

DRAFT SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE DINNER IN TRIBUTE
TO SHLOMO ARGOV: 21 JULY, 1983

INTRODUCTION

We meet this evening to pay tribute to a distinguished
representative of ~~a friendly people~~. *Israel.*

Shlomo Argov was a remarkable Ambassador, deeply
respected ~~both~~ in Britain and ⁱⁿ Ireland where he was also
accredited. He knew ~~us~~ and understood us. And, as his
~~published~~ speeches and writings show, he is a true citizen
of the free world, ^{who} cherishing ^{as} freedom and justice and ^{is utterly} opposed
to those who assault them.

A year ago, ^{only} ~~just~~ short distance from where we meet tonight
Close to this very hotel a year ago he was ~~fully~~ shot
~~down~~ *brutally attacked in a deliberate attempt*
at assassination. Those who committed

Today Shlomo Argov is alive. That fact is marvellous.
His survival after being so terribly wounded is a tribute
both to his own splendid qualities and to the skill of
outstanding doctors. His would-be assassins - who are just
beginning long prison sentences - did not reckon with this
when they planned their cowardly enterprise.

that cowardly attack has been by in their
long prison sentences 30 years more.

THE ROLE OF THE MODERN DIPLOMAT

The ^{attempt} ~~attack~~ on Shlomo Argov ^{is, who} demonstrated, as so many other terrible events have done, the special dangers which confront the diplomat in today's world. A profession dedicated to the pursuit of peace, to the resolution by civilised methods of problems which may bear within them the seeds of conflict, has become a target for men of violence. But ~~each incident~~, each ^{callous} ~~cowardly~~ attack, serves only to emphasise the ~~continuing~~ need for ~~the practice of~~ diplomacy. Countries who disagree ^{must} ~~need today, as they always did,~~ ^{talk, to} ~~to be able to~~ communicate ^{and to} ~~and to seek to~~ solve their disagreements through skilled and professional men and women ^{meeting} ~~meeting~~ in conditions of security and trust. Not ^{every} ~~all~~ problems ^{can be} ~~are capable of~~ resolution ^{and} ~~through diplomatic negotiations.~~ ^{Some} ~~In some cases they are~~ too deeply-rooted or the views of the parties are too disparate. But it is certain that recourse to violence and ~~to the other methods of barbarism~~ will solve nothing. Attacks on the public servants who represent our countries lead only to revulsion and a determination that both the criminals who plan such attacks and the values they assert shall not prevail.

Ambassador Argov was in this country as our guest. He had earlier served in Ghana, Nigeria, the United States, Mexico and the Netherlands. For centuries the tradition has been that the representative of ^{a sovereign} ~~the sending~~ state shall be accorded by the receiving state safety and freedom from harassment. This is not only a mark of ~~honour and respect~~

/to the

for the country
~~to the sovereign authorities whom he represents~~ *i-* but is
necessary for the proper conduct of his mission. ~~All who~~
~~offend that tradition must be punished~~ *summary* if the civilised
practice of diplomacy is to survive.

TERRORISM: THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The growth of terrorism and its effect on our society is a dark story but there is comfort to be drawn from the way in which we have reacted to it.

We have lived with the present wave of terrorism since the 1960s, when groups of extremists across the world turned to the bomb and the bullet to press their minority causes.

But terrorism is older than that.

The Metropolitan Police Special Branch was set up in response to a terrorist threat - and this year marks its centenary.

Saw
{ The 1890s ~~were notable for~~ assassinations of leading *}*
statesmen in both America and Europe.

In 1895 a bomb was sent through the post for the first time - in Berlin.

Those years saw the same ruthlessness and cowardice masquerading as idealism that we know only too well.

/The lesson

(1) MA
The lesson for us at the end of the twentieth century is that terrorist threats have been overcome in the past and can be overcome again.

MODERN TERRORISM

The terrorists of our own age use ^{murder} ~~the~~ vocabulary of ^{but} ~~warfare~~. ~~But~~ their deeds ^{are what} belie their words.

^{common criminal}
Many specialise in the safe, long-distance attack: the letter bomb, the timing device, the sniping from a secret haven.

Compare those cowardly tactics with the bravery and courage we ask of ^{men} ~~men~~ who truly fight a war.

^{evil men}
Look at the methods these ~~groups~~ use to maintain their own internal discipline. Punishment shootings, tarring and feathering and the ^{murder} ~~assassination~~ of alleged informers have been commonplace in Northern Ireland in the last 10 years or more.

The men of terror are brutalised by their own tactics. ~~We have just seen a child kidnapped in the interests of the man who attacked the Pope.~~

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

^{food} ~~the~~ search for publicity - the ^{drug} ~~food~~ without which ^{these} ~~these~~ ^{these} ~~sick plants~~ cannot live - is constant. Terrorists thrive /on publicity.

on publicity. ~~They cannot afford to be ignored.~~ So they seek ever more spectacular incidents.

This gives the media a special responsibility. There is a narrow border-line between making sure that people are well-informed and serving the interests of terrorists.

News cannot be suppressed. But the way it is ^{reported} ~~treated~~ is vital.

^{Group of allies in north}
~~Small groups must~~ not be dignified with the word "armies".

Terrorists should not be ^{called} ~~termed~~ "freedom fighters".

