

E
1873

PREM 49 / 4664 / 1

From: Alastair Campbell

Date: 3 June 2000

PRIME MINISTER

**cc: David Miliband
Anji Hunter
Philip Gould
Sally Morgan**

RE WI SPEECH

I don't think this is right. Coincidentally, and independently, Philip sent me a note this morning which reaches many of the conclusions I did, and if anything is even harsher in its judgment. I attach it.

As you say, you think the speech must be your voice. Up to a point it is, but only up to a point. I feel it is more your voice as you think others want to hear it.

For your real voice fully to be heard, we need to hear: values rooted in the past, modernisation, and leadership. In the current draft, the first of these is reasonably strong, but the tone of the other two is weak and where it is heard, almost apologetic.

You are also right that there has to be a sense that the combination of the baby and some time out from the hurly-burly allow for a more personal and reflective speech. But personal and reflective is not enough. There has to be a sense that there is now absolute clarity about the overall mission and the next steps. There is not much sense of a recharged, refocused Blair firing on all fronts, and in parts a danger of coming over as rather Majoresque. Where is the challenge to the audience? Where is the challenge to the country? Where is the sense of the

modernising leader spelling out the need for real change and reform, and the further tough choices that will have to be made? It is too complacent, and too comfortable.

To some extent, it can be helped by trailing a small number of specified pre-CSR, or pre-next QS, to inject hard news. So we need to work up drugs (remember that as well as Jack's speech on Thursday, Mo leaves the same day for Colombia, so we could really build this up. [DM]

On the opportunity agenda, we could trail a number of CSR issues: Sure Start, more for kids to stay on at school, more to help universities wider access; help for small business start ups.

But what I feel coming through the whole time is an attempt to say that whilst there has been some pain in getting through reform so far, all the rest we can do without upsetting anyone. It is not true, and to pretend so will simply underline one of the weaknesses your trying to address; namely "all things to all men". You are left with a sense of pandering to an audience you believe wants to hear all this, and it is only in part what they want to hear there is a risk of it seeming patronising. Yes; they want to believe in their basic WI values, but they also want better schools and hospitals, and Britain to be a better country; and they won't get from this how it's going to happen.

In trying to say to Middle England that what they really want is a return of the old values is to misunderstand, or at least only partially understand, what they want. They are not sitting there thinking i want this government to slow down. Quite the contrary they are impatient for more change. They don't just need to

be told what their values are. They want to know that the government is driving through real change to improve their lives, and that the change is rooted in these values.

But perhaps the greatest risk of the speech as drafted is the seeming effort to distance yourself from what is you. I can see what you are trying to do but people will find it odd that you; the epitome of "New" Labour and therefore "New" Britain appear to want to resile from the concept yourself. In trying to balance old and new, it comes over as a triumph of the former over the latter, not a marriage of the two. You might be better to stick to traditional values in a modern setting. Likewise, of course there is a new economy, but instead of tearing down the fake old/new divide, your formulation gives credence to it. Reading and re-reading, the Queen's Speech/Tate Modern stuff comes over as rather desperate, and you sound in parts like a commentator rather than a political leader. There is no edge to it, and I think you get edge by saying that there are people so opposed to the modernisation that is necessary to change Britain that they deliberately and wilfully misrepresent all your arguments and all that you do (the Daily Telegraph All Saints point) fine. There must be a sense that whatever the flak that we take – on Ireland, on Europe, on welfare, on schools, on change and reform, or style – this is what we believe, this is what we stand for, and we will not be moved from the path of reform because it is what Britain needs. If we are to make the most of ourselves in the new century.

If the central argument is opportunity plus responsibility equals community, it doesn't really power through the speech. That is because there is no real sense of challenge. You state the need for Britain to be truly meritocratic but there is

little sense of a passion for it to be so, or again of the government action that will make it so.

There also has to be a sense of the scale of what we inherited, and the political implications.

If it is true that 100,000 long term young unemployment are basically drug addicts, and that more than 1 million adults cannot read, that is a dreadful commentary on the Tories, and we cannot let it go unnoticed, as we try to work it out. Likewise all the problems that relate to the death of the civic society – family breakdown, crime and drugs, underclass, welfare dependency, education that only serves the few well – these are the result of a political philosophy that held people and the country back; they were a denial of what we believe to be decent British values. Just as you should make no apology for New Labour – it was a deliberate and determined effort to change the Party so you should make no apology for New Britain – we must be equally determined, deliberate, relentless in our focus.

When you pursue old values, there has to be a recognition of their erosion, and the need for a new approach to get them back e.g. yes, your dad thought the teacher was always right. Today parents think they can storm into the playground and scream abuse at the head – we should be making clear we won't tolerate it, that school teachers and governors can have all the powers they need to deal with unruly parents and kids. Otherwise, it is just nostalgia.

I am sorry to be so negative, but I fear the speech will not work as it stands and that far from getting you back in touch, it will have the opposite effect. I also think you need to take on heartlands/Middle England.

There are bits I have rewritten which I can send down if you want, but I think you need to have a real fundamental look at it first. What is lacking above all is actually the real sense of what you are about and how that makes you and the government uniquely fitted to drive through the change that is necessary for people, their families and the country as a whole to make the most of ourselves. The story about you in the end is the moderniser who understands the basic conservative instincts of the country and the people. It is this latter point that enables you to lead them down a path of change. But the speech as it stands has you stuck in their conservative instincts, not leading them through change.

I think you need a passage along the lines as follows:

"I am not in politics for the fun of it. A lot of the time, to be perfectly honest, it is heavy pounding, hard work, it never stops. But you take the flak and you stand the heat because you believe in what you are doing and you've got the opportunity to do something good, to make your country better, to make the lives of people better.

I am in politics because I know there are many wrongs to be righted. I am in politics because I believe in this country, and I know it can be so much better than it is.

There is no other country I would want to lead because the basic decent values of this country are my values, and they are right for the modern world. But timeless values must always adapt to change.

I joined the Labour Party because its values are closest to mine.

And I think I rose to the leader of the Labour Party because over time the Labour Party understood that while its values were fine, through its policies and its attitudes it had lost touch. The world moved on and the party stood still.

Through change and modernisation, we got the Labour Party back in touch with the people, whilst I am leader, it will never lose touch with the people. It will stay rooted in those basic decent values, but applying them to today's world.

For now I have the honour of leading not just the Labour Party, but the government of the country.

And Britain has to change, and I have to lead the country through that change. It will be difficult. It has been difficult already but the changes we have put through have been right. Economic stability is being delivered because of the radical reforms we made the minute we came to power. More people are working because we made employment a priority issue and through the New Deal the Labour market reform we have created the conditions that now enable us to talk about reaching our goal of full employment. The changes we made to our public services – school standards, waiting lists, etc – or the changes we made to our constitution have been difficult every step of the way, fiercely opposed every step of the way. But right.

Nothing good ever comes easy. But the goals you elected me to reach remain the same today as they were in May 1997. They are what I have always believed it was my purpose to fulfil: a fairer Britain, a modern Britain, a Britain that reaches the fullness of its potential. Built on the rock of economic stability and social justice; full employment, modernised public services, opportunity for all and security for all, reformed welfare that gives work to those who can and help to those who can't, tackling crime and its causes.

These are the issues that day in day out get me out of bed in the morning, willing to work every hour that God sends to see them through.

In all of these areas, I can point to real tangible progress that has been made possible by deliberate and determined reform. But equally, in all of these areas, I say in all honesty that I know there is more to do. And I say to you, and through you the country, that it will need more reform, more tough choices, more opposition that will need to be taken on and defeated in argument.

The mission of this government is to ensure that in the world of change, everyone, no just the privileged few, gets the chance to make the most of themselves. Who could argue with that, you might say. But for centuries, people have argued with that. This is not yet truly a land of opportunity for all. There are people who think that the country is fine as it is. But I'm not one of them. We have made a start in modernising this country, its economy and its institutions to put power, wealth and opportunity in the hands of the many and not the few. But it is only a start. There is a long way to go.

But I believe that basic vision of Britain as a land of opportunity is one that the vast majority of British people, whether in so-called heartlands or so-called Middle England, whether rich or poor, black or white, privately educated or publicly educated, can share and sign up to, and work with us to deliver."

Monica

PP

ALASTAIR CAMPBELL

From: David Miliband
Date: 3 June 2000

PRIME MINISTER

cc: Alastair Campbell
Anji Hunter
Philip Gould
Sally Morgan

WI SPEECH: POLICY

I think you want this speech to define the policy terrain on our terms. This is not the first speech of the election campaign, and must not be a policy compendium, but it does need to set out our stall. The role of the policy section must be to link values (page 6: equal worth as the foundation of community) and diagnosis of Britain's problems to ambitions – a changed Britain offering opportunity and security to all not the few. At the moment, I feel:

- a) we need more clarity/rationale in the policy story; it is not clear why you have focussed on family and tax with only passing reference to education and health
- b) more of a forward look; the explanation of the past almost wholly excludes the future

The audience in the hall will just have sung Jerusalem just before your speech. I think they will find a defence of your record, rather than a plan for Britain, jarring; they want something optimistic, which explains how the future can be better. My last point addresses this.

1. I feel your four fold economic story sits uneasily with the later crime/family sections. (The logic also breaks down at base 4: it is not right to say that our industrial strategy for the new economy only starts after stability, jobs and investment). If in fact you want to say that on the base of stable macro policy, opportunity depends on active government to extend education, jobs/careers and enterprise, while security requires a partnership between state and people to tackle crime, support families and sustain communities, then I think it would be good to say so and organise the material accordingly. This would have the benefit of playing to one potential theme - that unlike old Left and new Right we believe Britain will only succeed when active government, dynamic markets, and a vibrant civil society play complementary

roles, rather than being pitted against each other (this is what Hillary Clinton calls the 'three legs of the stool').

Personally, I think it would be better to restrict your substantive, elongated policy remarks to education and crime as the symbols of opportunity and security/responsibility. All the rest can be dealt with in passing, including post offices and carers, but at the moment it feels cluttered.

2. I feel that even if we do not use the phrase, we must hold on to the concept of 'lot done, lot to do'. It is what guarantees for us a position as the party of change, even though we are incumbents. Don't you need to say something like:

(B) "We were elected because of two terrible recessions in the 1980s and 1990s, because we had slipped to 42nd in the world education league, because crime had doubled, and because the NHS had been broken up. On each count, progress has been made: the economy has had continuous steady growth, primary school standards are rising, burglary is down 20%, and the NHS is now seeing more patients, faster, than at any time in its history. But I am the first person to say that as long as there are one million unemployed, 50% of school leavers without five good GCSEs, NHS treatment variable in quality and speed, and violent crime is rising, then Britain needs ^{that change} change to fulfil all our ambitions for a better life. I want to offer that change, firmly rooted in our values."

3. An education section could and should exemplify the values, journey and ambitions of the government. Isn't the key to go back to 'excellence for all' as the basis for setting out the real position on access to the top universities? Primary school reform, teaching reform, inspections, City Academies, Specialist Schools, the 50% participation target, all are designed to remedy the most glaring underinvestment of all - in people. The Sutton Trust figures show that already 67% of the people who gain the qualifications required by the top five universities are in the state sector; we want to spread that excellence. This must be the key to your brain not brawn point. And I would flag up that there is a big lifelong learning agenda, that should be fulfilling for individuals but also good for the productivity of the country.
4. Goals. You asked for these in education and health, and possibly in relations to productivity. They are all being hotly debated as part of the CSR, and final decisions depend on funding decisions. Gordon already has from his budget speeches five economic goals:

- education: 50% to university
 - poverty: end child poverty
 - productivity: close the gap with our competitors
 - employment: achieve full employment
 - public services: (can't remember the target)
-

If you want to indicate ambition on education, the best area is primary schools – moving effectively to zero tolerance of failure. In secondaries we do not yet have something exciting – 50% to HE is the best. On health, now is not the time to unveil new targets for waiting; better to stick to the notion of top quality healthcare delivered fast.

5. Security. I think the responsibility section gets over complicated. You are saying that we need mutual responsibility from each of us to provide a secure community for all of us. Again, we need to explain what we have done as well as what we plan:

- for example on drugs, you can say that Britain now has an internationally recognised drugs strategy, that provision for treatment was tripled in the first CSR, that the bill now in Parliament sets out mandatory drug testing for key groups of arrestees, that prisoners now have mandatory drug testing and treatment, and that the fight against drug traffickers is being stepped up, through a) EU action started by us (at Tampere?) and soon to be confirmed by EU Ministers, b) international action with the request from McCaffrey for Mo to go to Columbia (tho we need to be sure we have a strategy for getting the rest on board on the money side), and c) the forthcoming PIU report on Confiscation of Assets/Crime and the money trail; in terms of Jack's speech, the HO/No 10 agreement (presumably brokered by CF/AC?) was that on Wednesday you would announce new Budget money to tackle rural crime, on Thursday Jack would talk tough about punishment and prison, and then next week you would announce at the Police Bravery Awards the new drive on street crime in the five worst areas. I have asked for a more detailed note on this and will forward to you later.
- on lone parents, I believe the rise in the divorce rate is now tailing off, the teenage pregnancy strategy is targeting boys as well as girls (need to check the position on hostels – it is not quite as you say), and government is doing its bit to the full to provide the state help that can make life less of a struggle; but government cannot make people stay together (your

substantive position is clear but the plaintive query 'how can we help' jarred with me)

- on rural post offices, we need GB's Cabinet Committee to go right on Tuesday, but we have already guaranteed that anyone who wants to receive their benefit at the post office can do so, but the report (to be published at end of the month) proposes an ambitious future not just a defence of the past - support for existing rural network to continue but also a big drive to make the post office an expanding organisation as the front end of e-commerce, banking and government services.

6. Connection. I think we have to relearn the lessons of **Opposition** in explaining our policy agenda - simplicity, symbols and repetition are key. So in your current speech:

- I would make the ~~change~~ section much more down to earth - no one understands trillions of dollars changing hands on foreign exchanges, but ~~they do understand that~~ when Chinese workers are employed at one fiftieth of the cost, our workers have to create things that the Chinese cannot make; ~~they understand that~~ when 80% of new jobs go to women, we cannot expect childcare and eldercare to be done in the old way; ~~they understand that~~ when internet sales are rising at X% a year, ~~retailing and postal services are being transformed~~
- We must continue to plug the individual items that people really like - banning firearms, raising child benefit, big money for health and education - and remind them of things like the penny off tax

7. The story of the government. The speech has a number of ideas; instead of competing they need to be synthesised. You have got a) community = opportunity plus responsibility, b) old/new values and means, c) change, d) the democratic age. I see the danger - that we are branded as seeking to obliterate what is good about the country. This is the 'year zero' attack that comes from right and left. The way to block it off must be to reinterpret it; simple denial looks weak. Isn't this the argument:

- lots of great things about Britain and British people: mutual respect, strong institutions, tolerance, fairness, can-do; these old strengths key to the future
- but virtues become vices unless always renewed, and our problem this century has been failure to renew and replenish so that all the people, not just a few, fulfil their potential: in an age where equal worth is a necessity, where life is a matter of choice not fate, where individual power is greater than before, we have left in place old ways of doing things, therefore failed to use the talent of all our people; & that is why we suffer decline
- the key to renewal is community – defined by a) the bonds of connection that hold us together, and b) the instruments of collective action that lift people up and break down the barriers that hold them back; government is key, but only effective working with private and voluntary sector
- the way to renew community is a covenant – opportunity plus responsibility; symbol of opportunity is education, which has suffered lack of investment, the symbol of security is crime, which needs a response from the whole community, led by government
- that is why I talk about modernising Britain so that it rebuilds its strength for a world of change; can't do it in the old ways that relied on few at the top; got to do it new ways that engage whole nation

The problem with all our formulations is that the preferred headline is not clear/agreed. This needs to be sorted out; if we get it clear, the rest should come into place.

From: Sally Morgan
Date: 3 June 2000

PRIME MINISTER

cc: Alastair Campbell
David Miliband
Anji Hunter
Philip Gould

WI SPEECH

I have a couple of main points, then some details:

1. I think the tone is overall too defensive, apologetic, unconfident, particularly in the introductory section.
2. I am deeply uncomfortable with the concept of "old-fashioned values". I think we can do "traditional values in a modern setting" but the formulation in the speech is backward looking and conservative.
3. I think it is overall weak on government action. We have to be clearer about why this government is making, and will make a difference. At the moment this reads too much to me as a speech by a moral commentator rather than a political leader.

Monica.

PP **SALLY MORGAN**

DETAILS

- Page 5 (and later page 8-9 in section on fourth base):
We need more explanation of the changing industrial base and particularly of our role in helping people as well as businesses through the changes.
May be worth saying a bit about Rover or Ford?)
- Page 7
Is it worth actually explaining the WFTC in a couple of sentences?
- Page 8. Third base
This is very thin. This audience will be motivated strongly by education and health yet we say very little. Isn't education this government's great passion?
- Page 10.
Is your "teenage mum" sentence policy? Do we have such hostels? What is "improvement"?
- Page 11
Your marriage position is fine except that some marriages shouldn't stay together. Remember the WI has long campaigned on the issue of domestic violence.
- Page 14
Voluntary work – remember that these women will be the bedrock of community and voluntary groups – as well as running their school PTAs.
Maybe a quick aside to show you understand this?

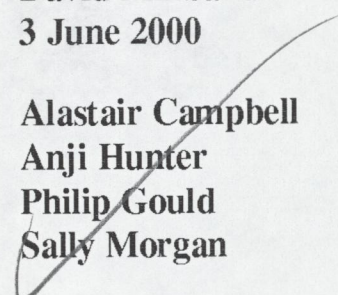


PRIME MINISTER

From: David Miliband

Date: 3 June 2000

cc: Alastair Campbell
Anji Hunter
Philip Gould
Sally Morgan



WI SPEECH: POLICY

I think you want this speech to define the policy terrain on our terms. This is not the first speech of the election campaign, and must not be a policy compendium, but it does need to set out our stall. The role of the policy section must be to link values (page 6: equal worth as the foundation of community) and diagnosis of Britain's problems to ambitions – a changed Britain offering opportunity and security to all not the few. At the moment, I feel:

- a) we need more clarity/rationale in the policy story; it is not clear why you have focussed on family and tax with only passing reference to education and health
- b) more of a forward look; the explanation of the past almost wholly excludes the future

The audience in the hall will just have sung Jerusalem just before your speech. I think they will find a defence of your record, rather than a plan for Britain, jarring; they want something optimistic, which explains how the future can be better. My last point addresses this.

1. I feel your four fold economic story sits uneasily with the later crime/family sections. (The logic also breaks down at base 4: it is not right to say that our industrial strategy for the new economy only starts after stability, jobs and investment). If in fact you want to say that on the base of stable macro policy, opportunity depends on active government to extend education, jobs/careers and enterprise, while security requires a partnership between state and people to tackle crime, support families and sustain communities, then I think it would be good to say so and organise the material accordingly. This would have the benefit of playing to one potential theme - that unlike old Left and new Right we believe Britain will only succeed when active government, dynamic markets, and a vibrant civil society play complementary

roles, rather than being pitted against each other (this is what Hillary Clinton calls the 'three legs of the stool').

Personally, I think it would be better to restrict your substantive, elongated policy remarks to education and crime as the symbols of opportunity and security/responsibility. All the rest can be dealt with in passing, including post offices and carers, but at the moment it feels cluttered.

2. I feel that even if we do not use the phrase, we must hold on to the concept of 'lot done, lot to do'. It is what guarantees for us a position as the party of change, even though we are incumbents. Don't you need to say something like:

"We were elected because of two terrible recessions in the 1980s and 1990s, because we had slipped to 42nd in the world education league, because crime had doubled, and because the NHS had been broken up. On each count, progress has been made: the economy has had continuous steady growth, primary school standards are rising, burglary is down 20%, and the NHS is now seeing more patients, faster, than at any time in its history. But I am the first person to say that as long as there are one million unemployed, 50% of school leavers without five good GCSEs, NHS treatment variable in quality and speed, and violent crime is rising, then Britain needs change to fulfil all our ambitions for a better life. I want to offer that change, firmly rooted in our values."

3. An education section could and should exemplify the values, journey and ambitions of the government. Isn't the key to go back to 'excellence for all' as the basis for setting out the real position on access to the top universities? Primary school reform, teaching reform, inspections, City Academies, Specialist Schools, the 50% participation target, all are designed to remedy the most glaring underinvestment of all - in people. The Sutton Trust figures show that already 67% of the people who gain the qualifications required by the top five universities are in the state sector; we want to spread that excellence. This must be the key to your brain not brawn point. And I would flag up that there is a big lifelong learning agenda, that should be fulfilling for individuals but also good for the productivity of the country.
4. Goals. You asked for these in education and health, and possibly in relations to productivity. They are all being hotly debated as part of the CSR, and final decisions depend on funding decisions. Gordon already has from his budget speeches five economic goals:

- education: 50% to university
- poverty: end child poverty
- productivity: close the gap with our competitors
- employment: achieve full employment
- public services: (can't remember the target)

If you want to indicate ambition on education, the best area is primary schools – moving effectively to zero tolerance of failure. In secondaries we do not yet have something exciting – 50% to HE is the best. On health, now is not the time to unveil new targets for waiting; better to stick to the notion of top quality healthcare delivered fast.

5. Security. I think the responsibility section gets over complicated. You are saying that we need mutual responsibility from each of us to provide a secure community for all of us. Again, we need to explain what we have done as well as what we plan:

- for example on drugs, you can say that Britain now has an internationally recognised drugs strategy, that provision for treatment was tripled in the first CSR, that the bill now in Parliament sets out mandatory drug testing for key groups of arrestees, that prisoners now have mandatory drug testing and treatment, and that the fight against drug traffickers is being stepped up, through a) EU action started by us (at Tampere?) and soon to be confirmed by EU Ministers, b) international action with the request from McCaffrey for Mo to go to Columbia (tho we need to be sure we have a strategy for getting the rest on board on the money side), and c) the forthcoming PIU report on Confiscation of Assets/Crime and the money trail; in terms of Jack's speech, the HO/No 10 agreement (presumably brokered by CF/AC?) was that on Wednesday you would announce new Budget money to tackle rural crime, on Thursday Jack would talk tough about punishment and prison, and then next week you would announce at the Police Bravery Awards the new drive on street crime in the five worst areas. I have asked for a more detailed note on this and will forward to you later.
- on lone parents, I believe the rise in the divorce rate is now tailing off, the teenage pregnancy strategy is targeting boys as well as girls (need to check the position on hostels – it is not quite as you say), and government is doing its bit to the full to provide the state help that can make life less of a struggle; but government cannot make people stay together (your

substantive position is clear but the plaintive query 'how can we help' jarred with me)

- on rural post offices, we need GB's Cabinet Committee to go right on Tuesday, but we have already guaranteed that anyone who wants to receive their benefit at the post office can do so, but the report (to be published at end of the month) proposes an ambitious future not just a defence of the past - support for existing rural network to continue but also a big drive to make the post office an expanding organisation as the front end of e-commerce, banking and government services.
6. Connection. I think we have to relearn the lessons of **Opposition** in explaining our policy agenda - simplicity, symbols and repetition are key. So in your current speech:
- I would make the change section much more down to earth - no one understands trillions of dollars changing hands on foreign exchanges, but they do understand that when Chinese workers are employed at one fiftieth of the cost, our workers have to create things that the Chinese cannot make; they understand that when 80% of new jobs go to women, we cannot expect childcare and eldercare to be done in the old way; they understand that when internet sales are rising at X% a year, retailing and postal services are being transformed
 - We must continue to plug the individual items that people really like - banning firearms, raising child benefit, big money for health and education - and remind them of things like the penny off tax
7. The story of the government. The speech has a number of ideas; instead of competing they need to be synthesised. You have got a) community = opportunity plus responsibility, b) old/new values and means, c) change, d) the democratic age. I see the danger - that we are branded as seeking to obliterate what is good about the country. This is the 'year zero' attack that comes from right and left. The way to block it off must be to reinterpret it; simple denial looks weak. Isn't this the argument:

- lots of great things about Britain and British people: mutual respect, strong institutions, tolerance, fairness, can-do; these old strengths key to the future
- but virtues become vices unless always renewed, and our problem this century has been failure to renew and replenish so that all the people, not just a few, fulfil their potential: in an age where equal worth is a necessity, where life is a matter of choice not fate, where individual power is greater than before, we have left in place old ways of doing things, therefore failed to use the talent of all our people; & that is why we suffer decline
- the key to renewal is community – defined by a) the bonds of connection that hold us together, and b) the instruments of collective action that lift people up and break down the barriers that hold them back; government is key, but only effective working with private and voluntary sector
- the way to renew community is a covenant – opportunity plus responsibility; symbol of opportunity is education, which has suffered lack of investment, the symbol of security is crime, which needs a response from the whole community, led by government
- that is why I talk about modernising Britain so that it rebuilds its strength for a world of change; can't do it in the old ways that relied on few at the top; got to do it new ways that engage whole nation

The problem with all our formulations is that the preferred headline is not clear/agreed. This needs to be sorted out; if we get it clear, the rest should come into place.

PRIME MINISTER

From: Alastair Campbell
Date: 3 June 2000

cc: David Miliband
Anji Hunter
Philip Gould
Sally Morgan

RE WI SPEECH

I don't think this is right. Coincidentally, and independently, Philip sent me a note this morning which reaches many of the conclusions I did, and if anything is even harsher in its judgment. I attach it.

As you say, you think the speech must be your voice. Up to a point it is, but only up to a point. I feel it is more your voice as you think others want to hear it.

For your real voice fully to be heard, we need to hear: values rooted in the past, modernisation, and leadership. In the current draft, the first of these is reasonably strong, but the tone of the other two is weak and where it is heard, almost apologetic.

You are also right that there has to be a sense that the combination of the baby and some time out from the hurly-burly allow for a more personal and reflective speech. But personal and reflective is not enough. There has to be a sense that there is now absolute clarity about the overall mission and the next steps. There is not much sense of a recharged, refocused Blair firing on all fronts, and in parts a danger of coming over as rather Majoresque. Where is the challenge to the audience? Where is the challenge to the country? Where is the sense of the

modernising leader spelling out the need for real change and reform, and the further tough choices that will have to be made? It is too complacent, and too comfortable.

To some extent, it can be helped by trailing a small number of specified pre-CSR, or pre-next QS, to inject hard news. So we need to work up drugs (remember that as well as Jack's speech on Thursday, Mo leaves the same day for Colombia, so we could really build this up. [DM]

On the opportunity agenda, we could trail a number of CSR issues: Sure Start, more for kids to stay on at school, more to help universities wider access; help for small business start ups.

But what I feel coming through the whole time is an attempt to say that whilst there has been some pain in getting through reform so far, all the rest we can do without upsetting anyone. It is not true, and to pretend so will simply underline one of the weaknesses your trying to address; namely "all things to all men". You are left with a sense of pandering to an audience you believe wants to hear all this, and it is only in part what they want to hear there is a risk of it seeming patronising. Yes; they want to believe in their basic WI values, but they also want better schools and hospitals, and Britain to be a better country; and they won't get from this how it's going to happen.

In trying to say to Middle England that what they really want is a return of the old values is to misunderstand, or at least only partially understand, what they want. They are not sitting there thinking i want this government to slow down. Quite the contrary they are impatient for more change. They don't just need to

be told what their values are. They want to know that the government is driving through real change to improve their lives, and that the change is rooted in these values.

But perhaps the greatest risk of the speech as drafted is the seeming effort to distance yourself from what is you. I can see what you are trying to do but people will find it odd that you; the epitome of "New" Labour and therefore "New" Britain appear to want to resile from the concept yourself. In trying to balance old and new, it comes over as a triumph of the former over the latter, not a marriage of the two. You might be better to stick to traditional values in a modern setting. Likewise, of course there is a new economy, but instead of tearing down the fake old/new divide, your formulation gives credence to it. Reading and re-reading, the Queen's Speech/Tate Modern stuff comes over as rather desperate, and you sound in parts like a commentator rather than a political leader. There is no edge to it, and I think you get edge by saying that there are people so opposed to the modernisation that is necessary to change Britain that they deliberately and wilfully misrepresent all your arguments and all that you do (the Daily Telegraph All Saints point) fine. There must be a sense that whatever the flak that we take – on Ireland, on Europe, on welfare, on schools, on change and reform, or style – this is what we believe, this is what we stand for, and we will not be moved from the path of reform because it is what Britain needs. If we are to make the most of ourselves in the new century.

If the central argument is opportunity plus responsibility equals community, it doesn't really power through the speech. That is because there is no real sense of challenge. You state the need for Britain to be truly meritocratic but there is

little sense of a passion for it to be so, or again of the government action that will make it so.

There also has to be a sense of the scale of what we inherited, and the political implications.

If it is true that 100,000 long term young unemployment are basically drug addicts, and that more than 1 million adults cannot read, that is a dreadful commentary on the Tories, and we cannot let it go unnoticed, as we try to work it out. Likewise all the problems that relate to the death of the civic society – family breakdown, crime and drugs, underclass, welfare dependency, education that only serves the few well – these are the result of a political philosophy that held people and the country back; they were a denial of what we believe to be decent British values. Just as you should make no apology for New Labour – it was a deliberate and determined effort to change the Party so you should make no apology for New Britain – we must be equally determined, deliberate, relentless in our focus.

