull it."

Things did not go entirely according to plan. On the count of five, as lights flashed and shutters clicked, he accidentally pulled the entire plaque from the wall. *(Source: Anecdotage.com)*

2) Before the 1997 election, Milbank rang around the membership list and tried to galvanise canvassing and funds. One spoke to Gentleman Jim and asked if he had thought of "doing more for the Labour Party". Callaghan said that having been a Labour Prime Minister he couldn't do much more. *(Source: British Institutiones, Backword entry.com 17/10/03)*

Facts

Foreign honours: Callaghan received the Hubert H. Humphrey International Award in 1978. *(taken from Oh Prime Minister, by J B Seatrobe, Pg 84, Published 1999).*

Callaghan was a teetotaller. *(taken from Oh Prime Minister, by J B Seatrobe, Pg 172, Published 1999).*

THATCHER

"She was a tigress surrounded by Hamsters". *(John Biffen former Conservative Cabinet Minister, quoted in 'The Prime Minister: The Office and its holdings since 1945',pg 397, Peter Hennessy, Published 2000)*

"Margaret Thatcher…carried the authority of her office always with her. It was in her handbag…She was asserting it the whole time." *(Douglas Hurd interviewed in a BBC2 documentary, How to Be Prime Minister 1996, quoted in 'The Prime Minister: The Office and its holdings since 1945',pg 397, Peter Hennessy, Published 2000)*

"The Prime Ministers who are remembered are those who think and teach, and not many do. Mrs Thatcher…influenced the thinking of a generation." (Tony Benn, *interviewed in a BBC2 documentary, How to Be Prime Minister 1996, quoted in 'The Prime Minister: The Office and its holdings since 1945',pg 398, Peter Hennessy, Published 2000)*

"She's the best man in Britain" *(President Ronald Reagan, 1983)*

"It was so hard on the daffodils". *(After being hit on the head by a woman with a bunch of daffodils, April 1992)*

"The leader of what, dear?" *(Denis Thatcher to Margaret when she announced she would fight for the leadership of the Conservative Party, February 1975)*

"The further you got from Britain, the more admired you found she was." *(James Callaghan, Spectator 1990, quoted in Oh Prime Minister, by J B Seatrobe, Pg 202, Published 1999).*

"It is given to very few people to change the course of a nation's history but Margaret Thatcher was one such person. As a result of her determination and clear-thinking she transformed Britain's economy and our country's reputation throughout the world." *(Lord Parkinson, at the dinner marking the 25th anniversary of Thatcher's arrival at No 10, The Times – 05/05/04)*

"I adore Mrs. Thatcher. At last politics makes sense to me, which it hasn't done since Stafford Cripps (I was very fond of him too). Recognising that if you haven't got the money for something you can't have it - this is a concept that's vanished for many years." *(American poet Philip Larkin, Required Writing: miscellaneous pieces. Faber 1983, quoted on the iconservatives.org.uk website)*

"If you had a minority of 100 you could introduce a Bill called the Margaret Thatcher Repeal Bill. Every piece of legislation since 1979 could be repealed in one day. What you could not repeal is all the ideas she has injected into the public mind by acting and preaching." *(Tony Benn – The Times – 13/10/1987)*

"I have never seen anybody take such enormous pains with a speech - to get the theme right, to get the subject right, the tone right and the words right. She ran to many, many drafts - which I never took part in. That's not to say that she didn't take criticism, she did. Yes, she could give out the knocks, but she could also take them!" *(Sir Bernard Ingham – BBC.co.uk – 22/03/02)*

FACTS:

Margaret Thatcher has been awarded many foreign honours and titles, especially from the USA, including the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1991. She also became Chancellor of William & Mary College in Virginia in 1993, the first Briton since Independence to hold this prestigious honorary office, and the college's first ever female Chancellor. *(taken from Oh Prime Minister, by J B Seatrobe, Pg 84, Published 1999).*

kg/bridges

'BRIDGES' - CHECK LIST OF ACTION POINTS

	QUEEN (LONDON BRIDGE)	PRINCE PHILIP (FORTH BRIDGE)	PRINCE OF WALES (MENAI BRIDGE)
1. Making news known to PM and others within Govt	a. SRJ informs No.10 b. PM consulted on: - Cabinet meeting - Broadcast - General broadcast policy - Parliamentary arrangements - National Mourning c. IR informs: - PS/SAT (including advice on Cabinet/broadcast/mourning) - PS/Chief Whip - PS/Foreign Secretary on broadcast policy d. PS/SAT informs OGDs	a. SRJ informs No.10 b. PM consulted on: - Parliamentary arrangements - National Mourning c. IR informs: - PS/SAT (including advice on Cabinet/broadcast/mourning) - PS/Chief Whip d. PS/SAT informs OGDs	a. SRJ informs No.10 b. PM consulted on: - Parliamentary arrangements - National Mourning c. IR informs: - PS/SAT (including advice on Cabinet/broadcast/mourning) - PS/Chief Whip d. PS/SAT informs OGDs
2. Broadcast/ Statement to press	Short holding statement PM Broadcast (Cabinet Room or State Dining Room) (DH to draft)	Short holding statement PM words (DH to draft)	Short holding statement PM words (DH to draft)
3. Letters of condolence to immediate family	Letters to Prince of Wales, Duke of Edinburgh (KG to draft)	Letters to Queen and POW (KG to draft)	Letters to Queen (KG to draft)
4. Parliamentary arrangements and tribute	Adjourn/Recall Tribute (KG to advise/draft)	Adjourn/Recall Tribute (KG to advise/draft)	Adjourn/Recall Tribute (KG to advise/draft)
5. Issue guidance on National Mourning	Version A or B (SAT to advise PM cc OGDs, devolved admins)	(SRJ to discuss with IR & SAT to advise PM cc OGDs, devolved admins)	(SRJ to discuss with IR & SAT to advise PM cc OGDs, devolved admins)
6. Lying-in-state/ funeral arrangements	SRJ informs No.10/HO	No lying in state/ SRJ informs No.10/HO	SRJ informs No.10/HO
7. Accession arrangements	SRJ informs No.10	N/A	N/A

Bettmann

Edward Heath

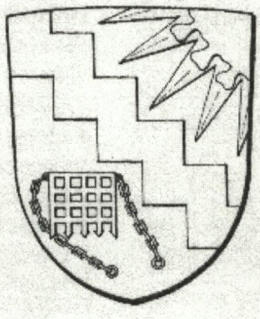
Lived 1916–

Political Party Conservative

Prime Minister 19 June 1970–4 March 1974

Government Conservative

Reigning Monarch Elizabeth II



Plus fait douceur que violence Gentleness achieves more than violence

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HEATH AS PRIME MINISTER

Heath was a successful Chief Whip under Churchill and Eden and spent much of the time between 1960 and 1963 trying to negotiate terms for Britain to join the European Communities. In 1965 he became the first elected leader of the Conservative party and continued to press for British membership in the European Communities, which he achieved as Prime Minister. His other goals were to bring increased law and order to the nation, to restrict immigration, to promote free trade and to restrict the power of trade unions, which he confronted when a prices and income policy was introduced. In 1973 the administration was partly blown off course by an increase in the price of oil and further economic deterioration, culminating in the 'three day week' during the winter of 1973–1974. He succeeded in passing the necessary legislation for Britain to join the European Communities during the parliamentary session of 1971–72. Negotiations with striking miners failed and violence was renewed in Northern Ireland, leading Heath to call a General Election in spring 1974, where the result was almost a dead heat between the two major parties. Failing to strike a deal with the Liberal party he resigned as Prime Minister. He was defeated by Wilson in a further General Election in October 1974 and by Mrs. Thatcher for the party leadership in February 1975.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Names Edward Richard George Heath
Born 9 Jul 1916
Birthplace 2 Holmwood Villas, Albion Road, St. Peter's, Kent
Religion Anglican
Ancestry English. Early generations of the Heath family were variously craftsmen and mariners living in Devon and then, from the early 19th century, in the adjoining Kent towns of Ramsgate and Broadstairs.
First entered Parliament 23 Feb 1950
Date appointed PM 19 Jun 1970
Age at appointment 53 years, 335 days
Date ceased to be PM 4 Mar 1974
Total time as PM 3 years, 259 days
Zodiac sign Cancer

FATHER

William George Heath
Date and place of birth 11 Oct 1888, Ramsgate, Kent
Occupation He worked as a carpenter for local builders in Broadstairs and, from 1916–23, at the Vickers aircraft factory in Crayford. After the death of his employer in 1930 he was able first to rent, then buy, work premises and thus established his own small building firm in Broadstairs.
Dates of marriages 1) 10 May 1913, Edith Anne Pantony (d. 15 Oct 1951); 2) 18 Jul 1953, Doris Lewis (d. 15 Jun 1963); 3) 10 Oct 1964, Ethel Mary Emes (d. 21 Aug 1984)
Age when PM took office 81 years, 251 days
Date of death 15 Oct 1976
Place of cremation Charing, Kent

MOTHER

Edith Anne Pantony
Date and place of birth 6 Jun 1889, St. Peter's, near Broadstairs, Kent.
Profile After leaving school at 14 she entered domestic service as a lady's maid to a family with homes in London and Broadstairs.
Date of marriage 10 May 1913
Date and place of death 15 Oct 1951, Broadstairs, Kent
Place of burial St. Peter's, Kent

BROTHERS AND SISTERS

Edward Heath is the elder of two sons.
From his father's first marriage:
John Ronald, b. 26 Aug 1920; m. 1) 25 Oct 1947, Marian Lucy Easton, 2) 13 Dec 1958, Muriel Constance Jackson; apprenticed to the family business then joined the Army in 1939 serving with the British Expeditionary Force, Royal Army Ordnance Corps and the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers; after the war qualified as a building inspector and worked in local government; d. 20 Aug 1984
There were no children from his father's later marriages.

MARRIAGE

Heath is unmarried.

LIFE AND CAREER

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS FOUGHT

(*designates candidate elected)

DATE 23 Feb 1950. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Bexley
RESULT E.R.G. Heath* (Con) 25,854; E.A. Bramall (Lab) 25, 721; Miss M.E. Hart (Lib) 4,186; C.C. Job (Com) 481

DATE 25 Oct 1951. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Bexley
RESULT E.R.G. Heath* (Con) 29,069; E.A. Bramall (Lab) 27,430

DATE 26 May 1955. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Bexley
RESULT E.R.G. Heath* (Con) 28,610; R.J. Minney (Lab) 24,111

DATE 8 Oct 1959. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Bexley
RESULT E.R.G. Heath* (Con) 32,025; E.A. Bramall (Lab) 23,392

DATE 15 Oct 1964. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Bexley
RESULT E.R.G. Heath* (Con) 25,716; L.L. Reeves (Lab) 21,127; P.L. McArthur (Lib) 6,161; J.A. Paul (Ind) 1, 363

DATE 31 Mar 1966. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Bexley
RESULT E.R.G. Heath* (Con) 26,377; R.L. Butler (Lab) 24,044; R.F. Lloyd (Lib) 4,405

DATE 18 Jun 1970. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Bexley
RESULT E.R.G. Heath* (Con) 27,075; J.C. Cartwright (Lab/Co-op) 19,017; E.P.G. Harrison (Lib) 3,222; E.J. R.L. Heath (Ind Con) 938; M.P. Coney (Ind Con) 833

DATE 28 Feb 1974. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Sidcup
RESULT E.R.G. Heath* (Con) 20,448; C.F. Hargrave (Lab) 10,750; O.C.N. Moxon (Lib) 9,847; D.C.T. Bennett (Ind) 613

DATE 10 Oct 1974. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Sidcup
RESULT E.R.G. Heath* (Con) 18,991; W.J. Jennings (Lab) 11,448; I.R.P. Josephs (Lib) 6,954; D.H. Jones (Ind/Cons) 174; M.J. Norton (Ind) 61

DATE 3 May 1979. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Sidcup
RESULT E.R.G. Heath* (Con) 23,692; F. Keohane (Lab) 10,236; P. Vickers (Lib) 4,980; A. D. Webb (Nat Front) 774

DATE 9 Jun 1983. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Old Bexley and Sidcup
RESULT E.R.G. Heath* (Con) 22,422; P. Vickers (Lib) 9, 704; C.A. Kiff (Lab) 5,116

DATE 11 Jun 1987. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Old Bexley and Sidcup
RESULT E.R.G. Heath* (Con) 24,350; T.H. Pearce (Lib) 8,076; Dr. H.G.A. Stoate (Lab) 6,762

DATE 9 Apr 1992. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Old Bexley and Sidcup

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS FOUGHT—*Continued*

RESULT Sir E.R.G. Heath* (Con) 24,450; Ms. D. Brierly (Lab) 8,751; D.J. Nicolle (Lib Dem) 6,438; B. Rose (Ind/ Con) 733; R. Stephens (Natural Law Party) 148

PARTY ACTIVITY

Party Leadership 1965–75, Leader of the Conservative Party

Other offices 1964–70, Chairman, National Advisory Committee on Policy; 1964–70, Chairman, Future Economic Policy Sub-Committee; 1974, President, Conservative Commonwealth & Overseas Council; 1975, President, Greater London Young Conservatives; 1980, President, Conservative Group for Europe

Membership of group or faction 1950–51, One Nation Group, so called to underline their attachment to Disraeli's conception of a united people.

PARLIAMENTARY AND MINISTERIAL EXPERIENCE

Maiden Speech 26 Jun 1950. He spoke in favour of the Schuman Plan for a European Coal and Steel Community (*HC Deb*, vol 476, col 1959–1964)

Opposition offices 1951, Assistant Whip; 1964, Shadow Spokesman on Economic Affairs; 1965, Shadow Chancellor; 1965–70, 1974–75, Leader of the Opposition

Privy Counsellor 30 Dec 1955

Ministerial Offices Junior Lord of the Treasury and Senior Government Whip 7 Nov 1951–28 May 1952; Joint Deputy Chief Whip 28 May 1952–3 Jul 1953; Deputy Chief Whip 3 Jul 1953–20 Dec 1955; Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury and Government Chief Whip 30 Dec 1955–14 Oct 1959; Minister of Labour 14 Oct 1959–27 Jul 1960; Lord Privy Seal 27 Jul 1960–20 Oct 1963; Secretary of State for Industry, Trade and Regional Development and President of the Board of Trade 20 Oct 1963–15 Oct 1964; First Lord of the Treasury and Minister for the Civil Service 19 Jun 1970–4 Mar 1974

Opposition Leader while PM 1970–74, Harold Wilson

Father of the House 9 Apr 1992–

GOVERNMENTS FORMED

Administration 19 Jun 1970–4 Mar 1974

GENERAL ELECTION RESULT

18 JUN 1970: Conservative 330; Labour 288; Liberal 6; Others 6. Total 630
Conservative majority 31 (excl. the Speaker)

CABINET

Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and Minister for the Civil Service E. Heath

Lord President of the Council W. Whitelaw (Jun 1970–Apr 1972); R. Carr (Apr–Nov 1972); J. Prior (Nov 1972–Mar 1974)

Lord Chancellor Lord Hailsham

Lord Privy Seal Earl Jellicoe (Jun 1970–May 1973); Lord Windlesham (Jun 1973–Mar 1974)

Chancellor of the Exchequer I. Macleod (Jun–Jul 1970); A. Barber (Jul 1970–Mar 1974)

Foreign Secretary Sir A. Douglas-Home

Home Secretary R. Maudling (Jun 1970–Jul 1972); R. Carr (Jul 1972–Mar 1974)

Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food J. Prior (Jun 1970–Nov 1972); J. Godber (Nov 1972–Mar 1974)

Secretary of State for Defence (and Minister of Aviation Supply from 1 May 1971) Lord Carrington (Jun 1970–Jan 1974); Sir I. Gilmour (Jan–Mar 1974)

Secretary of State for Education and Science Mrs. M. Thatcher

Secretary of State for Employment (and Productivity till 12 Nov 1970) R. Carr (Jun 1970–Apr 1972); M. Macmillan (Apr 1972–Dec 1973); W. Whitelaw (Dec 1973–Mar 1974)

Secretary of State for Energy Lord Carrington (Jan –Mar 1974)

Secretary of State for the Environment P. Walker (Oct 1970–Nov 1972); G. Rippon (Nov 1972–Mar 1974)

Secretary of State for Social Services Sir K. Joseph

Minister of Housing and Local Government P. Walker (Jun –Oct 1970) (office reorganised under Environment 15 Oct 1970)

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (with special responsibility for Europe) A. Barber (Jun–Jul 1970); G. Rippon (Jul 1970–Nov 1972); J. Davies (Nov 1972–Mar 1974)

Secretary of State for Northern Ireland W. Whitelaw (Apr 1972–Dec 1973); F. Pym (Dec 1973–Mar 1974)

Paymaster General M. Macmillan (Dec 1973–Mar 1974)

Secretary of State for Scotland G. Campbell

Minister of Technology G. Rippon (Jun–Jul 1970); J. Davies (Jul–Oct 1970) (office reorganised under Trade and Industry 15 Oct 1970)

President of the Board of Trade M. Noble (Jun –Oct 1970) (office reorganised under Trade and Industry 15 Oct 1970)

Secretary of State for Trade and Industry and President of the Board of Trade J. Davies (Oct 1970–Nov 1972); P. Walker (Nov 1972–Mar 1974)

Minister for Trade and Consumer Affairs Sir G. Howe (Nov 1972–Mar 1974)

Secretary of State for Wales P. Thomas

IMPORTANT DATES IN PERSONAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

1939 Heath elected President of the Oxford Union on an anti-appeasement platform. He had been a successful debater, notably winning the motion against Chamberlain's policy of appeasement in Oct 1938 and defeating an earlier motion to approve the Labour Party's economic programme, which had been supported by Hugh Dalton MP in Nov 1937.

JUN 1939 Graduates with a second-class degree in Philosophy, Politics and Economics from Balliol College, Oxford.

1945 Appointed Major of 334 Battery of the 107th HAA Regiment then stationed in Belgium. The Battery is to take part in the crossing of the Rhine under his command.

8 NOV 1945 Mentioned in despatches and awarded the MBE in 1946 for war service.

1947 Placed joint first in the administrative class examination for the civil service and is assigned to the Ministry of Civil Aviation's Directorate of Long-Term Planning.

MAR 1947 Appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 2nd Regiment of the HAC (HAA), a Territorial regiment, reformed in May 1947. Heath remains their commanding officer until 1951.

