

LIAISON COMMITTEE

MATTERS FOR DECISION

This week is dominated by the following issues:

- Law and Order, culminating with the Central Council speeches;
- Hillhead by-election (followed immediately on Friday by first anniversary of SDP founding); and
- Build-up to Euro-Council on Mandate (and 25th anniversary of signing of Rome Treaties - Thursday).

The weekend will be taken over by:

- Central Council coverage on three points - law and order; Hillhead follow-up; and economic progress.

Against this background it seems unlikely that any special arrangements will need to be made for weekend radio and TV unless it is felt necessary to explain our position on the European Budget in advance of the European Council.

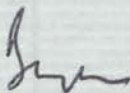
Next week we shall need a speaking note for Members of the Government on our position on the European Budget after the European Council.

It is also for consideration whether it would be desirable to have a speaking note for that weekend - ie. the weekend beginning April 3 - on the Government's attitude to trade unions and labour law. This date effectively sees the opening of the trade union conference season and the TUC will be holding its special conference on its campaign against the Employment Bill on Monday, April 5.

On that day the Prime Minister has agreed to give ITN (Glyn Matthias) a short(10-15 minute) interview.

Other Prime Ministerial speeches/broadcasts planned in the period immediately ahead are:

- April 7 - FCS speech, Loughborough;
- April 19 - IRN interview;
- April 22 - Civic Trust Dinner speech;
- April 26 - 'Panorama' 50-minute interview.



B. INGHAM
22 March 1982

3 half-day studies

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

LIAISON COMMITTEE: DIARY TO EASTER

MARCH

- 24 TUC General Council; Labour Party National Executive.
- 25 HILLHEAD BY-ELECTION: FCO BI-CENTENARY LECTURE, LORD CARRINGTON: High Court action by Ronald Smith over daughter's inquest.
- 26 Home Secretary speech to Central Council; FIRST ANNIVERSARY, FOUNDING OF SDP: Deadline for De Lorean rescue; National Consumer Congress, Guildford (to 28).
- 27 PM'S CENTRAL COUNCIL SPEECH; Boat race.
- 28 ELECTION, EL SALVADOR; Clocks go forward.
- 29 EUROPEAN COUNCIL, BRUSSELS (Mandate, etc); followed by AG. and FISH COUNCILS; two tier motor cycle test starts.
- 30 NUJ Conference, Coventry.
- 31 SDP/Liberal Alliance deadline for seats share out; Conservative PPB.

APRIL

- 2 Derek Jameson, News of the World. }
- 3 Grand National; ACTT Conference (to 4th).
- 5 PRIME MINISTER'S ITN BROADCAST; TUC CONFERENCE ON CAMPAIGN AGAINST EMPLOYMENT BILL; EPEA (Engineers' & Managers' Assn) Conference, York (to 7th).
- 7 PM'S FCS SPEECH, Loughborough, NEDC.
- 8 EASTER RECESS (? to 19th).
- 9 Good Friday; Co-op Party Conference, Ayr (to 12).
- 10 NUT Conference, Scarborough (to 15); Labour Party Young Socialists Conference, Bridlington (to 12).
- 12 NAS Conference, Blackpool (to 16).

LIAISON COMMITTEE: DIARY FOR 1982 (AFTER EASTER)

APRIL

- 17 Association of Broadcasting Staff conference (to 19).
18 Banking, Insurance and Finance Union conference, Blackpool (to 21)
19 European Trades Union Confederation Congress, The Hague (to 23);
SCOTTISH TUC ANNUAL CONFERENCE, Perth (to 23); AMALGAMATED
UNION OF ENGINEERING WORKERS conference, Eastbourne (to 23).
20 SPAIN/GIBRALTAR BORDER OPENS: Negotiations begin.

