

## ISRAEL BELIEVES U.N. TRYING TO INCLUDE ITS MIAs IN TALKS By Hugh Orgel

TEL AVIV, Nov. 20 (JTA) -- Israel is confident that the United Nations is making every effort to include its soldiers missing in action in Lebanon in negotiations for the release of the remaining Western hostages, Defense Minister Moshe Arens said Wednesday.

"We are doing everything we can to guarantee that we are included in this process," Arens told reporters during a tour of military installations on the northern border.

He admitted, however, that it was "hypothetically conceivable" that the Westerners will be freed and the Israelis not.

Hezbollah, the Islamic extremist movement, announced at a news conference in Beirut on Wednesday that there is absolutely no connection between the Western hostage issue and issue of Israelis being held in Lebanon.

Nevertheless, Arens said, there was cause for optimism in U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar's hostage negotiations.

He said he was pleased that the secretary-general has said he expected to receive word on the fate of Ron Arad, an Israeli air force navigator shot down over Lebanon.

Arad is the only one of six Israel Defense Force men missing in action in Lebanon presumed to be alive.

Israel is in contact with the secretary-general and his aides and is aware of their efforts "to free all hostages, prisoners of war and missing in action, including Israelis," Arens said.

The secretary-general has not divorced the issue of Western hostages from that of Israel's POWs and MIAs, Arens added.

Israel welcomed the releases Monday of Western hostages Terry Waite, a Briton and American Thomas Sutherland. It made clear, however, that it was not a party to those negotiations and will not reciprocate by freeing Arab prisoners.

Perez de Cuellar reported that he had been promised the remaining Western hostages would be freed by Christmas, a fact the English-language Teheran Times also reported.

### Dependent On Hezbollah

Optimism has grown because, for the first time, the captors did not make the release of Western hostages conditional on Israel's release of Shi'ite Moslems and Palestinians detained in Israel or by its allied South Lebanon Army in the southern Lebanon security zone.

The releases of Waite and Sutherland and the expected release of other Westerners involved talks with Syria and Iran, who want to improve their international images, Israel's deputy foreign minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, told an Israel Radio interviewer Wednesday.

The fate of Israeli POWs and MIAs, on the other hand, is dependent on Hezbollah.

Netanyahu said he hoped Arad's fate and that of the other MIAs would be determined by the time Perez de Cuellar completes his U.N. tenure at the end of the year.

Israel may be willing to exchange Sheikh

Abdul Karim Obeid, a captured Hezbollah religious activist, for Arad.

It also wants back the bodies of Israel Defense Force soldiers Yossi Fink and Rahamim Alsheikh, whose deaths in captivity have been confirmed. That information resulted in Israel's release of 66 Arab captives.

Confirmation is still lacking with respect to MIAs Yehuda Katz, Zecharia Baumel and Zvi Feldman. Until the information is forthcoming, Israel will not free any more prisoners.

A complicating factor is the issue of two German hostages held by terrorist groups in Lebanon who apparently are not among the Westerners expected to be home by Christmas.

Their captors say they will be freed only if Israel releases its Shi'ite and Palestinian prisoners and Germany frees or pardons the brothers Mohammad and Abbas Hamadei, who are serving prison terms in Germany for terrorist acts.

Observers noted that the U.N. secretary-general appeared to be separating the question of the release of the three remaining American hostages from the release of the Germans in Lebanon.

Mohammed Hamadei is serving a life term for the 1985 hijacking of a TWA airliner to Beirut and the killing of a U.S. Navy diver. His brother, Abbas Hamadei, is serving a 13-year term for kidnappings in Lebanon in order to effect Mohammed's release.

## SHARANSKY WARNS RADICAL SOLUTIONS MAY BE NECESSARY FOR ABSORPTION By Yehonathan Tommer

JERUSALEM, Nov. 20 (JTA) -- Declaring that Soviet olim "are gripped by growing disillusion and despair," immigrant activist Natan Sharansky warned Tuesday night of "radical solutions" unless the government quickly resolves the absorption crisis.

Sharansky, president of the Soviet Jewry Zionist Forum, an immigrant advocacy group, accused the Israeli government of grossly mismanaging the country's deteriorating aliyah absorption process.