23 FEB 1950 Elected Conservative Member of Parliament for Bexley, Kent.

26 JUN 1950 Makes his maiden speech in the House of Commons.

OCT 1950 Publication of the pamphlet *One Nation—a Tory Approach to Social Problems* by the One Nation Group, of which Heath was a founder member. It advocates an improved Britain with better housing, education, physical health and reformed industrial relations.

15 OCT 1951 Death of his mother, Edith, at the family home in Broadstairs.

7 NOV 1951 Appointed a Lord Commissioner of the Treasury and Government Whip.

30 DEC 1955 Made a Privy Counsellor upon his appointment as Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury and Government Chief Whip.

26 JUL 1956 President Nasser of Egypt nationalises the Anglo-French Suez Canal Company and seizes control of the Canal. An Anglo-French ultimatum to the Egyptians to overthrow Nasser is followed by the bombing of Egyptian airfields on 31 October.

1 NOV 1956 In the face of widespread hostility the Government survives a censure motion on its decision to use military force. The fact that all the Conservative MPs present vote against the censure motion, despite deep divisions within the Party, is widely attributed to Heath's skill and professionalism as Chief Whip. Similarly, on 8 Nov, another censure motion is defeated with only 6 Conservative abstentions instead of the 20 that had been feared.

11 JAN 1957 Harold Macmillan succeeds Sir Anthony Eden as Prime Minister and Leader of the Conservative Party. Heath's favourable report as Chief Whip on the attitude of the Parliamentary Party towards Macmillan had helped to secure his victory. Their celebratory dinner at the Turf Club that evening is discovered by the press and widely publicised.

14 OCT 1959 Following the Conservative victory in the General Election Heath becomes Minister of Labour and a member of the Cabinet. He helps to avert a national railway strike in Feb 1960 and urges more Conservative voters to join the trade union movement.

27 JUL 1960 Appointed Lord Privy Seal at the Foreign Office, responsible for the negotiation of terms for Britain's entry into the European Economic Community. To this end, he flies 100,000 miles touring the capitals of Europe from 1961–63 trying to reach an economic agreement.

29 JAN 1963 France vetoes Britain's application to join the EEC because of the perceived threat to the Community of her political and military connections with the USA. Heath returns to London, deeply disappointed, but his work is the subject of widespread tributes at home and overseas and is recognised by the award of the Charlemagne Prize of the City of Aachen for 'the most notable achievement in the service of encouraging international understanding and co-operation in Europe'. De Gaulle predicts that it will be Heath who will eventually enable Britain to enter Europe.

20 OCT 1963 Appointed Secretary of State for Industry, Trade and Regional Development and President of the Board of Trade in Sir Alec Douglas-Home's administration.

10 MAR 1964 The Second Reading of Heath's Bill to repeal Resale Price Maintenance (the selling of goods at the prices fixed by manufacturers) provokes the greatest internal revolt within the Conservative Party since the war, and the Government's majority falls to one in the vote on 11 March. The Bill survives to become the Resale Prices Act in Jul 1964.

23 OCT 1964 Heath, out of office after the defeat of the Conservatives in the General Election, becomes a Director of Brown, Shipley, merchant bankers, until Aug 1965.

24 OCT 1964 Appointed Shadow Spokesman on Economic Affairs and Chairman of the Conservative Party's Policy Advisory Committe.

8 FEB 1965 Appointed Chief Shadow Spokesman on Economic Affairs (Shadow Chancellor). His organisation of the opposition to the Labour Governement's Finance Bill, a lengthy and complex Bill which requires over 100 divisions between May and July, contributes to his emergence as a potential Party Leader.

22 JUL 1965 Sir Alec Douglas-Home suddenly announces his resignation.

27 JUL 1965 In the first ballot for the Leadership of the Conservative Party, a method newly adopted in Feb 1965, Heath secures 150 votes, Reginald Maudling 133 and Enoch Powell 15. Although Heath has not received the 15 per cent overall majority required to avoid a second ballot, Maudling and Powell withdraw from the contest.

2 AUG 1965 Formally adopted as Leader of the Conservative Party. At 49 Heath is the youngest Leader since the office was created—for Disraeli—in 1868, and the first to be elected.

6 OCT 1965 Heath launches his new policy statement *Putting Britain Right Ahead*, a collation of the work of the various policy groups that he supervised as Chairman of the Policy Advisory Committee.

31 MAR 1966 Despite the Conservative defeat in the General Election, Heath remains Leader of the Party. His performance in the campaign is considered to have been better than that of any of his potential rivals and there is no enthusiasm for another leadership battle.

20 APR 1968 In a speech in Birmingham on immigration, Enoch Powell, a member of the Shadow Cabinet, describes his fears for the future of race relations in Britain: 'Like the Roman, I seem to see the river Tiber foaming with much blood'. Heath dismisses him the following day for delivering a speech which he considers 'racialist' in tone and only avoids an open split within the Conservative Party by reaffirming a policy of rigorous immigration control.

31 DEC 1969 Heath and his crew win the Sydney to Hobart ocean race on his yacht *Morning Cloud*—the first British team to win since 1945.

30 JAN 1970 Heath holds a weekend meeting of his senior parliamentary colleagues and their advisers at the Selsdon Park Hotel, Croydon, to determine the broad lines of their election strategy. They reaffirm their determination to give priority to the enforcement of law and order, to reduce the level of direct taxation, to reform trade union laws and to restrict immigration. Several years later, on 19 Sep 1973, the Selsdon Group is launched at the same hotel. Formed by those Conservatives who regarded the Government's industrial and economic policies as a reversal of the 1970 manifesto commitments, the Group aims to promote the philosophy of the free market economy within the Conservative Party.

19 JUN 1970 The Conservative Party wins the General Election, contrary to the predictions of the opinion polls, and Heath becomes Prime Minister.

20 JUL 1970 Iain Macleod, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, suffers a heart attack and dies. At 56, he has been the most formidable and experienced member of the Cabinet and the driving force behind the post-1964 re-

IMPORTANT DATES IN PERSONAL AND POLITICAL LIFE—*Continued*

assessment of Conservative policy. He is succeeded by Anthony Barber.

10 OCT 1970 In his first speech to the Conservative Party conference as Prime Minister, Heath promises 'a change so radical, a revolution so quiet and yet so total that it will go beyond the programme for a Parliament'. The Government's economic strategy will be to leave more to individual or to corporate effort and to make savings in Government expenditure. He identifies excessive wage claims as the cause of inflation and stresses that the Government will not assist employers in the private sector who accede to such demands.

FEB 1971 The Cabinet agrees to rescue part of Rolls-Royce after its sudden financial collapse in Jan 1971. The key aeroplane, gas turbine and marine engine segments are nationalised as Rolls-Royce Ltd. in order to safeguard the livelihood of many thousands of workers in Britain and the USA where the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation is dependent on Rolls-Royce engines for the TriStar aircraft. Heath's actions save the industrial heart of the company but appear contrary to the Government's earlier stated purpose.

19–21 MAY 1971 At the start of two days of talks in Paris on the EEC Heath says: ' . . . We are living an historic moment comparable to that 20 years ago' [when six European nations agreed to pool their coal and steel resources]. He reaches an understanding with President Pompidou of France on the remaining obstacles to British entry and clears the way for the final round of negotiations.

5 AUG 1971 The Industrial Relations Bill becomes law despite considerable trade union opposition. Its proposals, similar in intent to those of the previous Labour Government, seek to control industrial disputes through union registration and the establishment of the Industrial Relations Court.

22 JAN 1972 In Brussels Heath signs the Treaty of Accession, formally establishing Britain's membership of the European Economic Community. The long battle to get the enabling legislation through the House of Commons begins, against the great majority of Labour MPs and a substantial block of Conservatives, led by Enoch Powell.

30 JAN 1972 In Londonderry the army opens fire on demonstrators taking part in an illegal civil rights march, killing 13 people. 'Bloody Sunday' has a dramatic and far-reaching effect on the British Government's thinking about the Ulster crisis and the Prime Minister orders a complete reappraisal of the political and military issues involved.

17 FEB 1972 The Government secures the Second Reading of the European Communities Bill by a majority of only 8 votes. Although 15 Conservative MPs had voted with the Opposition, the victory nonetheless represents a political triumph for the Prime Minister.

18 FEB 1972 Following a strike by coal miners in support of a pay claim and the subsequent disruption to energy supplies, Heath holds talks with the National Union of Mineworkers and their employers, the National Coal Board, at 10 Downing Street. The dispute is settled in the miners' favour and work resumes on 28 Feb, but many supporters of the Conservative Party regard the outcome as a surrender to militant trade unionism.

24 MAR 1972 After talks with Brian Faulkner, the Ulster Premier, Heath announces the suspension of the Stormont Parliament, the introduction of direct rule, the phasing-out of internment and provision for periodic plebiscites concerning the border. These measures are intended to win the confidence of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland but are opposed by Unionist MPs and their Conservative allies at Westminster.

24 MAY 1972 As a result of parliamentary boundary proposals which would make Bexley a marginal seat, Heath agrees to contest Sidcup instead at the next General Election.

18 JUL 1972 Reginald Maudling resigns from the Cabinet because of a conflict of interest between his role as Home Secretary and the police investigation into the involvement of civil servants and local government officials in the Poulson affair.

9 AUG 1972 The Industry Act 1972 represents one of the most dramatic reversals of Heath's administration. By 1972 he has become convinced that the Government must intervene to revive industry and that only an incomes policy can curb inflation. The Act provides large funds to the Department of Trade and Industry and constructs a statutory incomes policy.

26 SEP 1972 Heath puts forward counter-inflationary proposals during tripartite talks between the Government and trades union and employers' representatives at Chequers.

6 NOV 1972 After further meetings fail to produce an agreement Heath announces a three-phase statutory control of prices and incomes beginning with a pay, price, rent and dividend freeze. Phases 2 and 3 follow in Apr and Nov 1973, in which pay increases are limited and price controls retained.

1 JAN 1973 Britain formally joins the European Economic Community.

23 MAY 1973 Earl Jellicoe, Lord Privy Seal, resigns from the Cabinet over rumours of his involvement in 'call-girl scandals'. An enquiry exonerates him from any breach of security.

6 OCT 1973 The outbreak of the Middle East war is followed by a cut-back in oil supplies from the region and the quadrupling of world oil prices. The subsequent effect on transport and industrial costs and the cost of living threatens Phase 3 of the Government's prices and incomes policy before it can be brought into effect.

9 DEC 1973 An agreement is reached on the creation of a Council of Ireland after 4 days of tripartite talks between the London and Dublin Governments and the party leaders from Northern Ireland at Sunningdale, Berkshire. The new Northern Ireland Executive takes office at midnight on 31 Dec 1973, ending 21 months of direct rule.

13 DEC 1973 In response to the worsening energy crisis Heath announces restrictions in the use of electricity by the bulk of industry and commerce to 3 days per week from 31 Dec 1973. The crisis in oil supplies has been compounded since November by industrial disputes involving the coal miners, power engineers and train drivers.

14 JAN 1974 Talks between Heath and Trades Union Congress leaders fail to resolve the miners' overtime ban which had begun on 12 Nov 1973. An early General Election appears imminent.

28 FEB 1974 The General Election results in a delicate balance of power between the Labour Party (301 seats), the Conservatives (296) and the Liberals (14). Heath does not resign immediately but remains in office over the weekend of 1–3 Mar to try to form a coalition with the Liberals.

4 MAR 1974 Liberal MPs reject Heath's offer of a coalition because it does not include a commitment to proportional representation. Heath resigns as Prime Minister that evening and Harold Wilson forms a Labour Government.

10 OCT 1974 After the second General Election the Labour Government is returned to power with an overall majority of 3 seats.

14 NOV 1974 In a written message to the 1922 Committee of Conservative backbench MPs, Heath indicates that he will submit himself for re-election as Party Leader as soon as new procedures can be devised. (The 1965 rules had made no provision for the Leader's formal removal.)

17 DEC 1974 The changes recommended by a Committee under Lord Home of Hirsel include the regular election of the Party Leader at the beginning of a new Parliament and annually thereafter.

23 JAN 1975 Heath announces his acceptance of the Committee's recommendations and the date of the first ballot.

4 FEB 1975 Heath is defeated in the first ballot for the Leadership and immediately stands down from the contest. Margaret Thatcher secures 130 votes, Heath 119 and Hugh Fraser 16. New contenders emerge and on the second ballot on 10 Feb Margaret Thatcher gains a clear overall majority to become the new Leader of the Conservative Party.

15 OCT 1976 Death of his father, William George Heath.

29 NOV 1977 Appointed a member of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues (Brandt Commission). In Feb 1980 Heath helps to launch the Commission's report *North-South: A Programme for Survival.*

14 MAY 1979 Offered the post of Ambassador to the United States but declines, saying that he wishes to remain in the House of Commons.

9 JUN 1983 Heath's constituency renamed Old Bexley and Sidcup following parliamentary boundary proposals.

3 FEB 1985 Publication of an interview with the *Sunday Times* in which Heath describes the Government's policies as '1860 laissez-faire liberalism that never was' rather than true Conservatism.

23 OCT 1990 Following talks with President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, Heath secures the unconditional release of 33 British hostages.

23 APR 1992 Appointed Knight of the Garter and invested in a ceremony at Windsor Castle on 15 June.

27 APR 1992 As Father of the House he presides over the election of the new Speaker of the House of Commons, Betty Boothroyd, the first woman to hold the office.

15 SEP 1992 A gala concert is held at the Guildhall, City of London, to celebrate his achievements.

BACKGROUND

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND HEALTH

Shortly before his election as Leader of the Conservative Party in 1965 he was described thus: 'Heath has a blank, boyish face, smooth grey hair, an intense manner which gives way suddenly and disconcertingly to a bright smile and shaking laughter . . . ' (A. Sampson. *Anatomy of Britain Today*, 1965, p. 77.) and in 1970: 'Today, with his "comfortable" yet compact figure, a good and usually sun-tanned colour, clear blue eyes and strong grey hair, he looks just what he is—a man of middle years in excellent physical condition. He stands 5 ft. 10½ in. and he weighs, in his own words, 165 lb. . . . ' (G. Hutchinson. *Edward Heath, A Personal and Political Biography*, 1970, p. 152.)

He suffered the usual childhood ailments of whooping cough, chicken pox and measles but was otherwise considered to be an exceptionally healthy, if rather chubby, child. At his army medical in 1939 he was declared 'fit for every kind of service' and during the war senior officers commented on his stamina. He emerged relatively unscathed apart from an operation to remove his appendix and a scalp wound sustained during the defence of Nijmegen in Dec 1944. In 1959 he was hospitalized with jaundice. A non-smoker, his moderate and discerning tastes in food and drink and regular exercise have enhanced a strong constitution. In 1981 he received medical treatment for a glandular complaint, followed by a brief period of convalescence.

EDUCATION

Primary 1920–23, Crayford Infants School; 1923–26, St Peter's Church of England School, Broadstairs

Secondary 1926–35, Chatham House Grammar School, Ramsgate

University 1935–39, Balliol College, Oxford. Read Philosophy, Politics and Economics (PPE)

Prizes and awards 1926, Scholarship to Chatham House Grammar School; 1934, Belasco Prize (inter-house piano competition); 1935, Leslie and Douglas Prize (for character; shared with the captain of school, J. E. Hobbs); 1935, Balliol organ scholarship; 1939, Scholarship to Gray's Inn

Qualifications 1939, BA Hons (Second Class)

Cultural and vocational background His musical talent was fostered at an early age by his family and the parish church. He began to play the piano at the age of 9 and the organ at 14. He made a notable contribution to the musical life of Balliol as organ scholar, creator of the Balliol Choir and conductor, and briefly considered music as a career before leaving university. A keen traveller, he visited Germany, Spain and Poland as a student and witnessed the political upheaval of the pre-war years.

Languages French and some German

NON-PARLIAMENTARY CAREER

Early occupations In 1939, his final year at university, Heath had been elected to a scholarship at Gray's Inn, but the outbreak of war disrupted his plans to train for the Bar. He joined the civil service in 1947 and was appointed to the Ministry of Civil Aviation. Assigned to the Directorate of Long-Term Planning and Projects, he represented the Director-General on the London Airport Planning Committee and the Informal Light Aircraft Committee. In Nov 1947 he resigned from the civil service after his adoption as prospective parliamentary candidate for Bexley. In 1948 he became news editor for the *Church Times* leaving in 1949 to join merchant bankers Brown, Shipley & Co. as a management

NON-PARLIAMENTARY CAREER—*Continued*

trainee. This last position continued until the end of 1951, coinciding with the beginning of his parliamentary career.

Military service A few days after the outbreak of war in September 1939 Heath volunteered to the Oxford Recruiting Board and was allocated to the Royal Artillery, but was not called up until August 1940. In Mar 1941 after a period of officer training, he was posted as Second-Lieutenant to the 107th Heavy Anti-Aircraft Regiment, then engaged in the defence of Merseyside. He was made Adjutant of the Regiment with the rank of Captain in March 1942 and was stationed in various parts of the country for the next two years. On 3 Jul 1944 the regiment was sent to the Normandy front to support the 6th Airborne Division attacking Caen. It took part in the relief of Antwerp and the defence of Nijmegen. In 1945 Heath was posted as commander of 334 Battery with the rank of Major. Arriving in Hanover to take over occupation duties in June 1945 he witnessed the Nuremberg trials. In September 1945 he was posted as second in command of the 86th Heavy Anti-Aircraft Regiment and, on the demobilisation of his commanding officer in October, became acting-Lieutenant Colonel for 3 months. Mentioned in despatches in November 1945, he was demobilised in May 1946 and returned to England the following month. In 1947 Heath was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel to become the commanding officer (until 1951) of a Territorial regiment, the 2nd Regiment of the Honourable Artillery Company (Heavy Anti-Aircraft).

