

Lady Margaret Thatcher:

Mr. Ueyama, and all kind friends and members of the Hello Academy. I'm very much aware from my previous visits that you are Japan's largest training school for professional tour guides. I have looked forward to coming here each year for the last seven years. And may I congratulate you on the training this school gives which is evidenced by the welcome and courtesy with which tourists and guests are received in Japan. That is evidence of the excellence and quality of your work.

On this occasion, unusually, I am asked to speak not on current affairs, not on the things that are affecting the world now, but, how I came myself to become a political leader from a very ordinary origin and some of the experiences I have learned of what influences international events during my time. Because, my friends, events don't just happen. They are caused by the leadership and the direction of leadership, of individuals and governments and in a free society of many, many people in leadership positions locally, leadership positions in industry, and in leadership positions in the press. That is the difference between a dictatorship society, when everyone is told what to do, and a free society in which we get leadership at almost every kind of level.

It was into such a very ordinary family that I was born. I came - I was born and brought up in a small town in England; a town of about 25,000 people. Small enough for most people to know one another; large enough for there to be many, very organizations, voluntary organizations and institutions, which enable one to come in contact with many, many different views. My father was a grocer. He had left school years before at the age of fourteen. He was highly intelligent, but his family in those days, in the last century, couldn't have afforded for him to go on to higher education. My friends, many of us take that, including myself, for granted. But it was denied to previous generations. And so, he left school as an apprentice to a grocery shop. He never really liked working for other people, so eventually he started up in business on his own. My mother also had her own business. She was a dressmaker. So we were fiercely individualistic people, believing that we liked to have something which we could help to grow by our own efforts. And we were fiercely hard-working people. Both of my parents were very great Christians. They believed in God. They believed in worshipping. They were prominent members of the church. And also, they knew full well that a value of a society is the value of its citizens and how much you do, not because you have to, or are employed to do, but how much voluntary work, in voluntary organizations you do in addition to your own job.

They were members of Rotary. You will have Rotary in Japan. It's an international organization. Its motto is "service before self." They belonged to many, many voluntary organizations which were a great feature of life in Britain - which helped the old people, which helped young children in difficulty. Because this, again, was part of our philosophy. As we had been fortunate to build up our own life, so we must turn around and help others who've not had the advantages that we do.

We went to church every Sunday - usually twice. And frequently we had people back to, to, in the evenings, and we discussed the events of the day. I can remember, my friends, the great excitement in our house when something new was going to happen. We were going to have one of the newfangled things called a radio. Newfangled, that shows you how far back in time I go. It was quite something to have a radio in your house and, therefore, to be able to listen to sound broadcasts. It happened when I was about ten. And of course it had brought a new dimension to our house because radio, believe me, is very much more serious, often, than television - or it was in those days. We had all of the greatest people talking on radio. We had them giving their views. They might have been great academics, great philosophers, people who had done well - talks, discussions, what were called "brains trust", and it opened up a new dimension for us.

I was a very ordinary school girl. I had one elder sister- four years older than me. We were brought up to work extremely hard. We were brought up in the Christian faith. We were brought up in the idea that, if you're in a small town, you belong to many different organizations. It may be a local orchestra, it may be amateur dramatics, it may be a debating society, but the essence of a small town is all of these interesting organizations. It may be all your small business people gathered together. And it may be that now and then we would have someone called a member of Parliament down from London, which was 150 miles away, to talk to us. This was the background. My friends, it was a very good background. We were taught the importance of principles. We were taught the importance of honor. We were taught the importance of duty.

My father was a local councilor - an elected local councilor. Because he actually was highly intelligent, he very soon became Chairman of the Finance Committee of our local town. And I must tell you, in our local town, with my father as Chairman and in charge of finance - as a voluntary effort - we never had a deficit. That was a very good lesson for me to learn before I went into politics. We also believed, because we were members of Rotary, which is an international organization, that we had international obligations. Yes, we had

obligations to our small town, and the obligations of patriotism to our country, but we also had international obligations.