When you pursue old values, there has to be a recognition of their erosion, and the need for a new approach to get them back e.g. yes, your dad thought the teacher was always right. Today parents think they can storm into the playground and scream abuse at the head – we should be making clear we won't tolerate it, that school teachers and governors can have all the powers they need to deal with unruly parents and kids. Otherwise, it is just nostalgia.

I am sorry to be so negative, but I fear the speech will not work as it stands and that far from getting you back in touch, it will have the opposite effect. I also think you need to take on heartlands/Middle England.

There are bits I have rewritten which I can send down if you want, but I think you need to have a real fundamental look at it first. What is lacking above all is actually the real sense of what you are about and how that makes you and the government uniquely fitted to drive through the change that is necessary for people, their families and the country as a whole to make the most of ourselves. The story about you in the end is the moderniser who understands the basic conservative instincts of the country and the people. It is this latter point that enables you to lead them down a path of change. But the speech as it stands has you stuck in their conservative instincts, not leading them through change.

I think you need a passage along the lines as follows:

"I am not in politics for the fun of it. A lot of the time, to be perfectly honest, it is heavy pounding, hard work, it never stops. But you take the flak and you stand the heat because you believe in what you are doing and you've got the opportunity to do something good, to make your country better, to make the lives of people better.

I am in politics because I know there are many wrongs to be righted. I am in politics because I believe in this country, and I know it can be so much better than it is.

There is no other country I would want to lead because the basic decent values of this country are my values, and they are right for the modern world. But timeless values must always adapt to change.

I joined the Labour Party because its values are closest to mine.

And I think I rose to the leader of the Labour Party because over time the Labour Party understood that while its values were fine, through its policies and its attitudes it had lost touch. The world moved on and the party stood still.

Through change and modernisation, we got the Labour Party back in touch with the people, whilst I am leader, it will never lose touch with the people. It will stay rooted in those basic decent values, but applying them to today's world.

For now I have the honour of leading not just the Labour Party, but the government of the country.

And Britain has to change, and I have to lead the country through that change. It will be difficult. It has been difficult already but the changes we have put through have been right. Economic stability is being delivered because of the radical reforms we made the minute we came to power. More people are working because we made employment a priority issue and through the New Deal the Labour market reform we have created the conditions that now enable us to talk about reaching our goal of full employment. The changes we made to our public services – school standards, waiting lists, etc – or the changes we made to our constitution have been difficult every step of the way, fiercely opposed every step of the way. But right.

Nothing good ever comes easy. But the goals you elected me to reach remain the same today as they were in May 1997. They are what I have always believed it was my purpose to fulfil: a fairer Britain, a modern Britain, a Britain that reaches the fullness of its potential. Built on the rock of economic stability and social justice; full employment, modernised public services, opportunity for all and security for all, reformed welfare that gives work to those who can and help to those who can't, tackling crime and its causes.

These are the issues that day in day out get me out of bed in the morning, willing to work every hour that God sends to see them through.

In all of these areas, I can point to real tangible progress that has been made possible by deliberate and determined reform. But equally, in all of these areas, I say in all honesty that I know there is more to do. And I say to you, and through you the country, that it will need more reform, more tough choices, more opposition that will need to be taken on and defeated in argument.

The mission of this government is to ensure that in the world of change, everyone, not just the privileged few, gets the chance to make the most of themselves. Who could argue with that, you might say. But for centuries, people have argued with that. This is not yet truly a land of opportunity for all. There are people who think that the country is fine as it is. But I'm not one of them. We have made a start in modernising this country, its economy and its institutions to put power, wealth and opportunity in the hands of the many and not the few. But it is only a start. There is a long way to go.

But I believe that basic vision of Britain as a land of opportunity is one that the vast majority of British people, whether in so-called heartlands or so-called Middle England, whether rich or poor, black or white, privately educated or publicly educated, can share and sign up to, and work with us to deliver."

Monica

PP ALASTAIR CAMPBELL

Prime Minister.

from Sally

W.I. Speech.

I think this is much better - much stronger.

I'm afraid I still really dislike the old-fashioned values. (Core values / long-standing values / fundamental values are fine!) I do think ^{old-fashioned} ~~these~~ will seem very alien to most of our under 40 voters (if not older as well.) We may be seeking to speak to middle England - but they are not all late middle-aged or ~~the~~ elderly.

I think you could still do more on education - after all, our achievements have been in the face of opposition - but we were determined to raise standards in primary schools. Worth spelling this out a bit.

Wouldn't say "women tied to the kitchen" (page 11.) Many of your audience stay at home. It's more that women had ~~to~~ no choice between home and work, or a combination - as we are now seeking to offer.

✓
PRIME MINISTER

From: Sally Morgan
Date: 3 June 2000

cc: Alastair Campbell
David Miliband
Anji Hunter
Philip Gould

WI SPEECH

I have a couple of main points, then some details:

1. I think the tone is overall too defensive, apologetic, unconfident, particularly in the introductory section.
2. I am deeply uncomfortable with the concept of "old-fashioned values". I think we can do "traditional values in a modern setting" but the formulation in the speech is backward looking and conservative.
3. I think it is overall weak on government action. We have to be clearer about why this government is making, and will make a difference. At the moment this reads too much to me as a speech by a moral commentator rather than a political leader.

Monica

PP **SALLY MORGAN**

DETAILS

- Page 5 (and later page 8-9 in section on fourth base):
We need more explanation of the changing industrial base and particularly of our role in helping people as well as businesses through the changes.
May be worth saying a bit about Rover or Ford?)
- Page 7
Is it worth actually explaining the WFTC in a couple of sentences?
- Page 8. Third base
This is very thin. This audience will be motivated strongly by education and health yet we say very little. Isn't education this government's great passion?
- Page 10.
Is your "teenage mum" sentence policy? Do we have such hostels? What is "improvement"?
- Page 11
Your marriage position is fine except that some marriages shouldn't stay together. Remember the WI has long campaigned on the issue of domestic violence.
- Page 14
Voluntary work – remember that these women will be the bedrock of community and voluntary groups – as well as running their school PTAs.
Maybe a quick aside to show you understand this?

SPEECH TO THE WOMEN'S INSTITUTE

speech\womens institute
as at 3 June 1530
words: 4554

At the heart not just of my politics but of my beliefs is the idea of community, the notion that the path to individual fulfilment lies in society with, not in isolation from, others. The renewal of the idea of community, of civic society in Britain today is the ^{answer to the challenge} ~~single biggest challenge~~ ^{challenge too great to} we face. ~~It is the only route to~~ ^{Face of individualism alone. ~~we need~~} opportunity and security for all in a changing world. ~~Rebuild it and we rebuild a~~ ^{community} great nation. Fail and our future will be a nation increasingly fragmented, divided, unfair, where opportunity and security are for the minority not the broad majority of British people.

The idea of community is as old as humanity.

~~Part~~ The means of its renewal lies in embracing change.

~~It is a time to put~~ The old and the new must be in harmony.

~~For community, it is the combining of opposites & resp.~~
I want a strong economy, ^{Old values. New means.} Rising living standards, good schools, an NHS, there when we need it, secure streets, a fairer, better Britain. ^{What is} So do you. But there is no possibility of achieving it – absolutely none – unless we ^{with opposites} return to our core values as a nation ^{both} and then revolutionise the means of their application for the modern world.

~~That means a community in which~~
To conserve, we change. To change in a way that is good, we conserve.

~~Combine opp. & resp. & opp. are combined. The~~
~~are not at all the other~~
The core value is responsibility, respect for others.
The means is ^{in a working} ~~achieving~~ ^{community} ~~all the results will be~~

So: how do we rebuild Britain as a community, where we respect and care for each other, where there is real opportunity and security for all, in a world of change?

It is:

old-fashioned values, yes

old-fashioned attitudes, no.

Let me explain what I mean.

~~There is a tension between the new and the old.~~ A lot of Britain today seems to be "new". We in Government talk often about the "new" – whether the "new" economy, "new" culture, art, "new" NHS, "new" welfare state.

I am familiar with this argument from "New" Labour. We re-wrote the Party's constitution, changed its policies, altered our rules. Frequently we were accused, in doing so, of abandoning our basic beliefs. To ditch a long-cherished policy was to ditch values people said. But I always regarded it and still do as precisely the opposite: that the "new" was necessary in order to "re-new" the old; that the values – fairness, solidarity, social justice – lost relevance unless applied anew to a changed world.

I believe the same of the idea of community. The building block of community is responsibility, duty to others. That is a value as old as time. I believe in it passionately. Without responsibility to others, there is no law-abiding conduct. There is no basis for the family. There are no public services. There is no shared purpose. It is the foundation of civic society. It always has been and

always will be. So, to renew civic society is to renew the concept of mutual responsibility.

But my generation stands at the intersection between old and new. We have moved beyond debates about Victorian values or the libertarianism of the sixties or the laissez-faire of the eighties. Yes, we want a renewal of civic society. We want a society of rules and order. But we want it for today's world. We do not want a society of hierarchy or prejudice. We want to put the new and the old in balance.

When I think of the values of my dad's generation, I ~~want to~~ discern between the genuine values that underpinned the best of Britain and the things we can safely and rightly leave behind. Old-fashioned values are good values. Old-fashioned attitudes may simply be barriers that hold our values back. My father was passionate about good manners. He always said: misbehave inside the family, if you will; but outside, make us proud of you.

~~I am the same.~~ Respect for others, courtesy, giving up your seat for the elderly, saying please and thank you.

All this I share.

Crime was unthinkable – and was for my father brought up in poverty in a Glasgow tenement. If I ~~got wrong~~ ^{was told off} at school, I ~~got wrong~~ ^{was told off} again at home. When my father saw the teacher, he apologised for me. ~~He would have been completely astonished and dismayed to have been told he should complain about it.~~ These seem small things, but are in fact the difference between living in a society and living in a jungle. My mother, an active member of her Women's

Institute, saw it quite simply as her duty to help in the local community. Caring for and helping others was part of her being. Again, without such acts of kindness, however small, humanity for me has no meaning.

These are all old-fashioned virtues and values and I hope we all share them and accept our responsibility to instil them in our children as our parents did in us. We want them back.

But there are other things from past generations I choose to leave behind. My dad fiercely resisted my mum working. He'd be horrified at me going to church not dressed in suit and tie. Many of his generation – though not him – were, let us say, less than one hundred per cent progressive on issues like race or in attitudes to gay people.

They were probably a lot more active ^{sexually} ~~on the sexual front~~ ^{let on} than they ever ~~seemed~~; but they talked about it less frankly than we find natural.

My generation feels differently: we're for good manners but casual dressing; tolerant of different lifestyles, but intolerant of crime.

^{we}

I love British history, Britain's cultural heritage; the British way of life. But ~~I~~ ^{we} celebrate the fact British actors and film are again leading the world; that we have great modern buildings and art. ^{we} Applaud the Tate Modern, and adore the way the revitalised Globe Theatre treats Shakespeare; laugh at The Simpsons or Only Fools and Horses but love the BBC productions of Jane Austen or Bronte or Dickens. We are putting the new and old in a balance right for our generation.

the impulse arises as a totally false & 3 super choice: either

All this is necessary to explore because otherwise change is seen as an obliteration of our history; or alternatively a call to return to a society based on clear values, is seen as a retreat into the past. The truth is that we cannot renew civic society without a return to the core value of responsibility; but that core value ^{& respect for others} has to be applied in a way appropriate for today's world.

So what is today's world. ^{now} is almost all

First, it is a world in the throes of change more dramatic and faster than at any time since civilisation. Again and again, when I analyse the world in which my children are growing up, I come back to the spectre of change. The global economy has re-written the rules of economic management. In 1969, when I was the age my eldest boy is now, // - was traded on foreign exchanges. Today, it is

// - A crisis in Asia puts people out of work in County Durham. The technological information revolution is transforming the world of business and work and is set to cause massive insecurity as well as creating fabulous wealth.

In the USA today, one in four families ^{now} changes home every year. Mass ^{Mass} production has ended or is ending in the Western developed world. ^{Some of the} There is a huge premium now on skills. ^{largest computer bureau existed 5 years ago.} And of course there is cultural and social change.

Community and family life is experiencing strains our grandparents, possibly our parents, would never have guessed, existed. The new science of genetics, the investigation of the human genome, of which the controversy over genetic modification is just a part, will, in all probability in the not-too-distant future, take over from the internet as the next shaker of the never-ending kaleidoscope of change. ^{It is exciting & it is frightening.}

No wonder people feel insecure and worried for their future. The task ^{is not} therefore is to use the power of community, of society, acting together to become the

masters of this change, not its victims. Change makes a difference as to how we re-build community but it also provides a powerful incentive to develop it. On our own, we, or the majority of us are impotent. Together we can shape our destiny.

The second difference in today's world is ~~fuelled by change~~, but in nature is a development in human progress continuing over centuries, ^{coming now to fruition} The spirit of this age is democratic. We won't rebuild civic society on the basis of deference or hierarchy. The rich man is his castle, the poor man at his gate: it won't wash any more if, in truth, it ever did.

This is also economic necessity. Brain has taken the place of brawn. A meritocratic society is the only one that can exploit its economic chances to the full; and that means exploiting the talent of its people. A class-ridden society can't do that.

A modern civic society must be built around the notion of the equal worth of each citizen. That is true equality. Not equal outcomes but equal worth. If we do not provide opportunity, we will fail to achieve responsibility.

Opportunity to all and responsibility from all = a community for all.

So: what ^{are the} ~~then becomes the policy~~ consequences of all this?

In economic policy, ~~we need to map out a path to the future where there can indeed be opportunity and security for all.~~

^{along the path to the future}
The first base is economic stability.

new + old.

values traditional
modern applications

responsibility, respect for others.
match it with ^{to security} ~~off~~ for all
a change would.

(A)

but the means of renewing it
lie in continuing opportunity &
responsibility for all in a changing
world.

It is time to put the old & the
new in harmony.

New Britain is built on old values.

The new
~~So we put in place a system of economic management that~~ has delivered low inflation, low interest rates and sound public finances. I know people disliked the rise in petrol prices and the abolition of mortgage tax relief. People wanted more money spent on public services immediately. But we simply could not carry on with a borrowing requirement of £28 billion and doubled national debt. *paying out more on interest payments on our borrowing than we spent on the whole of the health system*
The first base of stability meant clearing the deficit. It is now cleared. We are in surplus. National debt has fallen. Long-term interest rates are now converging with those of continental Europe for the first time in my life.

From 1979-1997, mortgage rates averaged ten per cent. In the last three years, they've averaged six per cent. For the family with a £40,000 mortgage, that's a saving of ~~£~~ £100 per month.

Second base was ensuring that the economy grew, jobs were created and work made to pay. We avoided the recession almost everyone said was inevitable, given Britain's post-war history.

250,000 of them from the new deal.
By the end of this year, there will be almost one million more jobs in Britain, *we* and have just been listed by the Economist as the second best place in the world to do business ahead not just of France, Germany and Japan but also of the USA. 670,000 fewer people are claiming benefit, a welfare saving of £X billion. As a result, whereas welfare spending used to rise by four per cent in real terms every year in the 80s and early 90s, it has risen by one per cent in the last three and that is only because of deliberate increases in child benefit and payments to pensioners. For 1 ¼ million lower-income families, the Working Families Tax Credit has made work pay for properly for the first time.

My point is: it wasn't considered. All these changes we only did it by making changes.

We are now ready to move to third base: investing in the country's future. There can be no greater responsibility for us, as a nation than to invest in our education system to boost productivity, skills and provide opportunity; in our transport system to provide mobility; and in our health service and police to ensure security for all. Put bluntly, Britain is an "under-invested in" country. We didn't invest wisely when we were spending public money in the 60s and 70s and we didn't invest enough in 80s and 90s. If we want a first-class education system; or an NHS that is once again the pride of Britain; or a transport system that is not creaking at the joints, we will have to invest. Except this time, we should do it allied to fundamental reform.

This is the third base: first stability; then work; now investment in the future.

It is not that we don't want tax cuts.

It is not a case of always wanting investment in preference to tax cuts. Of course lower income taxes are desirable. But as the policies of 10 years ago have shown us, the only tax cuts that will last, are those that don't come at the price of cutting long-term investment or sound public finances. And we should never forget: lower mortgage rates and increased earnings, help to raise living standards as much, sometimes more, than tax cuts alone, however eye-catching.

Then, as we invest, we can reach

Fourth base: ~~is~~ developing the economic and industrial base of the future: the increases in productivity, use of the new technology and move to higher value-added "knowledge-based" goods and services.

For that we need:

A welfare state that is not a benefits agency but an employment and re-employment service for middle as well as lower income families; electronic commerce; access to internet skills for all of us not just the under 30's; help for

small businesses and venture capital, there is a huge agenda here for public and private sector. The role of Government will not be old style industrial intervention but being on the side of businesses and people helping them adapt to change. And there is no new and old economy. People talk of the internet businesses as if they were "new" and manufacturing "old", with some silent satisfaction no doubt amongst a few that Boo.com so spectacularly rose and fell. This is dangerous nonsense. There is one economy and it all faces the same challenge: that of an information revolution that will alter the very basis of business transactions whether in the newest media start-up or the most ancient manufacturing company. Without a fundamental shift in attitude, many people, through no fault of their own, will lose out on opportunity and security. The role of us as a community, is to help people through the change; "old" perhaps in our caring for others; but determinedly "new" in our means of doing it.

One of the interesting things about taking a little time off with a new baby, is you start to think like a normal human being again. Sitting there with Leo, watching the odd news bulletin, I have been utterly bewildered by the debate over state schools and Oxbridge. I would have thought it a statement of the obvious that we need to do more to attract pupils from state schools and from poorer backgrounds to our top universities. Indeed everyone seems to agree on that. So let's hear no more rubbish about class war, as if we had to choose between caricatures of Little Lord Fontenroy and Dave Spart. We all have a responsibility and we all could do better. The universities can do more to widen the pool of talent to recruit from, as many of them are trying hard to do. And we in Government could do more to improve the quality and funding of state education which ultimately is the only sure way to open up opportunities. I will have no ^{truth} with old-fashioned egalitarianism that levels down. ^{but} ~~But~~ I am a passionate

believer in equality of opportunity. I am an unashamed supporter of excellence. But we need to give far more of our kids a shot at it.

Mutual responsibility is the only way to a society where all not just a few get the chance to succeed. And this is not just economic. All of us know the quality of our lives is not just about what we earn. It is about dignity, friendship, love, our families. We need a decent standard of living. But it isn't the sum total of human existence. Yet here is where we feel we have lost something precious. You can put it in any numbers of ways. I call it: respect for other people. When I hear of someone mugged, I am not just angry for the victim, I am indignant for all of us. When I see graffiti on a wall, I loathe it. I'm afraid like other men my age, I do swear. But I hate people swearing in public or in front of children. This may seem trivial but it isn't. It is the very essence of respecting other people; and so responsibility.

So how do we rebuild it? *Here again we need to match the opportunity with the responsibility.* ~~The Americans have a phrase called "tough love".~~ I say: "something for something". But its the same idea: its effectively a covenant for citizenship. Together, we accept as a community ~~that we have a responsibility to open up opportunity for all, to tackle the faults of our society.~~ But in return we can be tougher, more direct, more insistent on demanding something back from the individual, on responsibility being mutual. So if we are putting billions of pounds into the New Deal for the unemployed, people can't be expected to sit at home claiming benefit if they could work. If you are a teenage mum and want help, you should be in a proper hostel or home where there is support but also education and improvement. If, as I hope we can, we expand youth services and sports facilities for our youngsters, they should not be hanging round street corners at night or disturbing old folk in their homes.

And I tell you in all honesty on the issue of crime, if we don't deal with drugs, we don't deal with crime. We can all talk tough on it. It's the cheapest currency in political debate. And we need tougher measures. But unless we face the facts about what is causing crime, none of it will work. There are 100,000 registered drug addicts who are unemployed and presently unemployable. Half of all criminal offences are drug-related. We need two things: a massive expansion of drug treatment and rehabilitation; and then the most serious concerted crackdown on every aspect of drug abuse this or any western developed country has seen. Tomorrow the Home Secretary will announce the first steps.

Tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime is still the best policy there is but we need to be a darned sight tougher on both.

The same combination of new rules applies to
The family, ~~is~~ the bedrock of a stable and decent society. I have no doubt that as much as poverty or social exclusion – vital though it is to tackle those evils – the breakdown of stable family life causes not just individual misery, but crime, disrespect for others, anti-social conduct. It is in the family we first learn the limits, the rights and wrongs, of individual behaviour. But again I want to be frank. If you ask me what I believe, it is easy to reply. I believe in marriage, though it is the underlying commitment that matters most. I believe in families staying together, though I recognise some won't.

All other things being equal, being brought up by a mum and dad in a stable marriage is best for children, though I detest stigmatising single parents most of whom are single parents through no fault of their own and many of whom do a superb job as parents.

So we know the ideal. We know it's often not attained. But if you ask me not what I believe in as an individual, but what I can do as a Prime Minister, then I tell you the answers are a whole lot more difficult.

People attacked us for removing the MCA. That's anti-marriage they said. I simply say. The MCA used to be paid at 40%. The previous government reduced it to 15%. We abolished it. Why? Because the MCA was not just paid to married couples; it became paid to unmarried couples; it then was paid to single parents as well as couples; and on divorce, it was also paid and for the first year after divorce at double the rate. We decided to recognise that the only thing about it that promoted marriage was its name and that it was better instead to take the money and pay it to families with school-age or younger children.

I say this really as an illustration. Whenever people say to me: promote marriage in government policy, I say: "how?". And the problem with the suggestion is that they always involve value judgments about individual families that politicians are the last people qualified to make; or they involve penalising children, quite apart from their parents.

I have thought about this a lot, probably because I am so lucky in my parents and my wife and I want people to share what I have had. But I have concluded that the only thing that makes sense is to return this notion of responsibility. We all have responsibility. Government's responsibility is to help family life: to support children, through things like higher child benefit, or from next year the new child tax credit; nursery education and proper child care; the Sure Start programme for vulnerable and very poor families. And then to help parents, most especially mothers, balance work and family life: not just through parental leave and maternity rights but through hugely increased flexibility in hours,

through making sure that working women are paid the same as working men or if they are lone parents and want to work, they're given the help to do so. And if women, especially when their children are pre-school age, do want to stay at home and look after them, we should help them. These issues will be a major part both of the spending plans in July and in the pre-Budget report in November.

If we provide that support, then society is entitled to ask responsibility from parents in return. A child is for life – fathers ^{owe} ~~are~~ a responsibility and once we have sorted out the absurdities of the CSA, we can give effect to that better. Parents have a duty to see their kids aren't playing truant; aren't out late at night causing mischief.

Then we have a collective responsibility: me, you, the churches and other religious faiths to say why we believe stable family life is important; to advocate marriage and commitment; to explain why responsibility applies in the family as well as outside it. But this can only be done by us, recognising the proper sphere of government, what it can or cannot do, and that human weakness and failure, when exposed, does not render such advocacy wrong.

It takes commitment to keep a family together. It takes altruism to keep a community together. The British are famous for their voluntary work – and that is another national achievement of which we should all feel proud. X million of you each year choose to help other people for no reward save the satisfaction of being able to make someone else's life better. That is a triumph for those of us who believe that money isn't everything, that we are not motivated solely by greed. There is a genuine altruism that pervades this country and it is a precious gift that needs care and attention.

Volunteering is something that we particularly want to encourage among the young and the old. Those of you in full-time jobs, or with young families, or perhaps both, may have little time or energy left to devote to voluntary work. But young people have both, and a dash of idealism too. And many of those who have retired from paid work also feel an urge to put something back into society.

I want to bring these generations together, because they have so much to offer each other, and because societies are stronger when the young respect and learn from the old. Retired people have time on their hands and are in better health than ever before. They can come into our schools to help with reading or they can act as mentors to young people who lack a guiding spirit in their lives. Their wisdom and experience can be invaluable to those who are just starting off in life.

Now: this is a very tall agenda. Have we as a country got the will to do it?

Again I want to be clear. None of this is possible without hard choices. If we hadn't reined in spending in our first two years, we wouldn't have the economy in its position today. If we simply spend money in the NHS or schools without

fundamental reform, I promise you the money will be wasted. If we put all the money we are putting into pensions onto the BSP, then we won't help the poorest

2 million of our pensioners, many of whom are elderly women and have no

political voice. You have a strong campaign on rural post offices. I want to

preserve them too. Today we publish plans that allow us to do so. But be under no illusion: of course people should be entitled to receive their payments in cash;

but we can't force people to do that and over the years increasing numbers will

choose to have the money paid into their bank account. In addition all round the

world postal services are going to be revolutionised by new technology and the

growth of the internet. So we can give them a future but I am failing in my duty

to you, if I don't also say it has to be a future allied to future reality and the challenge of change.

One of the toughest parts of my job is sometimes to swim against the tide. ^{let me give you another example} I know ^{how} when I talk about Europe and the need for Britain to be a key player in Europe, the papers write I'm out of touch or arrogant. I am not out of touch on it. I know people's feelings. But I can only say what I believe: that for Britain to retain its status as a major power in the world, we cannot be separate from the crucial strategic alliance on our doorstep, ^{the EU.}

I ^{use} ~~urge~~ this just as an example ^{of difficult things to say}. There is a curious paradox I find in politics: people say: we want politicians to tell us the truth; then you say something people don't want to hear and they say: you're out of touch. It's what I mean by hard choices. That's life. We know it ^{is} our personal ^{line} affairs. And politics is no different. It is just society's choices ^{wait with} large. ^{for society.}

When we came to power with a majority of 179, some people said: that's great, ^{it gives} ~~that's great~~ your ^{new} responsibility ^{is} to do it all quickly. My answer was to say: no, ^{our} ~~our~~ ^{it} responsibility ^{is} to do it in a way that lasts. For the long-term. We are talking about renewing Britain as a great nation in the 21st century after, whatever our triumphs, particularly in saving the world from fascism, was a 20th century of decline. I have a clear vision as to how that can be done: by building a nation of opportunity and security for all. In doing so, we must draw on every ounce of strength in our values, our traditions and our history. The British spirit – determined, fair-minded, gentle but immensely powerful and creative when roused – will be what sees us through. But we do need to be roused. The modern world is upon us. Every aspect of it demands our full concentration on

the challenges we face. Resolute in our values, but unremittingly courageous in our application of them to change; we can through renewing ourselves as a community, conquer these challenges and succeed.

SPEECH TO THE WOMEN'S INSTITUTE

speech\womens institute
as at 3 June 1530
words: 4554

At the heart not just of my politics but of my beliefs is the idea of community, the notion that the path to individual fulfilment lies in society with, not in isolation from, others. The renewal of the idea of community, of civic society in Britain today is the single biggest challenge we face. It is the only route to opportunity and security for all in a changing world. Rebuild it and we rebuild a great nation. Fail and our future will be a nation increasingly fragmented, divided, unfair, where opportunity and security are for the minority not the broad majority of British people.

The idea of community is as old as humanity.

The means of its renewal lies in embracing change.

The old and the new must be in harmony.

I want a strong economy. Rising living standards, good schools, an NHS there when we need it, secure streets, a fairer, better Britain. So do you. But there is no possibility of achieving it – absolutely none – unless we return to our core values as a nation and then revolutionise the means of their application for the modern world.

To conserve, we change. To change in a way that is good, we conserve.

So: how do we rebuild Britain as a community, where we respect and care for each other, where there is real opportunity and security for all, in a world of change?

It is:

old-fashioned values, yes

old-fashioned attitudes, no.

There is a tension between the new and the old. A lot of Britain today seems to be "new". We in Government talk often about the "new" – whether the "new" economy, "new" culture, art, "new" NHS, "new" welfare state.

I am familiar with this argument from "New" Labour. We re-wrote the Party's constitution, changed its policies, altered our rules. Frequently we were accused, in doing so, of abandoning our basic beliefs. To ditch a long-cherished policy was to ditch values people said. But I always regarded it and still do as precisely the opposite: that the "new" was necessary in order to "re-new" the old; that the values – fairness, solidarity, social justice – lost relevance unless applied anew to a changed world.

I believe the same of the idea of community. The building block of community is responsibility, duty to others. That is a value as old as time. I believe in it passionately. Without responsibility to others, there is no law-abiding conduct. There is no basis for the family. There are no public services. There is no shared purpose. It is the foundation of civic society. It always has been and

always will be. So, to renew civic society is to renew the concept of mutual responsibility.

But my generation stands at the intersection between old and new. We have moved beyond debates about Victorian values or the libertarianism of the sixties or the laissez-faire of the eighties. Yes, we want a renewal of civic society. We want a society of rules and order. But we want it for today's world. We do not want a society of hierarchy or prejudice. We want to put the new and the old in balance.

When I think of the values of my dad's generation, I want to discern between the genuine values that underpinned the best of Britain and the things we can safely and rightly leave behind. Old-fashioned values are good values. Old-fashioned attitudes may simply be barriers that hold our values back. My father was passionate about good manners. He always said: misbehave inside the family, if you will; but outside, make us proud of you.

I am the same. Respect for others, courtesy, giving up your seat for the elderly, saying please and thank you.

All this I share.