Other posts 1937, President, Oxford University Conservative Association; 1938, Chairman, Federation of University Conservative Associations; 1939, President, Oxford Union; 1951–54, Master Gunner within the Tower of London; 1959–77, President, Federation of University Conservative Associations; 1961–70, Member, Council of the Royal College of Music; 1963–1970, Chairman, London Symphony Orchestra Trust; 1964–65, Director, Brown, Shipley & Co.; 1970– , Vice President, Bach Choir; 1970–74, Chairman, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; 1971, Elder Brother of Trinity House; 1974, Honorary Member, London Symphony Orchestra and Trustee, 1975– ; 1976– , Director, Dumpton Gap Company; 1977–79, Member, Independent Commission on International Development Issues; 1977–80, President, European Community Youth Orchestra; 1978– , Member, Public Review Board, Arthur Andersen & Co.; 1979–88, Joint President, St Stephen's Constitutional; 1981–83, Chairman, Advisory Council, International Reporting Information Systems; 1991– , Member, Board of Governors of the Centre for Global Energy Studies; 1992– , Development Adviser to the China Investment and Development Fund Ltd. and to Kleinwort Benson China Management Ltd.; 1992– , Adviser to the China Ocean Shipping Company

HONOURS

Academic 1962–70, Visiting Fellow, Nuffield College, Oxford; 1969, Hon Fellow, Balliol College, Oxford; 1969, Hon Fellow, Queen Mary and Westfield College; 1969, Hon Fellow, Institute of Development Studies, University of Essex; 1970, Hon Fellow, Nuffield College, Oxford; 1971, DCL Oxford; 1971, DTech Bradford; 1980, Montgomery Fellow, Dartmouth College; 1985, DCL Kent

Foreign 1953, Smith-Mundt Fellowship, USA; 1963, Charlemagne Prize; 1971, Estes J Kefauver Prize; 1971, Stresseman Gold Medal; 1972, Freiherr Von Stein Foundation Prize; 1975, Visiting Chubb Fellow, Yale; 1975, LLD Westminster College, Salt Lake City; 1976, Dr *honoris causa* University of Paris, Sorbonne; 1978, Gold Medal of the City of Paris; 1979, European Peace Cross; 1980, World Humanity Award; 1981, Gold Medal, European Parliament; 1981, Dr of Public Administration, Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia; 1982, DL Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri; 1990, Deroy Professor, University of Michigan; 1993, Great Cross of Merit with Star and Sash, Germany

Other than peerage 24 Jan 1946, Member, Order of the British Empire; 19 Nov 1965, Hon Member and Hon Fellow, Royal College of Organists; 20 Apr 1966, Liveryman, Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths; 12 Dec 1966, Hon Fellow, Royal College of Music; 8 Jul 1970, Hon Bencher, Gray's Inn; 3 Oct 1973, Hon Freeman, Musician's Company; 1977–1 Apr 1985, Hon Life Patron, Federation of University Conservative and Unionist Associations; 15 Jun 1992, Knight of the Garter

CLUBS

Coningsby; Royal Yacht Squadron; Buck's; Carlton; St. Stephen's Constitutional; Marylebone Cricket Club

HOBBIES AND SPORTS

Music and sailing have been his two main interests outside politics. He has conducted orchestras all over the world including the European Community Youth Orchestra, of which he was co-founder and president.

A successful and accomplished yachtsman, he did not take up the sport until he was 50. Only 3 years later in 1969, he won the Sydney to Hobart race on his yacht *Morning Cloud*.

He also captained the British Admiral's Cup team in 1971 and 1979, and the Sardinia Cup team in 1980.

As a boy he had a brown mongrel terrier called Erg (after his initials), and in later life a beagle called Maggie May.

FINANCES

Heath was able to accept the offer of Common Entrance to Balliol College with a loan from Kent Education Committee of £90 p.a. and a further £130 p.a. from his parents. In his first term he won the Balliol Organ Scholarship, worth £80 p.a., and thereby spared his family a considerable financial commitment. He also supplemented his student income by tutoring at Broadstairs during the university vacations.

During the 1950s and early 1960s he lived in modest accommodation and allowed his savings to be invested. In 1969 he purchased the first of several racing cruisers to be named *Morning Cloud* at an estimated cost of £7,000. *Morning Cloud V*, launched in 1977, was thought to have cost in the region of £70,000.

He is the director and major shareholder of the Dumpton Gap Company, formed in 1976 as a holding company for his earnings from books, lectures and concerts.

In 1991 it was announced that, as a former Prime Minister, he would receive nearly £30,000 p.a. towards

the continuing additional office costs incurred as a result of his special position in public life.

A member of Lloyds, he maintains homes in Belgravia, and Salisbury, Wiltshire.

Income His civil service salary from 1946–47 was £450 p.a.; as news editor for the *Church Times* he earned £650 p.a. from 1948–49 and £200 p.a. as a trainee at Brown, Shipley from 1949–51. His salary as a Member of Parliament was £1,000 from 1951, £1,250 from 1954 and £1,750 from 1957. In addition to this he received a ministerial allowance of £500 as a Government Whip from 1952 onwards. His salary as a member of the Cabinet between 1959–64 was £5,000 p.a. In Opposition from 1964–65 he supplemented his parliamentary salary of £3,250 with a directorship at Brown, Shipley. As Leader of the Opposition from 1965–70 his salary was £3,000 p.a. and from 1974–75 £4,500 p.a. in addition to his parliamentary salary. As Prime Minister in 1970 his salary was £14,000 p.a. rising to £20,000 p.a. from 1972–74. His parliamentary salary as a backbencher rose from £4,500 p.a. in 1975 to £30,854 in 1992. From 1981–83 his salary as Chairman of the Advisory Council of International Reporting Information Systems was estimated to be £50,000 p.a.

Pensions Prime Minister's pension

Legacies His father William Heath left £47,712 in his will in 1976.

ANECDOTES

c. 1942, During the war Heath conducted the Battery band but transport was sometimes difficult to arrange, and on one occasion a RAMC doctor provided an ambulance to take them to an engagement in Chester. On the journey it was held up at a bridge, when a rather grand commanding officer pulled up behind in his staff car and was dumbfounded to hear the beat of dance music from the back of the regimental ambulance. 'Typically', said a colonel later, 'Heath had got the band rehearsing to avoid wasting time.'

1955, At Heath's adoption meeting in his constituency prior to the General Election, the Conservative Chairman was in full flight pointing to his 'truly remarkable' voting record. Of the 730 parliamentary divisions since entering the House, he had voted in 720 and had been paired in 6. Came a harsh growl from the back of the hall, 'What about the other four?'

1963, When de Gaulle announced that Britain would not be allowed to enter the European Economic Community he also made the following prediction: 'The Labour Party will come to power for a short and disastrous period, to be followed by the Conservatives with Heath at their head. It is he who will enable Britain to enter Europe'.

1965, When news of Heath's election as Leader of the Conservative Party was published, he received a congratulatory telegram from the *patron* of the best and most expensive restaurant in Brussels, *Comme Chez Soi.*

1966, Jim Prior, Parliamentary Private Secretary to Heath from 1965–70, recalled in his book *A Balance of Power*: 'Ted's first task after the election defeat was to form a new Shadow Cabinet. The election had been imminent from the moment he had become Leader and there had therefore been no opportunity to introduce new faces. But with a full Parliament now ahead of us, it was time to rebuild.

'This was a task primarily for Ted and his Chief Whip, Willie Whitelaw. My advice was asked on only one aspect. We still thought in terms of appointing a "statutory woman". "Who should she be?" asked Ted. "Margaret Thatcher," was my immediate reply. There was a long silence. "Yes," he said, "Willie agrees she's much the most able, but he says once she's there we'll never be able to get rid of her. So we both think it's got to be Mervyn Pike".'

QUOTATIONS

1950, Yes, I owe everything to my mother really. (In conversation with a friend. Quoted by M. Laing in *Edward Heath: Prime Minister*, 1972)

1962, No one knows better than a former patronage secretary [Chief Whip] the limitations of the human mind and the human spirit. (In conversation. Quoted by A. Sampson in *The New Anatomy of Britain, 1971.)*

1966, In an interview for the *Observer* newspaper he was asked if he would make a better Prime Minister if he were married and he replied, 'I don't know. It would depend to some extent on the woman, wouldn't it? What I do know is that a man who got married in order to be a better Prime Minister wouldn't be either a good Prime Minister or a good husband'.

1970, On the Conservative's proposals to cut taxation and curb nationalised industries' prices: 'This would, at a stroke reduce the rise in prices, increase production and reduce unemployment'. (In a signed statement to reporters at a press conference, 16 Jun)

1970, We will have to embark on a change so radical, a revolution so quiet and yet so total, that it will go far beyond the programme for a Parliament . . . (Speech to the Conservative Party Conference.)

1973, It is the unpleasant and unacceptable face of capitalism but one should not suggest that the whole of British industry consists of practices of this kind. (Replying in the House of Commons to a question about the activities of the Lonrho international trading group.)

1973, From 31 December, they will be limited to three specified days each week. (In the House of Commons, announcing restrictions on the use of electricity by most industrial and commercial premises)

1974, I am the servant of the Party. (In a written message to backbench Conservative MPs when he volunteered to open discussions for a review of the Party's leadership election procedures)

1989, There are a lot of people I've encouraged and helped to get into the House of Commons. Looking at them now, I'm not at all sure it was a wise thing to do. (Interview for the *Evening Standard* newspaper)

RESIDENCES

H.A.C headquarters, Armoury House, City Road, London
Artillery Mansions, Victoria, London
88 Petty France, Westminster, London
F2, Albany, Piccadilly, London
10 Downing Street
Cathedral Close, Salisbury, Wiltshire
House in Belgravia, London

MEMORIALS

STATUES AND BUSTS

A bust made for the Oxford Union

PORTRAITS

1971, by Terence Cuneo, St Stephen's Constitutional Club, London; 1975, by Peter Greenham RA, Carlton Club, London; 1992, by Graham Jones, House of Commons

OTHER MEMORIALS

Heath House, Chatham House School; the Edward Heath Charitable Trust (established 1972)

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PUBLICATIONS

1950, *One Nation—A Tory Approach to Social Problems.* (co-author); 1960, *Parliament and People*; 1965, *Putting Britain Right Ahead*; 1966, *The Conservative Goal: A Call to Action*; 1968, *Keeping the Peace: A New Look at the Role of the United Nations*; 1975, *Sailing. A Course of My Life*; 1976, *Music. A Joy for Life*; 1977, *Travels. People and Places in My Life*; 1977, *Carols: The Joy of Christmas*; 1977, *Our Community*

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E.J.J.

Bettmann

Margaret Thatcher

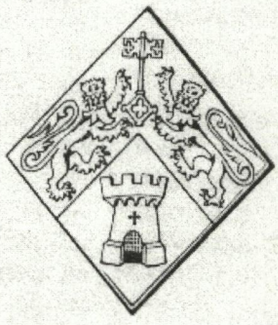
Lived 1925–

Political Party Conservative

Prime Minister 4 May 1979–28 November 1990

Government Conservative

Reigning Monarch Elizabeth II



Cherish freedom

THATCHER AS PRIME MINISTER

The first woman Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, despite being the longest-serving PM in the 20th century, was the first PM removed from office through losing a party leadership election. Entering Parliament in 1959, she immediately made her mark by piloting through a limited freedom of information bill. She held junior and Cabinet posts in the early 1960s and early 1970s before defeating Heath for the Conservative leadership in 1975. Her three administrations, starting in 1979, were marked by her strong ideological and personal character; 'Thatcherism,' a blend of free-market economics, strong defence and nationalism, was a deliberate break with post-war consensus politics. Her leadership during the 1982 Falklands War transformed her public image and helped rescue what was becoming a beleaguered administration. A divided and poorly led Opposition helped ensure her a landslide election victory in 1983 which, despite further crises, she repeated in 1987. Further splits in her party and Government over economic and European policies, plus the introduction of the disastrous 'poll tax' led to further resignations and finally a challenge to her leadership in 1990. Failing to secure an adequate majority she resigned, thus ending one of the most eventful and controversial premierships. She became a member of the House of Lords in 1992 where she has

remained active—especially concerning British membership of the European Union.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Names Margaret Hilda Thatcher (née Roberts)
Peerage Baroness Thatcher of Kesteven, 29 June 1992
Nicknames Milk Snatcher, The Iron Lady
Born 13 Oct 1925
Birthplace 1, North Parade, Grantham, Lincolnshire
Religion Methodist
Ancestry English. Her father came from Northamptonshire, her mother from Lincolnshire. Her father's ancestry was Welsh on his father's side and Irish on his mother's side, while her mother's family was Irish. Her paternal grandfather was a bootmaker, her maternal grandfather a railway cloakroom attendant.
Date and place of marriage 13 Dec 1951, Wesley's Chapel, London
Age at marriage 26 years, 62 days
First entered Parliament 8 Oct 1959
Date appointed PM 4 May 1979
Age at appointment 53 years, 204 days
Date ceased to be PM 28 Nov 1990
Total time as PM 11 years, 209 days
Ceased to be MP 16 Mar 1992
Zodiac sign Libra

FATHER

Alfred Roberts
Date and place of birth 18 Apr 1892, Ringstead, Northamptonshire
Occupation He ran his own grocer's shop in Grantham, Lincolnshire. Active in community affairs—councillor, alderman, JP, mayor, local Methodist preacher, trustee to several local churches, school governor, Rotarian, President of local Grocers' Association and head of local National Savings movement.
Dates of marriages 1) 28 May 1917, Beatrice Ethel Stephenson; 2) 26 Nov 1965, Cissie Miriam Hubbard
Date of death 10 Feb 1970
Place of cremation Grantham

MOTHER

Beatrice Ethel Stephenson
Date and place of birth 24 Aug 1888, 10 South Parade, Grantham, Lincolnshire
Profile An accomplished dressmaker, she had her own business before her marriage. She was also musical.
Date of marriage 28 May 1917
Date of death 7 Dec 1960
Place of cremation Leicester

BROTHERS AND SISTERS

Margaret was the younger of two daughters.
Muriel Joyce, b. 24 May 1921; m. William Cullen (a Scottish farmer); trained in Birmingham to be a physiotherapist; settled in Essex

HUSBAND

Sir Denis Thatcher, Bart.
Date and place of birth 10 May 1915, 26 Southbrook Road, Lee, London
Mother Lilian Kathleen Bird
Father Thomas Herbert Thatcher
Father's occupation Head of the family business, Atlas Preservative Co., which his father had founded
Age at marriages 1) 28 Mar 1942, Margaret Kempson (div. 1946) 26 years, 322 days; 2) 13 Dec 1951, Margaret Roberts, 36 years, 217 days.
Number of children 2
Years older than PM 10 years 157 days
Profile He attended preparatory school in Bognor Regis, Sussex, then Mill Hill School, London. After obtaining accountancy training, he joined his grandfather's firm, Atlas Preservative Co., in 1934. After war service with the Royal Artillery, during which he was awarded an MBE and twice mentioned in despatches, he continued with the company, becoming Managing Director. In 1965, it was sold to Castrol, whose board he joined. When Burmah Oil took it over, he became a board member there, too, retiring in 1975, but retaining several non-executive directorships. He served as Chairman of the London Association of Paint and Varnish Manufacturers for a term, and he was the co-author of *Accounting and Costing in the Paint Industry*. He became a Liveryman of the Worshipful Company of Painters and Stainers. He was the subject of the satirical 'Dear Bill' letters in *Private Eye* magazine, and of the West End comedy, *Anyone for Denis?* His interests include golf and rugby (he was a rugby referee for many years), and in 1980 he became a member of the Lord's Taverners, which organises cricket and other matches for charity.

CHILDREN

1 son, 1 daughter (twins)
Mark, b. 15 Aug 1953; m. 14 Feb 1987, Diane Burgdorf of Texas; failing to qualify as an accountant, he became involved in motor racing and rallying; engaged in public relations or promotion work; pursues business interests in the United States and elsewhere
Carol Jane, b. 15 Aug 1953; unm.; a solicitor; journalist and broadcaster at, among other organisations, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, a Sydney commercial television station in Australia, the London Broadcasting Company, the *Daily Telegraph* and TV-AM in the UK; author of *Diary of an Election: With Margaret Thatcher on the Campaign Trail* (1983), and contributor to *Lloyd on Lloyd*, about tennis players Chris (Evert) and John Lloyd,(1985) and *Switzerland: Through the Eyes of Others* (1992)

LIFE AND CAREER

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS FOUGHT

(*designates candidate elected)

DATE 23 Feb 1950. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Dartford
RESULT N.N. Dodds* (Lab/Co) 38,128; M.H. Roberts (Con) 24,490; A.H. Giles (Lib) 5,011

DATE 25 Oct 1951. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Dartford

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS FOUGHT—*Continued*

RESULT N.N. Dodds* (Lab/Co) 40,094; M.H. Roberts (Con) 27,760

DATE 8 Oct 1959. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Finchley
RESULT M.H. Thatcher* (Con) 29,697; E.P. Deakins (Lab) 13,437; H.I. Spence (Lib) 12,701

DATE 15 Oct 1964. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Finchley
RESULT M.H. Thatcher* (Con) 24,591; J.W. Pardoe (Lib) 15,789; A.E. Tomlinson (Lab) 12,408

DATE 31 Mar 1966. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Finchley
RESULT M.H. Thatcher* (Con) 23,968; Y. Sieve (Lab) 14,504; F. Davis (Lib) 13,070

DATE 18 Jun 1970. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Finchley
RESULT M.H. Thatcher* (Con) 25,480; M.L. Freeman (Lab) 14,295; G.D. Mitchell (Lib) 7,614

DATE 28 Feb 1974. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Finchley
RESULT M.H. Thatcher* (Con) 18,180; M.J. O'Connor (Lab) 12,202; L.S. Brass (Lib) 11,221

DATE 10 Oct 1974. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Finchley
RESULT M.H. Thatcher* (Con) 16,498; M.J. O'Connor (Lab) 12,587; L.S. Brass (Lib) 7,384

DATE 3 May 1979. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Finchley
RESULT M.H. Thatcher* (Con) 20,918; R.G. May (Lab) 13,040; A.J. Paterson (Lib) 5,254

DATE 9 Jun 1983. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Finchley
RESULT M.H. Thatcher* (Con) 19,616; L.G. Spigel (Lab) 10,302; M.J. Joachim (Lib) 7,763

DATE 11 Jun 1987. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Finchley
RESULT M.H. Thatcher* (Con) 21,603; J.R.M. Davies (Lab) 12,690; D. Howarth (Lib) 5,580

PARTY ACTIVITY

Party Leadership 1975–90, Leader of Conservative Party
Other offices 1979–90, Chairman, UK Branch, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; 1979–90, President, British Group, Inter-Parliamentary Union
Membership of group or faction Conservative Philosophy Group; President, No Turning Back Group of Conservative MPs; President, Conservative Way Forward; President, Bruges Group (a body set up to oppose creation of a federal Europe); Patron, Maastricht Referendum Campaign

PARLIAMENTARY AND MINISTERIAL EXPERIENCE

Maiden Speech 5 Feb. 1960. Unusually, her maiden speech was made at the second reading of her Private Member's Bill, the Public Bodies (Admission of the Press to Meetings) Bill. (*HC Deb*, vol 616, col 1350–8). Its scope was widened and the Public Bodies (Admission to Meetings) Act received Royal Assent on 27 Oct 1960.