And, I remember, at my school, both my sister and I were encouraged to have pen friends in other countries. And there was an organization for doing this. I had a French pen friend, who lived in Paris. My sister had an Austrian, or German girlfriend who lived - pen friend - who lived in Vienna. And we corresponded half our letter in our own language and the other half in either the French or German, which we were taught at school. We were all very relieved when we'd done the bit in French or German and could write the rest of the letter in English.

And then, my friends, all of a sudden, it was the mid- to late-1930s, my father had a letter from the father of my sister's pen friend - a letter in German, translated into English. It was in 1938. It seems a long time to you, but it is vivid, as vivid in my recollection as eventually this year will be in yours when you are very much older. It portrayed events that had happened in Europe. We were very much aware that a man called Hitler, a dictator called Hitler, had taken charge in Germany; that he had stopped all voluntary organizations like Rotary; had no such as voluntary organizations, or equal discussion, or free discussion. This was the new ruthless dictator, and he had marched into Austria, into Vienna. And that was where my sister's pen friend lived. Her father had seen what was happening. How could he give his only daughter a better future? He was a bank manager - he couldn't leave. And so he wrote to my father asking, "Please, if I can get my daughter out to the home of your daughter, would you take her until we can make other arrangements for her?" And it was my father's unhesitating decision to write back and say, "Yes, of course we can. We'd be proud to do so."

And all my political life I have known and understood all that is best, most honorable, and most decent in citizens of comparatively small towns when faced with something in international life which is fundamentally wrong. What Hitler was doing was wrong. What could we do to help the next generation?

And so Edith came, Edith Milprut. She stayed with us and this marvelous Rotary movement, gradually she went on many of our friends, and stayed with us until eventually she left to go to relatives in South America. And from what we knew afterwards of the concentration camps in Austria, we had the great joy of knowing that at least our small effort had helped to save one person from the tyranny that was there.

I tell you this so that you can understand, even though it was a small town - 25,000,

there were people and there are people everywhere in the world who are honorable and true. It's part of our religion. Whatsoever is honorable, whatsoever is true, whatsoever is good report, think and act on these things. And it is because there are so many people who believe in that, that liberty and justice and honor survive, and gradually are prevailing the rest of the world. Now that was the background in which I was brought up.

I went to school, obviously. I was quite bright, though I say it myself. It wasn't me, it's because of the inheritance of my father. We were always brought up to read. Now, I'm afraid there's not such a lot of reading these days. Reading was the path, in those days, to learning more. And every Saturday morning, I went from our home, which was above the shop, we lived above the shop, to the local public library to get, borrow two books. And as it so happens my father was on the local council and, as well as being the Chairman of the Finance Committee, was Chairman of the Library Committee. So my instructions to the librarian were, "Please, I want the latest book about current events the world over." And so he did. And also I wanted the latest book either about the arts or the music, because we were an artistic and a musical family and also about the, the more, the other things, less political things. These two books came home every Saturday, and we read them, and we talked about them, and they went back on the next. Reading, there is no substitute for it. Reading and studying is so very much better, so very much deeper than watching television. Actually listening to radio is very much deeper than watching television. Television tends to be sound bites - and you take a view without going into it deeply. And so we were always brought up to do these things deeply.

And frequently when we went to church on Sunday morning and Sunday evening, if there ever was a stranger in our church, who had come from somewhere else, in wartime, if there were ever any servicemen there who hadn't anywhere to go in the evening, they came back to our home. This was very British.

Now, I had, I had a great ambition. I listened very much to the conversation of the adults and I decided that I wanted to go on to some higher learning. And so I had an ambition to go to university, and I wanted to go to one of the two great universities, Oxford or Cambridge. And it wasn't easy. We could do it by winning scholarships. And, at that time, even though, if you wanted to read a scientific subject - which I did, I wanted to read chemistry, physical chemistry because I happened to be very good at it - you had also to have a qualification in a language, which for us was French, and also in an ancient language, which for us was Latin, from which so many of the European languages are derived. And so, we'd had no

Latin taught in our school. And unless I could pass the exam in Latin I wasn't going to be able to go to Oxford, even though I want, the subject I wanted to pursue was chemistry. And so, I had private lessons with the head teacher of the boys school. He was a Latin master. I worked at my Latin and in six months I had managed to pass the Latin exam, so eventually I got to Oxford. And this was a very great thing.