Crime was unthinkable – and was for my father brought up in poverty in a Glasgow tenement. If I got wrong at school, I got wrong again at home. When my father saw the teacher, he apologised for me. He would have been completely astonished and dismayed to have been told he should complain about it. These seem small things, but are in fact the difference between living in a society and living in a jungle. My mother, an active member of her Women's

Institute, saw it quite simply as her duty to help in the local community. Caring for and helping others was part of her being. Again, without such acts of kindness, however small, humanity for me has no meaning.

These are all old-fashioned virtues and values and I hope we all share them and accept our responsibility to instil them in our children as our parents did in us. We want them back.

But there are other things from past generations I choose to leave behind. My dad fiercely resisted my mum working. He'd be horrified at me going to church not dressed in suit and tie. Many of his generation – though not him – were, let us say, less than one hundred per cent progressive on issues like race or in attitudes to gay people.

They were probably a lot more active on the sexual front than they ever seemed; but they talked about it less frankly than we find natural.

My generation feels differently: we're for good manners but casual dressing; tolerant of different lifestyles, but intolerant of crime.

I love British history, Britain's cultural heritage; the British way of life. But I celebrate the fact British actors and film are again leading the world; that we have great modern buildings and art. Applaud the Tate Modern, and adore the way the revitalised Globe Theatre treats Shakespeare; laugh at The Simpsons or Only Fools and Horses but love the BBC productions of Jane Austen or Bronte or Dickens. We are putting the new and old in a balance right for our generation.

All this is necessary to explore because otherwise change is seen as an obliteration of our history; or alternatively a call to return to a society based on clear values, is seen as a retreat into the past. The truth is that we cannot renew civic society without a return to the core value of responsibility; but that core value has to be applied in a way appropriate for today's world.

So what is today's world.

First, it is a world in the throes of change more dramatic and faster than at any time since civilisation. Again and again, when I analyse the world in which my children are growing up, I come back to the spectre of change. The global economy has re-written the rules of economic management. In 1969, when I was the age my eldest boy is now, //- was traded on foreign exchanges. Today, it is //- A crisis in Asia puts people out of work in County Durham. The technological information revolution is transforming the world of business and work and is set to cause massive insecurity as well as creating fabulous wealth. In the USA today, one in four families changes home every year. Mass production has ended or is ending in the Western developed world. There is a huge premium now on skills. And of course there is cultural and social change. Community and family life is experiencing strains our grandparents, possibly our parents, would never have guessed, existed. The new science of genetics, the investigation of the human genome, of which the controversy over genetic modification is just a part, will, in all probability in the not-too-distant future, take over from the internet as the next shaker of the never-ending kaleidoscope of change.

No wonder people feel insecure and worried for their future. The task therefore is to use the power of community, of society, acting together to become the

masters of this change, not its victims. Change makes a difference as to how we re-build community but it also provides a powerful incentive to develop it. On our own, we, or the majority of us are impotent. Together we can shape our destiny.

The second difference in today's world is fuelled by change, but in nature is a development in human progress continuing over centuries. The spirit of this age is democratic. We won't rebuild civic society on the basis of deference or hierarchy. The rich man is his castle, the poor man at his gate: it won't wash any more if, in truth, it ever did.

This is also economic necessity. Brain has taken the place of brawn. A meritocratic society is the only one that can exploit its economic chances to the full; and that means exploiting the talent of its people. A class-ridden society can't do that.

A modern civic society must be built around the notion of the equal worth of each citizen. That is true equality. Not equal outcomes but equal worth. If we do not provide opportunity, we will fail to achieve responsibility.

Opportunity to all and responsibility from all = a community for all.

So: what then becomes the policy consequences of all this?

In economic policy, we need to map out a path to the future where there can indeed be opportunity and security for all.

The first base is economic stability.

Now: this is a very
tall agenda. Have we as a
country got the will to do it?
Again I want to be clear. None of this
is possible without hard choices.
If we hadn't reined in spending in
our first two years, we wouldn't have
the money in its position today. If
we simply spend money in the NHS
or schools without fundamental
reform, I promise you the money
will be wasted. If we put all
the money we are putting into pensions
into the BSL, then we won't help
the poorest 2m of our population,
many of whom are elderly women and
have no political voice. You have a

strong campaign on rural post offices.
I want to preserve them too. Today we
publish plans that allow us to do so.
But let me make no illusion: of course
people should be entitled to receive their
payments in cash; but we can't force
people to do that & over the years
increasing no's will choose to have
the money put into their bank a/c. In
addition all round the world postal
services are going to be revolutionised
by new technology & the growth of the
internet. So we can give them a future
but I am failing in my duty to you,
if I don't also say it has to be
a future allied to future reality &
the challenge of change.

One of the toughest parts of
my job is sometimes to swim
against the tide. I know when
I talk about E. & the need for
Britain to be a key player in E.,

the papers write I'm out of touch or
I am not up to date or I know people's feelings.
~~arrogant.~~ But I can only say what

I believe: that for Britain to retain
its status as a major power in the
world, we cannot be separate from
the crucial strategic alliance on our
doorstep. ~~Now we have to go back~~
~~to where we were 3 years ago~~ ~~and~~
~~be a gigantic mistake~~ ~~wherever~~
~~E. is~~ ~~it is not~~

I use this just as an example of
~~There are all different~~

things to say. There's a curious
paradox I find in politics:
people say: we want politicians to
tell us the truth; then you say
something people don't want to hear &
they say: you're out of touch.

As what I mean by hard choices.
^{we mean it is our personal affairs.}
That's life & that politics is no

different. It is just society's choices

~~(write large.) And if you want the
truth from us, then at least if
we say something you disagree with,
it is respect each other's mistakes.~~

When we came to power
with a majority of 179, some
people said: that's great, ^{new} ^{responsibility is} you can do it

all quietly. My answer was to
say: no, an resp. is do it in
a way that lasts. For the long term.
We are talking about renewing
Britain as a great nation in the
21st C. after, whatever an
triumph, particularly in saving
the world from fascism, was
a 20th C. of decline. I have a
clear vision as to how that can be
done : by building a nation
of opportunity & security for all.
In doing so, we must draw on
every ounce of strength in our
values, our traditions & our history.
The British spirit - determined,
fair-minded, gentle but immensely

Powerful & creative when roused -
will be what see us through - But
we do need to be roused. The
modern world is upon us. Every
aspect of it demands our full
concentration on the challenges
we face. Resolute is an value,
but unrelentingly courageous is an
application of them to change; we
can then renewing ourselves as a
community, conquer these challenges
& succeed.

1

The family is the
bedrock of a stable & decent society.
I have no doubt that ^{as much as} ~~more than~~
poverty or social exclusion - rival
though it is to tackle those evils, -
the breakdown of stable family
life causes not just individual
misery, but crime, disrespect for
others, anti-social conduct.
It is in the family we first learn
the limits, the rights & wrongs, of
individual behaviour. But again I
want to be frank. If you ask me
what I believe, it is easy to
reply. I believe in marriage, though
it is the underlying commitment that matters most.
I believe in families staying together,
though I recognise some want.

All other things being equal,
 being brought up by a mum +
 dad in a stable marriage is
 best for ^{children} ~~kids~~. Though I detest
 stigmatising single parents most of
 whom are single parents ^{thru no}
 fault of their own & whom do a
 superb job as parents.
 So we have the ideal. we
 know its often not attained.

But if you ask me not what I
 believe in as an individual, but
 what I can do as a Prime
 Minister, then I tell you the
 answers are a whole lot more
 difficult.

People attached as for
 removing the MCA. Many anti-marriage
 they do. I simply say. The MCA

used to be paid at 40%.

The pension Grant reduced it to 15%. We abolished it. Why? Because the MCA was not just paid to married couples; it ~~was~~ because paid to unmarried couples; it then was paid to single parents as well as couples; & on divorce, it was also paid & for the first year after divorce at double the rate. We decided to recognise that the only thing about it that promoted marriage was its name & that it was better to spread to take the money & pay it to families with school-age or younger children.

I say ~~that~~ is really an illustration. Whenever people say to me: promote marriage is Govt policy, I say: "how?" And the problem with the suggestion is that they always involve value judgements about individual families that ~~are~~ politicians are the last people qualified to make; or they involve penalising children, quite apart from their parents.

I have thought about this a lot, partly because I am so lucky in my parents & my wife & I want people to share what I have had. But I have concluded that the only thing that makes

5

sense

is to return to this notion
of responsibility. We all have
responsibility. Govt's resp.

is to help family life: to
support children, through things
like higher child benefit, or
from next year the new child
tax credit; ^{+ higher child care} nursery education;
the Sure Start programme for
vulnerable ~~and~~ poor families.

And then to help parents, most
especially mothers, balance work
& family life ^{adv. in} → through parental

leave & maternity rights but
also through ^{increased flexibility in hours,} making sure that

working women are paid the same
as working men or if they are lone

6.

parents and want to work, they're
given the help to do so. And if
women, ^{especially} when their children are
pre-school age, do want to
stay at home & look after them,
we shd help them. ^{These issues} ~~You will~~
^{will be a major part of} ~~it~~ the spending plan in
July & in the pre-Budget report
in November. ~~move on these elements.~~

If we provide that
support, then society is entitled
to ask responsibility from parents
in return. A child is for life -
fathers are a resp. & once we
have sorted out the conditions of
the C&A, we can give effect
to that belief. Parents have a duty
to see their kids aren't playing truant;

7.

air out Cate at night causing mischief.

Then we issue a collective Responsibility: me, you, the churches & other religious faiths to say why we believe stable family life is important; to advocate marriage & commitment; to explain why resp. applies to the family as well as outside it. But this can only be done by us, recognizing the proper sphere of Govt, what it can or cannot do; & its human weakness & failure, when exposed, does not render such advocacy wrong.

for these routines, I am indignant
 for all of us. When I see graffiti
 on a wall, I loathe it. I'm
 afraid like other men my age,
 I do swear. But I hate people
 swearing in public or in front of
 children. This may seem trivial
 but it is not. It is the very essence of that
 sense of responsibility which is at the heart of community.
 So how do we re-build it?

~~It is sense of respect for others?~~

The Americans have a phrase called
 "tough love." I say: "something for something!"
 I prefer to call it
 but it's the same idea:

a covenant for citizenship. But it's
 the same idea. It's back to
 opportunity & responsibility. We accept

as a community that we have a

responsibility to open up opportunity for all,
 to tackle the faults of our society as well as

ourselves as individuals. But in
 return we can be tougher, more
 direct, more ~~interested~~ on demanding
~~responsibility~~ something back; on responsibility, being
 mutual. So if we are putting
 billions of pounds into the new
 deal for the unemployed, people
 can't be expected to sit at home
 claiming benefit if they ~~do~~ work. If
 you are a teenage mum & want help,
 you should be in a proper hostel or home
 where there is support but also education
 & improvement. If, as I hope we can,
 we expand youth services & sports
 facilities for our youngsters, they should
 not be hanging round street corners
 at night or disturbing old folk in their
 homes.

4.

And I tell you in all honesty,
on the issue of crime, if we don't
deal with drugs, we don't deal
with crime. We can all talk tough
on it. It's the cheapest money
in political debate. And we need
tougher measures. But unless we
have the faith and drugs, none of it
will work. There are 100,000
recovered drug addicts who are
unemployed. & presently unemployable.
Half of all criminal offenses are drug-related.
We need two things: a massive
expansion of drug treatment & rehabilitation,
and then the most serious concerted
crackdown on every aspect of drug
abuse this or any western developed
country has seen. Tomorrow the Governor
will announce the first steps.

5.

Tough of crime + tough on the
causes of crime is still the best
policy there is but we need to be a
downed fight tougher on both.

more money spent on public services immediately. But we simply could not carry on with a borrowing requirement of £28 billion and doubled national debt. The first base of stability meant clearing the deficit. It is now cleared. We are in surplus. National debt has fallen. Long-term interest rates are now converging with those of continental Europe for the first time in my life.

From 1979-1997, mortgage rates averaged ten per cent. In the last three years, they've averaged six per cent. For the family with a £50,000 mortgage, that's a saving of X

Second base was ensuring that the economy grew, jobs were created and work made to pay. We avoided the recession almost everyone said was inevitable, given Britain's post-war history.

By the end of this year, there will be almost one million more jobs in Britain. We still lead the world for inward investment, 670,000 fewer people are claiming benefit, a welfare saving of £X billion. As a result, whereas welfare spending used to rise by four per cent in real terms every year in the 80s and early 90s, it has risen by one per cent in the last three and that is only because of deliberate increases in child benefit and payments to pensioners. For 1 ¼ million lower-income families, the Working Families Tax Credit has made work pay for properly for the first time.

We are now ready to move to third base: investing in the country's future. There can be no greater responsibility for us, as a nation than to invest in our education system to boost productivity, skills and provide opportunity; in our transport system to provide mobility; and in our health service and police to ensure security for all. Put bluntly, Britain is an "under-invested in" country.

have just been
on the Economist as the
second world power
to do business
ahead
of Fr,
Ger &
Japan
but not
of the USA.

We didn't invest wisely when we were spending public money in the 60s and 70s and we didn't invest enough in 80s and 90s. If we want a first-class education system; or an NHS that is once again the pride of Britain; or a transport system that is not creaking at the joints, we will have to invest. Except this time, we should do it allied to fundamental reform.

This is the third base: first stability; then work; now investment in the future.

It is not a case of always wanting investment in preference to tax cuts. Of course lower income taxes are desirable. But as the policies of 10 years ago have shown us, the only tax cuts that will last, are those that don't come at the price of cutting long-term investment or sound public finances. And we should never forget: lower mortgage rates and increased earnings, help to raise living standards as much, sometimes more, than tax cuts alone, however eye-catching.

Fourth base is developing the economic and industrial base of the future: the increases in productivity, use of the new technology and move to higher value-added "knowledge-based" goods and services.

A welfare state that is not a benefits agency but an employment and re-employment service for middle as well as lower income families; electronic commerce; access to internet skills for all of us not just the under 30's; help for small businesses and venture capital: there is a huge agenda here for public and private sector. The role of Government will not be old style industrial intervention but being on the side of businesses and people helping them adapt to change. And there is no new and old economy. People talk of the internet businesses as if they were "new" and manufacturing "old", with some silent satisfaction no doubt amongst a few that Boo.com so spectacularly rose and fell.

This is dangerous nonsense. There is one economy and it all faces the same challenge: that of an information revolution that will alter the very basis of business transactions whether in the newest media start-up or the most ancient manufacturing company. Without a fundamental shift in attitude, many people, through no fault of their own, will lose out on opportunity and security. The role of us as a community, is to help people through the change; "old" perhaps in our caring for others; but determinedly "new" in our means of doing it.

One of the interesting things about taking a little time off with a new baby, is you start to think like a normal human being again. Sitting there with Leo, watching the odd news bulletin, I have been utterly bewildered by the debate over state schools and Oxbridge. I would have thought it a statement of the obvious that we need to do more to attract pupils from state schools and from poorer backgrounds to our top universities. Indeed everyone seems to agree on that. So let's hear no more rubbish about class war, as if we had to choose between caricatures of Little Lord Fontelroy and Dave Spart. We all have a responsibility and we all could do better. The universities can do more to widen the pool of talent to recruit from, as ^{many} some of them are trying hard to do. And we in Government could do more to improve the quality and funding of state education which ultimately is the only sure way to open up opportunities. I am an unashamed supporter of excellence. But we need to give far more of our kids a shot at it.

Mutual responsibility is the only way to a society where all not just a few get the chance to succeed. And this is not just economic. All of us know the quality of our lives is not just about what we earn. It is about dignity, ^{friendship} respect, kindness, love, our families. We need a decent standard of living. But it isn't the sum total of human existence. Yet here is where we feel we have lost something precious. You can put it in any numbers of ways. I call it: respect for other

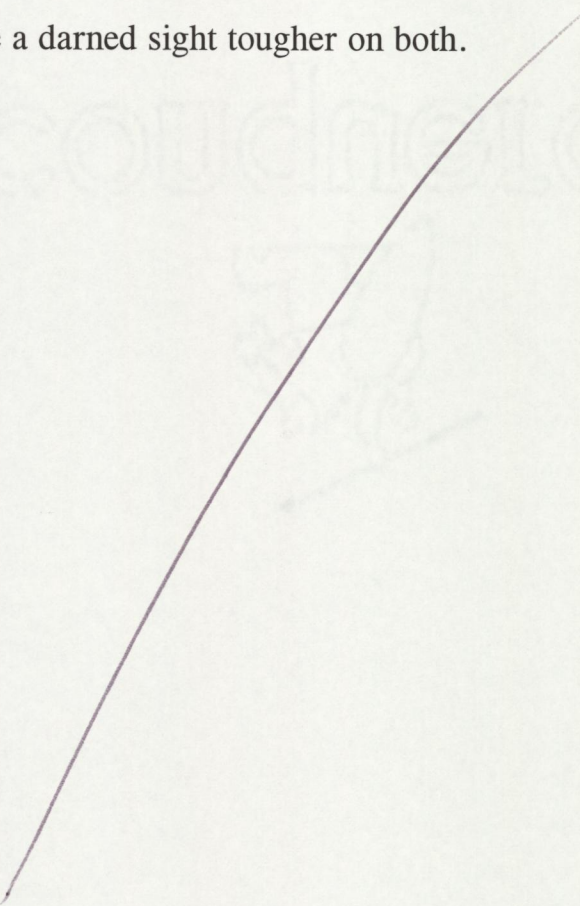
I will have no truck with
down-fairminded egalitarianism that
(even down. But I am a
passionate believer in equality of
opportunities.

people. When I hear of someone mugged, I am not just angry for the victim, I am indignant for all of us. When I see graffiti on a wall, I loathe it. I'm afraid like other men my age, I do swear. But I hate people swearing in public or in front of children. This may seem trivial but it isn't. It is the very essence of ~~that~~ ^{respecting other people, & so responsibility.} sense of responsibility which is at the heart of community.

So how do we rebuild it? The Americans have a phrase called "tough love". I say: "something for something". But its the same idea: ^{its effectively} a covenant for citizenship. ^{Talks,} We accept as a community that we have a responsibility to open up opportunity for all, to tackle the faults of our society ~~as well as ourselves as~~ individuals. But in return we can be tougher, more direct, more insistent ^{from the individual,} on demanding something back, on responsibility being mutual. So if we are putting billions of pounds into the New Deal for the unemployed, people can't be expected to sit at home claiming benefit if they could work. If you are a teenage mum and want help, you should be in a proper hostel or home where there is support but also education and improvement. If, as I hope we can, we expand youth services and sports facilities for our youngsters, they should not be hanging round street corners at night or disturbing old folk in their homes.

And I tell you in all honesty on the issue of crime, if we don't deal with drugs, we don't deal with crime. We can all talk tough on it. It's the cheapest currency in political debate. And we need tougher measures. But unless we face the facts ^{about what is causing crime,} ~~and signs,~~ none of it will work. There are 100,000 registered drug addicts who are unemployed and presently unemployable. Half of all criminal offences are drug-related. We need two things: a massive expansion of drug treatment and rehabilitation; and then the most serious concerted crackdown on every aspect of drug abuse this or any western developed country has seen. Tomorrow the Home Secretary will announce the first steps.

Tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime is still the best policy there is
but we need to be a darned sight tougher on both.



This is dangerous nonsense. There is one economy and it all faces the same challenge: that of an information revolution that will alter the very basis of business transactions whether in the newest media start-up or the most ancient manufacturing company. Without a fundamental shift in attitude, many people, through no fault of their own, will lose out on opportunity and seniority. The role of us as a community, is to help people through the change; "old" may be in our caring for others; but determinedly "new" in our means of doing it.

One of the interesting things about taking a little time off with a new baby, is you start to think like a normal human being again. Sitting there with Leo, watching the odd news bulletin, I have been utterly bewildered by the debate over state schools and Oxbridge. I would have thought it a statement of the obvious that we need to do more to attract pupils from state schools and from poorer backgrounds to our top universities. Indeed everyone seems to agree on that. So let's hear no more rubbish about class war, as if we had to choose between caricatures of Little Lord Fontero and Dave Spart. We all have a responsibility and we all could do better. The universities can do more to widen the pool of talent to recruit from, as some of them are trying hard to do. And we in Government could do more to improve the quality and funding of state education which ultimately is the only sure way to open up opportunities. I am an unashamed supporter of excellence. But we need to give far more of our kids a shot at it.

Mutual responsibility is the only way to a society where all not just a few get the chance to succeed. And this is not just economic. All of us know the quality of our lives is not just about what we earn. It is about dignity, respect, kindness, love, our families. We need a decent standard of living. But it isn't the sum total of human existence. Yet here is where we feel we have lost something previous. You can put it in any numbers of ways. I call it: respect for other

SPEECH TO THE WOMEN'S INSTITUTE

speech\womens institute
as at 3 June 1300
words: 4630

At the heart not just of my politics but of my beliefs is the idea of community, the notion that the path to individual fulfilment lies in society with, not in isolation from, others. The renewal of the idea of community, of civic society in Britain today is the single biggest challenge we face. It is the only route to the ~~political goal of opportunity and security for all in a changing world.~~ *Re-true it & we re-build a great nation. Fail &* If we do not recapture it, our future will be in a society and nation increasingly fragmented, divided, unfair, where opportunity and security are for the minority not the broad majority of British people. *→ P.T.O*

Alone, making do as best we can with our own individual wealth and income, we have no prospect of meeting this challenge. Together as members of a community, united by common purpose we can.

To state this is one thing.

To achieve it, will mean hard choices and a set of policies resolutely attached to the long term. For politicians, there is a price to pay for that, which I will come to later.

First, we need to define what we mean by community, by civic society.

~~Here~~ There is a tension between what I would call the new and the old. A lot of Britain today seems to be "new". We in Government talk often about the "new"

The idea of community is as
old as humanity.

The means of its renewal
lies in embracing change.

~~The~~ The old & the new must be
in harmony.

I want a strong economy, high
living standards, good schools, an
NHS ~~there~~ when we need it, green
streets, a fairer, better Britain. I don't
but there is no possibility of achieving
it - absolutely none - unless we
return to our core values as a nation
& then reindustrialise the means of their
application for the modern world.

[Old-fashioned values, yes.

Old-fashioned attitudes, no.]

To conserve, we change. To change ~~is a way~~
that is good, we conserve.

So: how do we re-build Britain as a
community, where we respect & care for each
other ^{when there is real membership & security, for all,}
in a world of change?

It is: →

- whether the "new" economy, "new" culture, art, "new" NHS, "new" welfare state.

I am familiar with this argument from "New" Labour. ~~Six years on, it seems strange to be calling it "new"; but at the time, it was hugely controversial.~~ We re-wrote the Party's constitution, changed its policies, altered our rules. Frequently we were accused, in doing so, of abandoning our basic beliefs. To ditch a long-cherished policy was to ditch values, convictions, people said. But I always regarded it and still do as precisely the opposite: that the "new" was necessary in order to "re-new" the old; that the values - fairness, solidarity, social justice - lost relevance unless applied anew to a changed world.

I believe the same of the idea of community. The building block of community is responsibility, duty to others. That is a value as old as time. I believe in it passionately. ~~That makes me in one sense an arch-traditionalist.~~ Without responsibility to others, there is no law-abiding conduct. There is no basis for the family. There are no public services. There is no shared purpose. It is the foundation of civic society. It always has been and always will be. So, to renew civic society is to renew the concept of mutual responsibility.

more to on page 4
My traditionalism goes further than that. I love British history, Britain's cultural heritage; the British way of life. ~~I am a supporter of the monarchy.~~

Despite what you may have read, when the suggestion came that we do away with the pomp and pageantry of The Queen's Speech in Parliament, that it was old-fashioned, I dismissed it out of hand. What an absurd and unnecessary act of destruction of an ancient and loved ceremony.

But my generation stands at the intersection between old and new. We have moved beyond debates about Victorian values or the libertarianism of the sixties

but I celebrate the past British values & if we are again (learning the world) to at we have fresh modern highlights part - J

or the laissez-faire of the eighties. Yes, we want a renewal of civic society. We want a society of rules and order. But we want it for today's world. We do not want a society of hierarchy or prejudice. We want to put the new and the old in balance.

When I think of the values of my dad's generation, I want to discern between the genuine values that underpinned the best of Britain and the things we can safely and rightly leave behind. Old-fashioned values are good values. Old-fashioned attitudes may simply be barriers that hold our values back. My father was passionate about good manners. He always said: misbehave inside the family, if you will; but outside, make us proud of you.

I am the same. Respect for others, courtesy, giving up your seat for the elderly, saying please and thank you.

All this I share.

Crime was unthinkable – and was for my father brought up in poverty in a Glasgow tenement. If I got wrong at school, I got wrong again at home. When my father saw the teacher, he apologised for me. He would have been completely astonished and dismayed to have been told he should complain about it. These seem small things, but are in fact the difference between living in a society and living in a jungle. My mother, an active member of her Women's Institute, saw it quite simply as her duty to help in the local community. Caring for and helping others was part of her being. Again, without such acts of kindness, however small, humanity for me has no meaning.

These are all old-fashioned virtues and values and I hope we all share them and accept our responsibility to instil them in our children as our parents did in us.

Rightly, we mourn that they have to a significant degree, passed away. Rightly we want them back.

we want them back.

But there are other things from past generations I choose to leave behind. My dad fiercely resisted my mum working. He'd be horrified at me going to church not dressed in suit and tie. Many of his generation – though not him – were, let us say, less than one hundred per cent progressive on issues like race or in attitudes to gay people.

They were probably a lot more active on the sexual front than they ever seemed; but they talked about it less frankly than we find natural.

My generation feels differently: we're for good manners but casual dressing; tolerant of different lifestyles, but intolerant of crime. *Insert from page 2.* I have no problem applauding the Tate Modern, even though I don't always understand it and adoring the way the revitalised Globe Theatre treats Shakespeare; *in* laughing at The Simpsons or Only Fools and Horses but loving the BBC productions of Jane Austen or Bronte or Dickens. We are putting the new and old in a balance right for our generation.

All this is necessary to explore because otherwise change is seen as an obliteration of our history; or alternatively a call to return to a society based on clear values, is seen as a retreat into the past. The truth is that we cannot renew civic society without a return to the core value of responsibility; but that core value has to be applied in a way appropriate for today's world.

So what is today's world.

- 5 -

That leads us directly to the question of defining today's world. What are its characteristics? What makes it different from yesterday's world? I believe it is different in two ways, the understanding of each of which is essential if we are to re-capture that core value of responsibility.

First, it is a world in the throes of change. ~~domest~~ ^{more domestic + faster} ^{than at any time since} ^{civilization.} Again and again, when I analyse the world in which my children are growing up, I come back to the spectre of change. The global economy has re-written the rules of economic management. In 1969, when I was the age my eldest boy is now, // - was traded on foreign exchanges. Today, it is // - A crisis in Asia puts people out of work in County Durham. The technological information revolution is transforming the world of business and work and is set to cause massive insecurity as well as creating fabulous wealth. In the USA today, one in four families changes home every year. Mass production has ended or is ending in the Western developed world. There is a huge premium now on skills. And of course there is cultural and social change. Community and family life is experiencing strains our grandparents, possibly our parents, would never have guessed, existed. The new science of genetics, the investigation of the human genome, of which the controversy over genetic modification is just a part, will, in all probability in the not-too-distant future, take over from the internet as the next shaker of the never-ending kaleidoscope of change.

No wonder people feel insecure and worried for their future. The task therefore is to use the power of community, of society, acting together to become the masters of this change, not its victims. Change makes a difference as to how we re-build community but it also provides a powerful incentive to develop it. On our own, we, or the majority of us are impotent. Together we can shape our destiny.

From: Alastair Campbell
Date: 3 June 2000

PRIME MINISTER

cc: David Miliband
Anji Hunter
Philip Gould

RE WI SPEECH

As you say, you think the speech must be your voice. Up to a point it is, but only up to a point. I feel it is more your voice as you think others want to hear it.

For your real voice fully to be heard, we need to hear: values rooted in the past, modernisation, and leadership. In the current draft, the first of these is strong, but the tone of the other two is almost apologetic.

You are also right that there has to be a sense that the combination of the baby and some time out from the hurly-burly allow for a more personal and reflective speech. But personal and reflective is not enough. There has to be a sense that there is now greater clarity about the overall mission and the next steps. There is not much sense of a recharged, refocused Blair firing on all fronts, and in parts a danger of coming over as rather Majoresque. Where is the challenge to the audience? Where is the challenge to the country? Where is the sense of the modernising leader spelling out the need for real change and reform, and the further tough choices that will have to be made? It is too complacent, and too comfortable.

To some extent, it will be helped by tracking a small number of specified pre-CSR, or pre-next QS, to inject hard news. So we need to work up drugs

(remember that as well as Jack's speech on Thursday, Mo leaves the same day for Colombia, so we could really build this up. [DM]

On the opportunity agenda, we could trail a number of CSR issues: Sure Start, more for to stay on at school, more to help universities wider access; help for small business start ups.

But what I feel coming through the whole time is an attempt to say that whilst there has been some pain in getting through reform so far, all the rest we can do without upsetting anyone. It is not true, and to pretend so will simply underline one of the weaknesses you've trying to address; namely "all things to all men", a sense of pandering to an audience you believe wants to hear all this. Yes; they want to believe in their basic values, but they also want better schools and hospitals, and Britain to be a better country; and they won't get from this how it's going to happen.