Opposition offices 1964–65, Opposition spokesman on Pensions; 1965–66, Opposition spokesman on Housing and Land; 1966–67, Opposition spokesman on Treasury affairs (Deputy to Shadow Chancellor); 1967–68, Entered Shadow Cabinet as Shadow Minister of Fuel and Power; 1968–69, Shadow Minister of Transport; 1969–70, Shadow Minister of Education; 1974, Shadow Environment Secretary; 1974–75, Shadow spokesman on Treasury affairs (Deputy to Shadow Chancellor); 1975–79, Leader of the Opposition
Privy Counsellor 20 Jun 1970
Ministerial Offices Joint Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance 9 Oct 1961–18 Oct 1964; Secretary of State for Education and Science 20 Jun 1970–5 Mar 1974; First Lord of the Treasury and Minister for the Civil Service 4 May 1979–28 Nov 1990
Opposition Leaders while PM 1979–80, James Callaghan; 1980–83, Michael Foot; 1983–90, Neil Kinnock

GOVERNMENTS FORMED

First Administration 4 May 1979–9 Jun 1983

GENERAL ELECTION RESULT
3 MAY 1979: Conservative 339; Labour 269; Liberal 11; Scottish National Party 2; Plaid Cymru 2; Others 12. Total 635
Conservative majority 44 (excl. the Speaker)

CABINET
Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and Minister for the Civil Service M. Thatcher
Lord President of the Council Lord Soames (May 1979–Sep 1981); F. Pym (Sep 1981–Apr 1982); J. Biffen (Apr 1982–Jun 1983)
Lord Chancellor Lord Hailsham
Lord Privy Seal Sir I. Gilmour (May 1979–Sep 1981); H. Atkins (Sep 1981–Apr 1982); Baroness Young (Apr 1982–Jun 1983)
Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir G. Howe
Chief Secretary to the Treasury J. Biffen (May 1979–Jan 1981); L. Brittan (Jan 1981–Jun 1983)
Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington (May 1979–Apr 1982); F. Pym (Apr 1982–Jun 1983)
Home Secretary W. Whitelaw
Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food P. Walker
Secretary of State for Defence F. Pym (May 1979–Jan 1981); J. Nott (Jan 1981–Jan 1983); M. Heseltine (Jan –Jun 1983)
Secretary of State for Education and Science M. Carlisle (May 1979–Sep 1981); Sir K. Joseph (Sep 1981–Jun 1983)
Secretary of State for Employment J. Prior (May 1979–Sep 1981); N. Tebbit (Sep 1981–Jun 1983)
Secretary of State for Energy D. Howell (May 1979–Sep 1981); N. Lawson (Sep 1981–Jun 1983)
Secretary of State for the Environment M. Heseltine (May 1979–Jan 1983); T. King (Jan–Jun 1983)
Secretary of State for Social Services P. Jenkin (May 1979–Sep 1981); N. Fowler (Sep 1981–Jun 1983)
Secretary of State for Industry Sir K. Joseph (May 1979–Sep 1981); P. Jenkin (Sep 1981–Jun 1983)
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Minister for the Arts N. St-John Stevas (May 1979–Jan 1981); (designated *Minister for the Arts*); F. Pym (Jan–Sep 1981); Baroness Young (Sep 1981–Apr 1982); C. Parkinson (Apr 1982–Jun 1983)

Secretary of State for Northern Ireland H. Atkins (May 1979–Sep 1981); J. Prior (Sep 1981–Jun 1983)
*Paymaster General** A. Maude (May 1979–Jan 1981); F. [illegible]ym (Jan–Sep 1981); C. Parkinson (Sep 1981–Jun 1983)
Secretary of State for Scotland G. Younger
Secretary of State for Trade J. Nott (May 1979–Jan 1981); J. Biffen (Jan 1981–Apr 1982); Lord Cockfield (Apr 1982–Jun 1983)
*Secretary of State for Transport** N. Fowler (Jan –Sep 1981; D. Howell (Sep 1981–Jun 1983)
Secretary of State for Wales N. Edwards
[* Office not always in Cabinet]

Second Administration 9 Jun 1983–11 Jun 1987

GENERAL ELECTION RESULT
9 JUN 1983: Conservative 397; Labour 209; Liberal 17; Social Democratic Party 6; Scottish National Party 2; Plaid Cymru 2; Others 17. Total 650 Conservative majority 144
CABINET
Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and Minister for the Civil Service Mrs. M. Thatcher
Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Lords Viscount Whitelaw
Lord Chancellor Lord Hailsham
Lord Privy Seal J. Biffen
Chancellor of the Exchequer N. Lawson
Chief Secretary to the Treasury P. Rees (Jun 1983–Sep 1985); J. MacGregor (Sep 1985–Jun 1987)
Foreign Secretary Sir G. Howe
Home Secretary L. Brittan (Jun 1983–Sep 1985); D. Hurd (Sep 1985–Jun 1987)
Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food M. Jopling
Secretary of State for Defence M. Heseltine (Jun 1983–Jan 1986); G. Younger (Jan 1986–Jun 1987)
Secretary of State for Education and Science Sir K. Joseph (Jun 1983–May 1986); K. Baker (May 1986–Jun 1987)
Secretary of State for Employment N. Tebbit (Jun–Oct 1983); T. King (Oct 1983–Sep 1985); Lord Young of Graffham (Sep 1985–Jun 1987)
Secretary of State for Energy P. Walker
Secretary of State for the Environment P. Jenkin (Jun 1983–Sep 1985); K. Baker (Sep 1985–May 1986); N. Ridley (May 1986–Jun 1987)
Secretary of State for Social Services N. Fowler
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster Lord Cockfield (Jun 1983–Sep 1984); Earl of Gowrie (Sep 1984–Sep 1985) (designated as *Minister for the Arts*); N. Tebbit (Sep 1985–Jun 1987)
Secretary of State for Northern Ireland J. Prior (Jun 1983–Sep 1984); D. Hurd (Sep 1984–Sep 1985); T. King (Sep 1985–Jun 1987)
Paymaster General and Minister for Employment K. Clarke (Sep 1985–Jun 1987)
Secretary of State for Scotland G. Younger (Jun 1983–Jan 1986); M. Rifkind (Jan 1986–Jun 1987)
Secretary of State for Trade and Industry C. Parkinson (Jun–Oct 1983); N. Tebbit (Oct 1983–Sep 1985); L. Brittan (Sep 1985–Jan 1986); P. Channon (Jan 1986–Jun 1987)
Secretary of State for Transport T. King (Jun–Oct 1983) N. Ridley (Oct 1983–May 1986); J. Moore (May 1986–Jun 1987)
Secretary of State for Wales N. Edwards
Minister without Portfolio Lord Young of Graffham (Sep 1984–Sep 1985)

Third Administration 11 Jun 1987–28 Nov 1990

GENERAL ELECTION RESULT
11 JUNE 1987: Conservative 376; Labour 229; Liberal 17; Social Democratic Party 5; Scottish National Party 3; Plaid Cymru 3; Others 17. Total 650 Conservative majority 101 (excl. the Speaker)
CABINET
Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and Minister for the Civil Service Mrs. M. Thatcher
Lord President of the Council Viscount Whitelaw (Jun 1987–Jan 1988); J. Wakeham (Jan 1988–July 1989); Sir G. Howe (Jul 1989–1 Nov 1990); J. MacGregor (2–28 Nov 1990)
Lord Chancellor Lord Havers (Jun–Oct 1987); Lord Mackay of Clashfern (Oct 1987–Nov 1990)
Lord Privy Seal J. Wakeham (Jun 1987–Jan 1988); Lord Belstead (Jan 1988–Nov 1990)
Chancellor of the Exchequer N. Lawson (Jun 1987–Oct 1989); J. Major (Oct 1989–Nov 1990)
Chief Secretary to the Treasury J. Major (Jun 1987–Jul 1989); N. Lamont (Jul 1989–Nov 1990)
Foreign Secretary Sir G. Howe (Jun 1987–Jul 1989); J. Major (Jul–Oct 1989); D. Hurd (Oct 1989–Nov 1990)
Home Secretary D. Hurd (Jun 1987–Oct 1989); D. Waddington (Oct 1989–Nov 1990)
Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food J. MacGregor (Jun 1987–Jul 1989); J. Gummer (Jul 1989–Nov 1990)
Secretary of State for Defence G. Younger (Jun 1987–Jul 1989); T. King (Jul 1989–Nov 1990)
Secretary of State for Education and Science K. Baker (Jun 1987–Jul 1989); J. MacGregor (Jul 1989–1 Nov 1990); K. Clarke (2–28 Nov 1990)
Secretary of State for Employment N. Fowler (Jun 1987–Jan 1990); M. Howard (Jan–Nov 1990)
Secretary of State for Energy C. Parkinson (Jun 1987–Jul 1989); J. Wakeham (Jul 1989–Nov 1990)
Secretary of State for the Environment N. Ridley (Jun 1987–Jul 1989); C. Patten (Jul 1989–Nov 1990)
Secretary of State for Social Services J. Moore (Jun 1987–Jul 1988) (Office split into separate Departments of Health and of Social Security, Jul 1988)
Secretary of State for Health K. Clarke (Jul 1988–1 Nov 1990); W. Waldegrave (2–28 Nov 1990)
Secretary of State for Social Security J. Moore (Jul 1988–Jul 1989); A. Newton (Jul 1989–Nov 1990)
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Minister of Trade and Industry K. Clarke (Jun 1987–Jul 1988); A. Newton (Jul 1988–Jul 1989)
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster K. Baker (Jul 1989–Nov 1990)
Secretary of State for Northern Ireland T.King (Jun 1987–Jul 1989); P. Brooke (Jul 1989–Nov 1990)
Secretary of State for Scotland M. Rifkind
Secretary of State for Trade and Industry Lord Young of Graffham (Jun 1987–Jul 1989); N. Ridley (Jul 1989–Jul 1990); P. Lilley (Jul–Nov 1990)
Secretary of State for Transport P.Channon (Jun 1987–Jul 1989); C. Parkinson (Jul 1989–Nov 1990)
Secretary of State for Wales P. Walker (Jun 1987–May 1990); D. Hunt (May–Nov 1990)

IMPORTANT DATES IN PERSONAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

OCT 1943 Margaret Roberts goes up to Somerville College, Oxford, to read Chemistry.

23 FEB 1950 She contests Dartford at the General Election. Although she loses by almost 14,000 votes, she obtains almost half as many votes again as the Conservative candidate in the previous (1945) General Election.

25 OCT 1951 Contests Dartford at the General Election. She loses again, but obtains 3,000 more votes than in 1950.

13 DEC 1951 Marries Denis Thatcher, Managing Director of the Atlas Preservative Co.

15 AUG 1953 Margaret Thatcher gives birth to twins, Mark and Carol.

8 OCT 1959 Elected Conservative Member of Parliament for Finchley, London.

5 FEB 1960 Makes her maiden speech in the House of Commons, introducing a Private Member's Bill, the Public Bodies (Admission of the Press to Meetings) Bill. She is reported to have spoken fluently for 27 minutes, without reference to notes.

7 DEC 1960 Death of her mother, Beatrice Roberts, in Grantham, Linconshire.

9 OCT 1961 Thatcher is appointed Joint Parliamentary Secretary for Pensions and National Insurance in Harold Macmillan's administration, her first ministerial post.

2 AUG 1965 Edward Heath formally adopted as leader of the Conservative Party.

OCT 1967 Thatcher enters the Shadow Cabinet as Shadow Minister of Fuel and Power.

10 FEB 1970 Death of her father, Alfred Roberts, in Grantham, Lincolnshire. His influence on Margaret was substantial and long-lasting.

20 JUN 1970 Appointed Secretary of State for Education and Science in Edward Heath's administration. She is made a Privy Counsellor.

1972 Free school milk withdrawn from 8 to 11-year-old children. The ensuing national row leads to Thatcher's being dubbed 'Milk Snatcher' and (by *The Sun* newspaper) 'The most unpopular woman in Britain'.

1974 Together with Sir Keith Joseph, Thatcher founds the Centre for Policy Studies, a Conservative think-tank.

11 FEB 1975 Thatcher is elected leader of the Conservative Party and, therefore, Leader of the Opposition.

JAN 1976 In Thatcher's Kensington Town Hall speech, she attacks the Russians, claiming they are 'bent on world domination'. In response, Tass, the official Soviet news agency, labels her the 'Iron Lady'. Although this is not the first ever use of the nickname, it is to become much more familiar from now on.

16 MAR 1976 Harold Wilson announces his resignation as Prime Minister. He is succeeded on 5 Apr by the Foreign Secretary, James Callaghan.

28 MAR 1979 In the House of Commons, the Labour Government loses, by a single vote, a motion of no confidence. The Prime Minister, James Callaghan, calls a General Election.

30 MAR 1979 Airey Neave, Conservative spokesman on Northern Ireland, is killed by a bomb under his car as he is leaving the House of Commons car park. A long-standing friend, he had organised Thatcher's party leadership campaign in 1975.

3 MAY 1979 General Election. The Conservative Party wins, with a majority of 43 seats.

4 MAY 1979 Margaret Thatcher becomes Prime Minister, the first woman ever to hold that office.

29–30 NOV 1979 Dublin summit of European Heads of Government. In seeking to renegotiate the United Kingdom's contribution to the European Community's budget, Thatcher is reported to have banged the table and said 'I want my money'.

21 DEC 1979 Agreement on the future of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia signed at Lancaster House, London. A cease-fire takes effect from 28 Dec, and Zimbabwe becomes fully independent in Apr 1980.

4 NOV 1980 Ronald Reagan elected President of the United States. He is to become a close friend and in Feb 1985 Mrs. Thatcher says that she feels 'no inhibitions about describing the relationship as very, very special'.

APR 1981 Thatcher's official visit to Oman is followed by a contract being awarded to Cementation International, a company for which her son Mark is working. When it is revealed that Mark was in Oman at the same time as his mother, there is controversy in Parliament and the media.

JAN 1982 Mark Thatcher is reported lost in the Sahara Desert during the Paris-Dakar motor rally. His mother is visibly upset in public when there is no news. Eventually, he is located and his father flies out to meet him.

2 APR 1982 Argentina invades the Falkland Islands. The House of Commons meets in emergency session on 3 Apr (a Saturday) and a British naval task force is despatched to the South Atlantic.

5 APR 1982 Lord Carrington, the Foreign Secretary, and Humphrey Atkins, Lord Privy Seal (and chief foreign affairs spokesman in the House of Commons), along with Richard Luce, a junior Foreign Office minister, resign from the Government over Argentina's invasion of the Falkland Islands.

14 JUN 1982 Argentina surrenders, and the Falkland Islands are restored to British control.

24 JUN 1983 Margaret Thatcher is instrumental, along with Ronald Reagan and others, in founding the International Democrat Union, an international forum intended to promote democracy and broadly conservative values.

14 OCT 1983 Cecil Parkinson, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, resigns from the Cabinet after public disclosure of an affair with his former secretary, Sara Keays. Mrs. Thatcher has been aware of the affair since 9 Jun (the day of the General Election), and she is anxious not to lose him.

25 OCT 1983 The United States invades Grenada, without reference to the United Kingdom, after a coup and the murder of the Prime Minister, Maurice Bishop. Thatcher is reportedly furious with President Reagan over the lack of consultation.

25 JAN 1984 A controversial ban on trade union membership at Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) is announced by the Foreign Secretary, following strike action there.

6 MAR 1984 A national miners' strike (technically, a series of regional strikes which spread across the country) begins. It continues until March 1985 in an atmosphere of bitterness and violence, dividing some communities, and even families, into strikers and non-strikers. Thatcher, mindful of the defeat of Edward Heath's government in February 1974, is determined not to give in to Arthur Scargill, the left-wing miners' leader.

25–26 JUN 1984 At the Fontainebleau summit of European Heads of Government, a permanent settlement of arrangements for United Kingdom contributions to the

European Community budget is reached, resulting from Thatcher's persistent demand for more equitable treatment for the UK.

1[redacted] 1984 In the early hours, a bomb explodes at the Grand Hotel, Brighton, where leading figures in the Conservative Party are staying during the annual party conference. Five people are killed, including Sir Anthony Berry, MP for Enfield, Southgate. Thatcher, who has escaped injury, with Norman Tebbit, who has been injured, is to attend the reopening of the hotel on 28 Aug 1986.

19 DEC 1984 A treaty agreeing on the transfer of sovereignty over Hong Kong from the UK to China in 1997 is signed by Thatcher in Peking.

29 JAN 1985 Oxford University academics vote (by 738 to 319) to refuse Thatcher an honorary doctorate in civil law. This is the first time the university has snubbed an Oxford-educated Prime Minister.

15 NOV 1985 The Anglo-Irish Agreement is signed, allowing the Republic of Ireland a consultative role in Northern Ireland affairs, but affirming that no change in the status of Northern Ireland will occur without majority consent. Ian Gow, Minister of State at the Treasury and Margaret Thatcher's Parliamentary Private Secretary from 1979 to 1983, resigns from the Government in protest.

9 JAN 1986 Michael Heseltine, Secretary of State for Defence, resigns from the Cabinet over the 'Westland Affair'. The basic issue is whether the future ownership of Westland Helicopters should be American or European, but there are complex political ramifications, including the leak of a confidential letter from the Solicitor-General, Heseltine's position regarding the doctrine of collective Cabinet responsibility in decision-making and the Prime Minister's role in the sequence of events. Thatcher is said to come close to resignation.

24 JAN 1986 Leon Brittan, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, resigns from the Cabinet, also over Westland.

14 APR 1986 A Government Bill to liberalise Sunday shopping hours is defeated in the House of Commons by 296 to 282 votes. Thatcher had voted in favour of the proposed changes.