"Deepening unemployment, soaring costs of commercial mortgages and lack of basic cash to pay for daily necessities are placing impossible strains on Soviet olim who are gripped by growing disillusion and despair," he said.

"Faced with these impossible conditions, activist groups see radical solutions as increasingly attractive," Sharansky said without elaborating.

Sharansky arrived in Israel to a hero's welcome in 1986 when he was reunited with his wife, Avital, after more than nine years in Soviet prisons and labor camps.

A fiery advocate of the rights of Soviet Jews and dissenters while still in the Gulag, Sharansky brought his gadfly role to Israel, stinging the authorities when he felt the needs of Soviet olim were bypassed or poorly handled.

Speaking at a news conference here called to protest current conditions, Sharansky described the government as a collection of uncoordinated fiefdoms.

"The government's left hand doesn't know

what its right hand is doing," he declared.

"Houses are being built in the north and south of the country where no chance of finding a job exists and no serious efforts are taken to create thousands of professional jobs in areas where housing does exist.

"Increasingly, aliyah is becoming a source of social discontent and Israelis are blaming Soviet aliyah for the country's economic woes," Sharan-sky said.

Figures released by the Absorption Ministry this week predicted that by January 1992 some 72,000 Soviet immigrants would join the ranks of Israel's unemployed. That would amount to about 25 percent of the 360,000 olim who arrived in the past two years.

But Soviet Jewry Zionist Forum sources claim the figure does not account for hidden unemployment, which will increase next year when another 150,000 newcomers are no longer eligible for the "family absorption basket."

That is a cash subsidy given every new arrival to tide them over the first year. It currently amounts to about \$7,312 per family, from which they must pay rent, food bills and other expenses. The subsidy is the main feature of a direct absorption program by which newcomers plunge directly into Israeli society without a period of adjustment at an absorption center.

Yuli Kosharovsky of the Forum said that of the 9,000 to 10,000 olim arriving each month, only 40 percent can cope with direct absorption.

Weaker olim should be given traditional support to carry them over, he said. He called on the government to initiate the immediate mass construction of low-rent conventional apartments to end the financial exploitation of Soviet olim by landlords.

Referring to last week's Jerusalem Report, which said up to 1 million Soviet olim could arrive in Israel in 1992, Sharan-sky said it was indeed possible if the Soviet Union continues to disintegrate.

But unlike some immigrant activists, Sharan-sky is totally opposed to creating a ethnic Soviet political party in Israel. He said such a move would divide the nation and constitute a disservice to Soviet Jewry.

He also rejected mass demonstrations to call attention to the plight of Soviet olim, but hinted that in coming elections Soviet Jews would vote for whichever major party demonstrated its ability to offer practical solutions to their problems.

He observed that according to a recent poll, 80 percent of the 350,000 Soviet olim eligible to vote said they would vote.

## LABOR LOOKS ABOUT TO FRACTURE; CHAIR ASKS BREAK WITH HISTADRUT

By David Landau

TEL AVIV, Nov. 20 (JTA) -- The Labor Party, whose convention opened with explosive dissension Tuesday, may lose some of its brightest young members before it closes at the end of the week.

Haim Ramon, chairman of the party's Kneset faction, touched off a rhetorical storm when he offered a series of motions aimed at severing the party's intimate links to Histadrut, the all-embracing trade union federation, which date from the pre-statehood era.

But Ramon's proposals were all voted down by a large majority of the nearly 3,000 delegates to the convention, leading political observers to

predict significant defections among the reform-minded minority.

Ramon and Yossi Beilin, another of Labor's rising young stars, proposed that membership in Kupat Holim, Israel's major health care agency, no longer be contingent on Histadrut membership.

That would strike a massive blow at one of Histadrut's main sources of power. Ramon and Beilin also urged that Histadrut's economic empire, Hevrat Ovdim, be sold to its members.

Considering the negative reaction to his ideas, Ramon seems ripe for departure, a blow to Labor, which has slumped badly in the most recent opinion polls.

Ramon is considered one of the party's most promising politicians, a match for the Dan Meridors and Ehud Olmerts who are ascending in the ranks of Likud.

Labor faces an even more fundamental split, as doves and hawks battle over the party platform.