22 PM'S CIVIC TRUST DINNER SPEECH.
23 INDEX OF RETAIL PRICES; PM's visit to British Aerospace, Weybridge.
25 SINAI WITHDRAWAL/MFO; USDAW conference, Eastbourne (to 28).
26 PM'S PANORAMA INTERVIEW.
27 UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES;
Council of Europe, Strasbourg (to 30); AUEW Foundryworkers'
conference (to 30); NATKE conference, Guernsey (to 30).
28 TUC General Council; Labour Party Executive; B/Rail annual report.
30 PM'S VISIT TO BEDFORD (speech); Wales TUC, Llandudno (to May 2).

MAY

- 2 Launch of "Mail on Sunday"; CAA inquiry into LA air route.
3 Bank Holiday.
THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF GOVERNMENT.
4 Queen on Merseyside; Institute of Personnel Management
Conference (to 6).
5 Queen visits Manchester; NEDC; PM's reception for World Cup
teams; CAA inquiry into Laker's licence application.
6 LOCAL ELECTIONS.
8 EC Foreign Ministers' informal weekend.
10 CPSA conference, Brighton (to 14); SCPS conference, Southport
(to 14); TSSA conference, Bournemouth (to 14); Kissinger's
FCO Bicentenary lecture, Chatham House.
11 IRSF conference, Peebles (to 13); Christopher Ward, Express.
12 Colliery Managers' conference, Scarborough (to 14).
13 Pope visits Portugal; Assn. of First Division Civil Servants
conference.
14 PM'S SPEECH TO CONSERVATIVE SCOTTISH CONFERENCE.
15 FRANCO-BRITISH COUNCIL, EDINBURGH; APEX conference, Blackpool
(to 18).
16 SOGAT conference, Bournemouth (to 21).

MAY

- 17 Visit of French Prime Minister; NATO MINISTERIAL meeting (to 18); IPCS Conference, Bournemouth (to 20); National Union of Seamen Conference, Tenby (to 21).
- 18 Mugabe visits UK; ASLEF Conferences, London (to 26).
- 19 Western European Union Ministerial Council; Fire Brigades Union Conference, Bridlington (to 21).
- 20 OPEC, EQUADOR; Association of University Teachers' Conference, London (to 22).
- 21 INDEX OF RETAIL PRICES.
- 22 FA Cup Final; Amalgamated Society of Textile Workers' Conference, Leek; ASTMS Conference, Harrogate (to 24); National Union of Dyers, Bleachers & Textile Workers Conference (to 25).
- 23 GMWU Conference, Eastbourne (to 27); NUPE Conference, Scarborough (to 27); Union of Communication Workers (postmen) Conference, Bournemouth (to 28).
- 24 UCATT Conference, Gt Yarmouth (to 28); Prison Officers' Assn. Conference, Southport (to 28); AUEW/TASS Conference, Bournemouth (to 28).
- 25 UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES.
- 26 PM'S CONSERVATIVE WOMEN'S CONFERENCE SPEECH; Queen opens Kielder Reservoir; TUC General Council.

END MAY

- POPE'S VISIT TO BRITAIN.
- 29 National Association of Teachers in Further Education, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (to 31).
- 31 Bank Holiday

JUNE (ROYAL BIRTH)

- Recess to June 6.
- 2 International Labour Organisation, Geneva (to 23).
- 3 SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY CONFERENCE (to 5).
- 4 ECONOMIC SUMMIT, PARIS; TUC Trades Councils Conference, Bournemouth (to 6).
- 6 CND rally in London; Bakery workers' union Confernece, Bridlington (to 9).
- 7 VISIT OF PRESIDENT REAGAN (to 9); NEDC; EEPTU Conference, Scarborough (to 11); POEU conference, Blackpool (to 11); Society of Post Office Executives Conference, Southport (to 11).
- 8 PRESIDENT REAGAN'S ADDRESS TO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.
- 9 £1 and 20p coins introduced.
- 10 NATO SUMMIT, BONN; Educational Institute of Scotland Conference, Oban (to 12).
- 11 Mauritius General Election.
- 12 Trooping The Colour.