14–15 APR 1986 The United States bombs Libya overnight, using aircraft stationed at British bases, following a terrorist attack for which Colonel Gaddafi, the Libyan head of state, is blamed. Margaret Thatcher is widely criticised for accommodating President Reagan's wishes.

17 NOV 1986 The 'Spycatcher' trial begins in Australia. *Spycatcher* is the title of the memoirs of Peter Wright, a former British intelligence officer now retired and living in Australia. Believing that Wright's revelations of Security Service activities breached his duty of confidentiality to his former employers, the British Government attempts to ban publication of the book in the UK and Australia. However, it is already available elsewhere and the Government loses the case.

28 MAR–1 APR 1987 Thatcher's first official visit to the Soviet Union.

11 JUN 1987 General Election. The Conservative Party wins, with a majority of 102 seats. Margaret Thatcher becomes the first Prime Minister in the 20th century to win three successive elections.

26 OCT 1987 Lord Havers, the Lord Chancellor, resigns from the Cabinet on health grounds.

3 JAN 1988 Margaret Thatcher becomes the longest-serving Prime Minister of the 20th century.

10 JAN 1988 Viscount Whitelaw, Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Lords, and a close friend and trusted adviser to Thatcher, resigns from the Cabinet on health grounds.

20 SEP 1988 Thatcher's speech to the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium, (subsequently referred to simply as the 'Bruges speech') outlines her views on Europe. She objects to the idea of 'a European superstate' and warns against trying to fit individual countries 'into some sort of identikit European personality'.

1 APR 1989 The Community Charge, or 'Poll Tax', is introduced in Scotland, as a replacement for the previous system of local government finance. It proves very unpopular and its introduction in England and Wales on 1 Apr 1990 is preceded by violence in Trafalgar Square, London.

24 JUL 1989 In a controversial Cabinet reshuffle, Sir Geoffrey Howe is sacked as Foreign Secretary. He is unwilling to go and his new post as Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Commons is accompanied (allegedly at his insistence) by the title Deputy Prime Minister. John Major is unexpectedly appointed Foreign Secretary in his place.

26 OCT 1989 Nigel Lawson, Chancellor of the Exchequer, resigns from the Cabinet over conflict with Sir Alan Walters, the Prime Minister's personal economic adviser. He is replaced by John Major.

5 DEC 1989 Sir Anthony Meyer, a backbench MP with no chance of success, challenges Margaret Thatcher for leadership of the Conservative Party. Although party rules allow, in theory, for an annual contest, this is the first actual challenge to a serving Prime Minister since the system for choosing Conservative Party leaders was changed in the 1960s. In the ballot held on that day, Thatcher obtains 314 votes and Sir Anthony 33; there are 27 abstentions or spoilt papers.

3 JAN 1990 Norman Fowler, Secretary of State for Employment, resigns from the Cabinet for personal reasons.

4 MAY 1990 Peter Walker, Secretary of State for Wales, resigns from the Cabinet for personal reasons, of which Thatcher had been forewarned.

14 JUL 1990 Nicholas Ridley, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, resigns from the Cabinet over remarks about Germany which he made in an interview with *The Spectator* magazine.

30 JUL 1990 Ian Gow, Conservative MP for Eastbourne, is killed in a car bomb explosion at his home. A close friend of Margaret Thatcher, he had been her Parliamentary Private Secretary from 1979 to 1983.

2 AUG 1990 Iraq invades Kuwait. Thatcher encourages President Bush to take firm action against Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi leader.

3 OCT 1990 The reunification of Germany takes effect.

8 OCT 1990 Sterling joins the Exchange Rate Mechanism of the European Monetary System. Thatcher has long been against this, but has apparently been persuaded to agree to it.

1 NOV 1990 Sir Geoffrey Howe, Lord President of the Council, Leader of the House of Commons and Deputy Prime Minister, resigns from the Cabinet over differences with the Prime Minister, attacking Thatcher in his resignation speech to the House on 13 Nov.

19 NOV 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe agreement signed in Paris.

20 NOV 1990 Michael Heseltine, a much more serious contender than Sir Anthony Meyer had been, challenges Margaret Thatcher for leadership of the Conservative

IMPORTANT DATES IN PERSONAL AND POLITICAL LIFE—*Continued*

Party. On the first ballot, Thatcher obtains 204 votes and Heseltine 152, with 16 abstentions. By Conservative Party rules, Thatcher is 4 votes short of outright victory.

22 NOV 1990 Margaret Thatcher announces her resignation, to take effect when a new leader of the Conservative Party has been elected. Two new candidates, John Major and Douglas Hurd, enter the contest.

27 NOV 1990 Second ballot for leadership of the Conservative Party. Major obtains 185 votes, Heseltine 131 and Hurd 56. Heseltine and Hurd withdraw from the contest.

28 NOV 1990 Margaret Thatcher's resignation becomes effective. John Major becomes Prime Minister.

16 MAR 1992 Margaret Thatcher ceases to be an MP, on dissolution of Parliament for a General Election.

30 JUN 1992 She is introduced into the House of Lords as Baroness Thatcher of Kesteven.

2 JUL 1992 Makes her maiden speech in the House of Lords, on Europe.

7 JUN 1993 She speaks again on this subject, to an exceptionally full House of Lords, during passage of the European Communities (Amendment) Bill, known as the 'Maastricht' Bill.

BACKGROUND

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND HEALTH

From her schooldays onwards, Margaret Thatcher always displayed a determination to achieve what she wanted, irrespective of the obstacles in her way. As Prime Minister, this showed itself in her single-minded concentration on work—she could work very long hours during the day, with little sleep at night. She tended to regard holidays as a waste of time and she was not known for a sense of humour.

According to Airey Neave in 1979, 'she is self-critical, likes accuracy, enjoys a well-reasoned argument and respects people who know their facts—she has immense powers of concentration and a quite exceptional memory . . . [She has] great personal courage' (quoted in Andrew Thomson, *Margaret Thatcher*, p. 244).

Always concerned with her appearance, she has inspired opposing reactions. President Mitterrand of France allegedly once described her as having 'the eyes of Caligula, but the mouth of Marilyn Monroe', while Dr. Josef Luns, former Secretary-General of NATO, described her as 'sexy'.

In general, Margaret Thatcher's health has been strikingly good, in spite of her punishing schedules. According to one of her biographers, Penny Junor (in *Margaret Thatcher: Wife, Mother, Politician*), ' She fainted in the House once; she caught mumps from the twins; and during her first ten years in Parliament, she suffered quite acutely at times from hay fever. She also suffered from bad posture'.

As Prime Minister, absences from work were very rare. In the first ten years of her premiership, there were three such absences, due to operations on varicose veins, an eye and a hand.

EDUCATION

Primary 1930–36, Huntingtower Elementary School, Grantham

Secondary 1936–43, Kesteven and Grantham Girls' School, Grantham (joint head girl in her last term)

University 1943–47, Somerville College, Oxford (Chemistry); 1953, Passed Bar final examinations; 1954, Called to the Bar, Lincoln's Inn

Prizes and awards County scholarship to Kesteven and Grantham Girls' School; Joint winner of the Kirkauldy Essay Prize while at Oxford.

Qualifications 1949, B.Sc; 1950, MA

Cultural and vocational background 1935, Messenger and runner of errands in Grantham during the General Election campaign; 1945, Canvassed for Conservative Party candidates in Oxford and Grantham during General Election campaign. The Oxford candidate was Quintin Hogg, later Lord Hailsham, who was to serve Thatcher as Lord Chancellor in her first two administrations; 1946, President of Oxford University Conservative Association; 1948, Attended Conservative Party Conference on behalf of Oxford University Graduates' Association.

Languages She took an intensive course in Latin in order to meet Oxford University entrance requirements. While Secretary of State for Education and Science she took Foreign Office French courses.

NON-PARLIAMENTARY CAREER

Early occupations Between 1947 and 1951, after leaving Oxford, she was employed as a research chemist, first by British Xylonite Plastics of Manningtree, Essex, and then by J. Lyons and Co. of London. After unsuccessfully standing for Dartford in the General Elections of 1950 and 1951, she married Denis Thatcher and began law studies. In Dec 1953 she passed her Bar exams and went on to specialise in taxation law.

Other posts 1951, Personal assistant to Director of the Joint Iron Council; 1955–57, Member of Executive Committee, Society of Conservative Lawyers; 1970–74, Co-Chairman, Women's National Commission; 1992, International political consultant to Philip Morris, Inc.

HONOURS

Freedom of cities 1979, Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea; 1980, London Borough of Barnet; 1983, Falkland Islands; 1989, City of London; 1990, City of Westminster

Academic 1970, Hon. Fellow, Somerville College, Oxford; 1975, Hon. Bencher, Lincoln's Inn; 1983, Hon. Master of the Bench, Gray's Inn; 1986, LL.D, Buckingham University; 1992, Chancellor, Buckingham University

Foreign 1981, Donovan Award (USA); 1981, Hon. doctorate, Georgetown University, Washington, DC; 1983, Winston Churchill Foundation Award (USA); 1990, Aspen Institute Statesman's Award (USA); 1991, Presidential Medal of Freedom (USA); 1991, Order of Good Hope (South Africa); 1991, Hon. doctorate, Rand Afrikaans University (South Africa); 1992, Hon. degree

Weizmann Institute of Science (Israel); 1993, Hon. doctorate, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge; 1993, Chancellor, William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia (the first woman ever to hold this honorary post and the first British subject to do so since American independence); 1993, Hon. degree, Mendeleyev Chemical University, Moscow

Other than peerage 20 Jul 1979, Fellow, Royal Institute of Chemistry and Chemical Society; 16 Jan 1980, Hon. Freeman, Worshipful Company of Grocers; 1983, Liveryman, Worshipful Company of Glovers; 30 Jun 1983, Fellow, Royal Society; 7 Dec 1990, Order of Merit

CLUBS

Carlton (first woman member); St. Stephen's; Variety Club of Great Britain (first woman member)

HOBBIES AND SPORTS

She has skiied regularly and played tennis occasionally. Interests include music, especially opera; reading; decorating; and collecting porcelain, Chinese art, military mementoes, photography and the works of Rudyard Kipling. No pets, but she is said to have reprieved the 10 Downing Street cat and taken in a stray cat at Chequers.

FINANCES

Margaret Thatcher inherited her father's cautious approach to money and has consistently striven to avoid being in debt. Not wealthy in her own right originally, she has freely acknowledged the role of her husband's substantial income in enabling her to pursue her legal studies, and, subsequently, a political career. As Prime Minister, she forewent considerable income by opting to take the salary of a Cabinet Minister, rather than the higher Prime Ministerial one to which she was entitled. Since leaving office, she has become much wealthier, chiefly by means of lectures given all over the world, but also through business interests.

Income On taking office as Prime Minister in 1979, she received a salary of £22,000 plus a Parliamentary salary of £3,529. Subsequently, however, she refused a Prime Ministerial salary in favour of a lower Cabinet Minister one. In 1990, therefore, she earned £35,120 (instead of £46,750), plus a Parliamentary salary of £20,101.

Spouse's finances Denis Thatcher was a relatively wealthy businessman when he met Margaret. He sold his company, Atlas Preservative Co., to Castrol in 1965 for at least £530,000, and he is generally acknowledged to be a millionaire.

Pensions She receives an index-linked former Prime Minister's pension. In addition, she is entitled, as an ex-Prime Minister, to an annual allowance to assist with office and secretarial expenses incurred in her public duties.

Legacies Her father left her a small legacy.

ANECDOTES

Shortly after she was elected Conservative Party leader in Feb 1975, Margaret Thatcher called for Ronald Millar, who had been a speechwriter for her immediate predecessor, Edward Heath. In an atmosphere of mutual suspicion, he was told to prepare a speech for a party political broadcast. He returned later and read the speech to her. It ended with a quotation sometimes (but falsely) attributed to Abraham Lincoln: 'You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift. You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. You cannot help small men by tearing down big men. You cannot help the wage-earner by pulling down the wage-payer. You cannot further the brotherhood of man by encouraging class hatred. You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich. You cannot establish sound security on borrowed money. You cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than you earn. You cannot build character and courage by taking away man's initiative and independence. You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves.'

Margaret Thatcher is said to have listened in stony silence. When Millar had finished, she said nothing but bent down and, from inside her handbag, produced a piece of paper which she handed to him. It was the quotation he had just read to her. 'I never go anywhere without it', she said.

As Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher never liked to relax for too long and kept holidays to a bare minimum. In the summer of 1979, she was invited to the home of Lord Margadale on the Scottish island of Islay. According to Wapshott and Brock (*Thatcher*, 1983), this was 'a country retreat often used by Tory leaders, who would enjoy the rough shooting during the day and the archaic playing of rowdy house-party games in the evening'. However, Mrs. Thatcher did not enjoy the entertainment and, after two nights, she announced that she would return to work in her room which, unfortunately, was directly over the source of the noise. On one occasion, she is said to have thumped several times on the floor, but to no avail. Instead, she went outside for a walk.

Mrs. Thatcher's personal concern for individuals, often not appreciated, is illustrated by an incident which occurred at Chequers, the Prime Minister's official country residence. A meal was being served, and 'Wrens' (members of the Women's Royal Naval Service) were waiting at table. One of them accidentally spilt food over Sir Geoffrey Howe, then Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Prime Minister is reported to have jumped up and rushed instinctively to the Wren's side, putting an arm around her and comforting her at a time of obvious embarrassment.

Margaret Thatcher inherited her father's desire to avoid personal debt. In Mar 1987, when she was opening a new supermarket in North London, she realised that she would need meat for the weekend. She bought three pounds of mince, but only then discovered that she had no money in her handbag and asked the meat counter manager to send her the bill. According to her constituency agent, Andrew Thomson, for months afterwards she kept asking her constituency secretary if the mince bill had been paid. Explanations that the company regarded the mince as a gift, or that the cost of providing the account would exceed the cost of the mince, failed to move her.

QUOTATIONS

1974, It will be years before a woman either leads the (Conservative) Party or becomes Prime Minister. I don't see it happening in my time. (To a reporter from the *Liverpool Daily Post*)

1975, What's right for the family is right for Britain. (Interview in the *Sunday Express*, 29 Jun)

QUOTATIONS—*Continued*

1980, No one would have remembered the Good Samaritan if he'd only had good intentions. He had money as well. (Interview on *Weekend World*, 6 Jan)

1980, You turn if you want to. The lady's not for turning. (Speech at Conservative Party Conference, 10 Oct)

1982, Failure? The possibilities do not exist. (On the risks of sending a naval task force to recapture the Falkland Islands from Argentina)

1984, I like Mr. Gorbachev. We can do business together. (At Chequers, after his visit to the UK as a member of a Soviet delegation)

1985, The West could have no better or braver champion. [ie, than Ronald Reagan] (Speech at Conservative Party Conference, 11 Oct)

1987, I hope to go on and on and on. (Interview with John Cole of the BBC, 12 May, before the General Election of 11 Jun)

1987, There is no such thing as society. (Interview in *Woman's Own* magazine, 31 Oct)

1992, A treaty too far (Describing the Maastricht Treaty on European Union, in the *Independent*, 29 Jun)

RESIDENCES

1 North Parade, Grantham, Lincolnshire (plaque)
St. George's Square Mews, Pimlico, London
Swan Court, Chelsea, London
Dormers, Locks Bottom, Farnborough, Kent
Westminster Gardens, Marsham Street, London
The Mount, Lamberhurst, Kent
19 Flood Street, Chelsea, London
Court Lodge, Lamberhurst, Kent
Scotney Castle, Lamberhurst, Kent
10 Downing Street
Chequers, Buckinghamshire
11 Hambledon Place, Dulwich Gate, London
Eaton Square, London

Open to the public Scotney Castle Garden (owned by the National Trust). The ruined 14th century castle and surrounding garden are open to the public, but the 19th century house in which the Thatchers rented a flat is not.

MEMORIALS

STATUES AND BUTSTS

1979, by Oscar Nemon, Carlton Club, London; 1983, by Oscar Nemon, Somerville College, Oxford

PORTRAITS

1975, by Andre de Moller, Carlton Club, London; 1981, by Roger Birchall (Copies were given away free with *Punch* magazine); 1982, by Leonard Boden, Carlton Club, London; 1984, by Rodrigo Moynihan, National Portrait Gallery; 1985, by John Anthony, retained by Baroness Thatcher; 1986, by David Donaldson, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh; 1989, by June Mendoza, Lincoln's Inn, London; 1990, by Michael Noakes, Worshipful Co. of Grocers, London; 1992, by Henry Mee, 1 Parliament Street, London; 1993, by Sergei Chepik, retained by Baroness Thatcher

OTHER MEMORIALS

There is a plaque at Kesteven and Grantham Girls' School. There is a Thatcher Street in Kuwait City and a Thatcher Drive in Port Stanley (Falkland Islands). A Thatcher Peninsula on South Georgia in the South Atlantic is named after her, and 10 Jan is known as Thatcher Day in the Falkland Islands. The Thatcher Foundation was established after she left office, as a means of marking her influence on the international political scene. Its first meeting of trustees and advisers took place on 22 Nov 1991. Its first grant was to Enterprise Europe, a programme of training placements in the United Kingdom for young business people from Eastern and Central Europe. The Thatcher Award is given annually by Aims of Industry, a free-market industrial body. Thatcher Court, a sheltered housing scheme for the elderly in Dartford, Kent, is also named after her.