People will find it odd that you; the epitome of "New" Labour and therefore "New" Britain appear to want to resile from the concept yourself. In trying to balance old and new, it comes over as a triumph of the former over the latter, not a marriage of the two. You might be better to stick to traditional values in a modern setting. Likewise, of course there is a new economy, but instead of tearing down the fake old/new divide, your formulation gives credence to it. Reading and re-reading, the Queen's Speech/Tate Modern stuff comes over as rather desperate. There is no edge to it, and I think you get edge by saying that there are people so opposed to the modernisation that is necessary to change Britain that they deliberately and wilfully misrepresent all your arguments and all that you do. There must be a sense that whatever the flack there we take – on

Ireland, on Europe, on welfare, on schools, on change and reform, or style – this is what we believe, this is what we stand for, and we will not be moved from the path of reform because it is what Britain needs.

If the central argument is opportunity plus responsibility equals community, it doesn't really power through the speech. That is because there is no real sense of challenge. You state the need for Britain to be truly but there is little sense of a passion for it to be so.

I also feel that in trying to say to Middle England that what they really want is a return of the old values is to misunderstand, or at least only partially understand, what they want. They are not sitting there thinking i want this government to slow down. Quite the contrary they are impatient for more change. They don't just need to be told what their values are. They want to know that the government is driving through real change to improve their lives, and that the change is rooted in these values.

There also has to be a sense of the scale of old we inherited, and the political implications.

If it is true that 100,000 long term young unemployment are basically drug addicts, and that more than 1 million adults cannot read, that is a dreadful commentary on the Tories, and we cannot let it go unnoticed, as we try to work it out. Likewise all the problems that relate to the death of the civic society – family breakdown, crime and drugs, underclass, welfare dependency, education that only serves the few well – these are the result of a political philosophy that held people and the country back; they were a denial of what we believe to be

decent British values. Just as you should make no apology for New Labour – it was a deliberate and determined effort to change the Party so you should make no apology for New Britain – we must be equally determined, deliberate, relentless in our focus.

When you pursue old values, there has to be a recognition of their erosion, and the need for a new approach to get them back e.g. yes, your dad thought the teacher was always right. Today parents think they can storm into the playground and scream abuse at the head – we should be making clear we won't tolerate it, that school teachers and governors can have all the powers they need to deal with unruly parents and kids. Otherwise, it is just nostalgic.

I am sorry to be so negative, but I fear the speech will not work as it stands and that far from getting you back in touch, it will have the opposite effect. I also think you need to take on heartland/Middle England.

I attach a note Philip sent to me. He and I wrote these independently, but seem to be in the same position.

ALASTAIR CAMPBELL

To: Alastair,
From: Philip.

TB's Speech.

1 I am not surprised that you spent yesterday thinking about the speech. The problem you must have faced, certainly the problem that I faced, was that much of it is what TB believes, much of it is right, but that as a speech that does not seem to work, it leaves the wrong taste, it makes you feel less of him not more.

2 Why is this. Partly it is tone which tries to be conversational, but instead feels condescending; partly it is voice because this is not the TB that we know-urgent, modernising, challenging, impatient to change Britain, but a TB who is reflecting, commentating, almost ruminating about the state of the nation; partly it is conviction because it seems like TB has abandoned things that he used to say and believe in but has now moved on from and abandoned-TB the 'arch traditionalist', 'TB dumping the 'new economy'; partly it is about the lack of leadership-there is no sense of challenge, of taking on either the audience or the forces that hold Britain back, that stop Britain becoming the meritocratic country that it should be. The speech is static, there is no sense of energy, verve, dynamism and change.

3 Mostly I think however this speech does not work because it does not feel authentic. It reads like TB is reacting to criticism that he has dumped the past, rather than saying what he really believes in, that he was elected to take Britain into the future. By putting traditionalism before modernisation he seems to have forsaken his purpose and given up his project. The result is a speech that makes TB look rather sad, a passive observer of events, not a force for change

4 Also it seems out of touch, reacting not to the real concerns of real people who now the world has changed and want help in grappling with it, but to some idealised view of Britain's problems-that we have lost traditional values and we need to get them back. This is not the real, hard, struggling, no-nonsense voice of Middle Britain.

5 The result of all this is a speech that looks once again like TB pandering, lacking conviction, unable to hold to a position for more than a few weeks before he moves on from it, lacking the guts to be able to tough it out.

6 Why does TB have a problem with Middle Britain?

It is because:

- TB is not believed to be real. He lacks conviction, he is all spin and presentation, he just says things to please people, not because he believes them.
- TB has not delivered. He said that he would improve the NHS and public services, he said he would change Britain, but instead things have got worse.

03/06/00

09:35

NO. 578

P003/005

- TB, or rather his government is soft on crime, does not stand up for Britain.
- TB is out of touch-he does not really care about me in my life of daily struggle.

7 TB's problem is not that he is too much the modernising politician, not that he has changed too much too fast, but rather the opposite. He has changed too little and too slowly, his government has lost momentum, its pace is slowing down, not speeding up.

8 That is not to say that there is not occasional concern expressed about too much modernisation, too much change, but this is very rare. In fact I can only remember one person ever saying this.

9 This is not of course to deny that people do not feel the loss of the values of responsibility, respect, and community. But the problem is not that TB has forsaken the old and embraced the new. The problem is that TB in the real modern world people in which people live TB has not been tough enough, and does not care enough about the things that matter-crime, asylum seekers, drugs, responsibility. The TB values problem is that his government has appeared to fail to respect the responsibility that people show in their daily lives as they work hard and do not break the law. People feel his government has put asylum seekers first, has put Europe first, has put minorities first, has even appeared to put victims of crime first.

10 However even this problem is secondary to the more basic failure: TB promised a new Britain, a transformed NHS and public services, and all that we have got is more of the same. Too little change, not too much.

11 The truth is that very little in this speech meets the concerns of Middle Britain. They do not want rhetoric about traditional values they to know he cares about them in their tough, hard, daily lives. When TB's language of traditional values was tested people found it risible. The past is gone, people know that this is a new world, but they know also that values are important-but that means action and concern now about things that matter now.

12 All this does not mean that there is not much in this speech that is very good and works and is what TB believes in. I am probably much too hard on it, but it does not work for me, and I do not think it will work for him. It betrays a lack of confidence a lack of consistency, it reads like a belated apology for the forces of conservatism speech which is how it likely to be written up.

13 But TB is frustrated, he does feel his real voice is not being heard. We have to help him find a way of getting his voice out, unspun, genuine and authentic.

13/06/00

09:36

NO. 578

P004/005

14 I think what the speech needs is this:

More challenge. More confidence. Less defensiveness. More verve, more energy, more of a sense of a politician passionate to change Britain, a politician still at the start of his project, still hungry for change. Above all more connection with what he has said in the past..

15 I think the way to make this speech work is to make it truer to TB's fundamental political project. Here are some TB quotes that illustrate this:

'Rebuilding Britain as a strong community with a modern notion of citizenship at its heart, is the political objective for a new age...the project for renewal mirrors that for Britain. What the country wants is what Labour needs'. (Renewal 1993.)

'We are social beings, nurtured in families and communities and human only because we develop the moral power of personal responsibility. Our relationships with and commitments to others are not add-ons to our personalities. They make us who we are'. (Southwark Cathedral speech).

'The importance of the notion of community is that it defines the relationship not only between us as individuals, but between people and the society in which they live, one that is based on responsibilities as well as rights, on obligations as well as entitlements' (Bulgar speech).

'Change and renewal: a new direction for the country; traditional values but modern application; honouring the past but not living it....we have to renew Britain as a strong society.....but do so for the modern world. This will mean a new direction for the country'. (Private notes 1994).

16 All of the above show that TB has a consistent and real voice, but they work I think because they are all about fusing TB's two big impulses: the need for strong communities, the need to rebuild and renew Britain. When these two fuse TB works, it was always so-TB striving, fighting, determined to modernise and rebuild Britain, but TB determined too do so on the basis of strong communities, and a strong sense of responsibility and obligation.

17 I think the speech must give a far stronger sense of being rooted in, and consistent with values, ideas, believes that TB has always held.

18 But we cannot deny that there is a paradox here. TB on the one hand talks about taking on the forces of conservatism, those parts of British life that hold back potential, that stop merit being recognized, that stunt all of our growth. He talks also about making Britain a young country again, full of energy, ideas, confidence, a new country, with new verve.

But he talks also about timeless values, about traditional values, he is a patriotic, he believes in the best of the British character, he believes in responsibility, obligation, respect.

19 Resolving this paradox should be the theme of this speech (in part it already is). The point is this-that renewal and change, and the traditional values of community, responsibility, and obligation are not mutually exclusive but mutually dependent.

20 A modern Britain will only work if it is based upon strong communities that use the talents of all that offers opportunity but demands responsibility. This is true because we must in the modern world use the talents of all, and because the values of community are essential to support people as they face change, and to prevent the social disintegration that places so much pressure on families and their children.

Renewal of Britain, and renewal of community go hand in hand. Britain has declined because it has not used the potential of all, not invested in its people, it has restricted opportunity, but equally it has declined because the values of responsibility have been eroded.-people respect less, they show less responsibility.

That is why New Labour is the answer for Britain: only new Labour has the values and the means to provide opportunity and security in modern world.

21 The resolution of the paradox is clear-Britain has to change, the potential of the people has to be liberated, and this does mean taking on attitudes and structures that hold people back. But the only way that people's talents can be liberated, can people grow and live as rounded and complete individuals, is on the basis of values of responsibility and community that are timeless.

23 The speech has to be much more explicit about this paradox. It has to deal with the tension between modernisation and traditional values in a way that not defensive. It has to challenge. Notions of civic society must change, they must adapt. Change is uncomfortable but it is necessary. It has to lead-it has to take us all forward to build a modern Britain in which everybody gets a fair chance, but in which everyone is expected to behave with responsibility.

24 I would consider starting with modernisation and new Britain and explain how only change can build a new future, save what is best about the past.

25 On tone it is far too defensive. 'I have no problem applauding the Tate Modern', should be the Tate modern is terrific. The new economy does exist, it is important and we should be winning in it. Etc.

26 Parts of this speech are very good. But it needs to be TB the authentic voice, rooted, driven by conviction, a modernising politician rebuilding Britain, renewing Britain. Tony's message is right, there is no need to be defensive about it.

Women's Institute: Responsibility

We have the chance to get responsibility up with a week's worth of stories under the responsibility washing line. That would be a big strategic advance and deal with a lot of the criticisms on crime etc. We would then have got up opportunity for all, responsibility from all.

"We are governing with a new philosophy. In place of selfish individualism a new ethos is emerging based on responsibility. For every new opportunity we offer, we demand responsibility in return. Opportunities for all, responsibilities from all.

Responsibility means we no longer hand out social security benefits without conditions. Claimants have a duty to look actively for work and take jobs they are offered. Something for something. David Blunkett will outline our plans tomorrow.

Responsibility from all means parents have a responsibility to ensure their children turn up to school each morning. Truancy stops a child fulfilling his potential. It also leads to crime and drugs. The courts now have the power to impose £5000 fines on parents whose children truant persistently. I want to see them used.

Responsibility means that if you have fathered a child you should help, at least financially, in bringing that child up. Our reforms to the child support agency will include provisions for driving licenses to remove from fathers who continue to shirk their responsibilities.

Responsibility means that those who are hooked on drugs should be given proper treatment and those who deal should be given tougher sentences. And new powers, from next week, will mean the assets of drugs dealers will be seized.

Responsibility mean supporting teachers and head-teachers not storming into the playground to complain when they have disciplined your unruly child. New powers will means that heads can use parenting orders to restrain such parents.

Responsibility means not breaking probation. Those who do twice will now lose their benefits.

But responsibility must apply to those at the top as well. Responsibility for business means paying women the same as men for the same job. It means devising share schemes that benefit all employees not just directors. And businesses that rightly complain about the damage of inflation should think not just of the pay rises that their employees get but those of the directors too.

That is our agenda for responsibility. It is tough. But it will help to restore the values we all want to live by: respect, responsibility and decency.

To: TB

Fr: Peter H

Women's Institute

Sorry to be negative but I still don't like this speech at all.

I think this speech hands the Tories a huge propaganda victory. By seeming to retreat from "new" and the "future" –the things the Tories are most scared of - and by trying to reclaim the old and the past, we are in danger of throwing away the two biggest and most important dividing lines between the parties. This would be a big mistake.

1. I do not agree with the premise that this should be a discursive and whimsical speech. Arguably it might suit the audience but I do not think it satisfies the political moment that we must seize. After months of battering on health, dome, crime, transport, Rover, asylum, pensions and New Labour itself, what is needed is momentum, energy, **firm leadership and direction: This is what we believe in. This is what is wrong with the country. This is how I am putting it right. This is how you the voter will benefit.**
2. This speech is unclear. What does it mean to put the old and new in balance? What sort of template does that give the public or our troops? Why are we backtracking from new Labour (or giving the press the chance to say that)? How is it translated into policy? Why are we abandoning the new economy after all the speeches you and Gordon and Peter have made on the subject? Most importantly why are we having this discussion? Why are we defending ourselves not very confidently against the charge that New Labour is destroying old Britain, when we are really being accused of not delivering quick enough on what we were elected to do?
3. By saying a "return to our core values as a nation", "old fashioned values yes", "old fashioned virtues we want them back," this is easily interpreted as a back to basics type speech. (Blair becomes Major). This is not your pre-election voice. No-one doubts for a minute that there will be resonance in saying you don't like bad manners or impoliteness or loutish behaviour. Who wouldn't agree? But a) what are you going to do about it b) is that really your big analysis of Britain? They voted for a young (middle class) family man who has the energy and drive to improve their lives. To secure for them a better future. Not to take them back to the past. I do not think this "old fashioned values" message is what will "settle down" middle England or anywhere else. What will settle them is convincing stuff on

responsibility/community plus a real sense that we will deliver on health and education, plus real empathy of their hard working lives. This speech gives a bit on responsibility and not much on the other two. **We really do need a passage on the lives of insecure women trying to raise children as best they can as well as work, care for a relative etc**

4. The speech is far too abstract and too complicated. E.g. The distinction between old fashioned values and old fashioned attitudes will pass a lot of people by. (e.g. revolutionise the means of their application for a modern world. "My generation stands at the intersection" para page 2 is very abstract) The audience will be bored by the speech unless there are a lot more stories and examples that really connect and unless the language is a lot simpler. Your re-entry should herald a more connecting style and the use of everyday language and lots of real life examples.
5. There is still too much commentary as if you are not part of the government. The para on hooligans begs the answer: do something about it you're Prime Minister.
6. This is a chance to make headway on opportunity and responsibility. The speech should make them central from the beginning. How are you going to extend opportunity and how are you going to build a new ethos of responsibility in Britain. There is a case for making the whole speech on responsibility.
7. Our strategic aim should be to have both opportunity and responsibility up in lights in three weeks time. For that reason this speech could do with a big talking point on responsibility: drugs, truancy, or whatever.
8. I am also worried that in the understandable urge not to leave an anti-excellence taste in the public's mind, we will end up with a string of Blair slaps down Brown stories. The paras on this issue in the speech need to be worded more carefully to avoid that.
9. **The speech should have real confidence.**

Responsibility with real examples should be central.
We should include our ambitions and goals for the future
We should have a section of tangible benefits to people.

Let me know if I can help with any of this.

TB

Re W.I. speed

cc DM, AM, PC

① As you say, you think the speed must ~~not~~ be your voice. Up to a point it is, but only up to a point. I feel it is more your voice as you think others want to hear it. For your real voice fully to be heard, we need to hear: values rooted in the past, modernisation, and leadership. In the current draft, the first of these is strong, but the tone of the other two is almost apologetic.

You are also right that there has to be a sense that the combination of the baby and some time out from the busy busy allow for a more personal & reflective speed. But personal & reflective is not enough. There has to be a sense that there is now greater clarity about the ~~next~~ ~~step forward~~ overall mission and the next steps.

There is not much sense of a delayed, reformed Blair facing on the front, and in part a danger of coming over as rather Mayan-esque. When is the

~~surely the impression we want to challenge to the audience?~~ When is the challenge to the country? When is the sense of the modernising leader spelling out the need for real change & reform, & the further tough choices that will have to be made? It is too complacent, & too comfortable.

To some extent, it will be helped by ~~starting a~~ ^{starting a} small number of specific ~~a~~ ^{work}, pre-CSA, or pre-next Q.S., ~~you can't~~ ^{you can't} ~~can't~~ ^{can't} to my last hard news. ~~We also~~ ^{So} we need to work up things (remember that as well as Tant's speech - Thursday, to leave the same day for Columbia, so we could really build this up.) (Don)

On the opportunity agenda, we could have a number of CSA issues: a sure start, a more for books to stay at school, more to help universities underpin; help for donors to make start-ups.

But what I feel coming through the whole time is an attempt to say that whilst there has been some pain in getting through reform so far, that's all the rest we can do without upsetting anyone. It is not true, & to pretend so will simply undermine one of the weaknesses you're trying to address, namely "all things to all men," a sense of pandering to an audience you believe wants to hear all that.

Yes, they want to believe in their basic values, but they also want better schools - hospitals, & infrastructure to be a better country, & they will get from this how it's going to happen.

(3)

People will find it odd that you, the epitome of "New"
London & therefore "New" Britain, appear to want to
revert from the concept journey. In trying to balance
old & new, it comes over as a triumph of the
former over the latter, not a marrying of the 2. You
might be better to stick to traditional values in a
modern setting. Let's face it, of course there is a new
economy, but instead of tearing down the false
old/new divide, your formulation gives credence to it.
Reading & re-reading, the Queen Speech (Tate Modern
stuff comes over as rather derisive. There is no edge to
it, ~~as such~~ & I think you get edge by
saying that there are people so opposed to the
modernisation that is necessary to change Britain
that they deliberately & wilfully misrepresent all
your arguments & do that you do. There must be
a sense that where the that that we take -
on Ireland, on Europe, on welfare, on schools, on
change & reform, on style - that is what we
believe, that is what we stand for, & we will
not be moved from the path of reform because
it is what Britain needs.

(4) If the central argument is opportunity plus responsibility equals community, it doesn't really move through the system. Not because there is no real sense of challenge. In states the need for Britain to be the truly meritorious but there is little sense of a pressure for it to be so, ~~and the risk of~~

I also feel that in trying to say to middle England that what they really want is a return of the old values is to misunderstand, or at least only partially understand, what they want. They are not sitting there thinking I want this. Govt. to show down. Quite the contrary. They are impatient for more change. They don't ^{just} need to be told what their values are. They want to know that the Govt. is doing through real change to improve their lives, & that the change is rooted in these values.

There also has to be a sense of the scale of what we are talking & the political implications. #

(5)

If it is true that 100,000 long term young
unemployed are basically drug addicts, & that
now the in courts cannot read, that is a
dreadful commentary on the Times, & we cannot
let it go unnoticed, as we try to work it out.
Likewise all the problems that relate to the
death of the civic society - family breakdown,
crime & drugs, underclass, welfare dependency,
education that only serves the few well -
these are the result of a political philosophy
that held people & the country apart; they were
a denial of what we believe to be
decent British values. That is why we should note
no apology for N.C. - it was a deliberate
& determined effort to change the Party, so you
should note no apology for N.B. - we must
be equally determined, deliberate, relentless in
our focus.

✓
Garden Rooms - Chequers

From: Anji Hunter
Sent: 02 June 2000 19:28
To: Garden Rooms - Chequers
Subject: RE: SPEECH TO THE WOMEN'S INSTITUTE

can you tell PM I think it's great and not to let others de-rail him from the "new" argument!
Also, can you tell him David Blunkett has called me and is very keen to see a draft and make comments. He is making a speech on the same day and intends to return to the argument of "not a hand out, but a hand up". He also mhas comments on what our education policies have measnt for women and he also wants to give him a paragraph or two on the Oxbridge argument - how to bring it on to 'opportunity for all', but without offending any colleagues. He would like the PM to know that the Chancellor rang him today and they had a very good conversation.

Tessa Jowell, our Minister for Education and Women, (who I hope has received a copy by now) would also like to make comments on the speech. She may ring you direct and dictate them, if that is ok with you.

-----Original Message-----

From: Garden Rooms - Chequers
Sent: 02 June 2000 18:23
To: Anji Hunter; Helena Hopkins
Subject: SPEECH TO THE WOMEN'S INSTITUTE

Prime Minister

Re Anji's note above. Do you
want me to copy speech to
David Blunkett + Tessa Jowell?

Monica

2/6

SPEECH TO THE WOMEN'S INSTITUTE

cc AC ✓
AH ✓
JJH ✓

speech\womens institute

as at 2 June 1900

words: 2548

1600
3028

At the heart not just of my politics but of my beliefs is the idea of community, the notion that the path to individual fulfilment lies in society with, not in isolation from, others. The renewal of the idea of community, of civic society in Britain today is the single biggest challenge we face. It is the only route to the political goal of opportunity and security for all in a changing world. If we do not recapture it, our future will be in a society and nation increasingly fragmented, divided, unfair, where opportunity and security are for the minority not the broad majority of British people.

Alone, making do as best we can with our own individual wealth and income, we have no prospect of meeting this challenge. Together as members of a community, united by common purpose we can.

To state this is one thing.

To achieve it, will mean hard choices and a set of policies resolutely attached to the long term. For politicians, there is a price to pay for that, which I will come to later.

First, we need to define what we mean by community, by civic society.

Here there is a tension between what I would call the new and the old. A lot of Britain today seems to be "new". We in Government talk often about the "new"

– whether the "new" economy, "new" culture, art, "new" NHS, "new" welfare state.

I am familiar with this argument from "New" Labour. Six years on, it seems strange to be calling it "new"; but at the time, it was hugely controversial. We re-wrote the Party's constitution, changed its policies, altered our rules. Frequently we were accused, in doing so, of abandoning our basic beliefs. To ditch a long-cherished policy was to ditch values, convictions, people said. But I always regarded it and still do as precisely the opposite: that the "new" was necessary in order to "re-new" the old; that the values – fairness, solidarity, social justice – lost relevance unless applied anew to a changed world.

I believe the same of the idea of community. The building block of community is responsibility, duty to others. That is a value as old as time. I believe in it passionately. That makes me in one sense an arch-traditionalist. Without responsibility to others, there is no law-abiding conduct. There is no basis for the family. There are no public services. There is no shared purpose. It is the foundation of civic society. It always has been and always will be. So, to renew civic society is to renew the concept of mutual responsibility.

My traditionalism goes further than that. I love British history, Britain's cultural heritage; the British way of life. Despite what you may have read, when the suggestion came that we do away with the pomp and pageantry of The Queen's Speech in Parliament, that it was old-fashioned, I dismissed it out of hand. What an absurd and unnecessary act of destruction of an ancient and loved ceremony.

But my generation stands at the intersection between old and new. We have moved beyond debates about Victorian values or the libertarianism of the sixties

or the laissez-faire of the eighties. Yes, we want a renewal of civic society. We want a society of rules and order. But we want it for today's world. We do not want a society of hierarchy or prejudice. We want to put the new and the old in balance.

When I think of the values of my dad's generation, I want to discern between the genuine values that underpinned the best of Britain and the things we can safely and rightly leave behind. Old-fashioned values are good values. Old-fashioned attitudes may simply be barriers that hold our values back. My father was passionate about good manners. He always said: misbehave inside the family, if you will; but outside, make us proud of you.

I am the same. Respect for others, courtesy, giving up your seat for the elderly, saying please and thank you.

All this I share.

Crime was unthinkable – and was for my father brought up in poverty in a Glasgow tenement. If I got wrong at school, I got wrong again at home. When my father saw the teacher, he apologised for me. He would have been completely astonished and dismayed to have been told he should complain about it. These seem small things, but are in fact the difference between living in a society and living in a jungle. My mother, an active member of her Women's Institute, saw it quite simply as her duty to help in the local community. Caring for and helping others was part of her being. Again, without such acts of kindness, however small, humanity for me has no meaning.

These are all old-fashioned virtues and values and I hope we all share them and accept our responsibility to instil them in our children as our parents did in us. Rightly, we mourn that they have to a significant degree, passed away. Rightly we want them back.

But there are other things from past generations I choose to leave behind. My dad fiercely resisted my mum working. He'd be horrified at me going to church not dressed in suit and tie. Many of his generation – though not him – were, let us say, less than one hundred per cent progressive on issues like race or in attitudes to gay people.

They were probably a lot more active on the sexual front than they ever seemed; but they talked about it less frankly than we find natural.

My generation feels differently: we're for good manners but casual dressing; tolerant of different lifestyles, but intolerant of crime. I have no problem applauding the Tate Modern, even though I don't always understand it and adoring the way the revitalised Globe Theatre treats Shakespeare; in laughing at The Simpsons or Only Fools and Horses but loving the BBC productions of Jane Austen or Bronte or Dickens. We are putting the new and old in a balance right for our generation.

All this is necessary to explore because otherwise change is seen as an obliteration of our history; or alternatively a call to return to a society based on clear values, is seen as a retreat into the past. The truth is that we cannot renew civic society without a return to the core value of responsibility; but that core value has to be applied in a way appropriate for today's world.

That leads us directly to the question of defining today's world. What are its characteristics? What makes it different from yesterday's world? I believe it is different in two ways, the understanding of each of which is essential if we are to re-capture that core value of responsibility.

First, it is a world in the throes of change. Again and again, when I analyse the world in which my children are growing up, I come back to the spectre of change. The global economy has re-written the rules of economic management. In 1969, when I was the age my eldest boy is now, £/- was traded on foreign exchanges. Today, it is \$/- A crisis in Asia puts people out of work in County Durham. The technological information revolution is transforming the world of business and work and is set to cause massive insecurity as well as creating fabulous wealth. In the USA today, one in four families changes home every year. Mass production has ended or is ending in the Western developed world. There is a huge premium now on skills. And of course there is cultural and social change. Community and family life is experiencing strains our grandparents, possibly our parents, would never have guessed, existed. The new science of genetics, the investigation of the human genome, of which the controversy over genetic modification is just a part, will, in all probability in the not-too-distant future, take over from the internet as the next shaker of the never-ending kaleidoscope of change.

No wonder people feel insecure and worried for their future. The task therefore is to use the power of community, of society, acting together to become the masters of this change, not its victims. Change makes a difference as to how we re-build community but it also provides a powerful incentive to develop it. On our own, we, or the majority of us are impotent. Together we can shape our destiny.

The second difference in today's world is fuelled by change, but in nature is a development in human progress continuing over centuries. The spirit of this age is democratic. We won't rebuild civic society on the basis of deference or hierarchy. The rich man is his castle, the poor man at his gate: it won't wash any more if, in truth, it ever did.

This is also economic necessity. Brain has taken the place of brawn. A meritocratic society is the only one that can exploit its economic chances to the full; and that means exploiting the talent of its people. A class-ridden society can't do that.

A modern civic society must be built around the notion of the equal worth of each citizen. That is true equality. Not equal outcomes but equal worth. If we do not provide opportunity, we will fail to achieve responsibility.

Opportunity to all and responsibility from all = a community for all.

So: what then becomes the policy consequences of all this?

In economic policy, we need to map out a path to the future where there can indeed be opportunity and security for all.

The first base is economic stability.

So we put in place a system of economic management that has delivered low inflation, low interest rates and sound public finances. I know people disliked the rise in petrol prices and the abolition of mortgage tax relief. People wanted

more money spent on public services immediately. But we simply could not carry on with a borrowing requirement of £28 billion and doubled national debt. The first base of stability meant clearing the deficit. It is now cleared. We are in surplus. National debt has fallen. Long-term interest rates are now converging with those of continental Europe for the first time in my life.

From 1979-1997, mortgage rates averaged ten per cent. In the last three years, they've averaged six per cent. For the family with a £50,000 mortgage, that's a saving of X

Second base was ensuring that the economy grew, jobs were created and work made to pay. We avoided the recession almost everyone said was inevitable, given Britain's post-war history.

By the end of this year, there will be almost one million more jobs in Britain. We still lead the world for inward investment. 670,000 fewer people are claiming benefit, a welfare saving of £X billion. As a result, whereas welfare spending used to rise by four per cent in real terms every year in the 80s and early 90s, it has risen by one per cent in the last three and that is only because of deliberate increases in child benefit and payments to pensioners. For 1 ¼ million lower-income families, the Working Families Tax Credit has made work pay for properly for the first time.

We are now ready to move to third base: investing in the country's future. There can be no greater responsibility for us, as a nation than to invest in our education system to boost productivity, skills and provide opportunity; in our transport system to provide mobility; and in our health service and police to ensure security for all. Put bluntly, Britain is an "under-invested in" country.

We didn't invest wisely when we were spending public money in the 60s and 70s and we didn't invest enough in 80s and 90s. If we want a first-class education system; or an NHS that is once again the pride of Britain; or a transport system that is not creaking at the joints, we will have to invest. Except this time, we should do it allied to fundamental reform.

This is the third base: first stability; then work; now investment in the future.

It is not a case of always wanting investment in preference to tax cuts. Of course lower income taxes are desirable. But as the policies of 10 years ago have shown us, the only tax cuts that will last, are those that don't come at the price of cutting long-term investment or sound public finances. And we should never forget: lower mortgage rates and increased earnings, help to raise living standards as much, sometimes more, than tax cuts alone, however eye-catching.