JUNE (continued)

- 13 Labour Women's Conference (to 15).
14 National European Union Parliamentary Assembly (to 17);
National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers Conference,
Bournemouth (to 17); COHSE Conference, Bridlington (to 18);
NALGO Conference, Brighton (to 18).
15 UN CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT, NEW YORK.
18 INDEX OF RETAIL PRICES.
21 Wimbledon Fortnight opens; NACODS Conference, Cardiff (to 25);
ISTC Conference, Cardiff (to 25).
22 UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES.
23 TUC General Council; Labour Party Executive.
27 NGA Conference, Eastbourne (to July 2).
28 EURO-COUNCIL, BRUSSELS (to 29); NUR Conference, Plymouth
(to July 5).
29 Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, Llandudno
(to July 2).
30 Assn. of District Councils' Conference (to July 2).

JULY

- 1 Princess of Wales stamps issued.
2 Prime Minister visits Montgomery, Brecon and Radnor.
3 PM AT GLOUCESTER/WEST MIDLANDS RALLY.
4 Blastfurnacemens' Conference, Blackpool (to 8).
5 NUM CONFERENCE, Inverness (to 8); Royal Show opens.
6 Eisteddfod, Llangollen.
7 Association of County Councils Conference; John Thompson,
Sunday Telegraph.
12 BBC 60th Anniversary Thanksgiving Service.
14 Visit of UN Secretary General; Council of Local Education
Authorities, Sheffield (to 16).
16 INDEX OF RETAIL PRICES; Prime Minister's Regional Tour.
22 PRIME MINISTER AT 1922 COMMITTEE.
26 PM GIVES ASHBY MEMORIAL LECTURE.
28 TUC General Council; Labour Party National Executive.
30 PRIME MINISTER, GUILD OF BRITISH NEWSPAPER EDITORS' DINNER,
Hendon.

AUGUST

- 13 Recess.
25 TUC General Council; Labour Party National Executive.
30 Bank Holiday; Commonwealth Finance Ministers, London (to 31).

SEPTEMBER

Recess.

- Early Sept: Prime Minister visits Scotland and Balmoral.
- 6 TUC CONGRESS, Brighton (to 10).
- 16 PRIME MINISTER STARTS FAR EAST TOUR; Scottish Prison Officers' Assn. conference, Peterhead (to 17).
- 17 INDEX OF RETAIL PRICES.
- 20 LIBERAL PARTY ASSEMBLY, Bournemouth (to 25).
- 22 TUC General Council; Labour Party National Executive.
- 27 LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE, Blackpool (to Oct 1).

OCTOBER

- 5 CONSERVATIVE PARTY CONFERENCE, Brighton (to 8).
- 8 PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH TO PARTY CONFERENCE.
- 11 SDP CONFERENCE at Cardiff (to 12).
- 13 SDP CONFERENCE at Derby (to 14).
- 15 SDP CONFERENCE at Gt Yarmouth; INDEX OF RETAIL PRICES.
- 19 PLAID CYMRU CONFERENCE (to 21).
- 20 INTERNATIONAL MOTOR SHOW; Institute of Personnel Management conference, Harrogate.
- 24 Clocks go back.
- 27 TUC General Council; Labour Party National Executive.

NOVEMBER

- Early: Queen's speech.
- 12 INDEX OF RETAIL PRICES.
- 13 Lord Mayor's Show.
- 14 Remembrance Sunday.
- 15 PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH, LORD MAYOR'S BANQUET.
- 16 Visit of Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands.
- 17 PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH TO NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY, London.
- 24 TUC General Council; Labour Party National Executive.
- 26 St Andrews' Night Dinner, Glasgow.

DECEMBER

- 3 EURO-COUNCIL, COPENHAGEN (to 4).
- 8 PRIME MINISTER OPENS CONFERENCE ON INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY, Barbican.
- 15 Association of University Teachers' conference, Bradford (to 17).
- 17 INDEX OF RETAIL PRICES; PM's Regional Tour.
- 22 TUC General Council; Labour Party National Executive.