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1977, *Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches 1975–1977*; 1986, *In Defence of Freedom: Speeches on Britain's Relations with the World 1976–86* Foreword by Ronald Reagan; 1989, *Speeches to the Conservative Party Conference 1975–1988*; *The Revival of Britain: Speeches on Home and European Affairs 1975–1988. Compiled by Alistair B. Cooke. London, 1989.*

PUBLICATIONS

1952, 'Wake up, Women!' (Article in the *Sunday Graphic*); 1967, 'Parliament and Money Matters' (Article in *Shades of Blue*); 1968, 'What's Wrong with Politics?' (Annual Conservative Political Centre lecture to the party conference); 1975, 'How to Fight and Survive' (Article in the *Sunday Express*); 1978, *The Right Angle: Three Studies in Conservatism* (jointly with Sir Geoffrey Howe and Sir Keith Joseph); 'The Sinews of Foreign Policy' (Address to Les Grandes Conferences Catholiques, Brussels); 1979, 'Europe: The Obligations of Liberty' (The Winston Churchill Memorial Lecture, Luxembourg); 1984, Contributor to: *Challenges to the Western Alliance: An International Symposium on the Changing Political, Economic and Military Setting*, 1990, *Our Threatened Environment: The Conservative Response*; 1990, Preface to *Christianity and Conservatism*; 1991, 'A Grand Finale: Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher's last speech as Prime Minister'; 1991, 'Europe's Political Architecture' (Speech to the Global Panel, The Hague, 15 May); 1992, Foreword to *A Treaty Too Far*; 1993, *The Downing Street Years*

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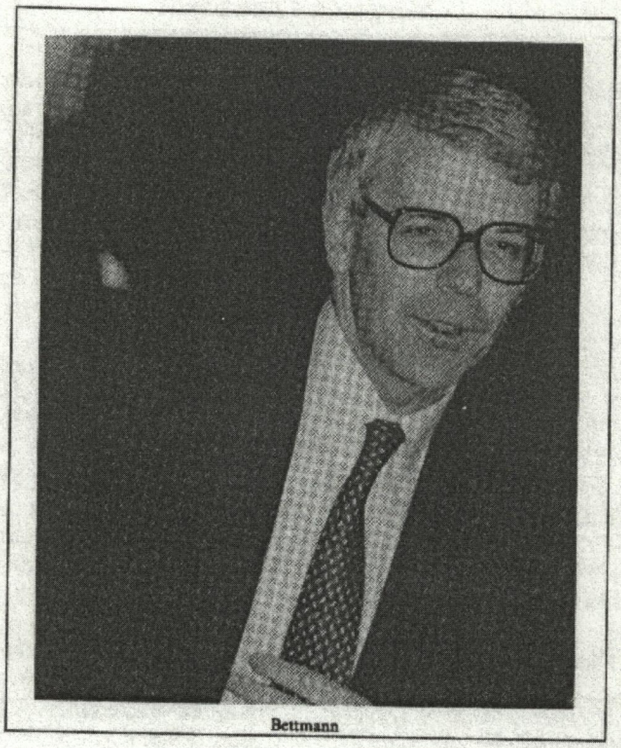
A.D.P.



Bettmann

John Major

Lived 1943–
Political Party Conservative
Prime Minister 28 November 1990–
Government Conservative
Reigning Monarch Elizabeth II

MAJOR AS PRIME MINISTER

On appointment he was the youngest Prime Minister in the 20th century. He was the first Conservative to become PM simply by virtue of winning a party leadership election and the only 20th century PM to achieve office without ever having been a member of the Opposition. First elected for a safe seat in 1979, he soon held junior posts and entered the Cabinet after the 1987 General Election. He was Foreign Secretary briefly and then Chancellor of the Exchequer in which post he had disagreements with Prime Minister Thatcher over European policy. He supported Thatcher in the first round of the Conservative party leadership contest in 1990 and entered the second round following her withdrawal. Although his appointment as PM coincided with an economic recession, the electorate reaffirmed him as PM at the General Election in 1992. His administration survived sterling dropping out of the Exchange Rate Mechanism in September 1992 and subsequent Tory party divisions over the Maastricht Treaty and the European Union. Major is a strong chairman and able negotiator. His presidency of the EC Council was regarded as a success, in particular his handling of the Edinburgh meeting in December 1992. Despite continuing divisions in his party concerning Europe he continued to receive Cabinet support. The electorate however at the local government and the European Parliament elections in 1994, voiced strong criticism of him as did the public opinion polls.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Names John (Roy) Major (He was christened and baptised John Roy, but only John appears on the birth certificate).
Born 29 Mar 1943
Birthplace Surrey County Hospital, St. Helier, Carshalton, Surrey
Religion Anglican
Ancestry English. His father was born in Staffordshire, but spent his early years in the United States, where his grandfather, Abraham Ball, a master bricklayer, helped to build blast furnaces for Andrew Carnegie's steel plants in Pennsylvania. His paternal grandmother, Sarah O'Mara, was of Irish descent. His maternal grandfather was an insurance agent.
Date and place of marriage 3 Oct 1970, St. Matthew's Church, Brixton, London
Age at marriage 27 years, 189 days
First entered Parliament 3 May 1979
Date appointed PM 28 Nov 1990
Age at appointment 47 years, 245 days
Zodiac sign Aries

FATHER

Abraham Thomas Ball (stage name Tom Major, also known as Thomas Major-Ball)
Date and place of birth 18 May 1879, New Street, Bloxwich, Staffordshire
Occupation He spent his teenage years in the United States, where he won (but did not take up) a Girard Scholarship to West Point Military Academy, and he played baseball for a Philadelphia junior team. On his return to the UK, after a short spell in building, he worked as a theatrical artist in many capacities, including on the circus trapeze, touring the country. He later ran his own garden ornaments business.
Dates of marriages 1) 1 Jun 1910, Kate Edith Grant (stage name Kitty Drum, d. 1928); 2) 4 Apr 1929, Gwendoline Minnie Coates
Date of death 27 Mar 1962
Place of burial Streatham, London

MOTHER

Gwendoline Minnie Coates
Date and place of birth 12 Apr 1905, 35 St. John's Terrace, Gainsborough, Lincolnshire
Profile She was a dancer in Tom Major's travelling show, performing as one half of a two-person act, 'Glade and Glen'.
Date of marriage 4 Apr 1929
Date of death 17 Sep 1970
Place of burial Streatham, London

BROTHERS AND SISTERS

John Major is the third son and fourth of four children.
Thomas Aston, b. 20 Jun 1929; d. 20 Jun 1929
Patricia June, b. 3 Jun 1930, Gainsborough, Lincolnshire; m. 1959, Peter Dessoy (d. 1972); studied dress design at art school in Wimbledon; worked in various capacities taking responsibility for paying off a family debt incurred by her father's garden ornament business
Terry (Registered as Terry Major Ball), b. 2 Jul 1932, Old Malden Surrey; m. Shirley Wilson; worked for the electricity board, Philips Services and later ran his father's garden ornaments business, continuing to work for David's Rural Industries, which bought it; active in retirement in researching his father's theatrical career. His book *Major Major* was published in 1994.

WIFE

Norma Christina Elizabeth Johnson (née Wagstaff—her mother reverted to her maiden name of Johnson after being widowed)
Date and place of birth 12 Feb 1942, Lady Forester Hospital, Much Wenlock, Shropshire
Mother Edith Johnson
Father Norman Wagstaff
Father's Occupation By profession a printer, he was also a talented pianist. Serving in the Royal Artillery, he was killed in a motorcycle accident a few days after the end of World War II.
Age at marriage 28 years, 234 days
Number of children 2
Years older than PM 1 year, 46 days
Profile She attended boarding school at Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex; then Oakfield School, Dulwich, London and Peckham School for Girls, London, where she was head girl. An accomplished dressmaker, she trained as a teacher and taught Domestic Science in South London for a while, first at St. Michael & All Angels Church of England School, Camberwell, and later as a supply teacher at Norwood School. She has strong interests in arts and music, with a particular passion for opera. She has worked as a nanny for the soprano June Bronhill, and in 1987 published a biography of the Australian opera singer Joan Sutherland. She is writing a book about *Chequers*, the Prime Minister's official country residence. She is a longstanding supporter of charities, especially MENCAP (the Royal Society for Mentally Handicapped Children & Adults). She is also involved in the Meals on Wheels Service.

CHILDREN

1 son, 1 daughter
Elizabeth Christina, b. 13 Nov 1971, veterinary nurse trainee
James Edward, b. 16 Jan 1975; left school in 1993

LIFE AND CAREER

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS FOUGHT

DATE 28 Feb 1974. General Election
CONSTITUENCY St. Pancras North
RESULT A.W. Stallard* (Lab) 14,761; J.R. Major, (Con), 7,926; P.J. B. Medlicott, (Lib), 4,825
DATE 10 Oct 1974. General Election
CONSTITUENCY St. Pancras North
RESULT A.W. Stallard* (Lab) 14,155; J.R. Major, (Con) 6,602; P.J. B. Medlicott (Lib), 3,428
DATE 3 May 1979. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Huntingdonshire
RESULT J.R. Major* (Con) 40,193; J.G.H. Fulbrook, (Lab), 18,630; D.G. Rowe (Lib), 12,812
DATE 9 Jun 1983. General Election

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS FOUGHT—*Continued*

CONSTITUENCY Huntingdon
RESULT J. R. Major* (Con) 34,254; S. J. Gatiss (Lib), 13,906; M. Slater (Lab), 6,317
DATE 11 Jun 1987. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Huntingdon
RESULT J.R. Major* (Con) 40,530; A.J. Nicholson (SDP), 13,486; D. M. Brown (Lab), 8,883
DATE 9 Apr 1992. General Election
CONSTITUENCY Huntingdon
RESULT J.R. Major* (Con) 48,662; H.A. Seckleman (Lab), 12,432; A. N. Duff (Lib Dem), 9,386

PARTY ACTIVITY

Party Leadership 1990– Leader of the Conservative Party
Other offices 1960–64 Treasurer, Vice-Chairman, Political Officer, Chairman, of Brixton Young Conservatives; 1965, Founder Chairman, Lambeth Young Conservatives; 1965–67 Chairman, Brixton Conservative Association CPC Committee; 1968, Constituency Treasurer; 1968, Member, Conservative Central Office Speakers' Panel; 1969, Constituency Vice-Chairman; 1970–71, Constituency Chairman up to dissolution of the Association following a Boundary Commission report; 1975, Branch Chairman, Beckenham Constituency Association; 1979–81, Joint Secretary, Conservative Party Parliamentary Environment Committee; 1983–85, President, Eastern Area Young Conservatives; 1988–89, President, Association of Conservative Clubs; 1990–, Chairman, U.K. Branch, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; President, British Group, Inter-Parliamentary Union
Membership of group or faction One Nation Group; Guy Fawkes Group; Blue Chip Group; Patron, European Movement; Patron, Centre for Policy Studies

PARLIAMENTARY AND MINISTERIAL EXPERIENCE

Maiden Speech 13 Jun 1979, on Government economic policy during the debate on the first Budget of the new Thatcher administration. (*HC Deb* vol 968, col 519-26)
Privy Counsellor 13 Jun 1987
Ministerial Offices Assistant Whip, 14 Jan 1983–3 Oct 1984; Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, 3 Oct 1984–2 Sep 1985; Parliamentary Under Secretary of State, Department of Health & Social Security, 2 Sep 1985–10 Sep 1986; Minister of State, Department of Health & Social Security, 10 Sep 1986– 13 Jun 1987; Chief Secretary to the Treasury, 13 Jun 1987– 24 Jul 1989; Secretary of State for Foreign & Commonwealth Affairs, 24 Jul–26 Oct 1989; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 26 Oct 1989–28 Nov 1990; First Lord of the Treasury & Minister for the Civil Service, 28 Nov 1990–
Opposition Leaders while PM 1990–92, Neil Kinnock; 1992–94, John Smith; 1994, Margaret Beckett; Jul 1994– Tony Blair

GOVERNMENTS FORMED

First Administration 28 Nov 1990–9 Apr 1992

GENERAL ELECTION RESULT
11 JUN 1987: Conservative 376; Labour 229; Liberal 17; Social Democratic Party 5; Scottish National Party 3; Plaid Cymru 3; Others 17. Total 650
Conservative majority 101 (excl. the Speaker)
CABINET
Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and Minister for the Civil Service J. Major
Lord President of the Council J. MacGregor
Lord Chancellor Lord Mackay of Clashfern
Lord Privy Seal Lord Waddington
Chancellor of the Exchequer N. Lamont
Chief Secretary to the Treasury D. Mellor
Foreign Secretary D. Hurd
Home Secretary K. Baker
Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries & Food J. Gummer
Secretary of State for Defence T. King
Secretary of State for Education and Science K. Clarke
Secretary of State for Employment M. Howard
Secretary of State for Energy J. Wakeham
Secretary of State for the Environment M. Heseltine
Secretary of State for Health W. Waldegrave
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster C. Patten
Secretary of State for Northern Ireland P. Brooke
Secretary of State for Scotland I. Lang
Secretary of State for Social Security A. Newton
Secretary of State for Trade and Industry P. Lilley
Secretary of State for Transport M. Rifkind
Secretary of State for Wales D. Hunt

Second Administration 9 Apr 1992–

GENERAL ELECTION RESULT
9 APR 1992: Conservative 336; Labour 271; Liberal Democrats 20; Plaid Cymru 4; Scottish National Party 3; Others 17. Total 651
Conservative majority 21
CABINET
Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and Minister for the Civil Service J. Major
Lord President of the Council A. Newton
Lord Chancellor Lord Mackay of Clashfern
Lord Privy Seal Lord Wakeham(Apr 1992–Jul 1994); Viscount Cranborne (Jul 1994–)
Chancellor of the Exchequer N. Lamont (Apr 1992–May 1993); K. Clarke (May 1993–)
Chief Secretary to the Treasury M. Portillo (Apr 1992–Jul 1994); J. Aitken (Jul 1994–)
Foreign Secretary D. Hurd
Home Secretary K. Clarke (Apr 1992–May 1993); M. Howard (May 1993–)
Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food J. Gummer (Apr 1992–May 1993); Mrs. G. Shephard (May 1993–Jul 1994); W. Waldegrave (Jul 1994–)
Secretary of State for Defence M. Rifkind
Secretary of State for Education (Education and Science until 5 Jul 1992) J. Patten (Apr 1992–Jul 1994); G. Shephard (Jul 1994–)
Secretary of State for Employment G. Shephard (Apr 1992–May 1993); D. Hunt (May 1993–Jul 1994); M. Portillo (Jul 1994–)
Secretary of State for the Environment M. Howard (Apr 1992–May 1993); J. Gummer (May 1993–)
Secretary of State for Health V. Bottomley
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Minister of Public Service and Science W. Waldegrave (Apr 1992–Jul 1994); D. Hunt (Jul 1994–)
Secretary of State for National Heritage D. Mellor (Apr –Sep 1992); P. Brooke (Sep 1992–Jul 1994); S. Dorrell (Jul 1994–)
Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Sir P. Mayhew

Secretary of State for Scotland I. Lang
Secretary of State for Social Security P. Lilley
President of the Board of Trade (Secretary of State for Trade and Industry) M. Heseltine
Secretary of State for Transport J. MacGregor (Apr 1992–Jul 1994); Dr. B. Mawhinngy (Jul 1994–)
Secretary of State for Wales D. Hunt (Apr 1992–May 1993); J. Redwood (May 1993–)
Minister Without Portfolio J. Hanley (Jul 1994–)

IMPORTANT DATES IN PERSONAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

1959 Leaves school to work as a clerk for Price Forbes, a firm of insurance brokers in the City of London.

27 MAR 1962 His father dies two days before John Major's nineteenth birthday.

1964 Begins his banking career at the District Bank, subsequently moving to the Standard Bank which, in 1970, merges with the Chartered Bank to form Standard Chartered. He remains there until 1979, and then becomes a Parliamentary Consultant to the bank.

1964 Contests (unsuccessfully) elections to Lambeth Borough Council.

8 MAY 1967 Major is involved in a serious car accident in Nigeria, where he had been sent by his employers. After initial treatment locally, he returns to Britain and spends many months in hospital in Croydon, Surrey.

MAY 1968 Elected to Lambeth Borough Council, representing Ferndale Ward. He becomes Chairman of the Accounts Sub-Committee of the Housing Committee and goes on to become Vice-Chairman, and then Chairman, of the Housing Committee, losing his seat in 1971.

17 SEP 1970 His mother, Gwen, dies in hospitol.

3 OCT 1970 Marries Norma Johnson, whom he had met earlier in the year during elections to the Greater London Council.

28 FEB 1974 Contests St. Pancras North at the General Election. He loses, but works very hard and is surprised that his vote is neither more nor less than the national average for the Conservatives.

10 OCT 1974 Contests St. Pancras North at the General Election. He loses again to the same Labour candidate, Jock Stallard, by a slightly greater margin.

3 MAY 1979 Elected Conservative Member of Parliament for Huntingdonshire. He more than doubles (to 21,563) the majority of his long-serving and well-known predecessor, Sir David Renton.

13 JUN 1979 Makes his maiden speech in the House of Commons during the debate on the first Budget of Margaret Thatcher's first administration.

26 JAN 1981 Appointed Parliamentary Private Secretary to both Home Office Ministers of State, Patrick Mayhew and Timothy Raison.

14 JAN 1983 Appointed Assistant Whip.

9 JUN 1983 General Election. The Conservative Party wins, with a majority of 144 seats. John Major's seat now known as Huntingdon.

3 OCT 1984 Appointed Lord Commissioner of the Treasury (i.e., Whip with responsibility for Treasury affairs).

2 SEP 1985 Appointed Parliamentary Under Secretary of State, Department of Health and Social Security.

10 SEP 1986 Appointed Minister of State, Department of Health and Social Security.

13 JUN 1987 Appointed Chief Secretary to the Treasury, under the Chancellor, Nigel Lawson. Made Privy Counsellor.

24 JUL 1989 Appointed Foreign Secretary, after Sir Geoffrey Howe is moved, controversially, to become Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Commons.

26 OCT 1989 Appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, following Nigel Lawson's resignation.

20 MAR 1990 John Major's first (and only) Budget, which encourages personal saving. It is also the first Budget to be televised.

8 OCT 1990 With John Major as Chancellor, sterling joins the Exchange Rate Mechanism of the European Monetary System.

20 NOV 1990 First ballot for leadership of the Conservative Party. Margaret Thatcher obtains 204 votes and Michael Heseltine 152 votes, with 16 abstentions. By Conservative Party rules, Thatcher is 4 votes short of outright victory. At this stage, Major supports Thatcher (he later signs her nomination paper for the second ballot).

22 NOV 1990 Margaret Thatcher announces her resignation, to take effect when a new leader of the Conservative Party has been elected. John Major and Douglas Hurd enter the contest.

27 NOV 1990 Second ballot for leadership of the Conservative Party. John Major obtains 185 votes, Michael Heseltine 131 and Douglas Hurd 56. Heseltine and Hurd then withdraw from the contest.

28 NOV 1990 Mrs. Thatcher's resignation takes effect and John Major becomes Prime Minister, the youngest (at age 47) to reach that office since Lord Rosebery in 1894.