Fourth base is developing the economic and industrial base of the future: the increases in productivity, use of the new technology and move to higher value-added "knowledge-based" goods and services.

A welfare state that is not a benefits agency but an employment and re-employment service for middle as well as lower income families; electronic commerce; access to internet skills for all of us not just the under 30's; help for small businesses and venture capital: there is a huge agenda here for public and private sector. The role of Government will not be old style industrial intervention but being on the side of businesses and people helping them adapt to change. And there is no new and old economy. People talk of the internet businesses as if they were "new" and manufacturing "old", with some silent satisfaction no doubt amongst a few that Boo.com so spectacularly rose and fell.

This is dangerous nonsense. There is one economy and it all faces the same challenge: that of an information revolution that will alter the very basis of business transactions whether in the newest media start-up or the most ancient manufacturing company. Without a fundamental shift in attitude, many people, through no fault of their own, will lose out on opportunity and ^{security} ~~seniority~~. The role of us as a community, is to help people through the change; "old" ^{perhaps} ~~may be~~ in our caring for others; but determinedly "new" in our means of doing it.

One of the interesting things about taking a little time off with a new baby, is you start to think like a normal human being again. Sitting there with Leo, watching the odd news bulletin, I have been utterly bewildered by the debate over state schools and Oxbridge. I would have thought it a statement of the obvious that we need to do more to attract pupils from state schools and from poorer backgrounds to our top universities. Indeed everyone seems to agree on that. So let's hear no more rubbish about class war, as if we had to choose between caricatures of Little Lord Fontero and Dave Spart. We all have a responsibility and we all could do better. The universities can do more to widen the pool of talent to recruit from, as some of them are trying hard to do. And we in Government could do more to improve the quality and funding of state education which ultimately is the only sure way to open up opportunities. I am an unashamed supporter of excellence. But we need to give far more of our kids a shot at it.

Mutual responsibility is the only way to a society where all not just a few get the chance to succeed. And this is not just economic. All of us know the quality of our lives is not just about what we earn. It is about dignity, respect, kindness, love, our families. We need a decent standard of living. But it isn't the sum total of human existence. Yet here is where we feel we have lost something previous. You can put it in any numbers of ways. I call it: respect for other

people. When I hear of someone mugged, I am not just angry for the victim, I am indignant for all of us. When I see graffiti on a wall, I loathe it. I'm afraid like other men my age, I do swear. But I hate people swearing in public or in front of children. This may seem trivial but it isn't. It is the very essence of that sense of responsibility which is at the heart of community.

So how do we rebuild it? The Americans have a phrase called "tough love". I say: "something for something". But its the same idea: a covenant for citizenship. We accept as a community that we have a responsibility to open up opportunity for all, to tackle the faults of our society as well as ourselves as individuals. But in return we can be tougher, more direct, more insistent on demanding something back; on responsibility being mutual. So if we are putting billions of pounds into the New Deal for the unemployed, people can't be expected to sit at home claiming benefit if they could work. If you are a teenage mum and want help, you should be in a proper hostel or home where there is support but also education and improvement. If, as I hope we can, we expand youth services and sports facilities for our youngsters, they should not be hanging round street corners at night or disturbing old folk in their homes.

And I tell you in all honesty on the issue of crime, if we don't deal with drugs, we don't deal with crime. We can all talk tough on it. It's the cheapest currency in political debate. And we need tougher measures. But unless we face the facts and signs, none of it will work. There are 100,000 registered drug addicts who are unemployed and presently unemployable. Half of all criminal offences are drug-related. We need two things: a massive expansion of drug treatment and rehabilitation; and then the most serious concerted crackdown on every aspect of drug abuse this or any western developed country has seen. Tomorrow the Home Secretary will announce the first steps.

Tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime is still the best policy there is but we need to be a darned sight tougher on both.

This is dangerous nonsense. There is one economy and it all faces the same challenge: that of an information revolution that will alter the very basis of business transactions whether in the newest media start-up or the most ancient manufacturing company. Without a fundamental shift in attitude, many people, through no fault of their own, will lose out on opportunity and ^{seniority} ~~seniority~~. The role of us as a community, is to help people through the change; "old" ^{perhaps} ~~may be~~ in our caring for others; but determinedly "new" in our means of doing it.

One of the interesting things about taking a little time off with a new baby, is you start to think like a normal human being again. Sitting there with Leo, watching the odd news bulletin, I have been utterly bewildered by the debate over state schools and Oxbridge. I would have thought it a statement of the obvious that we need to do more to attract pupils from state schools and from poorer backgrounds to our top universities. Indeed everyone seems to agree on that. So let's hear no more rubbish about class war, as if we had to choose between caricatures of Little Lord Fontero and Dave Spart. We all have a responsibility and we all could do better. The universities can do more to widen the pool of talent to recruit from, as some of them are trying hard to do. And we in Government could do more to improve the quality and funding of state education which ultimately is the only sure way to open up opportunities. I am an unashamed supporter of excellence. But we need to give far more of our kids a shot at it.

Mutual responsibility
is the only way to a society where
all ~~not~~ just a few get the
chance to succeed. But this is
not just economic. All of us know
the quality of our lives is not
just about what we earn. It is
about dignity, respect, kindness
love, our families. We need a
decent standard of living. But it
isn't the sum total of human
existence. Yet here is where we
feel we have lost something
precious. You can put it in any
number of ways. I call it: respect
for other people. When I hear of
someone nudged, I am not just angry

more money spent on public services immediately. ~~We refused.~~ But we simply could not carry on with a borrowing requirement of £28 billion and doubled national debt. The first base of stability meant clearing the deficit. It is now cleared. We are in surplus. National debt has fallen. Long-term interest rates are now converging with those of continental Europe for the first time in my life.

From 1979-1997, mortgage rates averaged ten per cent. In the last three years, they've averaged six per cent. For the family with a £50,000 mortgage, that's a saving of X

Second base was ensuring that the economy grew, jobs were created and work made to pay. We avoided the recession almost everyone said was inevitable, given Britain's post-war history.

By the end of this year, there will be almost one million more jobs in Britain. We still lead the world for inward investment. 670,000 fewer people are claiming benefit, a welfare saving of £X billion. As a result, whereas welfare spending used to rise by four per cent in real terms every year in the 80s and early 90s, it has risen by one per cent in the last three and that is only because of deliberate increases in child benefit and payments to pensioners. For 1 ¼ million lower-income families, the Working Families Tax Credit has made work pay for properly for the first time.

We are now ready to move to third base: investing in the country's future. There can be no greater responsibility for us, as a nation than to invest in our education system to boost productivity, skills and provide opportunity; in our transport system to provide mobility; and in our health service and police to ensure security for all. Put bluntly, Britain is an "under-invested in" country.

We didn't invest wisely when we were spending public money in the 60s and 70s and we didn't invest enough in 80s and 90s. If we want a first-class education system; or an NHS that is once again the pride of Britain; or a transport system that is not creaking at the joints, we will have to invest. Except this time, we should do it allied to fundamental reform.

This is the third base: first stability; then work; now investment in the future. Then, the fourth base, we can have the tax cuts people want. But only once the investment is secure.

the well have state
the ~~employment~~ service that is
not a benefit agency but an
employment & re-employment
service for middle ~~income~~ ^{on middle} income
Gamilies; electronic commerce;
avers to internet skills for all
of us now! just the middle 30%;
help for small business &
venture capital: there is a huge
agency for public & private sector.
the role of Govt will not be fading
~~away~~ or do they is industrial information
not being on the side of business &
people helping them adapt to change.
And there is no new and do
economy. People talk of the Internet

3.

businesses as if they were "new" & manufacturing "start-ups", with some silent satisfaction no doubt amongst a few that Bro. Com. so spectacularly rose & fell. There is dangerous nonsense. There is one lesson & it all faces the same challenge: that of an information revolution that will alter the very basis of human transaction whether in the newest media start-up or the most ancient manufacturing company. Without a fundamental shift in attitude, many people, to a no fault of their own, will lose out on opportunity & security. The role of us as a community, is to help people gain the change; "old" may be in an

4.

caring for others ; but determinedly
"new" in our means of doing it.

One of the interesting
things about taking a little time
off with a new baby, is you
start to think like a normal
human being again. Sitting there
with Leo, watching the odd
news bulletin, I have been utterly
bewildered by the debate over
state schools & Oxbridge. ~~The~~
~~idea that~~ I've had to write it
a statement of the
position that we need to do more
to attract pupils from state schools
& from poorer backgrounds to our top
universities. Indeed everyone seems to
agree on that. So let's hear no more

within a certain class was
 - between 2 universities
 as little was for taking
 of higher level and have spent
 we all have a responsibility &
 we all do better. The universities
 can do more in this area
 with the part of talent to
 recruit from, as they take them
 are crying out to do. And we in
 that as to have to improve the
 quality & focus of state education
 which ultimately is the only true
 way to open up opportunities. I
 am on a mountain of different
 excellence. But we need to give the
 sense of our kind a shot at it.

file

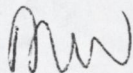
From: David North
Date: 2 June 2000

DAVID MILIBAND

cc: Jeremy Heywood
Brian Hackland
Simon Virley

PRIME MINISTER'S WI SPEECH: RURAL VISION

1. You asked for a note on our vision for the future of rural communities, and how we will buttress them economically and socially. This is attached.
2. You separately said that you were working on the crime/drugs section. Please let me know if you want any help. One key announcement would clearly be the £15 million special grant this year for rural policing, set out in Jack's letter of 25 May to Andrew Smith. Andrew has agreed to the proposal, provided it is tied to a standard target for rural response times (e.g. attending 90% of emergencies in rural areas within 20 minutes). The combination of more money and a commitment on what it should deliver is attractive, although Jack is worried that the police will object, and will not be squared by Wednesday. So, we will need to press hard on Monday if we think this is a runner. (In the meantime, I have told Jack's Office to work on the basis that we will want to announce the money and the target.)



DAVID NORTH

WI SPEECH: RURAL COMMUNITIES

Vision

As the Women's Institutes know as well as anyone, British rural life is not static. It has always been changing and adapting to new pressures and challenges. And the fortunes of our countryside have always been interwoven with those of the country as a whole, including our urban areas. Our vision is one where the unique characteristics and strengths of the British countryside and rural life are maintained and enhanced, and where the people who live and work there have much better access to services, opportunities, jobs and prosperity, in a way that benefits everyone, including those who have been economically and socially excluded.

What have we done?

- Taken steps to **buttress local services** by introducing 50% rate relief for sole shops and post offices in designated communities.
- Stimulated **rural transport** services by providing an extra £170m over three years for buses and other rural transport measures.
- Reversed the policy of closing **rural schools**, by introducing new rules to protect them. Also provided £40m through Small School Support Fund to help small schools raise standards through sharing and collaborating.
- Developed an **England Rural Development Plan** worth £1.6bn over the next seven years to enhance significantly our work on environmental protection, countryside conservation, rural development and diversification.
- Provided more than £600m in special **aid to farmers** since 1997, linking the latest £200m package to a sustainable **long-term strategy** for the industry, focusing on improving profitability through higher quality, better marketing and co-operation, innovative use of IT, incentives to diversify, and removing unnecessary and unjustified regulatory burdens.
- Relieved the pressure on the countryside by setting a target that 60% of all new homes should be built on **recycled land**.
- We have given rural areas and rural people a voice in Government by creating the **Countryside Agency**.

- **Other policies** – like the minimum wage, the New Deal and NHS Direct – have benefited rural people and communities, sometimes even more than they have benefited people in towns and cities.

What will we do?

[Most of the points below are front-runners for the **Rural White Paper** we plan to publish in the summer/autumn this year. We would need to decide which we might float in advance]:

Encouraging enterprise and rural business growth

- **harnessing the potential of market towns to act as growth centres:** 50 towns a year would develop a growth strategy with all service providers; pump-primed through additional funding, including SRB and structural funds;
- **driving forward the 63-point farming strategy**, so that British agriculture has a broader, more diverse, higher-quality base, better focused on the needs of consumers and the environment. The £1.6bn Rural Development Plan is crucial to this.

Greater access for all to better services

- **harnessing new technology to develop village and rural businesses** (e.g. pubs and shops) as rural “service points”, including on banking and IT access; providing incentives by extending mandatory rate relief;
- more emphasis on **affordable rural housing** (e.g. by doubling the rural housing programme);
- better access – e.g. through rural smart cards or vouchers for the socially excluded – to rural **transport services** including mini-buses and taxi-buses.

Rural Communities and the environment

- Renewing self-government for rural communities by giving “**quality**” **parish councils** more responsibility, provided they meet specified electoral tests.
- Re-directing agricultural support – through the **Rural Development Plan** – so that it delivers more, and more specific, environment goods: e.g. a further expansion of environmentally sensitive areas; an innovative new

scheme to promote environmentally-friendly energy crops; a trebling of the area under organic farming by 2006.

From: Ms C Oppenheim
Date: 2 June 2000

DAVD MILIBAND

Pensions – for speech for Women's Institute

1. The Overall Strategy

Our first priority has been to target the poorest pensioners both because of the sharp rise in pensioner inequality over the last two decades and that on average pensioner incomes had been rising substantially. Between 1979 and 1997:

- the incomes of the richest fifth of pensioner couples grew by 80% in real terms compared to 30% for the poorest fifth
- the gap between richest pensioners and poorest pensioners has grown from 2.5 times in 1979 to 3.5 times in 1997
- average pensioner incomes rose by 64% compared to an average earnings rise among the working population rise 38%

Give these facts it would have been simply irresponsible and wasteful to have put all our resources into increasing the universal basic retirement pension with earnings. It would not have allowed us to put money where it is most needed.

2. What has the government done for pensioners?

2.1 The Poorest Pensioners

- The Minimum Income Guarantee (MIG) was introduced from April 1999 by increasing Income Support for the poorest pensioners by three times more than the normal uprating – 1.5 million households benefit. MIG for a single pensioner is £78.45 - £9.65 a week more since 1997 and £121.95 for a couple - £15.15 a week more since 1997. Older pensioners have got more.
- MIG will be uprated with earnings until the end of the Parliament. By April 2001 it will be worth around £82 for a single pensioner and £127 for a pensioner couple.

- A major take-up campaign began in May to encourage all pensioners to claim their full entitlement.

2.2 All pensioners

- Winter Fuel Payment, introduced at £20 in 1997 and raised to £100 in 1999, will be raised to £150 this year. There is a commitment to retaining it every year from now on. It's not means-tested and it's tax free. 8 million households with up to 11½ million people gain from the measure.
- VAT on domestic fuel was reduced to 5% in Labour's first Budget in 1997.
- Free TV licences for every pensioner aged 75 or over from Autumn 2000 benefiting 3 million households, free eye tests from April 1999 and extending concessionary fares on public transport.
- The real value of the Basic State Pension has been maintained and will rise in April 2001 by more than £2 for single pensioners and over £3 for couples.
- All tax paying pensioners benefit from the extension of 10p rate to savings income (from 23%), the cut in the basic rate and the Minimum Tax Guarantee has increased allowances above inflation.

2.3 The nearly poor

This group are those with *small* amounts of capital/savings/occupational pension but are not entitled to MIG.

- Capital limits for the Minimum Income Guarantee will be raised to £6,000 - £12,000. Over 500,000 people will gain by an average of more than £5 a week. Many are better off by £1000 a year.
- The new Pensioners Credit will look at measures to let people keep more of their savings and still be entitled to MIG (see below).

2.4 How much are pensioners better off?

- As a result of all of these policies, all pensioner households are this year at least £3 a week better off in real terms. Households with pensioners aged 75 or over are at least £5 a week better off.

- The poorest pensioner households are at least £14 a week better off and the poorest pensioners aged 75+ are at least £16 a week better off.
- We are spending an extra £6½ billion on pensioners over this Parliament, £2½ billion more for pensioners than the Government would have spent had it just introduced earnings indexation.

3.0 The earnings link

The arguments against earnings indexation remain strong:

- The medium and long-term cost is very high. The cost of uprating Basic State Pension from April 2000 in line with earnings is £17bn by 2020.
- Whilst this is more expensive in the short term than earnings indexation, it won't be in the medium term. It also doesn't tie our hands in the future so that we can respond flexibly to pensioners needs.
- Uprating Basic State Pension doesn't help the poorest pensioners on the MIG as they lose the extra pension pound for pound.
- Other parts of our strategy for Stakeholder Pensions are aimed at encouraging people to save as basic pension is never alone going to provide a comfortable retirement.

4. The Pensioner Credit

The Pensioner Credit was floated in the last Budget and :

- will help and reward pensioners with small amounts of savings/capital who currently are trapped by the rules which prevent them getting the MIG
- provides us with the opportunity to bring together the different strands of state support for pensioners

For information (not for the speech) the current thinking is as follows:

- Convert MIG into a simplified credit which would taper off as income/capital rises allowing pensioners to keep more of their savings
- Include Housing and Council Tax Benefit into the credit so that pensioners would receive an integrated payment

- Explore whether the Pensioner Credit could subsume different elements of support for pensioners: MIG, Basic State Pension, Second State Pension, Winter Fuel Payment, Housing and Council Tax Benefit. Only the income-related components would be tapered off. A pensioner would receive a notification of his/her total Pensioner Credit which would identify the separate elements. This has important presentational advantages as it will take the focus off the Retirement Pension as the benchmark of adequacy.

From: Carey Oppenheim
Date: 2 June 2000

DAVID MILIBAND

Childcare and Nursery Provision – for Women's Institute speech

We have done a great deal to help young, and very young children since the Election. Young children and their families are our future and so meeting their needs is in all our interests. Research shows high-quality early investment can make all the difference to the health of a child and their ability to thrive when they start school.

Early Years Education

- Children's early years should be enjoyable - full of fun and challenge. And they are a vital time when children develop rapidly - physically, intellectually, emotionally and socially. We need to get these years right, so all children have an equal opportunity to succeed in later learning
- From September 1998, all four year olds have had access to a free, high quality, at least part time, early education place where their parents want one. During 1999-00, £40m was allocated and during 2000-01, £100m funding is being shared across all local authorities with the emphasis being on social need.
- This is expected to provide around 83,000 new places for around 50% of the three year old population by March 2001, as part of our commitment to almost double provision so we reach two-thirds of that age group by 2002.
- We will introduce a Foundation Stage for children from three to six from September, a key part of which will be a set of Early Learning Goals representing what the majority of children will achieve by the end of the reception year.

National Childcare Strategy

The strategy aims to ensure good quality, affordable childcare for children aged 0 - 14, and up to 16 for children with special needs, in every neighbourhood. This benefits parents and children. Parents, especially women, are helped to take up employment, education or training, giving them equal opportunities and choices.

There are three key steps in the strategy - raising quality, making childcare affordable and more accessible; and the importance of working in partnership.

- The local Early Years Development and Childcare Partnerships, representing all the relevant local interests, are key to local delivery of the Strategy.
- We have exceeded our targets in each year. The expected outturn for 1999-2000 is around 130,000 new places - exceeding the target for the year by more than 50 per cent.
- By 2000-2001 we will have created well over 300,000 new places since May 1997 - of all types from after school clubs to holiday schemes, from nursery places to breakfast clubs.
- Funding through New Opportunities Fund has already created over 40,000 out of school hours childcare places in England. NOF funding currently available until 2003 to meet target of places for 700,000 children in England.
- Parents need good quality information about what childcare is available near where they live or work. A ChildcareLink information line and website launched by Margaret Hodge on 1 December 1999.
- Government aims to raise the profile of the childcare workforce generally, and aims to recruit 83,000 additional workers by 2003. A major national recruitment campaign for the Early Years, Childcare and Playwork Sector is being launched at the end of June.
- A trained, competent workforce is key to delivery of quality early years education and childcare. The QCA and the DfEE have worked together to develop the Nationally Accredited Qualifications Framework in the early years, childcare and playwork sector.
- Parents need to feel confident that their children are being looked after safely and securely. The Care Standards Bill currently before Parliament transfers the regulation of day care to an Early Years Directorate within OFSTED and sets new national standards to ensure safety and quality.

Childcare Tax Credit

- The Childcare Tax Credit is expressly designed to make childcare more affordable for working families and those wishing to return to work. Introduced only in October last year 103,000 people are already receiving the credit.

The National Childcare Strategy's next phase will focus increasing sustainable provision in deprived areas and helping increase the support and the supply of childminders.

Overall Picture

We invested substantial funds in the early years of children's lives, supporting both parents and children.

Helping mothers to combine paid work with looking after children by:

- Expanding and improving childcare, understanding that childcare is a key component of economic policy
- Helping with the costs of childcare via childcare tax credit
- Parental leave which allows 13 weeks unpaid leave and emergency leave
- Improved rights for part-time workers to be treated on a comparable basis with full-time workers

But we are also helping *all* mothers, whether they are in or not in work by:

- Increasing child benefit far above inflation
- Increasing help for the poorest children through income-related benefits for children
- Increasing Sure Start Maternity Grant to £300 from summer 2000 – but ensuring that entitlement is matched by contact with health professionals
- Extending Maternity Allowance to 17,000 to poorer women

The forthcoming DTI Review of Maternity and Parental Leave will explore the ways government and employers can help parents when a child is born.

10 DOWNING STREET
London SW1A 2AA

FAX HEADER SHEET

TEL NUMBER 0171 - 930 - 4433

To..... *Pm*

From:..... *Anji*

Title of document: *Paul Johnson's contribution*
to W.I. Speech

Classification: Secret / Confidential / Restricted / **(UC)**

Date of document:..... *1/6*

Date faxed:..... *1/6*

Time:..... *18:45*

Number of pages: Leader + *2*

Message:

PAUL JOHNSON

P. 001

Attention Anji Hunter---

There has been some ugly talk recently about class war. Let me say, with all the emphasis I can command, that this party---this government---~~is not~~ ^{rejects} class war in any form. War is an odious business. The deliberate incitement of ~~one~~ one category of people against another, is wicked. It is also illegal, under our own Common Law, reinforced, in the case of racial incitement, by statute.

We oppose class war as we oppose ~~race~~ race war. We are one nation, one community Old and young, rich and poor, people of all races and religious and ethnic backgrounds, are first and foremost British citizens, anxious to play their part in making Britain a better, stronger, healthier and finer place, where opportunities for all are equal, where the abilities of all are ~~developed~~ ^{developed} and nourished, and where each single one of us is enabled to ~~make a worthwhile contribution~~ ^{make a worthwhile contribution}.

I believe the overwhelming majority of us share these aims and are ~~trying~~ ^{trying} ~~to bring about~~ ^{to bring about} the adventure of opportunity for which we stand. And it is an adventure---a dramatic adventure. I like to think, like Shakespeare, that our country is a stage, on which we all play out our lives. No one is condemned to a bit-part. All have a chance to be heroes and heroines, to move centre stage and show our stuff. It depends on merit, and the government, like a wise producer, simply helps to ensure that merit gets its due. So I say: stop this nonsense ~~about~~ ^{about} class war! People of Britain unite--- you have nothing to lose but your stereotypes!

Now in this adventure of opportunity, there is another war we must avoid--- a needless war of the new against the old. During three years in government, we have---rightly in my view---stressed the need to embrace the new with intelligent courage. The speed with which the world is being changed by technology is awesome, sometimes ~~intimidating~~ ^{frightening}. But it is the government's duty to encourage the nation to face up to it. We cannot afford to allow change to damage our ~~interests~~ ^{interests}. On the contrary, we must ensure we take the fullest possible advantage of the opportunities it offers. And that is what New Labour

(2)

has been about.

But God forbid we should ever use 'old' as ^a term of disparagement. I associate it rather with experience and wisdom. We cherish the old people in our midst, and turn to them for advice. We heed their warnings. We value their encouragement. We are an old country, with some ancient institutions, many of which are quite capable of modernising themselves organically, with no fuss. When we took office, the Chancellor and I decided to place interest-rates under the management of the Bank of England, an institution which goes back to the 17th century but is still sharp as a razor. It has proved a very sensible decision, and the Bank's interest-rate policy is one of the reasons why our economy is so strong and the pound so proud.

So we must use all that is best in the old and tried. We love our monarchy, which goes back to Saxon times, but is always renewing itself. And I may say, speaking to an audience of women, that there is one woman in this country to which all of us, and myself in particular, owe a special debt---Her Majesty the Queen. When I became Prime Minister, I was dauntingly new to government. She has been to me a wonderful source of help and encouragement, of wisdom and advice, of timely warnings and admirable common sense. To me, she ~~embodies~~ personifies the institutional strength of our country.

We love, too, our churches and places of worship. We love our ancient cities, ~~modern~~ built by our ancestors, and the fields and woods of the countryside, which our forebears have tended for countless generations. Never let us set town against country---let us, rather, cherish both. And we love the oldest institution of all---the family. Never let us do anything to weaken its hold, which binds us together and comes to our help when all else has failed.

So I say today; respect the old, for what it still has to teach: old standards of behaviour, old codes of honour and self-discipline, old-fashioned notions of duty and obligation. Let us ^{glittering} take these old values and blend them with the challenge of ~~novelty~~ ^{novelty}---the ~~glittering~~ sword of the new, the stout shield of the old---to fashion a Britain able to take on the world, strong in new daring and old wisdom, looking to the future while guarding all that is best in the past. That is what we seek, and all of you can help us to find it.

#

● Prime Minister.

from Sally

W.I. Speech.

I think this is much better - much stronger.

I'm afraid I still really dislike the old-fashioned values. (Core values / long-standing values / fundamental values are fine!) I do think ^{old-fashioned} ~~these~~ will seem very alien to most of our under 40 voters (if not older as well.) We may be seeking to speak to middle England - but they are not all late middle-aged or ~~the~~ elderly.

I think you could still do more on education - after all, our achievements have been in the face of opposition - but we were determined to raise standards in primary schools. Worth spelling this out a bit.

Wouldn't say "women tied to the kitchen" (page 11.) Many of your audience stay at home. It's more that women had ~~to~~ no choice between home and work, or a combination - as we are now seeking to offer.

Anji Hunter

From: Dai @ Hotmail [dai_prichard@hotmail.com]**Sent:** 01 June 2000 15:54**To:** AHunter@no10.gsi.net**Subject:** from MA

We have reached a hinge moment in history: not just the turn of a century, but the turn of a millennium. Look back, and suddenly even the last years of the 20th century are on the other side of that hinge. In today's world of rapid economic and social change, this can be an unsettling feeling. It can leave us with a sense that we are being overwhelmed by the future and losing touch with the past.

But it doesn't have to be like that. If we deliberately use the best of the past to help us to face the future, we can be strong enough to surf the wave of change rather than letting it engulf us.

Despite what some Conservatives would have you believe, I have immense respect for the past. One of things I love most about this country is its long and rich history. I'm an avid reader of biographies of the people who made Britain great. And I love the way our history is all around us: in our churches and high streets, our fields and forests, our statues and war memorials, our monarchy and Parliament.

It's a history that has had its highs and lows. But there are few countries in Europe that have managed to live as peaceably together as we have. We are not a nation that tends to go in for sudden and brutal revolutions. We are an innovative people, but we don't believe in pulling everything down and starting again. We evolve instead to fit the times, and that is why Britain has always been such a harmonious blend of old and new.

It's not just the buildings: though the sight of Tate Modern, linked by a stunning new footbridge to St Paul's Cathedral on the far bank of the Thames sums up for me the best of British, the harmony of old and new living together. It can be seen in our institutions too. When we British change, we keep the best and improve the rest.

That is what we are trying to achieve in government: not a revolution that throws out the good along with the bad, but a thoughtful evolution, an attempt to keep abreast with change without destroying what we still hold dear. We won't let change be our master, hurtling us where it will. But resistance to change imperils the survival of our institutions. Only if we embrace the challenge of change can we preserve what is best in our society today.

So it was right to remove the voting rights of the hereditary peers. That was enough of an anachronism in the 20th century; it looked positively decrepit in the 21st. But now we must improve the House of Lords further, so that it better represents the people of Britain. Most important, we want to keep what is best in the Lords: the wisdom, experience and independence of those who have excelled in their own fields and can bring that expertise into the upper house.

And it was right to devolve power to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland: in today's society, people don't want to be governed by remote control. But we still want to maintain the unity of the United Kingdom that has served this country so well for 300 years. We can keep the best, while improving the rest.

It is not just united - it is a kingdom too. And here is another example of old and new working together. Through a thousand years of almost unbroken history, our royal family has led this country. There have been times of friction between monarchy and Parliament but, since the Civil War, they have managed to find ways of working together so that, gradually, kings and queens have ceded power to democratically elected governments. The new has gently replaced the old, in response to changing times and changing societies.

Look at Britain today. We are so lucky to have, in the Queen, a conscientious and scrupulously apolitical Head of State, now on her tenth prime minister, whose wisdom, garnered over half a century of dealing with affairs of state, is second to none. The monarch's powers may be limited, but she can still advise, encourage and warn: and in that role, above politics, she performs a brilliant job that no elected president, changing every few years, could rival. [are you allowed to say this?]

And the monarchy itself is an admirable fusion of old and new. Nobody beats Britain at pageantry. My heart still leaps when I see a procession of red and gold coaches rolling from Buckingham Palace down the Mall. It's a glorious sight that brings shafts of colour into what can often seem a rather grey, northern European country.