I, in our family, only one other person, and he was my cousin, had ever been to university - he was a little bit older than me. He chose economics. I at that stage - you know when you are seventeen or eighteen you know all the answers - I at that stage thought economics really was rather more common sense than anything else, and so I was going to read a scientific subject.

I was lucky. I served under a wonderful person as tutor. And don't forget as I say to you, the thing which has influenced this century more than anything else has been the colossal advances in science. Whether being in physics - ah, you have a great Nobel Prize winner Mr. Leona Esaki, Professor Leona Esaki, a Nobel Prize winner in Physics. My tutor to whom I went to in Oxford was a Nobel Prize winner in the structure, the chemical structure, x-ray crystallography of matter, and actually was instrumental in getting out the structure of the very first antibiotic to be created, it was created might I, called penicillin. It's very interesting, that one came absolutely into contact with these fantastic Nobel prize winners, and as you have this great pride of yours. And so I went to Oxford, but I never gave up my interest in politics.

In my spare time, and there wasn't very much spare time if you're reading a scientific subject, because you have to do both the theory and the practice in laboratories. In my spare time I was always passionately interested in politics. We'd always talked and debated these things at home, so I was very quickly talking and debating these things in Oxford University.

The war came to an end. It was a great relief. And then one had to decide, as my period was coming to an end, what to do. I took a job in research chemistry and still had this passionate interest in politics. I, um, could never had thought of becoming even a member of Parliament, an ordinary member of Parliament - there are about 650 of them - I couldn't have thought about it because in those days members of Parliament were not full-time and they were paid only a small allowance and I would always have had to earn my own living. However, as you know in the post war period everything changed. It changed in your country, it changed in ours. Everything changed and members of Parliament began to be paid a reasonable salary and expected also to have another job as well. And so with great um, um I think

um, ambition, and perhaps a little bit of cheek, I decided that I would try to become adopted in order to become a member of Parliament.

Now, in our country members of Parliament represent an area and you had to be adopted to represent that area either for a Conservative cause or a Labor cause. We were Conservative, and to my utter amazement, I was adopted at the age of 23 for a very difficult seat - a very industrial seat. I didn't win it, but I learned a very great deal in trying for that seat.

There, (cough) Sorry, it's very dry here. Very dry. You're probably having the same difficulty and you haven't got water to drink. (laughter)

In that seat I had a scientific job, and there I met my husband who also had a business in paint and chemicals, preservative chemicals.

Having lost the election eventually I married instead. Two years later I had twins which I thought was a very quick way of acquiring a family. And it was a boy and a girl.

I think the good lord was very good to me, and so, after about six years, then I thought is it possible to come back into politics. It was, because I was adopted for a seat, a parliamentary seat in London. My husband's firm was in London, our house was in London, Parliament was in London, my own seat was in London.

And so everything went well for me and I became a member of parliament. I was a very modest member of Parliament. I knew it was best not to speak until you have really got something to say. A lot of people speak regardless of whether they really have got a message to give or otherwise. And so, I rarely made speeches, but when I did they took the headlines. And very soon my own party decided they ought to have more women in power - in positions of power. And so I was promoted to be a junior minister and promoted - they always put women into welfare jobs. We were never thought to be able to do industrial jobs or financial jobs. So I was put into a welfare department, which was a very good thing as one learned a very great deal about the hardships which some people suffer and were able to try to relieve them and set up a social security system which would help everyone.

After that we went out of office. When we came back in again and won the next election, the head of my party made me the minister - cabinet status - for science, of which I was good, and education, which I had been through. And over four years I learned to be a cabinet minister. I learned to answer debates in the house. I was quite a good debater. And I learned to answer questions in the house, because in our system each minister has to stand up in the House of Commons according to a timetable. And you have to be there. And if you are in charge of a particular department - I was education and science - I would answer

questions for three quarters of an hour. The questions would be put on an order paper, so I knew what the first question was. But any member who got up to ask it could ask another question and then a second question and you didn't quite know what it was going to be.