17 JAN 1991 Following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in Aug 1990, the Gulf War commences, with air attacks by coalition forces on Iraq.

7 FEB 1991 Mortar attack by the IRA on 10 Downing Street. The Gulf War 'War Cabinet' is meeting at the time, and John Major's reaction is to suggest that the group reconvene in another room.

21 MAR 1991 Government announcement of the replacement of the very unpopular Community Charge ('Poll Tax') by a new system of local government finance. This comes to be known as the Council Tax, becoming effective in England, Wales and Scotland on 1 Apr 1993.

5 JUL 1991 The Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) is closed down, after allegations of fraud. It is argued that John Major, during his term of office as Chancellor, might have been aware of the problems. A judicial inquiry is ordered, reporting on 22 Oct 1992.

22 JUL 1991 John Major announces his 'Citizen's Charter' scheme, to improve public services and make them more accountable to the public.

19 AUG 1991 Attempted coup in the Soviet Union against President Gorbachev. It fails, and he is restored to power on 21 Aug.

9–10 DEC 1991 Maastricht summit on European Community political and monetary union. Agreement is reached on the political treaty and the economic and monetary union treaty, while a protocol on social and employment policy is agreed on by all member states except the UK. John Major regards this 'social chapter' exemption for the UK as a triumph.

21 DEC 1991 The Soviet Union, in effect, ceases to exist. A Commonwealth of Independent States comes into being, but this does not cover all the former Soviet states. Four days later, Mikhail Gorbachev resigns as President.

3 MAR 1992 Bosnia-Herzegovina, a former republic of Yugoslavia, declares its independence, following a referen-

Professional 1964–66, Banking Diploma (by correspondence course); 1971, Associate, Institute of Bankers

Prizes and awards Scholarship to Rutlish Grammar School

Qualifications He appears to have left school originally without qualifications, but he subsequently obtained at least 6 'O' Levels (English language, English literature, History, Mathematics, British Constitution and Economics), some by correspondence course.

Cultural and vocational background 1956, Visited the House of Commons with Colonel Marcus Lipton, then Labour MP for Brixton. This aroused in him an intense determination to enter politics. In 1957 he began speaking for the Young Conservatives from a soapbox in Brixton Market. In 1959 he joined Brixton Young Conservatives.

NON-PARLIAMENTARY CAREER

Early occupations After leaving school in 1959, at the age of 16, Major worked briefly for Price Forbes, a firm of insurance brokers, in the City of London. This was followed by a spell as a labourer at David's Rural Industries, which had taken over the garden gnomes (and other ornaments) business belonging to his father and (later) his brother. When this closed in the early 1960s, John Major took short-term labouring jobs, but then came a period of unemployment, initially because he was looking after his dying father and unwell mother. After a short time at the London Electricity Board, he joined the District Bank and, subsequently, Standard Bank, which posted him to Nigeria in late 1966. After a serious car accident there, he returned to the UK in 1967 and spent many months in hospital. However, he remained with the bank which, in 1970, merged with Chartered Bank to become Standard Chartered, and he went on to hold a number of senior positions there.

Other posts 1968–70, School governor; 1968–71, represented Ferndale Ward, Lambeth Borough Council; 1975, President, Fulham Taverners Cricket Club; 1975–83, Board member, Warden Housing Association; 1976, Personal assistant to Lord Barber at the International Monetary Fund Conference, Manila, The Philippines; 1979–83, Parliamentary consultant to the Guild of Glass Engravers; 1979–83, Parliamentary consultant to Standard Chartered Bank

HONOURS

Other than peerage 22 Apr 1991, Hon. Fellow, Chartered Institute of Bankers

CLUBS

Carlton

HOBBIES AND SPORTS

A great cricket enthusiast, he belongs to the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) and supports Surrey County Cricket Club. He also enjoys football, supporting Chelsea Football Club. Other interests include opera and reading, especially the novels of Anthony Trollope and Jane Austen. He plays chess. The family has had a pet hamster called Psycho.

FINANCES

From the age of 12, John Major lived in an atmosphere where money was tight, a fact caused by the failure of his father's business and subsequent move from Worcester Park to Brixton. His earliest earnings helped support the family. This awareness of the value of money has remained with him since his marriage, and both he and his wife have been able to make good use of a relatively modest income. This has increased in recent years to reflect his rapidly developing political career.

Income His income as Prime Minister is £53,007, plus a Parliamentary salary of £23,227 (total £76,234). This reflects the salary he is entitled to, and he has not continued Margaret Thatcher's practice of taking a reduced salary.

ANECDOTES

On the night of his election to Ferndale Ward of Lambeth Borough Council in 1968, John Major was determined to convey the result to an elderly woman activist who had not been at the count and who, apparently, had no telephone in her house. According to Bruce Anderson in his biography, Major and a friend went round to her home in the early hours of the morning. Major climbed a lamp-post and was throwing gravel at the woman's window when a policeman appeared. The explanation that he was the Conservative victor of what was normally (both before and since) a solidly Labour ward did not, initially, convince the policeman.

While John Major was Chairman of Lambeth Council Housing Committee, a visit to a local housing estate was scheduled for 3 Oct 1970. This turned out to be Major's wedding day, but he was determined to keep the appointment, albeit in formal morning dress, and did so. The action of Clive Jones, Major's best man and fellow Housing Committee member, in alerting a local newspaper in advance ensured good publicity.

At a dinner of Government business managers in London in July 1985, John Major was trying to convey to the Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, the views of Conservative MPs on a particular point of economic policy. She reacted as if he were expressing his own personal opposition to it. The argument intensified and the atmosphere became increasingly heated. Afterwards, Major feared that his political career was ruined. However, Denis Thatcher came up to him and said, 'She rather enjoyed that, you know.' Two months later, Major was promoted.

Major's sense of humour is illustrated by an incident said to have occurred shortly after he became Chancellor of the Exchequer. He and David Mellor, a close friend and former Cabinet Minister, went to watch Chelsea Football Club play one Sunday afternoon. The club's manager introduced them to the team. Major told them: 'Any win bonus you get today is tax free'. Unfortunately, it didn't work out like that.

QUOTATIONS

1989, The harsh truth is that if the [economic] policy isn't hurting, it isn't working. (Speech at Northampton, 27 Oct)

1990, I believe in the next ten years we will have to continue to make changes that will genuinely produce across the whole of this country a genuinely classless society . . . .(Treasury Press Conference, 23 Nov)

IMPORTANT DATES IN PERSONAL AND POLITICAL LIFE—*Continued*

dum, which is largely boycotted by Serb residents. Tension between the ethnic communities leads to violence and, gradually, to full-scale civil war.

9 APR 1992 John Major's first General Election as Prime Minister. The Conservative Party wins, with a sharply reduced majority of 21 seats. It is also 22 years to the day since Major first met Norma Johnson, his wife.

24 APR 1992 Chris Patten, close friend of John Major and Conservative campaign chief for the 1992 General Election, during which he lost his parliamentary seat, appointed Governor of Hong Kong from July 1992. He is intended to be the last British Governor before Hong Kong reverts to Chinese rule in 1997.

30 JUN 1992 Margaret Thatcher enters the House of Lords as Baroness Thatcher of Kesteven.

1 JUL 1992 UK presidency of the European Community Council of Ministers begins. Lasting until 31 Dec 1992, it gives John Major a key leadership role among European heads of government.

1 JUL 1992 Sir Geoffrey Howe enters the House of Lords as Lord Howe of Aberavon.

6 JUL 1992 Nigel Lawson enters the House of Lords as Lord Lawson of Blaby.

16 SEP 1992 'Black Wednesday'—Sterling suspended from the Exchange Rate Mechanism. The Prime Minister recalls Parliament to discuss the currency crisis and other matters, for 24 and 25 Sep.

13 OCT 1992 Michael Heseltine, President of the Board of Trade, announces that 31 coal mines are to be closed, with the loss of 30,000 jobs. The announcement is followed by a nationwide storm of protest. On 19 Oct the Government announces a moratorium on pit closures and a review of UK energy policy and the potential market for coal. The Trade and Industry Select Committee announces an inquiry into the same issue. On 21 Dec, after a review, the High Court rules that British Coal's pit closure announcement is illegal, as certain procedures had to be followed.

4 NOV 1992 The European Communities (Amendment) Bill (Maastricht) 'paving' motion and an Opposition amendment to it are debated in the House of Commons. The Prime Minister stakes his authority on Government success. The Opposition amendment is defeated by only six votes, and the Government motion carried by an even narrower three votes.

10 NOV 1992 John Major announces a judicial inquiry under Lord Justice Scott into the 'Arms to Iraq' affair, in which several British companies are alleged to have exported items to Iraq with a potential military use, contravening Government guidelines. Ministerial knowledge, or lack of it, is one of the issues involved.

11–12 DEC 1992 European Council meeting at Edinburgh, chaired by John Major. Agreement is reached on two issues: the means of enabling Denmark to ratify the Maastricht Treaty on European Union, and European Community finances. Major's credibility is enhanced by his handling of the summit.

19 FEB 1993 Death of Judith Chaplin, Conservative MP for Newbury and John Major's former political secretary in 10 Downing Street and special adviser to him as Chancellor.

25 MAR 1993 Heseltine's White Paper on the coal industry, taking into account the judicial review, is published.

6 MAY 1993 The Conservatives lose the Newbury by-election (the Liberal Democrats achieve a massive 22,000 majority) and perform disastrously in the local government elections, losing control of every English county council except one.

20 JUL 1993 The European Communities (Amendment) Bill (the 'Maastricht Bill') finally receives Royal Assent.

22 JUL 1993 In a debate on the 'Social Chapter' (Protocol on Social Policy) of the European Communities (Amendment) Act, the Government is defeated by 8 votes, due to opposition from a determined group of Conservative MPs opposed to the Maastricht Treaty as a whole. John Major announces a vote of confidence for the next day in an effort to bring the 'rebels' into line.

23 JUL 1993 Vote of confidence on the motion 'that this House has confidence in the policy of Her Majesty's Government on the adoption of the Protocol on Social Policy.' The Government wins by 40 votes.

17 JAN 1994 Gives evidence in public to the Scott inquiry into the supply of arms to Iraq, the first serving Prime Minister to appear at a public inquiry.

12 MAY 1994 Sudden death of the Leader of the Opposition, John Smith, after a heart attack.

22 FEB 1995 Issues with Irish PM John Bruton Framework Document outlining comprehensive peace proposals for Northern Ireland.

BACKGROUND

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND HEALTH

John Major's ordinary appearance has earned him the adjective 'grey'. *The Observer* newspaper has described him as 'lanky, thin, bespectacled and greying at the temples, classless in speech'. Although he has a reputation for amiability and remarkably few political enemies, he is determined and is highly effective at getting results, more by persuasion than by order. He has a capacity for hard work and long hours, a good memory and the ability to grasp often complex details quickly. One of his biographers, Nesta Wyn Ellis, quotes him as saying, 'Nothing makes me more determined to do something than someone telling me I can't.' (*John Major*, p. 187).

Major's mother was recovering from double pneumonia and pleurisy when she gave birth. Although John was healthy when he was born, he became seriously ill in hospital from an infection and was given several blood transfusions, the scars from which still show on his ankles. He was healthy as a child and young man, but a serious car accident in Nigeria in 1967 caused him to lose his left kneecap. As well as putting paid to his playing cricket, this has limited his ability to walk beyond a certain distance. He underwent a wisdom tooth operation only a few days before becoming Prime Minister, but in general, his health is good.

EDUCATION

Primary Cheam Common Primary School

Secondary 1954–59, Rutlish Grammar School, Wimbledon

QUOTATIONS—*Continued*

1990, I'm not running as son of Margaret Thatcher, I'm running as myself, on my own priorities and my own programme. (Interview on *Walden* television programme, 25 Nov)

1990, You can't influence Europe's future from the terraces. You have to be on the pitch and playing hard. (Speech at Altrincham, 29 Nov)

1991, Gentlemen, I think we had better start again, somewhere else. (At a Gulf War Cabinet meeting, after a mortar attack on 10 Downing Street, 7 Feb)

1991, My aim for Britain in the [European] Community can be simply stated. I want us to be where we belong. At the very heart of Europe. (Speech in Bonn, 11 Mar)

1993, I'm fit, I'm well, I'm here and I'm staying. (Speech to Conservative Women's Conference, London, 4 Jun, during media speculation on his future as Prime Minister)

1995, These are our ideas, but the future is up to you. (Announcing Framework Document containing peace proposals for Northern Ireland)

RESIDENCES

260 Longfellow Road, Worcester Park, Surrey
144 Coldharbour Lane, Brixton, London
80 Burton Road, Brixton, London
Binney Street, Westminster, London
9 Templar Street, Brixton, London
24 Primrose Court, Hydethorpe Road, Streatham, London
26 West Oak, The Avenue, Beckenham, Kent
6 De Vere Close, Hemingford Grey, Cambridgeshire
Kennington Road, London
35 Durand Gardens, Stockwell, London
Chevening, Sevenoaks, Kent
1 Carlton House Terrace, London
11 Downing Street
Dorneywood, Buckinghamshire
10 Downing Street
Chequers, Buckinghamshire
Great Stukeley, Cambridgeshire.

MEMORIALS

STATUES AND BUSTS

1993, by Shenda Amery, Huntingdon

PORTRAITS

1991, Photograph by Yousuf Karsh, at the National Portrait Gallery; 1992, Photograph by Sally Soames, approved by Downing Street as an 'official' picture; 1993, by Diccon Swan, Carlton Club, London; 1993, by Peter Deighan, retained by Mr. Major

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LETTERS AND PERSONAL PAPERS

1991, *The Power to Choose: The Right to Own*, selected speeches during his first year as Prime Minister, compiled by Alistair B. Cooke; 1992, *Trust the People* keynote speeches of the 1992 General Election campaign, compiled by Alistair B. Cooke.

PUBLICATIONS

1991, 'The Evolution of Europe', speech to the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Bonn on 11 Mar 1991; 1992, 'Scotland in the United Kingdom', speech in Glasgow to a Conference of Scottish Conservatives; 1992, 'The Next Phase of Conservatism: The Privatisation of Choice', a speech to the Adam Smith Institute; 1993, 'Conservatism in the 1990s: Our Common Purpose', 5th Carlton Club lecture

FURTHER READING

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Critchley, J. *Some of Us: People Who Did Well Under Thatcher*. London, 1992. (Includes chapter on John Major).
Ellis, N. W. *John Major*. London, 1991.
Jenkin, J. *John Major: Prime Minister*. London, 1990.
Junor, P. *The Major Enigma*. London, 1993.
Major-Ball, T. *Major Major: Memories of an Older Brother*. London, 1994.
Pearce, E. *The Quiet Rise of John Major*. London, 1991.
—. *The Shooting Gallery*. London, 1989.
Walker, T. *Norma: A Biography*. London, 1993.

A.D.P.

Guidance: Parliamentary procedure in the event of a Royal death

PM's role

No 10 statement (immediate, drafted by press office). Tribute in the House after Questions on next sitting day (prepared by KEG). If necessary attend lying in state.

If the House is not sitting the PM needs to write to Speaker and Lord Chancellor asking them to recall Parliament.

Parliamentary process

The response of the Commons should be consistent with the response in the Lords, and the devolved bodies. The exact procedure will depend on the member of the Royal family who has died (and we will need to follow instructions from the Palace), but in general the following will apply:

- if the death is announced after midday whilst the House is sitting, it should immediately adjourn until the next day after the Accession Council has met. Once the House was sitting again, but at a point to be determined, (probably day 2 at the earliest), the PM should move a motion for an address and a message of sympathy to the Royal family. The House should then adjourn until after the state funeral.
- If the death is announced before midday, and the necessary arrangements can be made with the usual channels, tributes may be paid on the same day following Questions, after which the House would adjourn.
- if the death is announced during recess, the House would normally be recalled. No 10 to initiate this, but Chief Whip's Office would organise.
- If there is a lying in state neither House should meet (for c. 9 days). The normal convention would be that all parties would cooperate to restore the legislative programme to a reasonable position.

In the event of the demise of 'London Bridge':

- If death announced during recess Parliament should be recalled for the first possible full day after the Accession Council, including over the weekend.
- PS/Chief Whip (with PS/PM, PS/Lords CWm PS/SoS for Constitutional Affairs, Speaker, PS/Home Secretary, PS/devolved assemblies) then set in train arrangements for assembly of both Houses and devolved assemblies.

KEG
September 2004

DCOS

file on 'Bridges' file - after Party procedure note

Thanks.

Kate
8/10

From: **Helena Hopkins**
Date: **3 October 2004**

KATE GROSS **cc:** **Rosalind Redfern**

DEATH OF QUEEN MOTHER 30 MARCH 2002

You asked for a note on action taken following the death of the Queen Mother on 30 March 2002.

I took a phone call on the morning of 30 March from Sir Robin Janvrin to warn us that the Queen Mother was quite poorly. (He had tried to call Jeremy Heywood, PPS, but at the time he was out of contact). I passed the information on to Jeremy. Later that day a further call came through from Sir Robin to Jeremy informing him of the Queen Mother's death. Jeremy informed the Prime Minister who was at Chequers.

I talked Jeremy through the 'Bridges' checklist to ensure that all necessary action was in hand, and faxed him relevant sections of the guidance from our 'Deaths' folder. Clare Sumner as Duty PS was informed. I recall that rumours of the death quickly filtered through to the Press before the news had been officially announced. We made no comment.

The PM immediately wrote hand-written letters to the Queen and Prince Charles (drafts of which I faxed to Chequers), which were delivered by hand that day. I sent Jeremy the Government guidance on National Mourning from our Deaths folder, which he duly redrafted, in conjunction with Buckingham Palace Press Office. This was issued on 31 March 2002.

Clare Sumner, on 31 March 2002 worked up the Draft Parliamentary Tribute to the Queen Mother, in consultation with Jeremy Heywood and Alastair Campbell.

Because the Queen Mother died during recess, Parliament had to be recalled. Between 31 March and 1 April, I worked closely with Clare Sumner on this issue. I rang round all Ministers to inform them of Parliament recall, arrangements for the Queen Mother's Lying in State and funeral, and to check their availability to attend. (We were encouraging as many as possible to attend/be available.) I subsequently produced a list of those able/unable to attend.

I would recommend that you also ask Clare to let you have a summary of her recollection of events as she may be able to fill in any missing gaps, and provide further useful information.

