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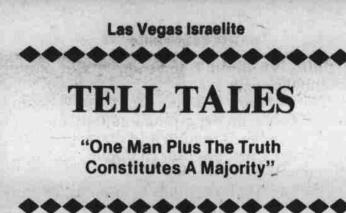
# The Lessons Of Helsinki

The abruptly-ended talks in Helsinki between Israeli and Soviet diplomats was, even for the most cynical observer, a sobering experience.

For the wide-eyed optimists, the walls of an imagined new Soviet embassy in Tel Aviv undoubtedly came tumbling down when a spokesman for Moscow's Foreign Ministry announced the meeting has come to a more or less permanent and inconclusive end. For those who urged that Israel only deal with Moscow if the Soviets release their Jewish refusniks and political prisoners, the impregnable iron curtain must have appeared as secure as they knew it to be.

Yet the government of Israel, hardliners included, have rightfully maintained that in diplomacy, vituperous public statements are hardly the gauge of a government's policy plans. Prime Minister Shimon Peres claimed it was "hard to interpret the Soviet nuances," while a spokesman for Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir maintained the Soviet statement was not the last word. It did not dilute the importance, he said, of the fact that the meeting had taken place at all, interrupting - if only for 90 minutes - the diplomatic boycott of Israel that Moscow launched nearly two decades ago.

At the very least, the brief diplomatic encounter served to underscore the complex nature of the challenge that Moscow presents to a government serving as the advocate of Soviet Jews. Israeli politicians have been confronted with the delicate balance they will have to strike between two potentially conflicting interests on which the fate of Soviet Jewry might hinge. On the one hand, they need a forum from which to present their demands for Jewish emigration directly to the Soviet authorities; on the other, they want to ensure that the Kremlin does not get a free ride to any future Middle East negotiating table. The Soviets too have a delicate path to walk in pursuit of their own interests. They hope to persuade Israel and the U.S. to drop their effective veto of Soviet participation in peace negotiations. For this to happen, Israel has made clear that Moscow must restore diplomatic relations with the Jewish state. But the Soviets have an incompatible stake in avoiding the negative repercussions that a renewal of relations with Israel is bound to have in Arab states. If and when formal contacts resume, the lessons of Helsinki might force a slower advance than many had hoped for. But even a crawling advance would be a welcome way out of the current impasse which serves the interests of no one.



#### (Continued from page 1)

be known that he "forgave" West Bank leaders who had cooperated with Israel.

Most Israeli observers seemed united in late July in assessing Hussein's new move as a major policy initiative -- but one that Israel should remain cautious and passive about. They pointed out that Hussein himself was proceeding incrementally: he seeks not negotiations with Israel, but rather an evolution in the political mood in the territories, as a possible prelude to a genuine political initiative some time later.

Precisely such a step-by-step plan dovetails with current Israeli and American efforts to encourage foreign investment in "guality of life" projects, and a general economic liberalization, on the West Bank. If could also be an expression of Hussein's fears that, unless he does something, Likud-led settlement activity on the West Bank will alter the demographic picture there and create new Palestinian refugees to be resettled in Jordan.

**Behind The Scenes** 

At The United Nations By David Horowitz A World-Union Press Feature

# Hebron Settlers Bolstered **By American Non-Jews**

UNITED NATIONS (WUP) - Californian Lenore Straede, one among tens of million of Americans vitally interested in Israel's cause here at the UN and in its survival as a sovereign nation in its historic homeland, has been in communication with this writer now for a number of years.

But Leanore is unique by the fact that she represents a school of Bible students numbering in the tens of thousands who have been inspired by the strongly pro-Zionist, pro-Jewish teachings of the late Pastor Charles Taze Russell whose writings based on prophecy pointed to the imminent reestablishment of the Jewish national home.