~~Utterly unrepresentative messages must not be elevated into "communiques".~~

Brutal murders must not be dignified with that legal-sounding word "execution".

There is no balance to be struck between ^{the better} ~~a democratically~~ elected government and ^{the better} ~~a lawless group of bombers and gunmen.~~

No respectability should be conferred on those who, if ~~by any tragedy~~ they were to ^{vi} ~~come near to~~ power, would make short work of a free press. ^{do it right and every other}
^{friends - will join with it.}

/Our tradition

Our tradition is that the media should be self-regulating. It is a serious responsibility. Those who bear it must show that it can be effective.

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENTS

Terrorism is a disease which preys on free societies. If terrorists drive us to respond by abandoning ~~our~~ freedom ~~and by~~ adopting repressive methods, they are well on the way to success. Our task is to meet the challenge within the framework of our cherished principles.

Governments must stand firm in the face of blackmail which can ~~always~~ ^{only} be defeated by resolution and courage.

It can be hard to stand firm when lives are at risk but ~~it~~ ^{to} is the only way. *give in to the blackmailers, we are in danger of becoming a second Ireland. That is the way to the end of the British Empire.*

Robinson The lesson of the siege of the Iranian Embassy ~~and of the hijacking of the Tanzanian aircraft in February, 1982~~ is clear. *Then the lesson is clear.* Hostage takers in this country know that their methods will fail. Those who might be tempted to take British hostages in other countries should also know that we shall not need yield to blackmail.

Since the General Election we have introduced a Bill into the House of Commons aimed at the prevention of terrorism. In the light of attacks such as that against Shlomo Argov, the special powers of arrest and detention are to be extended. They have been available against Irish terrorists since the

/terrible

terrible bombings in Birmingham in 1974. Now we are asking Parliament to authorise the police to use them against international terrorists.

For modern terrorism is an international disease. Terrorists are trained in one country to bomb and murder in another. They rely on international trafficking in arms. ~~News of a bombing or shooting is flashed around the world within minutes. Capital cities with a strong international press corps are vulnerable, irrespective of the cause.~~

The answer to this assault across frontiers is closer and closer co-operation between governments - the sharing among like-minded countries of information, plans and techniques - and to that the British Government is strongly committed.

DEMOCRACY AND OPPRESSION

Terrism assaults individuals, often with the most terrible consequences. And in ⁵¹doing ~~so~~ it seeks to obliterate ~~a whole range of ideas~~ which are fundamental to our way of life -

- the dignity and sanctity of ^{human life} ~~the individual~~
- respect for justice and the law
- the idea of government by consent and the tradition that conflicts of view are resolved by democratic debate

/The terrorist

The terrorist seeks to destroy. Rarely does he know or even care what ~~shall~~^{may} follow destruction. For him the act of ruin is its own justification. This ~~is~~^{is} narrow and cowardly egotism bolstered by the knowledge that if the attempt fails, the tolerant laws of a community based on freedom and justice will ensure for its perpetrators a fair trial.

By contrast it is the countries where injustice is most striking and where the people participate least in the political process who have largely been free from this form of violence. In despotism the methods of terrorism become instruments of the state, used against its citizens to extinguish all forms of opposition and dissent.

But this form of terrorism does not succeed either. For in the end it cannot crush the human spirit, the fundamental desire for liberty and justice which is always too strong for tyrants.

It is one of the most heartening features of the history of the world that whenever oppression has seemed at its worst there have always been a few - sometimes a very few - brave souls who have kept alight the torch of freedom by magnificent personal courage and a passionate attachment to liberty and justice.

In the Communist world today there are such people, many of them of the Jewish race whose fortitude and dedication to freedom are a constant inspiration to us all. They ensure

/by their

by their thoughts, words and deeds that freedom is not extinguished. The power of the few who are thus inspired both exalts and humbles us. For even the smallest seed has within it the power to grow and in time to crack the concrete which bars its way to the light.

CONCLUSIONS

When Shlomo Argov was a young student of political science in America he may have read those words from the Constitution of Massachusetts:-

"A frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessing of liberty."

Against the terrorist, against the despotic regime we assert freedom and justice, the cornerstones of our civilisation and of the free democracies.

These are fundamental values which Britain and Israel have always shared and have always sought to proclaim. Ambassador Argov put it so well in his book "An Ambassador Speaks Out":-

"Ours is a relationship which continues to rest on a foundation of common norms and ethics. In an increasingly cynical, intolerant and authoritarian world, our two countries continue to be committed to a philosophy in which man, born in the image of

/God

God, is not a mere instrumentality in the hands of government but rather the be-all and the end-all of social and political organisation - the ultimate beneficiary of national exertion and therefore its natural arbiter. We believe not in the oppression of man for the sake of some illusory common good but rather in the betterment and flowering of man as the only object of common effort. We, like you, therefore continue to persist in our unflagging commitment to democracy as the only system known to man which is predicated on respect for man."

It is to buttress that relationship between Britain and Israel that tonight we create another enduring link between our two countries.

We respond to an act of terrorism by offering a gift of peace in the form of two professorial chairs at the Bar Han and the Hebrew Universities.

To brutality, we reply by giving the chance of learning and of contemplation.

3 *Shlomo Argov* *built a*
In the face of destruction, we create a constructive means of fresh thinking.

This is our tribute to the brave man whose name the two chairs will bear - Shlomo Argov.