Later when I became Prime Minister - which was a great surprise to me - later when I became Prime Minister, I had to answer questions on each and every department. And I had no idea what the questions were going to be. Because the question on the order paper was, "Would the Prime Minister please give details of her engagements today." And I got up and said yes I've got six things to do - these or they. And then the answer - the next question was - everyone with a question on the order paper had the right to ask another question. The next question was, "Would the Prime Minister in her busy day have time to look at?" And it could've been anything; something with industry; something with the arts; something with education; something with the health service; something with social security.

My friends, I have learned that whatever you're going to do in life, whatever your job, make very careful and detailed preparation; before you go to give a speech; before you go to do a public occasion; whatever you do, prepare your life well for it; prepare your answers. And when I first started to do that as Prime Minister - I became Prime Minister in 1979 - I answered every Tuesday and Thursday. And over the weekend before, I would spend about eight hours in preparation. Getting information from each and every department; from each and every minister; what are the current problems; what are the questions they are likely to want to trip me up on - eight hours. But I was only on for twenty minutes of questions each day. That was the extent - and I must say, I think they never tripped me up. I was able to do it in the end in about four hours because your knowledge is cumulative.

And, I was the first woman Prime Minister. I suppose, my friends, I was lucky to come and be in politics at a time when people began to realize that women, although they played a fantastic role in the life of the nation, and also, as is the same in your country, played a fantastic role in wartime, were not fully represented in Parliament. And so they were looking for able people to do it and I happened to be around at that time. I loved the work. I had a passion for politics. I had a passion for history. I had a passion for building a better future. Now, my friends, we are fortunate. For the last fifty years, there have been no major conflicts; no world wars - fifty years. Just contrast the first fifty years of this century - two world wars; terrible death rates in battle.

And so, our first task was to try to see that this period of the greater peace continues. There have, of course, been many, many local conflicts. There was one when Saddam Hussein

tried to invade Kuwait and George Bush and I threw him out. There have been others in Vietnam. There have in fact, my friends, been about a hundred and twenty local conflicts. And if ever you're in a position of power in your own country, you always have to see that should the unexpected happen; should someone else be building up a very considerable, very considerable armors, very considerable missiles - and these days you can buy missiles from North Korea easily; you can buy nuclear material from there. These things are happening and evil will always be with us. And if you're in positions of power, you know full well that you must always have a policy to counter the unexpected. Thatcher's law of politics is, 'The unexpected happens and when it does you'd better be prepared for it.'

And that's why, my friends - you're rate payers and tax payers - that is why that your politicians; and certainly when I was in office, and I was in office with the great Reagan, Ronald Reagan, and a very similar background to myself and had the same passion for liberty and law and democracy as I did. And we said we must always be ready to defend it wherever it's attacked in the world. And because we knew that dictators like Hitler, like Saddam Hussein, like Mao, and Stalin - because we always knew that dictators built up their weapons and armaments before they built up a standard of living.

We said we have to have enough, but there's something in a free society in the West - and you're part of the West - that enables you to do research in technology; that enables you to do something about the air of freedom, which gets your imagination going; which gets your inspiration going; which enables you to make the great steps forward in science - often faster than they do in a dictatorial country. And so, you put a great deal into science; you put a great deal into the freedom of those people.

I used to watch it with my own tutor. You will go so far with logic. You learn logic. That's how science is done - by logic. That's how your mathematics is done - by logic. Then, there comes a stage - and it's in politics too - when you can't get any further with logic. You can't get any further with learning the lessons of history. And at that stage the future depends on those people who can make a leap from logic by inspiration for an idea, a substance, a process that has never been thought of before. Such an example was the, the what happened with my tutor, Dorothy Hodgkin. We had a new antibiotic, called penicillin. We wanted to know whether we could synthesize it chemically to get more penicillin. For that we had to get out the structure of it. All experiments were done on structure. The substance responded to no known structure at all. You got as far with experiment and logic as you could. And then, and it's the same with your great Physics Nobel Prize winner, it is some



people, they're called geniuses: it may be in music, it may be in the arts, it may be in science, it may be in math; they can leap forward to something that's never been thought of before. It's inspiration. It just comes. It's a marvelous thing about the human brain. And my tutor had it, and so we got out the structure of penicillin. And these are tremendous advances have been made, in this, during our time. They tend to come more quickly in a free society, which is of course why most of your Nobel Prize winners do come from free societies. We take freedom for granted; perhaps we shouldn't.