Yet the monarchy is modernising too. The royal family's websites are some of the most visited in the country (?). The Queen has learnt to use the internet. Buckingham Palace is now open to visitors in the summer. (anything else?!)

Another great amalgam of old and new in Britain today is our armed forces. Britain has a proud fighting tradition, which has left this country unconquered for nearly a thousand years. When we fight wars, we usually win them. Our soldiers and sailors and airmen are still justly proud of that history and tradition, as are all of us who wear a poppy each year in remembrance of those who fell in the defence of our nation. But the British services are modern too. Ours is the prime component of Nato's new rapid reaction force. Our special forces, using the newest of technology, are renowned throughout the world. Our soldiers are now as adept in peacekeeping as they are in war. Bringing old and cherished institutions up to date is what ensures their survival. We keep the best and improve the rest.

It's the same with the National Health Service. We all have immense affection for the founding principles of this great national institution. We don't want a country in which people ever have to suffer ill health because they can't afford to see a doctor. But if we are to keep the service free and universal, we have to modernise it to cope with the new challenges – technological and demographic – that face it now. We keep the best and improve the rest.

communities
Our local ~~communities~~ need attention too. The forces that used to hold them together – the family, the Church, respect for elders – are slowly weakening, and we need to take measures to strengthen them again. This does not mean going back to some soft-focus fantasy world of the Fifties, when homosexuality was illegal and women were tied to the kitchen. It means reinventing the notion of community for today's world.

A
Commitment, trust and altruism are what hold the fragile web of community together. Parents' commitment to their children; adults' commitment to their elderly parents; the altruism of the volunteer who helps out in a hospice or a school or who takes meals to old people who live alone; the trust that a neighbour will keep an eye on your house while you are away.

commitment is
Marriage is a good institution because ~~research tells us that it helps couples to stay together. But it is the underlying commitment that matters most, and some unmarried couples stay together for life without having that commitment sanctioned by the law or the Church. Others who marry end up divorcing.~~

If there are no children, then the pain is suffered only by the two adults involved, who have agreed to split. But if the couple have had children, there are innocent parties to be considered, and parents should think longer and harder about whether it is possible to stay together, to keep the commitment they have entered into.

A child is for life – it is a serious undertaking to bring a new human being into the world. That child's upbringing will generally be happier and more stable if both parents stay around and share responsibility for its care and nurture. Of course, some marriages or partnerships will break down irretrievably, and a split becomes inevitable. But families and communities will be stronger if parents really do their utmost to stay together while their children are growing up. In the past, there used to be a stigma attached to parents splitting up. We don't want to see the return of that stigma, but we do want parents to understand the damage that can be done to children by separation and divorce.

A
It takes commitment to keep a family together. It takes altruism to keep a community together. The British are famous for their voluntary work – and that is another national achievement of which we should all feel proud. X million of you each year choose to help other people for no reward save the satisfaction of being able to make someone else's life better. That is a triumph for those of us who believe that money isn't everything, that we are not motivated solely by greed. There is a genuine altruism that pervades this country and it is a precious gift that needs care and attention.

Volunteering is something that we particularly want to encourage among the young and the old. Those of you in full-time jobs, or with young families, or perhaps both, may have little time or energy left to devote to voluntary work. But young people have both, and a dash of idealism too. And many of those who have retired from paid work also feel an urge to put something back into society.

I want to bring these generations together, because they have so much to offer each other, and because societies are stronger when the young respect and learn from the old. Retired people have time on their hands and are in better health than ever before. They can come into our schools to help with reading or they can act as mentors to young people who lack a guiding spirit in their lives. Their wisdom and

experience can be invaluable to those who are just starting off in life.

The young, meanwhile, have much to offer the elderly. They have the energy and strength to help with the physical chores that sometimes defeat the old and frail. But they also have a privilege that many old people have missed out on: a familiarity with today's technology.

I know how annoying it can be to see a www. address at the bottom of every ad these days. If you have not yet mastered computers or the internet, you can feel terribly left out. But it's not a change that we can resist – in fact we should welcome it, for it has the potential to transform all our lives. The elderly in particular feel much less isolated if they can communicate via e-mail or shop over the internet. This is a skill that the young can teach them.

The internet has the power to strengthen communities. They may not always be geographical communities, but they will be groups with a common interest. And just because the technology has changed does not mean that the underlying values are different. We can send each other love letters by e-mail or flowers through the internet but our feelings for each other remain the same even if the technology has moved on.

This is a change that we can and should embrace. That is why we have introduced an e-commerce Bill, to help British high-tech companies compete with the best in the world. That is why we have put pressure on BT to offer cheaper tariffs for internet use. And that is why we are linking up all schools and libraries to the internet. Even those of you who don't have your own computer can learn to use one cheaply and easily, in a library, a school or an internet cafe. Don't feel left out – join in.

While the middle-aged and the elderly learn to grapple with new technology, we want the young to learn about older, enduring values: the rights and responsibilities that come with being a citizen of this country. The right to vote is a precious possession, and one that was hard fought for. Think of the long, snaking queues of South Africans, black and white together, standing for hours in the baking heat in order to exercise the right to choose their own rulers for the first time. Think of the suffragettes, who lost their lives and their liberty in pursuit of the right for women to vote. Think of these people, and cherish using your vote. Don't throw it away because you can't be bothered to go to a polling station or you don't think that politics makes a difference.

Our schools are now teaching citizenship to our young people, and this is another useful tool for strengthening our communities. They will learn how the political system works and how they can play a part in it. They will learn about their democratic rights and their rights to help from the state should they fall on bad times. But they will also learn about their responsibilities: the responsibility to seek work and take a job if it is offered them; the responsibility to respect the law and to care for their local environment; the responsibility to help others and to bring up their own children as good citizens.

And these duties are not simply altruistic – they are a matter of enlightened self-interest too. We all thrive and prosper when the communities around us are strong. We are a social species and we do not feel fulfilled in isolation from others. Even if we ourselves have a secure job, we don't want to live in a society in which others have no hope of supporting themselves in a law-abiding fashion. But it's not just about having a social conscience; we don't want them breaking into our houses, stealing our cars or mugging us on the street either.

It is in all our interests that our society should be cohesive and successful, with everyone having an equal opportunity to make the best of their life and everyone aware of the responsibilities that this brings. You don't have a strong community if some people have no hope of improving their lot, and you don't have a strong community if its members fail to act responsibly. Opportunity and responsibility go hand in hand.

There you go. I leave politics, policy and peroration to you!



10 DOWNING STREET

Please fax to PM at
Cheques and note
on fax cover sheet
that this is
↓

MARY ANNE'S
CONTRIBUTION
TO W.I. SPEECH

from Anji

Anji Hunter

From: Dai @ Hotmail [dai_prichard@hotmail.com]**Sent:** 01 June 2000 15:54**To:** AHunter@no10.gsi.net**Subject:** from MA

We have reached a hinge moment in history: not just the turn of a century, but the turn of a millennium. Look back, and suddenly even the last years of the 20th century are on the other side of that hinge. In today's world of rapid economic and social change, this can be an unsettling feeling. It can leave us with a sense that we are being overwhelmed by the future and losing touch with the past.

But it doesn't have to be like that. If we deliberately use the best of the past to help us to face the future, we can be strong enough to surf the wave of change rather than letting it engulf us.

Despite what some Conservatives would have you believe, I have immense respect for the past. One of things I love most about this country is its long and rich history. I'm an avid reader of biographies of the people who made Britain great. And I love the way our history is all around us: in our churches and high streets, our fields and forests, our statues and war memorials, our monarchy and Parliament.

It's a history that has had its highs and lows. But there are few countries in Europe that have managed to live as peaceably together as we have. We are not a nation that tends to go in for sudden and brutal revolutions. We are an innovative people, but we don't believe in pulling everything down and starting again. We evolve instead to fit the times, and that is why Britain has always been such a harmonious blend of old and new.

It's not just the buildings: though the sight of Tate Modern, linked by a stunning new footbridge to St Paul's Cathedral on the far bank of the Thames sums up for me the best of British, the harmony of old and new living together. It can be seen in our institutions too. When we British change, we keep the best and improve the rest.

That is what we are trying to achieve in government: not a revolution that throws out the good along with the bad, but a thoughtful evolution, an attempt to keep abreast with change without destroying what we still hold dear. We won't let change be our master, hurtling us where it will. But resistance to change imperils the survival of our institutions. Only if we embrace the challenge of change can we preserve what is best in our society today.

So it was right to remove the voting rights of the hereditary peers. That was enough of an anachronism in the 20th century; it looked positively decrepit in the 21st. But now we must improve the House of Lords further, so that it better represents the people of Britain. Most important, we want to keep what is best in the Lords: the wisdom, experience and independence of those who have excelled in their own fields and can bring that expertise into the upper house.

And it was right to devolve power to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland: in today's society, people don't want to be governed by remote control. But we still want to maintain the unity of the United Kingdom that has served this country so well for 300 years. We can keep the best, while improving the rest.

It is not just united - it is a kingdom too. And here is another example of old and new working together. Through a thousand years of almost unbroken history, our royal family has led this country. There have been times of friction between monarchy and Parliament but, since the Civil War, they have managed to find ways of working together so that, gradually, kings and queens have ceded power to democratically elected governments. The new has gently replaced the old, in response to changing times and changing societies.

Look at Britain today. We are so lucky to have, in the Queen, a conscientious and scrupulously apolitical Head of State, now on her tenth prime minister, whose wisdom, garnered over half a century of dealing with affairs of state, is second to none. The monarch's powers may be limited, but she can still advise, encourage and warn: and in that role, above politics, she performs a brilliant job that no elected president, changing every few years, could rival. [are you allowed to say this?]

And the monarchy itself is an admirable fusion of old and new. Nobody beats Britain at pageantry. My heart still leaps when I see a procession of red and gold coaches rolling from Buckingham Palace down the Mall. It's a glorious sight that brings shafts of colour into what can often seem a rather grey, northern European country.

Yet the monarchy is modernising too. The royal family's websites are some of the most visited in the country (?). The Queen has learnt to use the internet. Buckingham Palace is now open to visitors in the summer. (anything else?!)

Another great amalgam of old and new in Britain today is our armed forces. Britain has a proud fighting tradition, which has left this country unconquered for nearly a thousand years. When we fight wars, we usually win them. Our soldiers and sailors and airmen are still justly proud of that history and tradition, as are all of us who wear a poppy each year in remembrance of those who fell in the defence of our nation. But the British services are modern too. Ours is the prime component of Nato's new rapid reaction force. Our special forces, using the newest of technology, are renowned throughout the world. Our soldiers are now as adept in peacekeeping as they are in war. Bringing old and cherished institutions up to date is what ensures their survival. We keep the best and improve the rest.

It's the same with the National Health Service. We all have immense affection for the founding principles of this great national institution. We don't want a country in which people ever have to suffer ill health because they can't afford to see a doctor. But if we are to keep the service free and universal, we have to modernise it to cope with the new challenges – technological and demographic – that face it now. We keep the best and improve the rest.

Our local communities need attention too. The forces that used to hold them together – the family, the Church, respect for elders – are slowly weakening, and we need to take measures to strengthen them again. This does not mean going back to some soft-focus fantasy world of the Fifties, when homosexuality was illegal and women were tied to the kitchen. It means reinventing the notion of community for today's world.

Commitment, trust and altruism are what hold the fragile web of community together. Parents' commitment to their children; adults' commitment to their elderly parents; the altruism of the volunteer who helps out in a hospice or a school or who takes meals to old people who live alone; the trust that a neighbour will keep an eye on your house while you are away.

Marriage is a good institution because research tells us that it helps couples to stay together. But it is the underlying commitment that matters most, and some unmarried couples stay together for life without having that commitment sanctioned by the law or the Church. Others who marry end up divorcing.

If there are no children, then the pain is suffered only by the two adults involved, who have agreed to split. But if the couple have had children, there are innocent parties to be considered, and parents should think longer and harder about whether it is possible to stay together, to keep the commitment they have entered into.

A child is for life – it is a serious undertaking to bring a new human being into the world. That child's upbringing will generally be happier and more stable if both parents stay around and share responsibility for its care and nurture. Of course, some marriages or partnerships will break down irretrievably, and a split becomes inevitable. But families and communities will be stronger if parents really do their utmost to stay together while their children are growing up. In the past, there used to be a stigma attached to parents splitting up. We don't want to see the return of that stigma, but we do want parents to understand the damage that can be done to children by separation and divorce.

It takes commitment to keep a family together. It takes altruism to keep a community together. The British are famous for their voluntary work – and that is another national achievement of which we should all feel proud. X million of you each year choose to help other people for no reward save the satisfaction of being able to make someone else's life better. That is a triumph for those of us who believe that money isn't everything, that we are not motivated solely by greed. There is a genuine altruism that pervades this country and it is a precious gift that needs care and attention.

Volunteering is something that we particularly want to encourage among the young and the old. Those of you in full-time jobs, or with young families, or perhaps both, may have little time or energy left to devote to voluntary work. But young people have both, and a dash of idealism too. And many of those who have retired from paid work also feel an urge to put something back into society.

I want to bring these generations together, because they have so much to offer each other, and because societies are stronger when the young respect and learn from the old. Retired people have time on their hands and are in better health than ever before. They can come into our schools to help with reading or they can act as mentors to young people who lack a guiding spirit in their lives. Their wisdom and

experience can be invaluable to those who are just starting off in life.

The young, meanwhile, have much to offer the elderly. They have the energy and strength to help with the physical chores that sometimes defeat the old and frail. But they also have a privilege that many old people have missed out on: a familiarity with today's technology.

I know how annoying it can be to see a www. address at the bottom of every ad these days. If you have not yet mastered computers or the internet, you can feel terribly left out. But it's not a change that we can resist – in fact we should welcome it, for it has the potential to transform all our lives. The elderly in particular feel much less isolated if they can communicate via e-mail or shop over the internet. This is a skill that the young can teach them.

The internet has the power to strengthen communities. They may not always be geographical communities, but they will be groups with a common interest. And just because the technology has changed does not mean that the underlying values are different. We can send each other love letters by e-mail or flowers through the internet but our feelings for each other remain the same even if the technology has moved on.

This is a change that we can and should embrace. That is why we have introduced an e-commerce Bill, to help British high-tech companies compete with the best in the world. That is why we have put pressure on BT to offer cheaper tariffs for internet use. And that is why we are linking up all schools and libraries to the internet. Even those of you who don't have your own computer can learn to use one cheaply and easily, in a library, a school or an internet cafe. Don't feel left out – join in.

While the middle-aged and the elderly learn to grapple with new technology, we want the young to learn about older, enduring values: the rights and responsibilities that come with being a citizen of this country. The right to vote is a precious possession, and one that was hard fought for. Think of the long, snaking queues of South Africans, black and white together, standing for hours in the baking heat in order to exercise the right to choose their own rulers for the first time. Think of the suffragettes, who lost their lives and their liberty in pursuit of the right for women to vote. Think of these people, and cherish using your vote. Don't throw it away because you can't be bothered to go to a polling station or you don't think that politics makes a difference.

Our schools are now teaching citizenship to our young people, and this is another useful tool for strengthening our communities. They will learn how the political system works and how they can play a part in it. They will learn about their democratic rights and their rights to help from the state should they fall on bad times. But they will also learn about their responsibilities: the responsibility to seek work and take a job if it is offered them; the responsibility to respect the law and to care for their local environment; the responsibility to help others and to bring up their own children as good citizens.

And these duties are not simply altruistic – they are a matter of enlightened self-interest too. We all thrive and prosper when the communities around us are strong. We are a social species and we do not feel fulfilled in isolation from others. Even if we ourselves have a secure job, we don't want to live in a society in which others have no hope of supporting themselves in a law-abiding fashion. But it's not just about having a social conscience; we don't want them breaking into our houses, stealing our cars or mugging us on the street either.

It is in all our interests that our society should be cohesive and successful, with everyone having an equal opportunity to make the best of their life and everyone aware of the responsibilities that this brings. You don't have a strong community if some people have no hope of improving their lot, and you don't have a strong community if its members fail to act responsibly. Opportunity and responsibility go hand in hand.

There you go. I leave politics, policy and peroration to you!

SPEECH TO THE WOMEN'S INSTITUTE

speech\womens institute
as at 31 May 1700
words: 2056

At the heart not just of my politics but of my beliefs is the idea of community, the notion that the path to individual fulfilment lies in society with, not in isolation from, others. The renewal of the idea of community, of civic society in Britain today is the single biggest challenge we face. It is the only route to the political goal of opportunity and security for all in a changing world. If we do not recapture it, our future will be in a society and nation increasingly fragmented, divided, unfair, where opportunity and security are for the minority not the broad majority of British people.

Alone, making do as best we can with our own individual wealth and income, we have no prospect of meeting this challenge. Together as members of a community, united by common purpose we can.

To state this is one thing.

To achieve it, will mean hard choices and a set of policies resolutely attached to the long term. For politicians, there is a price to pay for that.

But I will come to it later.

First, we need to define what we mean by community, by civic society.

Here there is a tension between what I would call the new and the old. A lot of Britain today seems to be "new". We in Government talk often about the "new" – whether the "new" economy, "new" culture, art, "new" NHS, "new" welfare state.

I am familiar with this argument from "New" Labour. Six years on, it seems strange to be calling it "new"; but at the time, it was hugely controversial. We re-wrote the Party's constitution, changed its policies, altered our rules. Frequently we were accused, in doing so, of abandoning our basic beliefs. To ditch a long-cherished policy was to ditch values, convictions, people said. But I always regarded it and still do as precisely the opposite: that the "new" was necessary in order to "re-new" the old; that the values – fairness, solidarity, social justice – lost relevance unless applied anew to a changed world.

I believe the same of the idea of community. The building block of community is responsibility, duty to others. That is a value as old as time. I believe in it passionately. That makes me in one sense an arch-traditionalist. Without responsibility to others, there is no law-abiding conduct. There is no basis for the family. There are no public services. There is no shared purpose. It is the foundation of civic society. It always has been and always will be. So, to renew civic society is to renew the concept of mutual responsibility.

My traditionalism goes further than that. I love British history, Britain's cultural heritage; the British way of life. Despite what you may have read, when the suggestion came that we do away with the pomp and pageantry of The Queen's Speech in Parliament, that it was old-fashioned, I dismissed it out of hand. What an absurd and unnecessary act of destruction of an ancient and loved ceremony.

But my generation stands at the intersection between old and new. We have moved beyond debates about Victorian values or the libertarianism of the sixties or the laissez-faire of the eighties. Yes, we want a renewal of civic society. We want a society of rules and order. But we want it for today's world. We do not want a society of hierarchy or prejudice. We want to put the new and the old in balance.

When I think of the values of my dad's generation, I want to discern between the genuine values that underpinned the best of Britain and the things we can safely and rightly leave behind. Old-fashioned values are good values. Old-fashioned attitudes may simply be barriers that hold our values back. My father was passionate about good manners. He always said: misbehave inside the family, if you will; but outside, you make us proud of you.

I am the same. Respect for others, courtesy, giving up your seat for the elderly, saying please and thank you.

All this I share.

Crime was unthinkable – and was for my father brought up in poverty in a Glasgow tenement. If I got wrong at school, I gong wrong again at home. When my father saw the teacher, he apologised for me. He would have been completely astonished and dismayed to have been told he should complain about it. These seem small things, but are in fact the difference between living in a society and living in a jungle. My mother, an active member of her Women's Institute, saw it quite simply as her duty to help in the local community. Caring for and helping others was part of her being. Again, without such acts of kindness, however small, humanity for me has no meaning.

These are all old-fashioned virtues and values and I hope we all share them and accept our responsibility to instil them in our children as our parents did in us. Rightly, we mourn that they have to a significant degree, passed away. Rightly we want them back.

But there are other things from past generations I choose to leave behind. My dad fiercely resisted my mum working. He'd be horrified at me going to church not dressed in suit and tie. Many of his generation – though not him – were, let us say, less than one hundred per cent progressive on issues like race or in attitudes to gay people.

They were probably a lot more active on the sexual front than they ever seemed; but they talked about it less frankly than we find natural.

My generation feels differently: we're for good manners but casual dressing; tolerant of different lifestyles, but intolerant of crime. I have no problem applauding the Tate Modern, even though I don't always understand it and adoring the way the revitalised Globe Theatre treats Shakespeare; in laughing at The Simpsons or Only Fools and Horses but loving the BBC production of Jane Austen or Bronte or Dickens. We are putting the new and old in a balance right for our generation.

All this is necessary to explore because otherwise change is seen as an obliteration of our history; or a call to return to a society based on clear values, is seen as a retreat into the past. The truth is that we cannot renew civic society without a return to the core value of responsibility; but that core value has to be applied in a way appropriate for today's world.

That leads us directly to the question of defining today's world. What are its characteristics? What makes it different from yesterday's world? I believe it is different in two ways, the understanding of each of which is essential if we are to re-capture that core value of responsibility.

First, it is a world in the throes of change. Again and again, when I analyse the world in which my children are growing up, I come back to the spectre of change. The global economy has re-written the rules of economic management. In 1969, when I was the age my eldest boy is now, //- was traded on foreign exchanges. Today, it is //- A crisis in Asia puts people out of work in County Durham. The technological information revolution is transforming the world of business and work and in set to cause massive insecurity as well as creating fabulous wealth. In the USA today, one in four families changes home every year. Mass production has ended or is ending in the Western developed world. There is a huge premium now on skills. And of course there is cultural and social change. Community and family life is experiencing strains our grandparents, possibly our parents, would never have guessed, existed. The new science of genetics, the investigation of the human genome, of which the controversy over genetic modification is just a part, will, in all probability in the not-too-distant future, take over from the internet as the next shaker of the never-ending kaleidoscope of change.

No wonder people feel insecure and worried for their future. The task therefore is to use the power of community, of society, acting together to become the masters of this change, not its victims. Change makes a difference as to how we re-build community but it also provides a powerful incentive to develop it. On

our own, we, or the majority of us are impotent. Together we can shape our destiny.

The second difference in today's world is fuelled by change, but in nature is a development in human progress continuing over centuries. The spirit of this age is democratic. We won't rebuild civic society on the basis of deference or hierarchy. The rich man is his castle, the poor man at his gate: it won't wash any more if, in truth, it ever did.

This is also economic necessity. Brain has taken the place of brawn. A meritocratic society is the only one that can exploit its economic chances to the full; and that means exploiting the talent of its people. A class-ridden society can't do that.

A modern civic society must be built around the notion of the equal worth of each citizen. That is true equality. Not equal outcomes but equal worth. If we do not provide opportunity, we will fail to achieve responsibility.

Opportunity to all and responsibility from all = a community for all.

So: what then becomes the policy consequences of all this?

In economic policy, we need to map out a path to a future where there can indeed be opportunity and security for all.

The first base was economic stability.

So we must put in place a system of economic management that has delivered low inflation, low interest rates and sound public finances. I know people disliked the rise in petrol prices and the abolition of mortgage tax relief. But we simply could not carry on with a borrowing requirement of £28 billion and doubled national debt. People wanted more money spent on public services immediately. We refused. The first base of stability meant clearing the deficit. It is now cleared. We are in surplus. National debt has fallen. Long-term interest rates are now converging with those of continental Europe for the first time in my life.

From 1979-1997, mortgage rates averaged ten per cent. In the last three years, they've averaged six per cent. For the family with a £50,000 mortgage, that's a saving of X

Second base was ensuring that the economy grew, jobs were created and work made to pay. We avoided the recession almost everyone said was inevitable, given Britain's post-war history.

By the end of this year, there will be almost one million more jobs in Britain. We still lead the world for inward investment. 670,000 fewer people are claiming benefit, a welfare saving of £X billion. As a result, whereas welfare spending used to rise by four per cent in real terms every year in the 80s and early 90s, it has risen by one per cent in the last three and that is only because of deliberate increases in child benefit and payments to pensioners. For 1 ¼ million lower-income families, the Working Families Tax Credit has made work pay for properly for the first time.

We are now ready to move to third base: investing in the country's future. There can be no greater responsibility for us, as a nation than to invest in our education system to boost productivity, skills and provide opportunity; in our transport system to provide mobility; and in our health service and police to ensure security for all. Put bluntly, Britain is an "under-invested in" country. We didn't invest wisely when we were spending public money in the 60s and 70s and we didn't invest enough in 80s and 90s. If we want a first-class education system; or an NHS that is once again the pride of Britain; or a transport system that is not creaking at the joints, we will have to invest. Except this time, we should do it allied to fundamental reform.

This is the third base: first stability; then work; now investment in the future. Then, the fourth base, we can have the tax cuts people want. But only once the investment is secure.



SPEECH TO THE WOMEN'S INSTITUTE

speech\womens institute
as at 31 May 1700
words: 2056

At the heart not just of my politics but of my beliefs is the idea of community, the notion that the path to individual fulfilment lies in society with, not in isolation from, others. The renewal of the idea of community, of civic society in Britain today is the single biggest challenge we face. It is the only route to the political goal of opportunity and security for all in a changing world. If we do not recapture it, our future will be in a society and nation increasingly fragmented, divided, unfair, where opportunity and security are for the minority not the broad majority of British people.

Alone, making do as best we can with our own individual wealth and income, we have no prospect of meeting this challenge. Together as members of a community, united by common purpose we can.

To state this is one thing.

To achieve it, will mean hard choices and a set of policies resolutely attached to the long term. For politicians, there is a price to pay for that, *which*

But I will come to *it* later.

First, we need to define what we mean by community, by civic society.

Here there is a tension between what I would call the new and the old. A lot of Britain today seems to be "new". We in Government talk often about the "new" – whether the "new" economy, "new" culture, art, "new" NHS, "new" welfare state.

I am familiar with this argument from "New" Labour. Six years on, it seems strange to be calling it "new"; but at the time, it was hugely controversial. We re-wrote the Party's constitution, changed its policies, altered our rules. Frequently we were accused, in doing so, of abandoning our basic beliefs. To ditch a long-cherished policy was to ditch values, convictions, people said. But I always regarded it and still do as precisely the opposite: that the "new" was necessary in order to "re-new" the old; that the values – fairness, solidarity, social justice – lost relevance unless applied anew to a changed world.

I believe the same of the idea of community. The building block of community is responsibility, duty to others. That is a value as old as time. I believe in it passionately. That makes me in one sense an arch-traditionalist. Without responsibility to others, there is no law-abiding conduct. There is no basis for the family. There are no public services. There is no shared purpose. It is the foundation of civic society. It always has been and always will be. So, to renew civic society is to renew the concept of mutual responsibility.

My traditionalism goes further than that. I love British history, Britain's cultural heritage; the British way of life. Despite what you may have read, when the suggestion came that we do away with the pomp and pageantry of The Queen's Speech in Parliament, that it was old-fashioned, I dismissed it out of hand. What an absurd and unnecessary act of destruction of an ancient and loved ceremony.

But my generation stands at the intersection between old and new. We have moved beyond debates about Victorian values or the libertarianism of the sixties or the laissez-faire of the eighties. Yes, we want a renewal of civic society. We want a society of rules and order. But we want it for today's world. We do not want a society of hierarchy or prejudice. We want to put the new and the old in balance.

When I think of the values of my dad's generation, I want to discern between the genuine values that underpinned the best of Britain and the things we can safely and rightly leave behind. Old-fashioned values are good values. Old-fashioned attitudes may simply be barriers that hold our values back. My father was passionate about good manners. He always said: misbehave inside the family, if you will; but outside, ~~you~~ make us proud of you. +

I am the same. Respect for others, courtesy, giving up your seat for the elderly, saying please and thank you.

All this I share.

Crime was unthinkable – and was for my father brought up in poverty in a Glasgow tenement. If I got wrong at school, I got⁵ wrong again at home. +
When my father saw the teacher, he apologised for me. He would have been completely astonished and dismayed to have been told he should complain about it. These seem small things, but are in fact the difference between living in a society and living in a jungle. My mother, an active member of her Women's Institute, saw it quite simply as her duty to help in the local community. Caring for and helping others was part of her being. Again, without such acts of kindness, however small, humanity for me has no meaning.

These are all old-fashioned virtues and values and I hope we all share them and accept our responsibility to instil them in our children as our parents did in us. Rightly, we mourn that they have to a significant degree, passed away. Rightly we want them back.

But there are other things from past generations I choose to leave behind. My dad fiercely resisted my mum working. He'd be horrified at me going to church not dressed in suit and tie. Many of his generation – though not him – were, let us say, less than one hundred per cent progressive on issues like race or in attitudes to gay people.

They were probably a lot more active on the sexual front than they ever seemed; but they talked about it less frankly than we find natural.

My generation feels differently: we're for good manners but casual dressing; tolerant of different lifestyles, but intolerant of crime. I have no problem applauding the Tate Modern, even though I don't always understand it and adoring the way the revitalised Globe Theatre treats Shakespeare; in laughing at The Simpsons or Only Fools and Horses but loving the BBC production of Jane Austen or Bronte or Dickens. We are putting the new and old in a balance right for our generation. +

All this is necessary to explore because otherwise change is seen as an obliteration of our history; or ^{alternatively} a call to return to a society based on clear values, is seen as a retreat into the past. The truth is that we cannot renew civic society without a return to the core value of responsibility; but that core value has to be applied in a way appropriate for today's world.

That leads us directly to the question of defining today's world. What are its characteristics? What makes it different from yesterday's world? I believe it is different in two ways, the understanding of each of which is essential if we are to re-capture that core value of responsibility.