SECRET

3

REPORT TO THE LIAISON COMMITTEE
ON PRESENTATION OF
CONSERVATIVE POLICIES ON UPHOLDING THE LAW

Section I - Public Perceptions

For Conservatives the first priority is the maintenance of freedom under the law. It is natural that our party should emphasise its determination to enforce the law with firmness and impartiality. It is natural, too, that we should have devoted increased resources to the protection of the freedom of every individual to conduct his life without fear of interference by the criminal. These Conservative objectives meet the expectations of every citizen. It is not surprising that recorded opinion surveys reflect strong public support for our approach among supporters of all Parties.

For reference, this paper begins with a summary of public attitudes, as registered in recent opinion polls. (The main sources are Tracking Surveys; Gallup "Law and Order" August 1981; MORI, "Attitudes to Police", August 1981; ORC, December 1981; NOP, Police, November 1981; Marplan, January 1982; Gallup, December 1981).

1. Law and order is stated to be an important secondary issue, rather than a persistent determining factor, in voting intention. It does inevitably become exceptionally important at unforeseeable times of crisis (e.g. riots, aftermath of publicity given to peculiarly serious offence, or set of statistics).
2. It is likely that opinion polls may understate the potential concern caused by criminal activity. Each instance of private grief (e.g. a mugging or a burglary among family or friends) or private anxiety (e.g. the reading of an alarming report in a local newspaper) will raise law and order to a higher level of salience in the mind of the individual.
3. There are apparent differences in perception between Scotland and England and Wales. More people in England and Wales appear to regard further improvements in law and order as important.
4. The Conservative Party is seen as more likely than any other to be effective on this issue.
5. Policies for upholding the law are seen as far more important by Conservative supporters, or potential supporters, than those presently committed to the Labour Party. There is evidence, however, that law and order is seen as an influential second-rank issue by supporters of the Alliance, particularly those disposed to return to Conservative allegiance if circumstances change.
6. Most recent surveys demonstrate that somewhat more approve than disapprove of the Government's overall record. Approval on law and order is normally stronger than on any other issue, although margins of approval are less substantial than at times in the past.

7. Almost all people believe crime is increasing in the UK; the vast majority, even in the aftermath of the riots, saw this as a problem common to all countries. Provided it is not allowed to appear a plea of impotence, it would be right to emphasise these international trends.

8. The vast majority of the population (more than four in five) have confidence in the police. There is overwhelming support for the 'bobby on the beat'. Most see the Conservative Government as having supported the police. Some poll evidence (MORI August 1981, NOP November 1981) suggests that a significant proportion of the population (between a fifth and a quarter) have had their confidence in the police reduced in recent years. This is more marked among young people and, to some extent, middle class groups.

This may reflect the impact of insensitive behaviour by some young constables, and the 'dripfeed' effect of the excessive prominence given in the media to individual cases of presumed or actual wrongdoing by the police.

9. Coloured people - particularly youths - are seen as proportionately more likely to be involved in crime.

There is evidence that this is true in some areas; the point is not to be evaded.

10. After the riots particular attention was directed to the 'causes' of crime. Among the leading causes named as 'fairly important' in Gallup, August 1981, which had been regarded as equally, or almost as, important in earlier surveys, were: breakdown in respect for authority and law (91%), bad example set by parents (88%), laws too lenient (80%), violence in television entertainment (67%). The leading causes, which had seemed significantly less important before the riots, or where there was no previous evidence were: unemployment (90%), lack of discipline in schools (81%), media coverage of crime (75%), poverty (73%) and racial conflict (66%).

Clearly many of these perceived causes go far beyond Home Office areas of responsibility. Combatting them must be part of a more general Conservative reassertion of the need to respect authority and maintain order.

11. Direct experience of crime is limited. Most perceptions are second-hand.

In Gallup, August 1981, two-thirds of those questioned (more than in 1980) said there was no area in their locality where they would be afraid to walk at night. One-third expressed fears, however. (Polls do not reflect the fears which must be felt in some districts). In the same poll, almost two-thirds of those questioned said that neither they, nor those close to them, had been victims of crime in recent years.