A brief history of this remarkable friend of the Jewish people (1852-1916) is recounted in a 159page book -- "An Early American Christian Zionist" -- written by your correspondent and (Continued on page 26)

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Still, the inter-Arab cards are stacked aginst the Jordanian king. Hussein has not dared openly to renounce the 1974 Rabat Arab Summit decision that declared the PLO the representative of Palestinian Arabs. Indeed, King Hassan. who is Arab Summit and Islamic Conference chairman, pointed to the need for Israel to negotiate with the PLO (not Jordan!) as one of two major demands he made of Prime Minister Peres.

As for persuading the Palestinian Arab population itself, Hussein has a long way to go. Virtually all the professional associations, trade unions, press and university staff and students in the West Bank are pro-Arafat and pro-PLO. It could take years for Hussein to make up for his own extended deference to the PLO's leadership role on the West Bank.

Syria could also present problems. Undoubtedly, the timing of Hussein's initiative was dictated in part by a Jordanian-Syrian confluence of anti-PLO interests. Syria has pursued Arafat relentlessly since 1983; it backs its own hybrid PLO dissidents; and in early July it sent 500 troops into Beirut to keep Arafat's cohorts from reestablishing themselves there and thus, indirectly, eroding Syria's own influence in Lebanon.

But Syria and Jordan are using Arafat as a whipping boy for diametrically opposite reasons. Were Syria to perceive genuine Jordanian progress towards a U.S.-backed condominium with Israel on the West Bank, it would probably turn upon Hussein viciously.

Syria's violent reaction to the Hassan-Peres meeting was above all a warning to Hussein -lest he dare go the same way of open dialogue. By late July, Hussein was again pursuing an attempt to arrange rapprochment between Syria and Iraq in order to bolster the underpinnings of his shaky alliance with Syria.

Hussein admits he has no money for his ambitious West Bank aid-and-influence project. The United States is hard put, given Washington's current budget-cutting mood, to supply even 10 percent of Hussein's needs. Saudi Arabia is a likely backer, but the drop in oil income has also hurt Riyadh's coffers. The Saudis might easily insist on an American guid pro guo in terms of new weaponry, in return for their acquiescence in aiding Hussein.

Egypt's attitude towards the Hussein initiative was not entirely clear in late July. President Mubarak has consistently backed a PLO role in the peace process, and in a policy speech on July 20 he continued to do so. He also welcomed the Hassan-Peres meeting, and may hope to exploit Hussein's initiative merely to pressure the PLO towards greater conciliation.

Lastly, the reaction of the Arafat-led mainline PLO itself was not clear. Certainly Hussein has set the PLO reeling; it is at its lowest ebb in terms of power and influence since the expulsion from Beirut in August 1982. Arafat can be expected to step up his efforts to retrench the PLO in Lebanon -- but here both Syria and Israel will oppose him. He will undoubtedly want to demonstrate a PLO presence on the West Bank, but his removal from Jordan will only make this harder. However, he could take heart from Hassan's endorsement of the PLO's centrality to the peace process, even as he joined the extremists who condemned the Moroccan king. This raises the possibility that Arafat will be tempted to opt for a new wave of terror on the international scene. His more extreme colleagues in the PLO Executive Committee will push in this direction. This could be directed against Morocco, Jordan and Syria as much as Israel, the U.S. and Europe, although a Fatah rapprochement with an increasingly belligerent Syria cannot now be rulled out. Meanwhile, the Syrian-PLO reaction to Peres' dramatic summit meeting with King Hassan virtually guarantees that, at best, King Hussein will maintain his cautious, incremental pose, however much he -- as Hassan hinted in a speech to the Moroccan people after the summit -- envies an Arab king who dares meet openly with Shimon Peres.

TEL AVIV (WNS) - Haim Levanon, former mayor of Tel Aviv, died at the age of 86. Funeral services were held in the old and original cemetery of Tel Aviv, in the center of the city, which he headed for a number of years.

King of One Liners

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I never forget a face, and in your case I'll remember both of them.

