

PRIME MINISTER

Public Meeting organised by the Jewish
Community - Monday 9th June 1980

1. You will remember that you agreed that Hugh Fraser, as Chairman of the Conservative Friends of Israel, should address this Public Meeting, at which it is expected that a large number of your Constituents will be present.

2. May Hugh please begin his speech as follows:-

"Before coming here, I saw the Prime Minister.

She understands the anxiety of the Jewish community in London about the present situation in the Middle East. She knows that many of her Constituents will be at this great meeting tonight, and she has asked me to give you the following message.

First, to greet you all, and to send you her personal good wishes.

Second to say that in the dangerous situation in the Middle East, you can be assured of one thing - it remains and will remain a central part of the policy of the Conservative Party and Government that Israel should exist behind secure boundaries"?

27th May, 1980

Ian Gow



The Rt. Hon. Hugh Fraser, MBE, MP

Chairman, The Conservative Friends of Israel

Speaking At

The Kinloss Synagogue Hall, London

On

Monday, 9th June, 1980

I am greatly honoured to address you in these frankly perilous times. As your Chairman has said, I am the Chairman of the Conservative Friends of Israel in The House of Commons. The Conservative Friends of Israel are not a Jewish lobby. We are not in alliance with any political Party in Israel. We are a body who believe the survival of Israel is the touchstone of Western civilization and its democracy, and of a culture which is hellenic, judaic and christian. We believe that the survival of Israel is the cornerstone of Western interests, one of the outposts of democratic stability. For it is love of freedom and Justice rising above all the internal political turmoil within Israeli politics which makes Israel the reliable and staunch ally. Friendship, Mr. Chairman, implies not merely support but candour, and some of the things I say tonight may not meet with your approbation: one I am sure will.

Before coming here, I saw the Prime Minister, Mrs. Thatcher, and she understands the anxiety of the

Jewish community in London. She knows that many of her constituents will be at this great meeting tonight and she has asked me to give you the following message:

"First to greet you all and to send you her personal good wishes.

Second to say that in the dangerous situation in the Middle East, you can be assured of one thing - it remains and will remain a central part of the policy of the Conservative Party and Government that Israel should exist behind secure boundaries".

I have come here tonight to use from this platform what influence I have to beg the British Government to reconsider the rumoured new Western Middle East peace initiative.

My appeal is not to the British Foreign Office, but to that remarkable woman, our Prime Minister, Mrs. Thatcher, to modify, tone down or halt what could be a move which

could spell disaster by our European allies.

This is not the first time she has stood up to those allies, but it is time, I believe, for her to do so again and make it clear that in the struggle for world power she is the leader of the maintenance of the alliance between Europe and the United States.

Let there be no mistake about Israel's first desire and my first desire, and our first desire - peace for Israel behind secure frontiers. Peace is Israel's only secure frontier. Physically in modern war there can be none for a country which could be overrun in half an hour by armoured forces.

Towards this Israel has made enormous sacrifices to achieve the Peace Treaty with Egypt, in the Sinai, with people, with oil and with military safety. Looking back, who in 1977 could have foreseen Camp David. In my view, to step outside the guidelines of Camp David is to step into a minefield. Equally, to hinder, to unnecessarily delay or to renege on the autonomy discussions is to invite destruction. The wonder of Camp David can still be made into the miracle of peace.

I have not come here to name names.
I have come here to appeal to you to use your influence both here and in Israel to see that Camp David is brought to success.

I have come to you tonight as a British politician. What influence I have is with the British Government.

It is not for me to side with Prime Minister Begin against Ezer Weizman, or with General Yadin against General Dayan. I have made my views clear to the Israeli Foreign Secretary when he was here on the issue of the settlements and to the Israeli embassy on the need for movement on the punishment, if there by any, of terrorists, of the need for kind not wounding words about Jordan. It is for you, with the great influence you have in Israel, to make Israel appear infinitely reasonable.

But it is no good the British Foreign Office paying lip service to Camp David. If it be true as has been stated by Guardian Newspapers, that the Western initiative

implies first the recognition of the PLO and then the modification of U.N. Resolution 242, it means that Camp David has been effectively sabotaged if not destroyed.

For Europe to recognise the PLO makes the lot and indeed the fate of the moderate Arab, already difficult enough, not just impossible, but doomed. To recognise the PLO is not just unconditional surrender to terrorism, it is to make negotiations for West Bank autonomy, or meaningful negotiations with Jordan, impossible.