First, it is a world in the throes of change. Again and again, when I analyse the world in which my children are growing up, I come back to the spectre of change. The global economy has re-written the rules of economic management. In 1969, when I was the age my eldest boy is now, //- was traded on foreign exchanges. Today, it is //- A crisis in Asia puts people out of work in County Durham. The technological information revolution is transforming the world of business and work and ~~is~~ set to cause massive insecurity as well as creating fabulous wealth. In the USA today, one in four families changes home every year. Mass production has ended or is ending in the Western developed world. There is a huge premium now on skills. And of course there is cultural and social change. Community and family life is experiencing strains our grandparents, possibly our parents, would never have guessed, existed. The new science of genetics, the investigation of the human genome, of which the controversy over genetic modification is just a part, will, in all probability in the not-too-distant future, take over from the internet as the next shaker of the never-ending kaleidoscope of change.

No wonder people feel insecure and worried for their future. The task therefore is to use the power of community, of society, acting together to become the masters of this change, not its victims. Change makes a difference as to how we re-build community but it also provides a powerful incentive to develop it. On

our own, we, or the majority of us are impotent. Together we can shape our destiny.

The second difference in today's world is fuelled by change, but in nature is a development in human progress continuing over centuries. The spirit of this age is democratic. We won't rebuild civic society on the basis of deference or hierarchy. The rich man is his castle, the poor man at his gate: it won't wash any more if, in truth, it ever did.

This is also economic necessity. Brain has taken the place of brawn. A meritocratic society is the only one that can exploit its economic chances to the full; and that means exploiting the talent of its people. A class-ridden society can't do that.

A modern civic society must be built around the notion of the equal worth of each citizen. That is true equality. Not equal outcomes but equal worth. If we do not provide opportunity, we will fail to achieve responsibility.

Opportunity to all and responsibility from all = a community for all.

So: what then becomes the policy consequences of all this?

In economic policy, we need to map out a path to ^{the} ~~a~~ future where there can indeed be opportunity and security for all.

The first base ^{is} ~~was~~ economic stability.

So we ~~must~~ put in place a system of economic management that has delivered low inflation, low interest rates and sound public finances. I know people disliked the rise in petrol prices and the abolition of mortgage tax relief. But we simply could not carry on with a borrowing requirement of £28 billion and doubled national debt. [People wanted more money spent on public services immediately. We refused.] The first base of stability meant clearing the deficit. It is now cleared. We are in surplus. National debt has fallen. Long-term interest rates are now converging with those of continental Europe for the first time in my life.

From 1979-1997, mortgage rates averaged ten per cent. In the last three years, they've averaged six per cent. For the family with a £50,000 mortgage, that's a saving of X

Second base was ensuring that the economy grew, jobs were created and work made to pay. We avoided the recession almost everyone said was inevitable, given Britain's post-war history.

By the end of this year, there will be almost one million more jobs in Britain. We still lead the world for inward investment. 670,000 fewer people are claiming benefit, a welfare saving of £X billion. As a result, whereas welfare spending used to rise by four per cent in real terms every year in the 80s and early 90s, it has risen by one per cent in the last three and that is only because of deliberate increases in child benefit and payments to pensioners. For 1 ¼ million lower-income families, the Working Families Tax Credit has made work pay for properly for the first time.

We are now ready to move to third base: investing in the country's future. There can be no greater responsibility for us, as a nation than to invest in our education system to boost productivity, skills and provide opportunity; in our transport system to provide mobility; and in our health service and police to ensure security for all. Put bluntly, Britain is an "under-invested in" country. We didn't invest wisely when we were spending public money in the 60s and 70s and we didn't invest enough in 80s and 90s. If we want a first-class education system; or an NHS that is once again the pride of Britain; or a transport system that is not creaking at the joints, we will have to invest. Except this time, we should do it allied to fundamental reform.

This is the third base: first stability; then work; now investment in the future. Then, the fourth base, we can have the tax cuts people want. But only once the investment is secure.

To: TB
Cc: AC
FR: Peter H

WOMEN'S INSTITUTE

First couple of thoughts.

1. I like a lot of the draft but I think there is a danger with the first 3 pages that this appears to be a bit of a lurch rather than a subtle shift in favour of things old and nostalgic. Do you want the headline: "Blair calls for return to old fashioned virtues."

It could be interpreted as:

- a) back tracking on FoC
- b) back tracking on New Labour –ashamed of "new"
- d) TB sheds cool image for appeal to fuddy duddy Britain (don't understand the Tate, love royal ceremonies)
- e) looks as if we want the Telegraph vote not just the meritocratic Murdoch vote

However that does not mean that Paul Johnson's stuff about balancing the two sides of the British character/history –conservative and radical - is not interesting. (Andrew Marr wrote the same thing a fortnight ago).

I just think his particular conclusion takes you and New Labour in the wrong direction. This Parliament – with the exception of the constitution - has been evolutionary not revolutionary. People have not had a rollercoaster New Labour ride that they need a break from. Far from it. Nothing Paul Johnson holds dear has been altered in any way whatsoever. The audience you are speaking too may like the traditional English countryside (worth a mention) but definitely want a new NHS, new schools, new opportunities. **I would not make the balance of old and new the key point of the speech.**

I think what is more true to what you have said in the past and believe is: bonds of connection, duty and Christianity –traditional values in a modern setting.

**"At home I learnt self respect and respect for others.
At school I learnt the difference between right and wrong.
At church I learnt the equal worth of all human beings, and that individuals succeed best in a strong community.**

Those beliefs guide my politics and guide me as Prime Minister.

- 2 -

The challenge is to make those beliefs work for us all in a world of breath-taking change.

To embrace new technology, new working practices, new skills but to do it all whilst retaining what is precious: the bonds of connection between us.

We want more control over our lives, more choice, more personal wealth. But in the end all of us know what gives life meaning. Relationships. Friendship. Love.

Look at life through the eyes of a grandmother.(elderly relative) (appropriate in the week we remember Dunkirk)

You will here her talk fondly about the past. The good times and the bad times.

But you'll never hear her swell with pride at the car they owned or the salary they drew.

For her, for all of us, life is about how we lived not what we earned. Don't we all want people to say of us. "He was good", or "He was kind." Not: "he was rich."

The children and grandchildren that are happy and fulfilled.

The personal courage we showed at times of grief or danger.

The sacrifices we made for others.

The skills we learned, the friends we had a laugh with, the hobbies we enjoyed.

The special moments -- a surprise birthday party, playing a practical joke, the embarrassing moment that still makes us wake up in a cold sweat at night.

The achievements -- a gardening prize, the passing of an exam, the way your hard work and effort paid off.

The wisdom of age is the wisdom that tells us what really matters. The ambitions we have for ourselves, but the kindness we showed to others.

Our task is not to be blown off course by the pace of change around us, to remember the shared values that hold us together. To remember that the modernisation of Britain is for a purpose -- to strengthen families, to provide the security of a good health service and safe streets, to extend opportunities with excellent education for all. More opportunities, more security, greater responsibility. The Women's Institute embodies these values.....

- 3 -

2. In the middle of this Parliament I don't think we can get away with a general discussion of community without attaching it to policy proposals. Otherwise it leaves us wide open to the charge that we are destroying communities by closing post offices etc (a big WI campaign for this year). I think we need to say in concrete terms how we are rebuilding communities and restoring a sense of duty.. With all the cynicism about us we should also make clear the consistency of your beliefs on this issue.

e.g. "More than five years ago in a lecture (Spectator lecture) I talked of a need for "rules which we stand by, fixed points of agreement which impose order on chaos". I said that "duty was the cornerstone of a decent society." My diagnosis of Britain was that we did not need more individualism but more responsibility and respect.

In government we are able to do something about it. I believe that steadily Britain is changing, and British values of respect and responsibility are slowly being reawakened.

We no longer hand out social security benefits without conditions. Claimants have a duty to look actively for work and take jobs they are offered. Something for something.

We say to parents, help your children, help our teachers by making sure your children turn up to school each morning. Truancy stops a child fulfilling his potential. It also leads to crime and drugs. It is the responsibility of every parent that their child is in school. Those who don't we now have the power to impose £5000 fines.

We are dealing quicker and more effectively with persistent young offenders, helping to keep them off street corners.

We are tackling drugs in new ways by punishing the pushers with heavier sentences and treating the addicts with targetted programmes designed to stop them committing more crimes to feed their habit.

We are investing more than £800m in rebuilding the most run down neighbourhoods, encouraging business and new jobs in those areas.

Communities are being rebuilt. Order is slowly replacing chaos. But we have a long way to go before we can truly say that we have strong communities rooted in rights and responsibilities."

2. I think this speech should either develop the "opportunities for all" message in new ways to follow on from the last week's news. Or build out from opportunities

- 4 -

for all and move on to the other half of the message and talk about "responsibilities from all". Either needs a strong story and talking point not just an abstract thesis.

e.g.

New opportunities for women (juggling work and family, equal pay at work, etc) is a good theme for this audience. "Not acceptable that women are still paid less than men for exactly the same day's work."

Perhaps stronger would be a good specific responsibility talking point:

e.g. £5000 fine for parents of persistent truants. New measure in Crime Bill. TB demands police and local authorities use new powers.

e.g. Zero tolerance zones around schools to give children guaranteed safe journey to schools and give parents peace of mind.

e.g. Religion, right and wrong, taught more in schools.

3. You must have one or two proper stories in the speech. Women – and there are 10,000 of them – think in pictures and stories. What they will take out from the speech is a story that connects with them. It could be about your family – e.g. expand on your mother being in the WI with a story. It could be about you growing up in the sort of community that most of the audience will come from (WI is mainly rural and small town as you know).

4. The speech should be less abstract with real connection with the audience about the lives they lead.

We never forget that it is an honour to serve. Trust has been placed in us to carry out our mission: working to change Britain so that in a modern world, everyone, not just the few, has the chance to succeed.

That mission motivates us every day that we are in power. To work energetically on behalf of the many, the many people who work hard and do not shirk their responsibilities; who do everything in their power to make their children's lives happy; who help their friends out when they get into trouble; who care for their parents when they get old; and know that one day they will get old and will need help themselves.

These are the lives that make up the nation. Some of these people have more money than others; some have more luck than others. But all share the anxieties of today's world: the fear that their child will be bullied or worse

- 5 -

offered drugs in the playground. The worry that children are exposed to too much sex and too much violence too young. The constant strain of juggling family life with the hard graft of a day's work. Lives of honesty, struggle, decency, responsibility. People who do not go to private schools, cannot afford private hospitals, do not get life's big breaks, but have hopes for themselves and high hopes for their children. Lives that cry out for the helping hand of an active government not the cold shoulder, the cruelty, of those who say "you're on your own". A government there for them when they need it, helping them cope, supporting their families, making sure their effort is rewarded.

That government is this government. A government dedicated to providing opportunity for all but demanding in return responsibility from all."

Happy to discuss

To: TB
Cc: AC
FR: Peter H

WOMEN'S INSTITUTE

First couple of thoughts.

1. I like a lot of the draft but I think there is a danger with the first 3 pages that this appears to be a bit of a lurch rather than a subtle shift in favour of things old and nostalgic. Do you want the headline: "Blair calls for return to old fashioned virtues."

It could be interpreted as:

- a) back tracking on FoC
- b) back tracking on New Labour –ashamed of "new"
- d) TB sheds cool image for appeal to fuddy duddy Britain (don't understand the Tate, love royal ceremonies)
- e) looks as if we want the Telegraph vote not just the meritocratic Murdoch vote

However that does not mean that Paul Johnson's stuff about balancing the two sides of the British character/history –conservative and radical - is not interesting. (Andrew Marr wrote the same thing a fortnight ago).

I just think his particular conclusion takes you and New Labour in the wrong direction. This Parliament – with the exception of the constitution - has been evolutionary not revolutionary. People have not had a rollercoaster New Labour ride that they need a break from. Far from it. Nothing Paul Johnson holds dear has been altered in any way whatsoever. The audience you are speaking too may like the traditional English countryside (worth a mention) but definitely want a new NHS, new schools, new opportunities. **I would not make the balance of old and new the key point of the speech.**

I think what is more true to what you have said in the past and believe is: bonds of connection, duty and Christianity –traditional values in a modern setting.

**"At home I learnt self respect and respect for others.
At school I learnt the difference between right and wrong.
At church I learnt the equal worth of all human beings, and that individuals succeed best in a strong community.**

Those beliefs guide my politics and guide me as Prime Minister.

- 2 -

The challenge is to make those beliefs work for us all in a world of breath-taking change.

To embrace new technology, new working practices, new skills but to do it all whilst retaining what is precious: the bonds of connection between us.

We want more control over our lives, more choice, more personal wealth. But in the end all of us know what gives life meaning. Relationships. Friendship. Love.

Look at life through the eyes of a grandmother.(elderly relative) (appropriate in the week we remember Dunkirk)

You will here her talk fondly about the past. The good times and the bad times.

But you'll never hear her swell with pride at the car they owned or the salary they drew.

For her, for all of us, life is about how we lived not what we earned. Don't we all want people to say of us. "He was good", or "He was kind." Not: "he was rich."

The children and grandchildren that are happy and fulfilled.

The personal courage we showed at times of grief or danger.

The sacrifices we made for others.

The skills we learned, the friends we had a laugh with, the hobbies we enjoyed.

The special moments – a surprise birthday party, playing a practical joke, the embarrassing moment that still makes us wake up in a cold sweat at night.

The achievements – a gardening prize, the passing of an exam, the way your hard work and effort paid off.

The wisdom of age is the wisdom that tells us what really matters. The ambitions we have for ourselves, but the kindness we showed to others.

Our task is not to be blown off course by the pace of change around us, to remember the shared values that hold us together. To remember that the modernisation of Britain is for a purpose – to strengthen families, to provide the security of a good health service and safe streets, to extend opportunities with excellent education for all. More opportunities, more security, greater responsibility. The Women's Institute embodies these values.....

- 3 -

2. In the middle of this Parliament I don't think we can get away with a general discussion of community without attaching it to policy proposals. Otherwise it leaves us wide open to the charge that we are destroying communities by closing post offices etc (a big WI campaign for this year). I think we need to say in concrete terms how we are rebuilding communities and restoring a sense of duty.. With all the cynicism about us we should also make clear the consistency of your beliefs on this issue.

e.g. "More than five years ago in a lecture (Spectator lecture) I talked of a need for "rules which we stand by, fixed points of agreement which impose order on chaos". I said that "duty was the cornerstone of a decent society." My diagnosis of Britain was that we did not need more individualism but more responsibility and respect.

In government we are able to do something about it. I believe that steadily Britain is changing, and British values of respect and responsibility are slowly being reawakened.

We no longer hand out social security benefits without conditions. Claimants have a duty to look actively for work and take jobs they are offered. Something for something.

We say to parents, help your children, help our teachers by making sure your children turn up to school each morning. Truancy stops a child fulfilling his potential. It also leads to crime and drugs. It is the responsibility of every parent that their child is in school. Those who don't we now have the power to impose £5000 fines.

We are dealing quicker and more effectively with persistent young offenders, helping to keep them off street corners.

We are tackling drugs in new ways by punishing the pushers with heavier sentences and treating the addicts with targetted programmes designed to stop them committing more crimes to feed their habit.

We are investing more than £800m in rebuilding the most run down neighbourhoods, encouraging business and new jobs in those areas.

Communities are being rebuilt. Order is slowly replacing chaos. But we have a long way to go before we can truly say that we have strong communities rooted in rights and responsibilities."

2. I think this speech should either develop the "opportunities for all" message in new ways to follow on from the last week's news. Or build out from opportunities

- 4 -

for all and move on to the other half of the message and talk about "responsibilities from all". Either needs a strong story and talking point not just an abstract thesis.

e.g.

New opportunities for women (juggling work and family, equal pay at work, etc) is a good theme for this audience. "Not acceptable that women are still paid less than men for exactly the same day's work."

Perhaps stronger would be a good specific responsibility talking point:

e.g. £5000 fine for parents of persistent truants. New measure in Crime Bill. TB demands police and local authorities use new powers.

e.g. Zero tolerance zones around schools to give children guaranteed safe journey to schools and give parents peace of mind.

e.g. Religion, right and wrong, taught more in schools.

3. You must have one or two proper **stories** in the speech. Women – and there are 10,000 of them – think in pictures and stories. What they will take out from the speech is a story that connects with them. It could be about your family – e.g. expand on your mother being in the WI with a story. It could be about you growing up in the sort of community that most of the audience will come from (WI is mainly rural and small town as you know).

4. The speech should be less abstract with real connection with the audience about the lives they lead.

We never forget that it is an honour to serve. Trust has been placed in us to carry out our mission: working to change Britain so that in a modern world, everyone, not just the few, has the chance to succeed.

That mission motivates us every day that we are in power. To work energetically on behalf of the many, the many people who work hard and do not shirk their responsibilities; who do everything in their power to make their children's lives happy; who help their friends out when they get into trouble; who care for their parents when they get old; and know that one day they will get old and will need help themselves.

These are the lives that make up the nation. Some of these people have more money than others; some have more luck than others. But all share the anxieties of today's world: the fear that their child will be bullied or worse

- 5 -

offered drugs in the playground. The worry that children are exposed to too much sex and too much violence too young. The constant strain of juggling family life with the hard graft of a day's work. Lives of honesty, struggle, decency, responsibility. People who do not go to private schools, cannot afford private hospitals, do not get life's big breaks, but have hopes for themselves and high hopes for their children. Lives that cry out for the helping hand of an active government not the cold shoulder, the cruelty, of those who say "you're on your own". A government there for them when they need it, helping them cope, supporting their families, making sure their effort is rewarded.

That government is this government. A government dedicated to providing opportunity for all but demanding in return responsibility from all."

Happy to discuss

Opp + Sec - for all. relevant in change
equal worth.

Policy:

economic: stability first

then work pay, \forall family / life
balance.

then investment for prod. activities

+ health care + transport

then tax cuts.

understand.

- resp. : • crime ; drugs.
+ opp. • new deal. \forall welfare benefits
• sport. \forall youth services
• family ;
• voluntary sector.

spread Britain abroad. influence.

tough choices : investing in before tax cut.

care home ; in-touch.

balancing : calming influence.

● Prime minister

Can you phone

Alastair

Monica

PREM49/4664

- B of C. are what holds society together; not rationalistic right or wrong

- Moral story about individuals deeply personal; or then ethical, what is fair & decent. Move constantly between the two. B of C. helps us connect these two

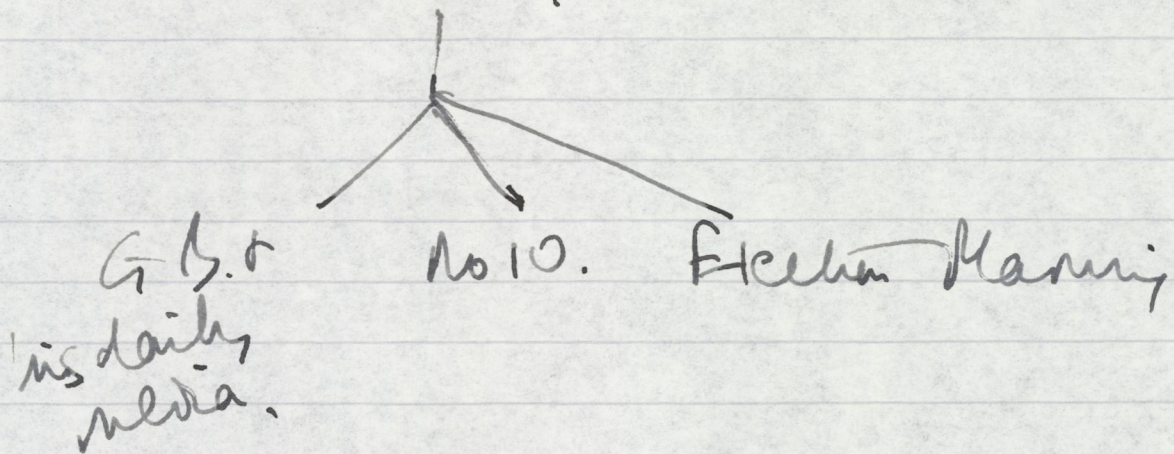
- values. : new meaning for equality & for individuality as resp. & creativity
key issue is Responsibility

Then what does that mean in Britain

- B of C nationhood

- real issues ; ; jobs, schools, hospitals
end with 5 big challenges.

Strategy.



• No 10 - : CF/AC.

• Miliband : PM/AA.

Strategy & day to day media GB/AC.

key to renewal of civic society
lies in community: opp + resp.
= community. ^{Equal worth + duty} But have to realise
it in a world of change.

∴ old/new tension resolved.

at heart of my politics has always
been the notion of community, of individual
fulfilment in society with and in
isolation from others. Believe it is
morally right; enlightened self-interest.
to seek to renew civic society.
But to do so in a world of change.

- old/new tension resolved.

- modern world; tradit. values.
democratic spirit.

- ∴ community today: equal worth
duty.

equal worth, new concept // opp +
duty ancient values. // resp =
community

- appreciation of this stretches across every area of policy.

- Long-term only basis to achieve it

Family / marriage

work

rural communities // post offices
women.

- my politics is community.
- need to resolve tension between

old & new. Can't analyse it. can only describe it. Can't over, ~~good~~ manner.

• Change with impact.
 fact of it; + its spirit, which is motivation?
 renew civil society

by values + new means to achieve them.

structural duty - family; respect for others;
 equal worth - potential of all.

opp + security for all in changing world.

- economic → structural change
- social → rules but not hierarchy
- (• political)
- international → strength thru engagement

• tough choices

• long term.

Mose; Salasath.

for values.

old & new

resp + opp.

rock n roll. &

hit or a plan of claret.

gay tough or vine

mix n match.

good names & casual dress.

informal but polite

to do an on trip but not at
the expense of others.

order + stability with freedom.

liberal sixties: freedom right;
sense of nature matters more.

spiritual along with temporal.

Old / new. //

values old / world is new.

in each area of policy

Opp & all. in changing world.

new economy

civil society

middle England / poorer people.

measures to help poor done;

elsewhere; new can move on.

but have in world.

Long-term. // Arrangements; out of touch

new politics / No new

new I want to log on up.

Family: values. Commitment,
responsibility. Role of Govt.

to support. Children. work/life

balance. support is also for elderly
parents.

Spiritual re-awakening

not admirers of British stiff
upper lip; but are great admirers of
British courtesy.

Old-fashioned manners: good

Old-fashioned attitudes: bad

Changeling

have done reconcile need to change,
with need to conserve. By centering
values in changed times. By
recognizing in the end that the
only way of conserving what you
believe in is to serve its relevance
for each new generation.

Re-reading history of 20th C. Britain
only entered war when it had to.

Mentonatic.

embracing change never easy.
But it needs to be done.

my generation at the intersection
of new world.

Attitudes v. modern.

values old.

science free to investigate facts
and free to make our judgement.

It is there that intuition & reason
old guide us

Intuition should not limit the
territory of scientific analysis;
merely guide us in how it is
administered; what is built upon;
what is cultivated & what allows
to lie fallow.

inventor of computers, a brilliant
man who did only & whatever be necessary.

science + public debate.

society, of rules + order
but not prejudice + discrimination
equal worth, as workers + citizens
equality of opportunity, at least

2 ideas at the heart of a modern
civil society: equal worth

duty; mutual responsibility

how to create civil society

1. need to resolve old/new tensions

2. values: what are they?

3. how to adapt to change.

provide security + opportunity in
changing world.

4. active community

balance of investment + tax cuts

little to give tax cuts; but only once
investment is made.

● 5. choices tough.

6. long term

irrelevant but not cynical

society needs a moral purpose

Govt too.

can only re-build civil society
around concepts of: duty
• equal worth.

the Unit is at the heart of any
decent society. The second is
the spirit of the new age.
A society of rules + order.
not of prejudice or hierarchy.

In one sense I am on arch
traditionalist. I may not admire
the stiff upper lip; but I highly
admire British civility. Casual
dress but good manners. I speak
of sexuality, fiercely condemning
crime.

I want Britain to be strong.

a power, an influence in the world. I like patriotism, but I am enlightened here.

To create civic society, has to be founded on duty, on responsibility. That is as old as time.

But in today's world, there is a democratic spirit that demands equality not just of opportunity but of worth, the right not of outcome. Our job is to break down the barriers that hold people back: poor education; prejudice; instability; immobility, the lack of housing & skills.

new & old.

break them ~~the old~~ driving
moderne to conserve.

Renewal

opp + resp = community

Key to renewal is community
in which new ideas, old values

I'm not a modernise

I'm a renewer

not new but re-newal.

wait get decent health care

schools without reforms

public without change

every one of them unpopular whilst
taking place.

only by change, do we preserve.

if govt. is an attitude, cannot conserve
the very values we hold dear.

I don't want this country to
called great. I want it to be
called dynamic.

- Policy initiatives
- commentators talked to + articles placed.

- news stories

new ways of opp + ser. in changing world.

- follow up initiatives + stories for Thurs Riv. + W/e.

Reminders; Veterans etc.

valuing others. Community
responsibility. Duty
Duty is at the heart of a civil
society.
social entrepreneurs.

Policy: Rural post offices
parental leave.
nursery education
drugs & crime
inner city estates.

Chorier: • two tough years.

• run way
• pd with
• parental leave
but business right
not like it.
petrol prices
• deficit

- tackling poverty first
- allowances changed.
- investment only with reform.
- schools & hospitals first
- welfare.
- Europe.

out of touch.

anyhow not to be dealt with but fairly.

Europe.

Middle England & Heartlands:
alliance.

Enemy: barriers that hold people back

Community

Strong, Modern, Fair.

Came to power because people wanted a society that was fairer.

Help for the poorest.

Mildie public services rather than tax cuts for everyone.

productivity & skills
not devalued currency.

majority of 178 + long-term.
greater change; no carting change
depth & surface.

Where we can do better: be more
honest with people about the choices
we have to make. Fear of a C&P.
Constantly blatter down by the
press. But more trust in people
to weigh the good & the bad.

CSR: put choices clearly -

Pledge!! expectation.

S, 67 yr old but no doubt
that far more needed.

journey into the future

WOMEN'S INSTITUTE

I am not sure yet, but my instinct is that it should be about civic responsibility, community; the idea that the purpose of modernisation and the "new" is not to throw out traditional values, but to make them live again in a changed world. Also to talk of how we provide security and stability in this world of economic, technological and social change. We cannot stop change, nor in many cases do we want to; but neither do we let it happen, let it drive us where it will. We want our values to help guide us to a better, stronger fairer country through making the changes necessary to get there.

i.e it should be a "values" speech, a re-connection with the basic concept of what makes a society tick: opportunity and responsibility = community. One without the other doesn't add up.

It should then have a series of policy initiatives that illustrate these themes. It should be policy rich, not just vague. So policies on crime, children, the family welfare should be in there.

Also tough choices: we can invest for the future or spend now; we can cut the deficit or run a deficit but pay a price in mortgage rates; we can leave public services unreformed or reform them, but be attacked; we can help the poorer pensioners first or re-link with earnings.

Also: long-term is what this Government's majority gives us a responsibility to do; not to try to do it quickly, a large majority doesn't alter the facts of life fast; but it gives us the special obligation to do it in a way that lasts.

From: Julian Braithwaite

Date: 24 May 2000

PRIME MINISTER

**cc: Jonathan Powell
Jeremy Heywood
Alastair Campbell
Anji Hunter
David Miliband
Peter Hyman
Philip Bassett
Lucie McNeil**

SPEECH TO THE WOMEN'S INSTITUTE

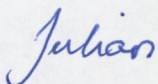
Alastair said you were thinking of doing an outline for the speech to the Women's Institute annual conference on 7 June.

If you were able to do something by the weekend, we would be able to produce a first draft for you by early-to-middle next week, and get you background material to support the arguments. Please let me know if there is any specific work you would like commissioned. Philip Bassett already has ideas from Tessa Jowell, and Anji is contacting Polly Toynbee and Mary-Ann Sieghart.

Philip and I went to see the Women's Institute last Friday. They would like you to set out your vision of communities in the future; as they put it, the sort of Britain you want your children to grow up in. They were wary of anything that smacked of capital P politics, and are clearly sensitive to being patronised.

They would also like you to engage on their proposed campaigns for this year: saving rural post offices; funding for victims of strokes; funding for children's hospices. All three will be put to a vote during the conference. Other issues for them include rural communities (policing, schools, doctors, transport); further education and IT for women; cancer screening; environment; and families

They would also like you to re-launch their website if possible, and to sing Jerusalem with them beforehand at the opening of the conference.