Overwhelmingly, the most common experience was burglary - experienced or known of, as having happened to closest family and friends, by a quarter of those questioned. Burglary and mugging which are so disturbing to the public, should be the focus of special attention.

12. The majority of people believe that the individual is responsible entirely or in part for law-breaking, rather than that environmental factors in society are responsible. Even after the riots less than a fifth thought the environment

made people commit crime; only a fifth thought the environment partly to blame.

13. Very few people believe prison sentences as a whole to be too long; a significant majority think them too short for some crimes.
14. Reclamation/treatment is thought to be the first purpose of sentencing by a comparatively small number of people. A mixture of retribution and deterrence is supported by a significant majority.
15. A majority accept the idea of non-custodial sentences for petty offenders.
16. A majority say they would support the return of corporal punishment.
17. A majority see capital punishment as a deterrent. More than two-thirds of those questioned in Gallup, August 1981, would support it for murder of policemen or army personnel, for terrorist murder, for murder 'for the fun of it', and murder after rape.
18. The majority do not believe that capital punishment will be brought back. The Conservative Party is seen as by far the most likely to restore it; almost no-one believes either the Liberals or Social Democrats would do so.

Section 2 - Public Perceptions and Party Presentation

1. A number of recorded attitudes reflect broad support for the Conservative approach:
 - Conservatives are by far the leading party on this issue.
 - More people approve this aspect of the record than others.
 - There is strong support for the police, to whom we have given firm backing, in contrast to the luke-warm/hostile attitudes of other parties.
 - There is an emphatic anti-liberal majority supporting strong policies on serious crime.
 - There is recognition that problems are far-reaching and international, theoretically therefore not immediately susceptible to Government action.
 - There is more generally an emphasis on individual responsibility for crime, tempered by some concern over unemployment and depressed living standards in some areas.
 - There is acceptance of the idea of non-custodial sentences for petty offenders, together with an insistence on long sentences for serious crime.
2. All these attitudes are in line with Conservative policies.
3. In other areas, there is still some public disquiet:

- (i) There is less conviction than there has been in the past. although there is still a majority belief. that the Government's record has been successful.
- This year in England and Wales, the passage of the Criminal Justice Bill, a crucially important reform in the law, provides a clear opportunity for a campaign to demonstrate how, with this final measure, we have implemented all our Election promises. We can exploit it as an opportunity to make more widely known the details of our record. Among the main components of the Bill which should carry most public support are:-
 - the revision of law on the sentencing of young offenders
 - better regulations for compensating the victims of crime
 - the increase in parental responsibility for the wrong-doing of their children
 - the introduction of residential care orders
 - the extension of the use of community service orders, and the "short, sharp shock".
- (ii) There is a feeling that crime is still on the increase.
- The crime figures are worsening. Paradoxically, effective policing, which brings more crimes to notice, can contribute to this. But the existence of this sentiment means that we must stress the international scale of the problem, and set crime in a broader context of social discipline. Everyone in society has a duty to help the police, report crime, criticise and, in appropriate cases, punish infringements of proper standards by children and adults. The importance of this kind of constructive public involvement could be better emphasised in Government publicity. It would be damaging if the idea were to gain ground that the authorities alone had the responsibility of upholding the law. Even the so-called 'community policing' should not be conceived of as policing designed to win favour with a passive community; it should mean effective policing in the community with the active assistance of a public which recognises that the upholding of the law is in the general interest of all.
- (iii) There is concern about the prevalence of law-breaking among some young blacks.
- It is right to be candid about this problem. The Government must state clearly to members of the black community the dangers of any such trend, and our unwillingness to tolerate it. We must not allow a suspicion to grow that the law is applied less firmly to minority communities, any more than we can countenance prejudice against the minorities by any who enforce the law.
- (iv) There is some feeling that unemployment and social deprivation are factors contributing to crime.
- This sentiment will obviously be lessened by perceived economic recovery although high unemployment will remain a problem for some time. We must stress the widely recognised idea of individual responsibility for criminal action. No plea of deprivation can excuse crime.