There has grown up in the Foreign Office regarding terrorism what I can only call the Zimbabwe syndrome. Terrorists can be brought successfully into negotiation. The Lancaster House formula has worldwide implications. Nothing could be more absurd. In the Middle East, we are not dealing with illegal regimes. In the Middle East, we are not dealing with colonial situations. We are dealing with a sovereign power armed to the teeth,

united in its will to survive. If there be an African analogy or syndrome, it is the syndrome not of Zimbabwe but of Entebbe. As a citizen of a sovereign state - and I trust the Foreign Office still so considers us - to a sovereign state the only good terrorist, whether Arab, Jew or Gentile, is a dead terrorist.

To recognise the PLO is to write "Finis" to Camp David. If the British Foreign Office want to break finally Britain's special relationship with America, this is the surest way.

For America, Camp David is not just a question of President Carter's prestige or the Jewish vote in an Election Year. Egypt and Israel are the keys to US Middle Eastern strategy. They are the two secure points where turmoil has grown and is likely to grow.

That is why the destruction of the Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel is precisely the first objective of the PLO and the rejectionist Arab states.

Since 1973 the rejectionist Arab states have brilliantly reversed the dictum of Clausewitz, and made diplomacy the pursuit of war by other means. Their chosen or perhaps self-imposed instrument has been the PLO and Mr. Arafat. What Arab armies have failed to achieve by war the PLO promises to win by political manipulation of the world's conscience, Arab oil and the U.N.

It is no wonder that President Carter has threatened to veto any change to 242. It is no wonder too, and I am surprised the Foreign Office don't read the newspapers, that not just the Jewish or democratic press in the United States is accusing Europe of cupidity for oil, stupidity, and even duplicity.

In my view little will come of Venice, but great harm has already been done by the uncontrollable chattering in the corridors of so-called Western European statesmen, by talks to the PLO, by failures to challenge the Arab Boycott, by the repeated denegration, cold shouldering of Camp David. Mr. Arafat's success should not be

under-estimated. Through terrorism and propaganda the refugees of three wars are now saluted as a Palestinian people claiming their manifest destiny and rights to self-determination in a Palestinian state. From this, there is no reason to suppose the PLO will be deflected. Appetites grow in eating. Before pen is put to paper on any Venitian document, it should be recognised that after Islamabad the PLO's minimum demand is a Palestinian state.

It is at this point that Western reactive gesture politics are at their most dangerous and really need thinking through. If geopolitics is a dirty word for the British Foreign Office, 'teleological' should be added to their vocabulary. The end product of a Palestinian state would not just be economically unviable and an unacceptable dagger in the heart of Israel, but a threat to Jordan^{perhaps most of all to Egypt} and would create by the giving of dual nationality to several hundred thousand Palestinians scattered around the oil producing states, major multiple security risks.

The discussion of a Palestinian state seems hardly the way to heighten peace prospects in the Middle East, but to look at the wider geopolitical considerations, there must be a fear that the European initiative will do two things.

First, it is bound to heighten American suspicions of the Europeans as allies. But even more seriously, if the European project is to widen 242 when the General Assembly meets in the Autumn, as light will follow day, the Soviet Union will become involved at the very centre of the Middle East situation as well as in Afghanistan. It is not for nothing that Russia has shown its strength in Ethiopia and been bold enough to transport the best part of a division for exercise purposes into Aden and South Yemen. It must have caught the eye of our Foreign Office that at Islamabad the PLO, who were given full national status, voted alone not just for the recognition of the Soviet puppet government in Kabul, but saluted Russia as the true friend of all Islam. The West could incur not just the veto of the United States, but it would be back to the Geneva Conference with a vengeance,

the joint chairing of which by Russia and America, was the one thing which Sadat and Begin by Camp David successfully broke. It is after all not an impossible solution. To quote the much quoted New York Times Article: "by out-bidding Americans against the Palestinians, oil rich Britain" and the other Western allies for that matter could find themselves being permanently excluded from the Middle East by some new more forceful American President losing his temper with his allies, defusing world conflict and destruction by simply carving it up with the Soviet Union and directing and controlling the supply and the price of oil. For most of the Third World nothing would be more popular. For Europe it would be a disaster.

My appeal is that Mrs. Thatcher gets a grip on her own Foreign Office and heeds a little the advice not just of the President of the United States, but also the Vice President of Egypt, not to involve the PLO, otherwise at Venice there will be a summit within a summit for the Western Alliance held on the Bridge of Sighs.

These are the issues my friends.

The Times call for courage and determination. The whole future of the Western Alliance is at stake. Let us be sure that it is not Great Britain which destroys it.

2nd June, 1980

MEETING AT THE KINLOSS SYNAGOGUE HALL - MONDAY, 9TH JUNE, 1980.

I write further to my letter of 22nd May.

