

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

134 Nov. 1981.

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4/11/81.

Dear Margarar

1 greatly appreciated zour Consideration in staying in the Chamber to listen to my speak. I hope I was not too provocative a this occasion! I have onl a few bees in my bonner a have a growing feeling his the time will come the we may join topler convident and Consensus foldice without too much Sialectical diffaults.

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10 DOWNING STREET

Prime monisse

THIS IS A

VERT GOOD SPEACH YESTER DAT

On Gioriasn Rippon

(CHAIRMAN OF OLD FOREIGN

AFFAIRS BACK BENEN

committee) ABOUT THE

MINALE EMI.

30/3/191,

Conservative Central Office

NEWS SERVICE

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Extract from a speech by the Rt. Hon. Geoffrey Rippon, QC, MP, (Hexham),

Chairman of the Conservative Party's Parliamentary Foreign and

Commonwealth Affairs Committee, speaking at a meeting of the North

East Regional Council of the Conservative Friends of Israel, Civic

Centre, Newcastle-upon-Tyne on Sunday, 29th March.

The future of Israel

The starting point for British policy on Israel must be its right to full sovereign independence within defensible frontiers guaranteed by international agreement.

While accepting that no long-term solution can be found or stability achieved without involving a Palestinian element in final negotiations, it must be clearly understood that Israel cannot be expected to negotiate with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (the PLO) in present circumstances.

Before the PLO can come to the Conference table, it must renounce its National Covenant which envisages the elimination of Israel by armed struggle; recognise the State of Israel within internationally recognised boundaries; and abandon terrorism.

Equally, it must be accepted that it would be unreasonable and wholly unrealistic to expect Israel to rely solely on great power or United Nation guarantees. Israel must have its own manifest capacity for self-defence, behind manifestly defensible frontiers.

If progress is to be made on the foundation of the Camp David agreements, all our British and all our European efforts must be designed, as Lord Carrington said recently in Washington, to act as a complement to and not a substitute for these agreements.

In this sense it is, and always has been, misleading to talk about a European initiative as such. The European purpose must be to use our influence and our experience to assist rather than to formulate solutions. Peace cannot be imposed from outside the Middle East.

Meanwhile we must do everything in our power to buttress the peace settlement between Israel and Egypt - the one wholly encouraging event in the midst of danger and uncertainty.

That peace settlement is important in itself even if it was never intended to be more than one element in the greater design - a comprehensive Middle East settlement which would provide a just solution for the Palestinian people.

The Prime Minister has rightly emphasised that "the integrity and security of the State of Israel is of paramount importance to the British Government". In an unstable Middle East, with general disarray from Turkey to Afghanistan, with the Iran and Iraq war only one manifestation of Arab divisions and rivalries, Israel must be regarded as an ally whose security is indeed an essential part of the security of the whole free world.

This does not in any way preclude negotiations about the future of the West Bank since Israel has already under the Camp David formula agreed to make progress towards a limited autonomy. Limited Palestinian autonmy was to last for an "interim" period of five years and after the first three years negotiations could begin on modifying and developing that autonomy.

I think the extension of settlements has been a matter of natural concern. Nevertheless it would be wrong to attempt to lay down, in advance of any further Conference whether in Geneval or elsewhere, any preconditions about either returning the West Bank to Jordan, or setting up an independent Palestinian state, or about the future of Jerusalem.

It may well be that one of the options which might become operative in due course is that envisaged by the Israel Labour Party. This policy, as Mr. Abba Eban has said, is based on the refusal to accept the idea of a permanent Israeli jurisdiction over the 1.2 million Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank of Gaza. As he puts it: "We support the idea of an Arab State on our eastern border, extending on both sides of the Jordan and including 2.7 million Palestinians - the vast majority of that nation - in a Jordanian - Palestinian state of which they would be in effective control."

This may well be preferable to a fragmentation of the Palestine people into two entities divided by an artificial boundary.

It may be that King Hussein of Jordan will in due course be reinstated as the representative of the Palestinians, a position he relinquished at the Arab summit meeting in Rabat in 1974. This has always

be one of the most desirable arrangements, but it is not in our power to impose it.

There are indeed a number of options but the only one that can succeed will have to be accepted on the spot by both Israel and Jordan.

Above all we must understand that the future of the increasingly turbulent Middle East must be regarded in a much wider context than is suggested by speaking solely of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which itself is not solely a matter of the Palestinian question.

END