I hope that this helps, but if you require any further information, please let me know.

HELENA HOPKINS

Polands

RESTRICTED

28 January 2004

I. & J. Sinclair FCO (this page only)
FAXED 11/2-2S.
Fine for now. We can look again when this actually happens.

Foreign & Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Dear Matthew, 7. Ltr. 2. Ltr. 11/2

cc NS JRB

Contingency Plans for the Death of the Pope

I wrote to you on 10 October 2003 outlining contingency plans for the death of the Pope. I am now writing to propose an addition to our current plans, namely that messages of condolence should be sent to the Polish Government, as well as to the Holy See.

We suggest that the Prime Minister might send a message of condolence to the Polish Prime Minister and HM The Queen might write to the Polish President. These messages would need final approval at the time of death. Our Embassy in Warsaw would convey them.

... I enclose a draft message from the Prime Minister for your consideration. I
... would be grateful for your comments on it. I am also enclosing for your information the draft message from HM the Queen, which I am sending to the Palace for their views.

Yours ever,

Jonathan

(Jonathan Sinclair)
Private Secretary

Matthew Rycroft Esq CBE
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO PRIME MINISTER MILLER

It is with the greatest sadness that I have learnt of the death of His Holiness Pope John Paul II. His heartfelt concern for peace throughout the world, and the warmth and kindliness of his personality will be long remembered. He played a strong and courageous role in advancing Christian values, moderation and freedom in Poland and throughout the world and he will be mourned everywhere. I know how much his unique moral leadership and historic achievements have meant to the Polish people. I send you and your country my deepest sympathy.

[*Laura Guy*
EU-I
7008 2364]

Message of Condolence for the death of the Pope

FROM THE QUEEN TO PRESIDENT KWASNIEWSKI

It is with the deepest sorrow that I have learnt of the death of His Holiness Pope John Paul II. On this sad occasion I recall the untiring efforts of His Holiness in promoting peace throughout the world. I know how much he meant to the Polish people for his unique moral leadership and for the courageous role he played in advancing Christian values, freedom and democratic transformation in Poland. He will long be remembered for his great warmth of personality. I send your Excellency my deepest sympathy.

RESTRICTED

Foreign & Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 October 2003

Dear Matthew,

Contingency Plans on the Death of the Pope

You said you would welcome advice on contingency plans for the death of the Pope and, specifically, on attendance at his funeral. Holy See telegram 32 of 30 December 2002 (enclosed) describes in detail the sequence of events after the Pope's death and arrangements for the Conclave to elect a successor. It is worth a full read.

At present, we are unable suggest appropriate Government attendance for the funeral (which will take place 4 to 6 days after death) as it will depend largely on who is available at the time. Government attendance might also be needed at the inauguration of a new Pope. Again, we will provide advice at the time. But I would draw your attention to paragraph 7 of the telegram, which provides a useful guide and which I repeat here:

> "In 1978 The Queen was represented at all the Papal ceremonies by the late Duke of Norfolk, accompanied to some by the Duchess. The Government was represented at senior level – the Home Secretary for the funeral Mass of Paul VI, the Lord Chancellor for the inauguration of John Paul I, and the Keeper of the Privy Seal for the inauguration of the present Pope. The Ambassador to the Holy See represented the Government for the funeral of John Paul I (the 33 day Pope), as well as accompanying the Government representative on the other occasions… I recommend that the Government should be represented by a Cabinet member. We would, of course, endeavour to report on the level of representation being planned by others. The events have sometimes been held at a fairy early hour in the morning, and an overnight stay the previous night might be needed."

Draft messages are ready but will need final approval at the time of death. They include one from HM The Queen (and from the Prince of Wales if he does not attend the funeral), the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary. Our Embassy to the Holy See will convey these, as well as the congratulatory messages on announcement of the new Pope.

RESTRICTED

Flags will be flown at half-mast at all diplomatic posts on the day of death. A circular instruction is lodged with our 24-hour centre (SITCEN). DCMS lead on the half-masting of flags in the UK. Legislation is in place in Northern Ireland on the restriction of flying of flags there. NIO are in touch with DCMS on the special arrangements which apply there.

PS/HM The Queen has informed us that Royal plans (which have been cleared by HM The Queen) are in place. In principle the Prince of Wales would attend the funeral.

FCO press lines are currently being compiled.

I enclose:

- a summary sequence of events;
- a circular on the half-masting of flags;
- draft messages of condolence from HM The Queen, Prime Minister, and Foreign Secretary;
- draft messages of congratulations on the announcement of a new Pope from HM The Queen, Prime Minister, and Foreign Secretary; and
- Holy See telno 32 of 30 December 2002 on Vatican arrangements.

I am copying this letter and enclosures to Hugh Ind (DCMS) and Peter Waterworth (NIO).

Yours ever,

Jonathan

(Jonathan Sinclair)
Private Secretary

Matthew Rycroft Esq
10 Downing Street

CONTINGENCY PLAN FOR DEATH OF THE POPE

- Embassy to the Holy See issue telegram confirming death of Pope.

- On receipt of news of Pope's death, if out of office hours, the Resident Clerk should inform:

  - No. 10
  - Private Office (PS/Secretary of State).
  - Head of Press Office (to discuss press lines).
  - Head of Royal Household Secretariat, Protocol Division or Protocol Division weekend Duty Officer, if death occurs over a weekend. Final text of messages from The Queen and The Prince of Wales must be cleared with Buckingham Palace and St James's Palace by RHS at the time of death. Sent out by RHS, or by Resident Clerk if out of office hours.
  - Unclassified Circular announcing death is sent to all Posts by RHS or by Resident Clerk if out of office hours.

During office hours, EU-M will ensure all parties above are notified.

Messages

- Embassy to the Holy See is asked to convey messages of condolence from HM The Queen, The Prince of Wales, the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary.

- Private Office issues message of condolence from the Private Secretary to the Papal Nuncio in London.

- All draft messages are currently lodged with the Resident Clerk together with covering minutes but they are subject to final clearance at the time of death.

Flags

- Flags at all Posts, on UK Government buildings and Buckingham Palace will be flown at half-mast on the day of death. If flags cannot be half-masted before 1400 on the day of the death, they should be flown from 0800 to sunset on the following day. This is also subject to The Queen's final approval. (Lord Chamberlain's Office lead on this, RHS will co-ordinate with them and DCMS).

New Pope

- On the announcement of the name of the new Pope, Embassy to the Holy See conveys messages of congratulation from HM The Queen, the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State.

Funeral

- RHS will make arrangement for royal attendance at the funeral.

- EU-M will prepare submission to agree Ministerial representation to attend funeral.

FCO CIRCULAR U/N
DEATH OF THE POPE

To: ALL POSTS
For Action: DHMS OR DUTY OFFICERS
For Information:
From: ROBERT WACE/ RESIDENT CLERK
Deadline: AS SOON AS POSSIBLE

From Royal Households Secretariat, Protocol Division/ Resident Clerk

Superintending Posts please pass to subordinate posts

1. The Vatican has announced that His Holiness Pope John Paul II died [insert time and date].

ATTENDANCE AT FUNERAL

2. It is likely that a senior Member of the Royal Family and a Ministerial representative of HMG will attend the funeral. We will inform you of plans when they are finalised.

FLAGS

3. Arrangements for flying of flags on the death of foreign VIPs is covered in general terms in DSP General Volume 1 Part 1 Protocol 6.10 but does not specifically refer to The Pope. The Queen has commanded that flags be flown at half-mast on the day of death. If flags cannot be half-masted before 1400 on the day of death, they should be flown also from 0800 to sunset on the following day. Heads of Mission may act at discretion in special circumstances where local authorities might, exceptionally, object to the half-masting of flags as a mark of respect.

Originator: Robert Wace, Royal Households Secretariat
Dept: Protocol Division
Tel: 0207 008 0995
Fax: 0207 008 1039
Email: robert.wace@fco.gov.uk
Date: 02 January 2003

DRAFT MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE FROM THE QUEEN ON THE DEATH OF THE POPE

To be conveyed via the Embassy to the Holy See

"The Queen commands you to convey to the Cardinal Camerlengo of the Holy Roman Church an expression of the deep sorrow with which Her Majesty and the Duke of Edinbugh have received the news of the death of His Holiness Pope John Paul II. On this sad occasion Her Majesty recalls the untiring efforts of His Holiness in promoting peace and concord throughout the world."

DRAFT MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE FROM HRH THE PRINCE OF WALES ON THE DEATH OF THE POPE

To be conveyed via the Embassy to the Holy See

"It is with the deepest sorrow that I have learnt of the death of His Holiness Pope John Paul II. He will be long remembered for his tireless efforts to promote world peace and for his great warmth of personality. His death is a great loss."

DRAFT MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE CARDINAL CAMERLENGO ON THE DEATH OF THE POPE

"It is with the greatest sadness that I have learnt of the death of His Holiness Pope John Paul II. His obvious and heartfelt concern for peace throughout the world, and the warmth and kindliness of his personality will be long remembered by all people of goodwill. He will be mourned everywhere. I send Your Eminence and your colleagues my deepest sympathy."

DRAFT MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE CARDINAL CAMERLENGO ON THE DEATH OF THE POPE

"It is with the deepest regret that I have learnt of the death of His Holiness Pope John Paul II. His Holiness' untiring efforts to promote world peace during his tenure of office have left a lasting impression. His death is truly a great loss. I send Your Eminence and your colleagues my most sincere sympathy."

DRAFT MESSAGE OF CONODOLENCE FROM THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE PAPAL NUNCIO ON THE DEATH OF THE POPE.

HE Archbishop Pablo Puente
Apostolic Nunciature
54 Parkside
London
SW19 5NE

"It is with our great sadness that we have learnt of the death of His Holiness Pope John II. He will long be remembered for his tireless efforts to promote world peace and for the great warmth of his personality.
On behalf of the Secretary of State, I send you Your Excellency and your colleagues my deepest sympathy."

DRAFT MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS FROM THE QUEEN ON THE ELECTION OF A NEW POPE

To be conveyed via the Embassy to the Holy See .

"The Queen commands you to convey to His Holiness the best wishes of Her Majesty and Prince Philip for a successful Pontificate."

DRAFT MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS FROM THE PRIME MINISTER ON THE ELECTION OF THE NEW POPE

"I offer to Your Holiness, on the assumption of your high office, greetings and my very best wishes for the success of your Pontificate."

DRAFT MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE ON THE ELECTION OF THE NEW POPE.

"Please convey to His Holiness the congratulations of Her Majesty's Government on his election and my personal congratulations, together with an expression of our warm good wishes for his Pontificate."

pa Mason 8/1

RESTRICTED
PP FCOLN
RR ROMEE
FM HOSEE TO FCOLN
300909Z DEC
GRS N/C

RESTRICTED
FM HOLY SEE
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELNO 32
OF 300909Z DECEMBER 02
INFO ROUTINE ROME

SUBJECT: WHEN A POPE DIES

Please pass to Buckingham Palace and
No 10

SUMMARY

1. No immediate concern. Precautionary telegram about succession of events when a Pope dies. Funeral Mass takes place four to six days after the death, the inauguration of a new Pope a few weeks later on the first or second Sunday after the election of a new Pope. Suggested UK preparations.

DETAIL

2. There are no immediate alarms about the Pope's health, but he is in his eighties and is increasingly frail. We have been giving some thought to the likely succession of events in the case of his death. The last papal funerals and inaugurations took place in 1978; the current Pope revised the rules for the election of a Pope in 1996.

3. When a Pope dies, the Dean of the Cardinals convokes the Cardinals from around the world. Nine days of funeral rites are prescribed and the funeral is organised for between four and six days after the death. The interim power of government passes to the College of Cardinals but all major decisions await the election of the new Pope. Four senior administrators remain in post, headed by the Cardinal Camerlengo (Cardinal Chamberlain) who oversees the funeral arrangements, and to whom messages of condolence should be sent. Cardinal Sodano (Prime Minister equivalent) and heads of departments cease to exercise their function, but the secretaries, including some ministerial equivalents (DPM Sandri, Foreign Minister Tauran) remain in charge of their departments. Papal Nuncios also remain in place.

4. The Cardinals are given 15 days to assemble and the Conclave which will elect the next Pope must take place after a maximum of 20 days. Those over 80 are ineligible to vote but are expected to use the daily pre-Conclave meetings and conversations in the margins to make their views known about the Church's needs from the next papacy and who the possible candidates might be.

5. The Cardinals are shut into the Sistine Chapel for the vote and cut off from contact with the outside world, including media and telephone contact. They are sworn to secrecy about the whole procedure. In the past the accommodation was makeshift and uncomfortable, but there is now a purpose built house inside the Vatican. Voting takes place four times a day and the system requires a two thirds majority for the first 34 votes, interspersed with three breaks for prayer and reflection, thereafter a simple majority suffices. The most recent elections in practice lasted only a few days. When the new Pope is elected, he is announced to the people in St Peter's Square. (The traditional white smoke may still appear above the Sistine Chapel though this is not specified in the rules). A Solemn Mass of inauguration at St Peter's Basilica follows, usually on the first or second Sunday after the election, to which Government and religious leaders are invited.

UK Involvement

6. There is currently only one British Cardinal - the Archbishop of Westminster - who would travel to Rome in the event of the Pope's death for both ceremonies as well as for the election. I understand that before leaving with a small group, he would be likely to hold a Requiem Mass in Westminster Cathedral on the same day as the death or on the next day, with Vespers the following day. A consistory is expected in early 2003 to bring the number of electors allowed up to its 120 maximum strength (assuming, of course, that the Pope has not died in the meantime). This might produce an additional British Cardinal.

7. In 1978 The Queen was represented at all the Papal ceremonies by the late Duke of Norfolk, accompanied to some by the Duchess. The government was represented at senior level - the Home Secretary for the funeral Mass of Paul VI, the Lord Chancellor for the inauguration of John Paul I, and the Keeper of the Privy Seal for the inauguration of the present Pope. The Ambassador to the Holy See represented the government for the funeral of John Paul I (the 33 day Pope), as well as accompanying the government representative on the other occasions. In view of the high profile of the current Papacy, The Queen may wish to consider being represented by a senior member of the Royal Family at the two solemn events following the death of the current Pope. I recommend that the Government should be represented by a Cabinet member. We would, of course, endeavour to report on the level of representation being planned by others. The events have sometimes been held at a fairly early hour in the morning, and an overnight stay the previous night might be needed.

8. Draft messages are lodged with the Department to issue in the event of the death of the Pope, from the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary to the Cardinal Camerlengo, and from the PS/Secretary of State to the Papal Nuncio in London. Advice has also been given on messages of condolence from The Queen and The Prince of Wales, which would normally pass through this Embassy.

9. More detailed accounts of events following the death of a Pope

and the electoral process follow by letter to the Department.

COLVIN

COLVIN

YYYY

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NNNN

FUNERAL OF LORD WILLIAMS

MONDAY 29 SEPTEMBER 2003

Party
Prime Minister
Mrs Blair
Sally Morgan
Tom Fletcher
Andy Walsh
Peter Hain
Jack Straw
Ian McCartney
Paul Murphy
Charles Clarke
Lord Falconer
Valerie Amos
Hilary Armstrong
Bruce Grocott
Jo Gibbons – in advance

In advance to St Michael's Church – Ashley Elliott
In advance to Enstone Aerodrome – Justin Dennis and Danny Bonny

1005	Depart Highcliff
1015	Depart Royal Bath Hotel by Sea King helicopter
1115	Arrive Enstone Aerodrome (GCS providing 2 people carriers to transport Ministers)
1130	Arrive St Michael's Church (front 4 rows on left reserved)
1230/1245	Depart Church on foot for burial
1300	Arrive Reception in marquee
1315	Depart Reception

RESTRICTED - PERSONAL

From: Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Mather, CVO OBE
THE HORSESHOES, CHIRTON, Nr. DEVIZES, WILTSHIRE SN10 3QR
Tel: 01380 840 261 Fax: 01380 848 088
E-mail: anthonycm.mather@virgin.net

28th October 2002

SV.

→ J' Bridges' file

LONDON BRIDGE – Earl Marshal's Biennial Conference

I am writing to inform you that the Earl Marshal will hold his biennial conference to consider the latest plans for LONDON BRIDGE on Friday 7th February 2003 at 11 a.m. in the Throne Room at Buckingham Palace.

An up-dated Planning Note and Agenda will be dispatched to you on Friday 17th January together with the necessary administrative instructions.

If this letter has been addressed to a previous holder of a particular appointment, I would be grateful if the present incumbent could inform me of the change as soon as possible.

Anthony Mather

Distribution attached:

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Major Barnaby Cockcroft, Clerk of the Cheque and Adjutant, Gentlemen at Arms
Major Charles Marriott, Clerk of the Cheque and Adjutant, Yeomen of the Guard
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Wing Commander Ben Waterfield, P1[Cer][RAF]

Guards Division
Colonel Hamon Massey, Commander Household Cavalry
Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Boddington, Brigade Major Household Division
Lieutenant Colonel Campbell Gordon, SO2 Ceremonial, Household Division

WO1 WDG Mott - Garrison Sergeant Major, Headquarters London District

Police
Commander Michael Messinger, Territorial Policing, Metropolitan Police Service
Chief Superintendent Peter Prentice, Commander Royalty Protection
Superintendent Peter Moore, City of London Police
Superintendent Stephen Evans, Thames Valley Police
Chief Superintendent David Hatcher, British Transport Police
Inspector Ashley Phillips, Royal Parks Police
Sergeant Adrian Oliver, Ceremonial Officer, Public Order Planing, Metropolitan Police Service

Church
The Rev. Dr. David Marshall, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury
The Very Reverend Dr. Wesley Carr, Dean of Westminster
Major General David Burden, Receiver General Westminster Abbey
Stuart Holmes, Esq., Assistant Receiver General Protocol Westminster Abbey
Lieutenant Colonel Nigel Newman, Chapter Clerk, St. George's Chapel, Windsor

Parliament
The Hon. Rupert Carrington, Lord Great Chamberlain's Office
Brigadier Hedley Duncan, Yeoman Usher of the Black Rod, House of Lords
Philip Wright, Esq., Assistant Serjeant at Arms, House of Commons
Christopher Hillier, Esq., Parliamentary Works Services Directorate

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Paul Double, Esq., City Remembrancer [designate]

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