The Prime Minister would be quite content for you to start your speech as follows:-

"Before coming here, I saw the Prime Minister. She understands the anxiety of the Jewish community in London about the present situation in the Middle East. She knows that many of her Constituents will be at this great meeting tonight, and she has asked me to give you the following message.

First, to greet you all, and to send you her personal good wishes.

Second to say that in the dangerous situation in the Middle East, you can be assured of one thing - it remains and will remain a central part of the policy of the Conservative Party and Government that Israel should exist behind secure boundaries."

Do please have a word with me about this if you would like to do so.

Ian Gow

Rt. Hon. Hugh Fraser, MBE, MP.

FROM: THE RT. HON. HUGH FRASER, M.B.E., M.P.

Box



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

21st May, 1980

Delivered to Joe

London

*Heck to go.
me.*

Could we discuss the enclosed letter
I have had this morning?

My speaking in the Prime Minister's
constituency could be embarrassing, but with
me on the platform the speech might be less
harmful than one by one of the major hotheads.
Anyway, perhaps we could have a chat.

Ian Gow
MP

Ian Gow, Esq. TD, MP.

43 Wykeham Road
Hendon : London : NW4 2SS

Tel : 01 202 3420

DG/EE

20 May 1980

Hugh Fraser Esq MP
House of Commons
London
SW1

Dear Mr Fraser,

A number of Jewish Conservatives of whom I am one, have over the last few weeks been concerned with the possible change of direction in Government policy concerning the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In the same period two meetings were arranged at very short notice, one in Hampstead and one at Hendon, when, to our surprise, on both occasions, the halls were packed with members of our Community voicing their concern and irritation. The attitude of those present is such that I am concerned we could be facing a substantial back-lash whereby the very substantial numbers of Jewish voters who have over the past few years voted Conservative and should now feel very badly let down. Even more so is the feeling that irrespective of the harm that could be done to Israel, is the real harm that could be caused to Great Britain as no one can understand how on the one hand we are protesting the presence of the Soviet Union in countries such as Afganistan and on the other hand are actively encouraging a Soviet backed terrorist and murderous organization to become established as a State in the heartland of the Middle East.

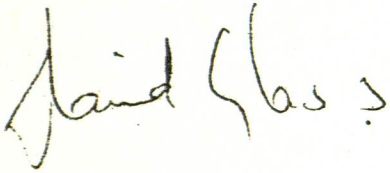
There is, further, a strong feeling that there is a division of views between Mrs Thatcher and the Foreign Office under the leadership of known and stated Arabists such as Lord Carrington and Sir Ian Gilmour. Because of this we are planning a major Public Meeting at which we anticipate an audience of not less than 1000 people coming primarily from within the Finchley constituency of Mrs Thatcher. The meeting is to be held at the Kinloss Synagogue Hall on the evening of Monday 9th June coming. All concerned are of the view that your presence as the major Speaker of the evening and in your capacity as Chairman of the Conservative Friends of Israel would do much to make the evening a success.

I well understand the problems of "etiquette" whereby a Member of Parliament attends and speaks at a meeting in another member's constituency and indeed the circumstances surrounding this particular meeting could well be of a nature that you would prefer to avoid any embarrassment. This would be well understood and appreciated.

Nevertheless we are most hopeful that you will feel able to take part in what will be a demonstration in North West London by a predominantly Conservative audience, of their views with regard to this vital issue. My telephone number is listed above and my office number is 01-229-5678.

I would be more than grateful if you could telephone or drop me a line by return to advise me of your views.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "David Glass". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

David Glass

22nd May, 1980

Meeting at the Kinloss Synagogue
Hall - Monday 9th June 1980

Thank you very much for your letter of 21st May, with which you enclosed an original letter of the previous date, which you had received from Mr. David Glass.

The Prime Minister has asked me to say that she much appreciates your having written about this.

We had a word on the telephone this morning. Of course the Prime Minister is only too pleased that you should address the Public Meeting at the Kinloss Synagogue Hall on the 9th of next month.

You asked whether the Prime Minister would agree to send a message to the Meeting, since it is anticipated that a large number of those present will be her Constituents.

You very kindly said that you would submit a draft; thereafter, we can have a further word.

I return the letter from Mr. Glass.

IAN GOW

The Right Honourable Hugh Fraser, M.B.E., M.P.
House of Commons,
Westminster, London SW1

27th May, 1980

Jewish Vote in Finchley

Mr. Ian Gow has asked me to thank you for your letter of 22nd May addressed to him.

Mr. Gow has submitted a draft message to the Prime Minister, which you might read out at the Public Meeting which you are to address early next month.