- (v) There is widespread sentiment for capital and for corporal punishment. for which there is limited support in Parliament.
- We should set out some of the arguments against judicial corporal punishment. This may be possible during the passage of the Criminal Justice Bill.
- We should emphasise the Parliamentary position on capital punishment. Some of the complicating factors surrounding the reintroduction of capital punishment might be more heavily stressed.

Section 3 - The Record

Explaining our record effectively will be a most forceful response to criticism. There are differences, however, in the criminal justice systems in England and Wales, and in Scotland, which are reflected in differences in the record.

(i) In England

- A policy of support for the police has raised their strength, in London and throughout the country, to record levels. It has attracted high quality recruits, retained experienced officers, improved morale and equipment. We have given unique treatment to police pay, in direct contrast to the Labour Party. Training methods are constantly being improved; more 'bobbies' are back on the beat.
- Prison administration has been reformed; an independent inspectorate has been established. We have ended an era of neglect of the prisons; we have begun a major building programme, involving eight new prisons, the first for many years.
- The 'short, sharp shock' regime is operating in four detention centres.
- We have increased by almost a half the number of attendance centres.
- We have supported calls by the senior judiciary for heavy deterrent sentences for crimes of violence.
- We have widened the range of penalties available to the courts, removing artificial restrictions left over from earlier legislation.
- We are introducing a comprehensive reform of the law on young offenders.
- There will be tougher sanctions against parents of young offenders.
- We are introducing residential care orders.

- Compensation for the victims of crime is greatly improved.
- We have proved our determination to resist terrorism.

(ii) In Scotland

- Police strength has greatly increased; more special constables are being recruited.
- We have reformed criminal procedure, police powers, and penalties.
- Identification parade procedure has been overhauled.
- Police now have stop and search powers for offensive weapons.
- For the first time police have a limited legal power of detention.
- A ban on alcohol in football grounds has been introduced.
- A new offence of vandalism emphasises the gravity of this crime.
- There is better compensation for the victims of crime.
- Improvements are being made in Scottish prisons; prison officers are being allowed to buy their houses.

Section 4 - The Presentational Approach

1. Too many people are still insufficiently aware of this very positive record Ministers outside the Home Office, back-bench MP's, the Party organisation could all contribute more to the expression of these important themes.
2. The crime rate is seen to be rising. As recorded in the figures that is true. But this should not be allowed to promote a "they've done nothing" sentiment. The figures could be thought to reinforce the case for a Conservative Government that has proved its determination. The problem runs world-wide. The rise in crime makes it imperative to have a Government that will uphold the authority of law as a main priority. Having strengthened the police we expect them to deploy effectively against crime. How would Britain fare on this score under any other party?
3. We should be more aggressive about the shortcomings of our political rivals. No other Party is going to attack the Government for being too weak on this issue. No other Party is likely to offer a more authoritarian approach. But we could give pause to those who may be worried by the crime figures, or otherwise disenchanted, by explaining our policies better, and by asking what the alternative would be, criticising other Parties' supposed alternative strategies, impugning the poor record of our opponents, Labour and Social Democrat (when in Socialist office) and highlighting the dangers of the flagrant disrespect for the law of the far Left.

4. Presenting our policies is a delicate balancing act. Our pursuit of the firm but balanced policies outlined above has opened us to attack from two quarters - from those who see ever more severe penalties as the only deterrent to crime, as well as from those who believe, wrongly, that our policies recognise insufficiently the importance of the treatment and rehabilitation of offenders. Presentation is the more delicate for those Ministers departmentally responsible who answer for a criminal justice system which must be kept free from partisan taint. This makes it all the more important for Conservatives outside the Departments of State to contribute to political debate. Ministers have, however, clearly laid down lines of approach which are well in tune with public perceptions and aspirations:

- The Government places the highest priority on maintaining the rule of law.
- At a time of recession scarce resources have been made available for extra spending in this area.
- We are seeking more effective detection, deterrence, and sentencing of offenders.
- We have strongly supported the police in the proper performance of their duties and have significantly strengthened them.
- We are widening the range of penalties available to the courts.
- While developing alternatives to prison and the use of shorter sentences for lesser crimes, we insist on long, deterrent sentences for serious offences, and will provide places for all whom the Courts commit to custody.
- We are facing the problems in prisons with a resolution not seen for many years.
- We are paying particular attention to the disturbing incidence of crime amongst the young.
- If necessary we will consider further measures which may be needed to maintain the authority of the law.