JULIAN BRAITHWAITE

From: Philip Bassett

Date: 25 May 2000

PRIME MINISTER

cc: Alastair Campbell
Anji Hunter
David Miliband
Jonathan Powell
Peter Hyman
Lucie McNeil
Julian Braithwaite

*B/F for
next week.*

WI SPEECH

You are speaking to the WI conference on Wednesday, June 7. I attach some material for the speech:

- a note from me on the WI itself (A)
- a Tessa Jowell note on women voters and what the Government has done for women (B)
- a note on the Top 20 things the Government is doing for women (C)
- a note from Margaret Jay's office on valuing women as mothers (D)
- a note on what the Budget meant for women (E)
- some notes for the speech we asked Polly Toynbee to do (F)
- an overall script on women (G)

WOMEN'S INSTITUTE

- WI is largest national charity for women. It has 250,000 members - 8,000 new members last year. Founded in 1915, it is formed from 8,000 local WIs across the country, formed into a federal structure: 70 local, county-based federations, and a national body, the National Federation of Women's Institutes. The national federation stages its annual conference: a 'normal' conference each year, called the Intermediate General Meeting (about 4,500, held at the Albert Hall), and then every third year a Triennial General Meeting (about 10,000 members). Your speech will be to this body, meeting at Wembley Conference and Exhibition Centre
- WI's purpose is to improve the quality of life for women, their families and their communities. Recent independent survey found that members join for four main reasons: to keep an active mind, to hear interesting speakers, to become involved in the local community and to make new friends. It broadly divides what it does into four areas: education, recreation, home and crafts, and campaigning
- WI members are still predominantly middle-class, middle-aged, middle-Britain. The majority of members are in their 40s, though the WI is pursuing a membership strategy to target new members at 35+. Membership is particularly concentrated in the Home Counties, and in Wales. The WI has their own residential college, Denman College near Abingdon in Oxfordshire, where around 5000 members each year attend about 500 courses - often on 'traditional' WI issues, like crafts, cookery, bridge etc. But WI doesn't like being pigeonholed as 'jam and Jerusalem' and stress the range of progressive causes they have pursued. Current slogan for the WI is: "A modern voice for women"
- Core WI issues are: rural life inc agriculture, communities, health, education, communities, the environment

- Its conferences discuss three or four 'resolutions' each year. At the Wembley conference they will be:
 - **Post Office:** this meeting urges upon HM Government the importance of allowing people to continue to collect their pensions and benefits in cash at the Post Office beyond 2002
 - **Children's hospices:** this meeting urges HM Government to start funding children's hospices in accordance with the same principles that hospices for adults are funded
 - **Stroke sufferers:** we urge HM Government greatly to improve the treatment and therapies available to stroke sufferers to achieve a far higher national standard of care

The resolutions at last year's conference were on genetically modified foods, the decline of the agricultural industry, ovarian cancer and women's human rights.

- The WI has a long history of campaigning. It first started to set out policies in 1918. They cover a wide range of issues, and on many they have taken a very early and often courageous stance, eg:

• Women police	1924
• Child abuse	1923
• Anti-smoking	1964
• Women magistrates and jurors	1921
• Equal pay for equal work	1943
• Public health	1927
• Anti-mixed hospital wards	1979
• Prevention of venereal disease	1922
• Breast cancer screening	1975
• Smear tests	1964
• Animal welfare	1937

They claim to have either started or been at the very forefront of some key campaigns: Keep Britain Tidy, AIDS and breast cancer.

They respond to around 30 Government consultations each year. Recent responses have included:

- Rural economies: PIU report - WI stressed importance of agriculture to rural life
- Social value of the Post Office network: PIU - WI against closures
- Carers' national strategy - WI gave strong support
- Reform of the House of Lords - majority of WI members in favour of reform

They are particularly exercised at the moment on the issue of rural Post Offices. WIs carried resolution on closure of rural POs as far back as 1945, and again in 1971. They carried out a detailed survey of members last year on the state of rural services, which they published as *The Changing Village*.

- The WI hit the headlines hard last year when 12 unquestionably middle-aged members of the Rylstone and District WI in Yorkshire posed naked (guarded by some traditional WI props like flowers, and cookery equipment) for a calendar to raise money for cancer research. It was a huge story, and has since been copied by a number of other groups (eg female hunt supporters, rugby players etc). Follow-up stories recently have reported that the move is to be the subject of a Hollywood film. The WI's response to it was to seize the opportunity to stress the work WI members do in volunteering, in campaigning, in education and in local communities. WI chairman Helen Carey (who Anji, Tessa Jowell and Lucie have met ahead of your conference appearance) says the calendar was "a great example of WI fellowship".

(B)

TJ

Re: PLP meeting 10.5.00

It is vital that this meeting does not go away with the view that we have a 'problem' in terms of women voters or that this Government has done nothing for women. There has been much coverage of the OLR findings recently and it has all been used to assume that women are not happy with the Government and that we have done nothing for women and are having a major rethink.

None of this is true. There is no evidence to show that women have different voting intentions to men – Philip Gould confirmed this at our last meeting. There maybe a difference in terms of satisfaction in health and education but this is because they are the main users of those services. We are proud of what we have done for women and we believe that the work of the Women's Ministers has been effective in ensuring better lives for the women of this country. We need to be assertive and robust and not at all defensive – defensiveness would play into the hands of critics.

Having said this we are not complacent and we do believe that it is vital that Government communicates with women in a way that is relevant to them. This means understanding the issues that they are concerned about and communicating with them through mediums that they relate to.

I am not sure that it is helpful at this stage to get into the issue of women candidates as this whole area is turning into a hostage to fortune, as is the area of modernisation. I would recommend that you focus on the positive messages about Government delivery.

The notes below reflect this approach (assuming a 5/10 min speech):

What do women want?

- ❖ the polls show that women care most about health and education but that is because they put their families first;
- ❖ our research through Listening to Women, OLR and MORI shows that when women are asked about issues for themselves they raise work/life balance as the overwhelming issue;
- ❖ women overwhelming supported Labour at the last election and the polls are showing that that support is still there and at the same level as men's;
- ❖ but women do want something different from men – they want recognition for the very many roles that they play in society and the pressures that they feel in wanting to be good at their jobs but also do the best for their families.

What have we done for women?

- ❖ see top 20 things attached (in PLP resource centre);
- ❖ we listened to thousands of women and the Government's agenda and that of the Ministers for Women reflects that consultation;

- ❖ women want choice in their lives and our policies aim to support them in those choices – policies to help them get back to work and maintain an attachment to the labour market alongside policies that support them when taking time out to look after children – mums matter;
- ❖ the things that women want are fast becoming the things that men want to and if we reach women we will be reaching them e.g. work/life balance;
- ❖ ground breaking women's incomes research which showed for the first time ever that women suffer a loss in income because they are women and not just because they have children – this is being used across government to inform policy – e.g. has already led to the review of maternity, parental and paternity pay that is now happening;
- ❖ new economy theme determines our approach i.e. encourage women to feel more valued by the Government by showing that they are needed in the 'new economy' (which includes functions such as caring and childcare as well as more conventional labour market stuff).

Reaching women

- ❖ women are not a homogenous group that require a single policy outcome;
- ❖ women are mothers, employees, employers, claimants, pensioners and many other things – they have complex lives and as such the policies will need to reflect that;
- ❖ women also lead very different lives to those of their mothers and grandmothers (Bad Homburg speech attached with relevant figs);
- ❖ of course there are issues that affect women as a whole e.g. pay gap but even then the policy solutions need to take account of different women – i.e. for some it is the NMW for others it is about the glass ceiling;
- ❖ as well as having different policy solutions we also need different ways of communicating with women e.g. VOICES;
- ❖ this means that our approach on these issues is about what sort of society we want – one that values choice and ensures that everyone can reach their full potential – this takes in women with out presenting them as a pleading or special interest case;
- ❖ women are interested in the reality of delivery and not the big fixes – that means all of us taking responsibility for ensuring that our local media are aware of the what the big national policy/financial announcements mean at a local level – what are my local schools getting, how is my local health service better etc;
- ❖ and by ensuring we, as MPs and Ministers, communicate with women where they are at – local papers, local radio and campaigning in shopping centres and schools;
- ❖ communication with women is a challenge that we all share – Ministers for Women, government departments, the Party and MPs – it must be inclusive and consensual.

Conclusion

- ❖ we have proud record of achievement of delivering policies that improve the lives of women and of their families;
- ❖ this is and will remain central to our future delivery and promises – women at the heart of government and not special pleading;

- ❖ the challenge is to ensure we continually review our methods of communicating and all take responsibility for ensuring that women are aware of the many measures we have introduced that benefit them and their families;
- ❖ we have put a lot of effort into ensuring we understand women –and that we have empathy with them and understand their complex and demanding lives;
- ❖ the Tories have invented Florida woman but their approach is more about lip service and less about proposing policies;
- ❖ like us they know women are important and influential in the family but it Labour who has the policies in place and the vision for the future.

JG 8.5.00

(C)

TOP 20 THINGS THE GOVERNMENT IS DOING FOR WOMEN (MAY 2000)

1. Supporting hard working families through the Working Families Tax Credit which gives help to 1.5 million families guaranteeing them an income of £214 a week as well as providing additional help with childcare costs.
2. Boosting the salaries of low paid women through the introduction of the National Minimum Wage.
3. Giving the biggest ever increase in child benefit announcing another increase this year and next year which goes straight into mums' purse.
4. Supporting mums who want to go to work by giving one million children childcare places by 2003, of which 66,000 are already in place, as well as guaranteeing a nursery place for every 4-year-old who needs it.
5. Giving children and families in vulnerable areas the best start in life through the £540 million Sure-Start programme.
6. Giving 200,000 mums an extra boost by increasing the Sure-Start Maternity Grant from £200.
7. Ensuring 8 million women are now paying less in National Insurance, with over half a million now having to pay nothing at all, with no loss of rights.
8. Making sure expectant mums have proper rights at work through a whole package of improved maternity measures:
 - increasing leave for all women to 18 weeks and to 29 weeks for women who have been with the same employer for more than a year;
 - giving low paid women (on over £30 a week) access to maternity pay;
 - ensuring new mums on WFTC can update their claim;
 - ensuring that, from May 2001, new mums who work 16 hours a week meet the criteria for WFTC.
9. Helping women get back to into work through the New Deal for Lone Parents and New Deal for Partners.
10. Introducing the Minimum Income Guarantee for low-income pensioners, most of whom are women, increasing the capital limits to £12,000 so that pensioners who have managed to save something for their retirement can still qualify for extra support.
11. Boosting the incomes of 8.5 million pensioners by adding to the fivefold increase in the winter allowance in 1999 by increasing it from £100 to £150 this year for every household with someone over 60.
12. Giving mums and dads the right to take 3 months parental leave to spend time with their young children under 5, as well as the right to take time off for family emergencies.

13. Supporting part-time workers, most of who are women, by giving them the same rights as full-time workers.
14. Supporting women's choices and their desire to be successful at work as well as at home by working with employers to promote policies which give work-life balance.
15. Tackling head on the crime of violence against women by giving £6 million to front-line agencies and giving witnesses greater protection.
16. Ensuring that a woman with suspected cancer sees a specialist within 3 weeks of visiting her GP.
17. Giving the many thousands of women who play a caring role a break by setting up a fund of £140 million to support them and by giving them improved pension arrangements.
18. Addressing women's concerns about financial independence and the quality of products available to them by working with Financial Services Authority.
19. Getting women wired up through 700 ICT training centres and giving them the skills to return to work through the £44 million invested in life-long learning.
20. Working with mums and young girls to halve the rate of teenage pregnancies by 2010.

3rd May 2000

Women now have many jobs. In the space of a day they can be at work but they can also be mum, granny, wife or partner. They are the lynch-pin of the family.

But most women will tell you that being a mum is the most important job of all the jobs that they have. Whether at work or at home their kids are always on their minds. When home time comes every mother feels a moment of anxiety wherever they are. They will always be mums first and foremost. They will say that their ultimate job satisfaction is seeing their kids do well.

All of us owe a debt to our own mothers and society as a whole owes a debt to everyone who has ever cared for and brought up a child. Motherhood matters - mums matter. Successful society relies on strong families and valuing and supporting women in the role they play in those families is essential for any government.

Top lines

Women want choice – the Government wants to give them choice

- overwhelmingly women said that the biggest issue for them was the work/home balance – we are implementing policies that make that balance easier for women to achieve.

Women want to reach their full potential – the Government wants to make sure they can

- women said that they still feel disadvantaged in the workplace in terms of pay and opportunities – we want to give women equality wherever they are.

Women want to be valued in all their roles – we believe that mums matter

- women want recognition for the many roles they have in society both paid and unpaid – we share women's belief in strong families and we value their role as the lynchpin in most families.

Women want the Government to act for them – we have delivered many policies that improve women's lives

- women want to see real improvements in their lives that see them and their families benefit – this Government has put money directly into women's purses and given them support in getting the balance right.

Budget 2000 – What does it mean for women?

8

Valuing mothers: supporting mothers after the birth of a child

- From the autumn, the Government will increase the **Sure Start Maternity Grant to £300**, three times the level in 1997. Over 200,000 mothers in low-income families will be able to claim this on the birth of a child;
- The Government will reform the **Working Families Tax Credit (WFTC)** and the **Disabled Persons Tax Credit (DPTC)** from May 2001 enabling a family to make a new claim as soon as a child is born. Families will therefore be able to get an **extra credit for the new baby immediately**. Where a working mother has chosen to stay at home with her baby, the family should get extra support reflecting the fall in earnings;
- From May 2001, any mother who works 16 hours a week or more prior to the birth of a child, and is in receipt of Statutory Maternity Pay or Maternity Allowance, will meet the work criteria for the WFTC and DPTC. This means that low income working families should get **support from the tax credit system rather than turning to benefits**. Statutory Maternity Pay and Maternity Allowance will continue to be disregarded in calculating the family's income;
- These reforms will help low income families at the start of their new child's life - they could be **up to £30 a week better off in these early weeks**, on top of the £300 Sure Start Maternity Grant. Through these reforms, the Government is ensuring that help is directed towards the poorest families, to give these mothers more choice about how they support their family around the birth of a child and whether and how to plan a return to work;
- The Government will **review what improvements can be made to maternity pay and parental leave**;
- As announced last year, **Child Benefit** reaches the all-time high of £15 a week for the first child and £10 a week for subsequent children from April 2000 rising to at least **£15.50 and £10.35 from April 2001**.

Fulfilling women's potential: support for moving from welfare to work

- **extended choices available to lone parents on Income Support**: from April 2001, all **lone parents** on Income Support with children over the age of five will have **targeted personal support**. A specialist personal adviser they will be required to meet will guide them through their choices - including help to try work, help to move into part-time or full-time work and the opportunity to undertake education and training;
- improvements to the WFTC and DPTC: **additional support for working families with a £4.35 a week increase** in the under-16 child credit in

WFTC from June 2000, on top of the £1.10 a week increase above indexation in the under-11 credit from April 2000. These increases will be matched in the DPTC and income-related benefits;

- These improvements to the WFTC mean that a **family working full-time will have a minimum income of £214 a week from April 2001.**

Supporting women's choices: support for families with children

- 50p a week more will be added to the **Children's Tax Credit** when it is introduced in April 2001, so that it will be worth up to **£442 a year**, more than twice the value of the married couple's allowance which it replaces;
- this change, together with other changes such as increases in the under-16 child credit in WFTC, will help to lift **1.2 million children out of poverty**;
- By April 2001, when personal tax and benefit measures from this and previous Budgets have come into effect, on average **families with children will be £850 a year better off**. The tax burden on a single earner family on average earnings with two children will be the lowest since 1972: it will have fallen from 21.5% in 1997 to 18.8% in April 2001.
- In total, the Government will be spending an **extra £7 billion a year on support for children through the tax and benefit system by 2001.**

Supporting enterprise: removing barriers to women entrepreneurship

- The Government recognises women can face problems starting their own business and **wants to encourage more women to take up the opportunities of the new enterprise economy.**
- Government is **working with the Small Business Service** to give further support to existing and potential women entrepreneurs.
- To ensure that enterprise is open to all the Government is **supporting individuals and new businesses through the £30 million Phoenix Fund** and new entrepreneur scholarships
- Measures such as the new **starting rate of corporation tax of 10%** will be introduced as planned from April 2000. 270,000 companies will benefit from this halving of the existing rate.
- The measures introduced this year, together with the 3p cut in small company rates already announced, will **cut corporation tax bills of small businesses on average by 25%.**

Support for pensioners, of whom the majority are women

- Budget 2000 builds on the fivefold increase in the **winter fuel payment** in Budget 99, with a further increase from **£100 to £150** each year for every household with someone over 60 - 8.5 million people in total;
- It also doubles the lower **capital limit attached to the Minimum Income Guarantee (MIG)** so that pensioners can now have up to £6,000 savings without MIG entitlement being affected;
- The **upper limit of MIG has been increased from £8,000 to £12,000**. This means that pensioners who have managed to save something for their retirement can still qualify for extra support;
- And the Government will look at opportunities to develop the MIG to reward further pensioners who have made some provision for their retirement. The Department of Social Security and the Treasury will **examine whether, through an income taper or other measures, the MIG can be used to boost the incomes of pensioners who have some pension or earned income of their own.**

VAT on sanitary products

- To make the **tax system fairer for women**, VAT on women's sanitary products will be cut from the **standard rate of 17.5 per cent to a reduced rate of 5 per cent**. This will be implemented from January 2001.

(F)

Notes on speech to Women's Institute rally.

1. The world has never seen such a profound social revolution as the liberation of women in the last fifty years. It has turned the world upside down: the society into which my mother was born was a world away from the life of my wife or the horizons of my daughter - and I celebrate that. It is a revolution that has shaken society to its roots, as women shape their own destiny and reshape society in the process.

But it is still only a half-made revolution and society has still only half-adapted to it. This revolution has been the cause of widespread turmoil in family structures as women and men often find it difficult to adapt to each others changed expectations. This still unfinished revolution has left hundreds of thousands of women adrift and bringing up children on their own, yet without financial means of support. On the one hand they have independence, but on the other hand that independence is still often illusory for all but the highest paid professionals. For until women have equal pay, until they can earn as much as men, they cannot be equally independent.

This is a serious matter for any government, for the result is that those women and children who cannot support themselves fall upon the state. For that reason, as well as for the sake of fairness and justice, any government must do all it can to end the shameful pay gap between women and men's earnings.

Our Women's Unit research has shown how women still earn 20 % less than men - and it's not just because of motherhood. It's a straightforward female forfeit. That gap starts when girls get their first jobs and widens throughout their life time, leaving them too often destitute without enough pension in old age. It is in the self-interest of any government

to make sure they get fair pay during their working lives, earning fair pensions to make them independent in old age.

2. We've just celebrated the thirty year anniversary of the equal pay act, but why hasn't it worked as well as it should? Partly because deep down women are still seen as the carers and nurturers in our society. When they go out to work they still often do the jobs that mirror women's old traditional role in the home that they used to do unpaid. Whether it's in care homes, nurseries, teaching, libraries, hairdressing, catering or nursing, women are to be found overwhelmingly in the caring and service trades. Nothing wrong with that, if that's what many women genuinely want to do, though too often they may be excluded from other occupations. What is really wrong is if we undervalue those jobs simply because women do them.

In the back of our collective mind does there still lurk some notion that this is women's natural role, that they're only doing what they were born to do and so we can pay them less because it's what comes naturally to them? They are just doing motherly things. It's interesting how once men enter any of those jobs in significant numbers suddenly the status and the pay rises.

We have to re-examine the way we value the work women do. There is nothing less worthwhile about the care worker looking after old people indoors than the gardener outside the window working in the same place, so why should she be paid less? Women have been stuck in working ghettos too long. We are going to need ever more people in the caring and service jobs, so it is vital that we reward and value them as we should. Dinner lady or teacher, hospital worker or administrator, super market check-out staff or supervisor, wherever women congregate in job classifications, there is a danger their work will be undervalued. The minimum wage which we introduced

made the single greatest difference to women's pay in one step in history. But that was only because too many women are among the lowest paid. Now as the second step we must make sure we re-assess the worth of the work women do in the caring and service professions.

3. Now most women go out to work for most of their lives, the days are long gone when family life was mother's exclusive concern. We have to find ways to balance the home and working lives of all. We are not robots, we all have families - elderly parents or children - to care for.

Working hours in Britain are the longest in Europe and government must give the lead in changing the mindset of this over-worked long-hours culture. We work long, but not smart. Some of the countries with the shortest hours have the highest productivity. It's time to think again and create a new constructive working culture, where employers and employees sit down together in co-operation to see if we can all get more value out of the hours we work, but work shorter and more flexible days.

Let's all try to work shorter and smarter to balance our lives better.

4. There are in the air now a multitude of fresh ideas for ways people might work more flexibly to suit both employer and employee. These new collaborative win-win deals are being struck by some of the more forward looking trade unions and companies. We need to look at best practice and show the more fearful and backward-looking employers the benefits for them of modern working practices.

In these high employment days many skills are in short supply. Employers worry about how to retain and attract the right people. It often isn't simply an question of pay rates, but of generous and flexible timearrangements, sensitive to each worker's

individual needs that can forge a lasting bond of loyalty both ways. A mother might need to come in fifteen minutes late each morning, to drop her child off at school. A new father might need paternity leave, but might also be willing to drop back to work if a sudden emergency arose - as I was myself. A new mother might need as long as a year off before she feels ready to return to work, but research shows she's likely to stay on longer if she doesn't come back until she feels ready. The review the government is now carrying out into parental leave and maternity rights must look and see how that can be made possible for all. I may have four children, but the national average is less than two, so it's not as if most women are having babies repeatedly, just to get their maternity leave.

Progressive employers are often finding now that by consulting with their workforce, new ways to work can be forged together for mutual benefit. Sometimes it's possible to let people work a four day week, or to move to part time to suit their home life needs. We have to relax the old rigidities in a world where loyalty will be best earned on both sides by reasonable flexibility. It's for us to make sure government itself is in the vanguard, showing the way. We must also ensure our suppliers and contractors monitor their equal pay practices and develop a workplace forum where flexibility in working hours can be discussed. This progressive and co-operative approach has been shown time and again to lead to higher productivity, through lower staff turnover.

5. I can see a time ahead where women and men genuinely share equally in all the pleasures and satisfactions of life - in the caring at home and in the earning and achieving at work. For most women that is still a distant dream. Power still rests mainly with men, caring falls mainly on women. That is why we are living through a turbulent time of change. It is an exciting revolution that is freeing

the potential of one half of humanity for the first time in all of human history. It has never been done before. But for women it is still a half-made revolution and we must hasten to finish it in time for all our daughters.

Giving women choice

Women want the **choice** to be able to go to work and to look after their families. The Government wants to support women in this choice. We want working women to get the most from their jobs and the most from their home lives. We believe in supporting mums who make the choice to work.

We **value** women in all the jobs they do whether at home or in the workplace. Strong families are the key to a successful society and women are the heart of the family. Supporting women in the role they play in those families is essential for any government. We believe that **mums matter** - society is indebted to everyone who has ever cared for and brought up a child.

Women must be allowed to fulfil their **potential**. Women still experience disparities in income, missed opportunities, inflexible working and violence at work and at home. We want women to have an equal chance of achieving through education and into the workplace.

We have already **delivered** very many real improvements that have put extra money into women's purses, that have supported them and their families and that have given greater freedom to choose to work.

Choice

For women to return to work after having children they need to be sure they will be financially better off, that someone can look after their kids and that their job is flexible enough to continue to carry out family duties. We have already implemented policies to make this choice easier for women.

Better off in work

Women's lives have undergone a revolution in the last 25 years. Nearly 8 out of 10 of all mothers are in paid work. Overwhelmingly mothers work because they want to - 7 out of 10 saying they would rather work even if they could afford not to. But when children are young and dependent it must be a choice. So the Government has delivered. The **Working Families Tax Credit** which guarantees low paid families with one full time worker a minimum income of £190 a week with no tax to pay on incomes below £220.

Too many women are put off working as it can cost more in childcare than they can earn. Now women will be able to claim back between £70 and £105 through a new **childcare tax credit**. That will make the decision to go into paid work much easier for women.

Value

Women now have many jobs. In the space of a day they can be at work but they can also be mum, granny, and wife or partner. They are the lynch-pin of the family. But most women will tell you that being a mum is the most important job of all the jobs that they have. Whether at work or at home their kids are always on their minds. When home time comes every mother feels a moment of anxiety wherever they are. They will always be mums first and foremost. They will say that their ultimate job satisfaction is seeing their kids do well.

All of us owe a debt to our own mothers and society as a whole owes a debt to everyone who has ever cared for and brought up a child. Motherhood matters - mums matter. Successful society relies on strong families and valuing and supporting women in the role they play in those families is essential for any government.

Education

Many women regard education as the most important issue facing the country. They care about their kids and they want to see their kids get the best start in life. They know that if their children do well at school then they will have a much brighter future. But they also know that improvements must be made to the current system so that everyone can have an equal chance of success.

We share mothers concern about education and so we have invested an extra **£19 billion to improve schools** and we are **cutting class sizes** so that all children under 7 will be taught in class sizes of 30 or less by 2002. And we believe in starting early so **every 4 year old now has a free pre-school place**.

Health

Women care about their own health as well as that of their families. We have pledged to **reduce waiting lists by 100,000** which will benefit everyone and we are well along the road to completely **eliminating mixed sex wards** which were all too often a source of immense discomfort for women when they least needed it.

Lone parents often find it the most difficult to go back to work but thanks to the **New Deal for Lone Parents** many are now finding jobs that are giving them, on average, an extra £39 a week in their pockets.

Women already working are benefiting from a whole host of policies put in place the Government. The **National Minimum Wage** has given 1.3million women an immediate pay rise and the new **10p tax rate** halved the tax paid by over one million women.

Maternity pay has been improved for part-time women, women who have only been working for year and those who are self-employed. Getting pregnant whilst in work should no longer mean giving up jobs.

Many women work part-time because it gives them the best chance of balancing work and home life. New improved **part-time employment rights** mean that women working part-time now have the same rights, and therefore security, as other employees.

And the **biggest ever increase in child benefit** last April, straight into mum's purse, will help ensure women are not worse off in work. Next April will come another boost so that mums get £15 for the first child and £10 for the second.

Balancing work and home life

Most women want to be financially independent but they also want to have jobs that mean they can still look after their families. Flexibility is the key to good **balance between work and home life**. We share employers' desire for a more productive and competitive economy. Employers know that if they offer that flexibility they will get a more loyal and motivated workforce. This will increase their productivity and give them a competitive edge. Government is sitting down with employers, working hand in hand to develop working practices that make balance a reality for working women. For example, we are giving parents up to three months **parental leave** over five years to deal with family emergencies.

This approach has already born fruit amongst nurses where the Government has brought together the NHS and the retail sector to share experiences on how to organise working practices to suit mostly female workforces.

Getting the kids looked after

For many women who want to work finding someone to look after their kids can be the most difficult task. We are making it easier for mums by ensuring good quality and affordable childcare throughout the country – **new places for one million children**. They will be able to ring a national helpline to find out what is available where they live.

Lifetime earnings

Women currently earn 80% of what men earn. Although the biggest single factor affecting women's earnings is having children, women earn less anyway, regardless of their educational qualifications. This is the **female forfeit**. We are committed to **narrowing the pay gap** and are looking at policies that to tackle this discrimination. We want to make it easier for women to take and win equal pay cases.

We have already identified the need for **female-friendly financial information** and we are working with the financial sector to make this happen. And we believe **self-employment** offers women the ultimate flexibility so we are working with many organisations to promote this option and make it a reality for many more women than it currently affects.

Violence

Too many women live in terror in their own homes. Fear of violence, at home or on the streets, can severely limit women's lives. Violence against women is a crime and **tackling crime** is a top priority for this government. All forms of violence against women will be targeted by the police and they will be made to account for their success rates. All agencies working in this area will be required to report to government what they are doing to improve the co-ordination of services and preventative measures to make homes and streets safer for women.

Reaching the top

By saying that at least **50% of public appointments should be women** we are leading by example. We now have more women than ever in both Parliament and in the Cabinet and we are committed to doubling the number of women in the senior civil service.

Delivery

Top 20 instead...

The only way to improve women's lives and the lives of their families is to implement policies that will have a direct impact on them. We have two Ministers for Women, one in the Cabinet, who are both leading from the front. The Women's Unit is in the Cabinet Office at the heart of government and is making sure that we deliver right across Whitehall on the promises that we made to women.

Listed below are the measures that we have introduced that will mean a better deal from government for women.

- 40 billion pounds extra for health and education;

Women want a health service is that adaptable and consumer friendly. It needs to work for the patient and not for the administrators. It needs to be accessible at all times. **NHS Direct** goes some of the way to fulfilling this aim and more can be done.

Too many women are still needlessly dying from breast cancer and cervical cancer. We have put extra resources into improving the services for women for both detection and treatment and any woman who know finds a lump in her breast can expect **diagnosis within two weeks**.

Listening

We value what women have to say and want to hear from them the issues that they think are most important and what we can do to improve their lives. We have been carrying out a unique **Listening to Women** exercise during which the views of thousands of women from all around the country have been relayed straight to government. Those views are now making government policy. We are turning listening into action.

Potential

Women still earn less than men, they are not getting their fair share of the top jobs and are too often intimidated by the fear of violence to carry out normal lives. They are not reaching their full potential. We are committed to knocking down the barriers that inhibit them and developing policies to help them lead fulfilled lives.

Achieving

Girls are doing better than boys at school but by the time they are 20 the pay gap has opened up. The choices girls make when they are teenagers can affect the rest of their lives. And all too often young women are involved in risk behaviour that can have a detrimental affect on their future. We are **talking to teenage girls** to find out from them the reasons behind some of their choices so that we can develop policies that mean that they don't make decisions that will leave them worse off as adults.

7m . 1:3m.
reading age under 7.