Mr. Gow will be writing to you again early next week.

Secretary to Ian Gow

The Right Honourable Hugh Fraser, M.B.E., M.P.
House of Commons,
Westminster,
London SW1

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27th May, 1980

Ian Gow



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

22nd May, 1980

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Ian Gow'.

Jewish Vote in Finchley

" " I think it is going to be pretty difficult to grundle the Jewish voters as they go through every statement with a toothcomb and they will be digging up a mass of quotes. I think, however, if the Prime Minister could give this sort of message for me to read out, it would go down well.

I would begin: "Before coming here, I saw the Prime Minister and she is aware of the misgivings of the Jewish community about the situation in the Middle East. I told her that many of her constituents would be at this great meeting and she asked me to give you the following message".

"First to greet you all and send you her personal good wishes and secondly, to state that in the dangerous and shifting situation in the Middle East you can be assured of one thing - a prime aim of Conservative policy is to maintain the right of Israel to exist behind secure boundaries".

I will then go on as follows: "Of course there are many ways of securing this and I must frankly tell you that on some of them I am in disagreement with the Foreign Office etc. etc."

I'm sorry to write at such length, but I think it is worth getting the context right, and this will prevent possible comebacks should the Prime Minister decide to send a message.

Many thanks for all your help.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Ian Gow'.

Ian Gow, Esq. TD, MP

FROM: THE RT. HON. HUGH FRASER, M.B.E., M.P.

FRASER, H. P.



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

19th May, 1980

Ian Gow

Thank you so much for organising
the Prime Minister's letter to my constituent,
Mrs. Jones. I am really very grateful.

Ian Gow

Ian Gow, Esq. TD, MP
10 Downing Street
London S.W.1.



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

23rd Jan 80.

orb

Dear Prime Minister,

Thank you so very much for having
me take dinner, you gave in honour
of Kenneth Keith.

It was a great tribute to him & Polak.

But the essential gathering of
astrophysicists and the galaxy of heads of
Airlines and Aviation companies from
round the whole world was also a
tribute to you and No 10.

Very many thanks.

Yours ever
Hugh Fraser.

P.S. Food and service in my small experience better than
White House.

FROM: THE RT. HON. HUGH FRASER, M.B.E., M.P.



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

19th December, 1979.

John,

I am sending out the enclosed to
the C.F.I. on 28th December.

Gow
Am.

Ian Gow, Esq. M.P.
10 Downing Street
London S.W.1.

1980 NEW YEAR MESSAGE TO CONSERVATIVE FRIENDS OF ISRAEL FROM PARLIAMENTARY

CHAIRMAN

1979 has been a year of accelerating world instability. One certain achievement has been the implementation of the first part of the Camp David Agreement by Israel's handing back to Egypt of the Sinai peninsula with all its strategic implications, its key military airfields and Israel's major source of oil. Even this settlement could be fragile. But Israel's sacrifices have made possible reconciliation between the two most civilized, most skilled and militarily most powerful nations in the Middle East.

For 1980, for the moment at least, Africa looks more stable. But in the Middle East, the threat to the West and to world order has never been greater. Iran is in turmoil. Even in Kuwait and Bahrain signs grow of internal discord. The Saudi Guardians of the Holy Place seem no longer able to protect them. At this stage then to reinforce the positive achievement of Sadat and Begin should surely be the prime object of British policy. And yet, in the Foreign Offices of the E.E.C., there is growing discussion of a new European initiative leading to the recognition of the P.L.O. And this, it would seem without the P.L.O. abjuring Israel's total destruction, or even accepting the U.N's resolution 242 on a negotiated settlement, or ceasing to abet Khoumeni, or halting those terrorist activities destroying the State of Lebanon. The speech

of Mr. O'Kennedy addressing the U.N. on behalf of the E.E.C. in September 1979 seeking to broaden resolution 242 to favour the P.L.O. showed such intention. In 1979, such an initiative may have reflected mere impatience. In 1980, after Iran's lapse into chaos, to repeat or expand such a move could be disastrous, alarming Israel and Egypt, leading to the hardening of attitudes, and playing into the hands of those terrorist organisations banded together under the banner of the P.L.O., determined in the Middle East on a revolution of destruction.

This year, I therefore seek the help of all my colleagues in resisting any attempt to recognise the P.L.O. in supporting Egypt and Israel in their endeavours to maintain peace and friendship, and in their search for a lasting and comprehensive settlement. For Europeans, to tamper with the achievements of Camp David which has set up a triple relationship between Egypt, the U.S.A. and Israel, and created a bastion of stability for the interests of the west, is in 1980 not just to play with fire but to invoke destruction.