Well, now all of these things were very much a part of my life. And, I'm still not quite sure how it happened. And then I became Prime Minister. My father had died at that time. He had been there when I was first given my first job. He would have been so proud. And the same thing will happen with you as you get on in life. But never, never, never forget the essence of a good society is the family. The essence of a good society is the good that individuals will do.

And for the whole of my life, until very recently, there has been a kind of battle of ideas in the world. Between those in the Communist, or dictatorial countries, who had no freedom or liberty whatsoever - who were told what to do. That was the whole of the Soviet Union, and the whole of China, and others, their surrogates elsewhere. And the way of life that we fought for in Britain. Liberty is a tripod. Liberty - you can't have liberty without a rule of law. Eventually your rule of law must be made by democracy. There is no such thing of one of those things without the others - liberty, a rule of law, and without democracy. And this is indeed the message which we have been brought up with.

Now, the personalities. We had to tackle and see off the Communist countries because their people had no way of life. We saw the poverty in both the material ways and in the more valuable ways when it collapsed. And the greatest battle that was fought this century haven't been the battles fought by war, they were the battles which were won without a shot being fired - by the firmness of the West; the superiority of our way of life; the fact that eventually the Communist countries could not keep out the message of liberty and the life that it led. And so indeed, Ronald Reagan was one of the great people in my time.

During the battles of war, perhaps one of the greatest people of all, was Winston Churchill, our Prime Minister, which had a remarkable time - he was never very good at school. Don't worry if you're not very good at school. He was a master of the English language. He read and read and read. And he was a genius at understanding human nature. He had fought himself during the battles at the beginning of the century. He was First Lord

of the Admiralty - that is in charge of all our naval things in the first war. He was, he was brilliant speaker I had ever heard. He knew the English language; he knew how to use it. At a very great time of darkness in our country he would say, "Never in the history of human conflict has so much been owed by so many by so few." And that was a reference to the Second World War, when everyone on the mainland continent had been defeated. And we were standing alone, and all we had to defeat the German Air Force was 500 pilots and some Polish ones that had managed to escape. London was bombed for three months. Those 500 pilots went up day and night; we never knew how they did it, but eventually they convinced Hitler that there was something in Britain that was invincible. And of course Winston expressed it, "Never in the history of human conflict has so much been owed by so many - our whole country - 55 million - to so few." He was quite remarkable.

He was a great friend of Roosevelt and also later of Truman. And the two got together because you know you have to have some hope. However difficult things are, you must always give some hope to your people. What hope had we? It was before America came into the war - and later she did. And these two great statesmen, Roosevelt and Churchill met in the middle of the Atlantic on a ship, to which they were flown. And they pronounced something called the Atlantic Charter, which should be the right of all peoples everywhere; freedom of worship - is the first freedom, to worship according to your religion or your belief; freedom of speech - absolutely vital. Those were the two freedoms of - the positive freedoms. And freedom from fear - your country should always be ready to defend you; must always keep her defenses up to date. And freedom from want - that we in the world must help those who are suffering from poverty. And this came in the deepest parts of the war.

And then since, mercifully, we had the United Nations. My friends, let me say this. I saw Mr. Kirby Annan go to Iraq, etc. But, my friends, nice words will never defeat tyrants. If they could, Saddam Hussein would never have marched into Kuwait. You must always keep your defenses strong. And with your defenses strong, you must always keep your philosophy, your way of life bright and shining - and teach it to future generations. And with the aid of radio and television that have now, our great hope is that we can spread the message of liberty and law and democracy to the rest of the world. It is a big task for your generation because fewer than one half of the countries of the world are democracies. We've many very great leaders from people like Nelson Mandela to many other very great leaders at the present time. You can't do it without leaders. We have many very great international organizations. The first one that I ever took part in was a G7, when I came - the first interna-

tional organization - when I came to Japan and started to be one of the people who could influence the future. In the end, the quality, the standard of living depends upon the integrity, the honor, the kindness, and the decency of each and every man and woman. That is the message. Thank you so very much.