5. Few of these themes are controversial. We have rightly balanced strongly supportive words and actions with condemnation of infringements by police. We have to be careful to explain that the policy of shorter sentences applies only to lesser offenders. The theme is that the first taste of prison is what deters.

6. The Conservative Party has rightly maintained the importance of respect for the authority of the law. Policies designed to promote discipline and self-discipline in society command widespread support. Our policies on law and order are critically important. But the law and order services are mainly concerned with limiting the damage that delinquency can inflict on society, and with deterring those who are disposed to crime.

There are many other Government Departments whose work is equally important in this respect. We need to restrict the growth of delinquency from

the beginning. We need to provide more people with that sense of responsibility that comes from having a tangible stake in society. As part of the theme of promoting a disciplined and responsible society, we must stress, alongside our 'Home Affairs' programme, policies such as:

- The development of better standards, greater parental involvement, and more effective discipline in schools (Potential delinquents can frequently be identified at an early age).
- The strengthening of family life and the restoration of a wider sense of parental responsibility for the development of their children.
- The rebuilding of inner city life; resistance to high rate rises which drive people and business out of cities, and positive measures to help the environment.
- The promotion of discipline in the workplace - to which our trade union reforms will make an important contribution.
- The widening of ownership in society, widening the sense of personal responsibility that comes through that ownership - through home ownership policies, employee share ownership, and incentives to invest in business.

By insisting on the maintenance of the authority of the law, we can reassure those whose first wish it is to preserve the stability of society and to enjoy that most basic freedom, to go about their business without fear of interference by those who defy the law. The traditional Conservative approach should highlight these themes. We should make it clear that the individual wrongdoer must in the general interest be held responsible for his actions. We should establish the equation between indiscipline and ultimate instability.

7. Conservatives remember that every crime has a victim, and what that victim suffers. We must remind people of the immense cost of crime. Cost, in financial terms - from the extra price on items in shops because of shoplifting, through to the immense expense of maintaining police, courts and prisons; cost, too, in personal terms - in individual fear and suffering. We have demonstrated the importance we attach to the victims of crime by the backing we have given to victims' support schemes, by improvements in criminal injuries compensation and by our insistence, in the Criminal Justice Bill, that compensation for victims should come first in sentencing, before any other call on the resources of an offender.

Crime is never glamorous, always harmful; we should counsel those who produce material for the media which tends to excuse or glorify crime of the danger of their actions.

8. We must make it clear that while we believe that the measures we have produced so far will help greatly in the fight against crime, we do not rule out further action should that seem necessary. We could cite, for instance, the review of the practice on selecting juries which has recently been under discussion, or some of the proposals of the Philips Committee on Criminal Procedure.

9. We must embrace the community more directly in the upholding of the law. The Home Secretary is stressing this theme in his remarks on policing. In crime prevention and crime detection a civilian population that is properly informed, interested and concerned about crime can be as effective as a large number of extra police - at far less cost. The principle that it is the citizen's duty to help - just as the Government tries to help - those impartial forces that uphold the law is essential to a free society. Without Government backing and without positive popular support the forces of law and order would be hamstrung. In Scotland, we have campaigned to recruit more special constables, so that the police, expensive crime-fighting weapons, can be left more free to concentrate on their most essential duties, and to try to raise the frequently inadequate clear-up rates for crime.

10. There is every reason to be proud of the Conservative record, every reason to expect that it is possible to extend once more the margin of approval of our performance. There will inevitably be moments of crisis and of public disquiet. The issue will be overshadowed by the great economic considerations. But, actively projected by the Party as a whole, our policies can continue to be an important, and distinctly Conservative, factor in binding to us our support.

22nd March, 1982