



10 DOWNING STREET

6 February 1980

The Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe QC MP
Chancellor of the Exchequer
HM Treasury
Parliament Street
LONDON SW1

Dear Geoffrey,

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THE LONG CAMPAIGN

In my letter of 20 December 1979, I said that I hoped we would produce the "Long Campaign" paper during January.

Since this has proved impossible (indeed, I have only been able to work intermittently on the paper, over weekends, since Christmas) I feel I owe you a short progress report.

As you know from the Contents and Introduction sections, which I sent to you with my December letter, the Long Campaign paper is not simply an extrapolation of the "Quick Campaign" - it is an attempt to provide a fairly complete strategic framework for doing something which has not been done before - winning an election despite being unable to offer the electorate much in the way of material improvement (the traditional voting criteria). Our approach involves the integration of policy, especially in terms of economic stabilisation and the long task of trade union reform; together with communications, especially in the area of altering, at the margin, the criteria by which voters make their decisions. This is an unconventional approach, because it's an unconventional problem - we don't live in normal times.

We also stress in the paper that actions count much more strongly than words - indeed, we would go so far as to say that speeches are very nearly a waste of time unless linked to events or actions.

So far we have had to do all work on the Long Campaign paper as background to other things, in particular to the "Accelerator" programme and, before Christmas, British Leyland. The present draft runs to about 90 pages of double-spaced typing so there is obviously some pruning and editing still to do! That is impossible and will remain so, I suspect, until the steel dispute, the decisions about amendments to the Employment Bill, and the work on de-indexation are complete. These activities are, of course, central to two of the main policy planks (economic stabilisation and trade union reform) and also to the changing of public perception by events and actions. We will be working with Bernard Ingham here on how best to exploit the opportunities for communication.

All this means that we have had to set the Long Campaign paper to one side, until the steel dispute and Employment Bill work are complete. The present combination of events really amounts, as Angus Maude said

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in his recent letter to the Prime Minister, to what could be a turning point in the fortunes of this Government, It must be better for us to contribute what we can (from the strategic thinking that we've already done) than try to write a book about it. As we agreed in our discussion on strategy with the Prime Minister after Christmas, one of the most important purposes of the "book" will be to ensure that colleagues not directly involved in economic turn-around have a fuller understanding of the Government's total strategy.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Industry, the Paymaster General, and the Chairman of the Party.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'John Hoskyns', with a horizontal line underneath.

JOHN HOSKYNS