The party's platform committee has produced a draft advocating territorial compromise on the Golan Heights and other positions unpalatable to the hawks.

Informed sources told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency that if the platform is defeated, leading doves will walk out of the party with Ramon, among them Ezer Weizman, Uzi Baram and Amir Peretz. They are likely to align with the opposition peace bloc consisting of the leftist Citizens Rights Movement, Mapam and Center-Shinui.

## JEWISH GROUPS HAIL SHEVARDNAZDE'S RETURN

By Howard Rosenberg

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20 (JTA) -- Eduard Shevardnadze, who has returned as Soviet foreign minister after resigning 11 months ago, will be a positive force for Soviet-Israel relations, pro-Israel observers said Wednesday.

An Israeli official said Shevardnadze "started the road of normalization with Israel" during his prior five-year stint as foreign minister. That effort culminated last month in the restoration of full diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel after a 24-year lapse.

The official conceded, however, that Shevardnadze will likely be preoccupied by relations with the seceding Soviet republics.

Boris Pankin, the Soviet foreign minister since the failed Soviet coup in August, has been named the new Soviet ambassador to London.

Shevardnadze helped lay the groundwork for last month's Middle East peace conference in Madrid by altering the Soviet Union's relationship with former client-states such as Syria.

Syria's inability to rely on the Soviet Union for strong military or political support is credited with having led it to the Madrid conference.

On the emigration front, Shevardnadze presided over an expansion of Jewish freedom of movement out of the country, from just over 1,000 in 1985 to 180,000 in 1990.

But given the increasing autonomy of the Soviet republics, the battleground for future emigration will likely be waged in the individual republics.

Mark Levin, associate executive director of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, praised Shevardnadze for his past efforts but said his group is "continuing to try to find out where each of the republics stand" on the issue of "open borders."

**NEWS ANALYSIS:**

**ALARM ALL-PERVASIVE IN AUSTRIA  
AS RIGHTIST PARTY IS VICTORIOUS**

By Marta Halpert

VIENNA, Nov. 20 (JTA) -- Alarm is all-pervasive here after the unexpected victory of Jörg Haider's rightist Freedom Party in the Nov. 10 municipal elections after a nasty campaign that appealed to prejudice and xenophobia.

How a party whose leader recently praised Adolf Hitler could win 22.7 of the vote for the city legislature, up from 9.7 percent four years ago, has commentators baffled.

Many are comparing the political climate in Vienna now to the Kristallnacht atmosphere of 53 years ago when, during the night of Nov. 9-10, 1938, hundreds of Jewish stores and 94 synagogues were destroyed by mobs in a post-Anschluss euphoria.

They also recall that in 1932, the last free elections in Austria before the Anschluss -- the Nazis' annexation of Austria -- the Nazi party made its gains mainly at the expense of conservatives.

The Freedom Party seems to have done the same.

The Austrian Peoples' Party -- the party of President Kurt Waldheim -- fared worst. It received only 18.1 percent of the vote, down from 28.4 percent in 1987, and now ranks third in the town Parliament.

The Socialists, who have ruled "Red Vienna" since 1949, managed to win 47.5 percent, a significant drop from their 54.9 percent four years ago.

While the Socialists will retain control of the municipality, the elections frightened many people by exposing sinister forces just below the surface.

The economy, of course, is not good, always fertile soil for extremists. Unemployment is running at 6 percent, unusually high by Austrian standards, and Viennese workers are upset by the influx of cheap labor from Eastern European countries.

**A Latter-Day Hitler**

For the first time, a large percentage of low-skilled workers who normally vote Socialist, turned to the Freedom Party, which made no bones about its anti-immigration stand.

Haider, 41, shamelessly stirred emotions over liberal immigration policies. To many, he is a latter-day Hitler, perceived as a political genius, leading his extremist splinter party to 13 electoral victories in five years.

Haider has benefited from the mistakes and complacency of the traditional parties and the changing behavior of Austrian voters.

The World War II generation desperately wanted stability after 1945 and chose either the Social Democrats or Christian conservatives.

But the younger generation, which grew up in prosperity, seeks something new. They want to break with the traditions of their fathers.

The younger voters are mainly people free of ideological baggage. Their voting decisions are usually spontaneous, made without reflection.

Haider, one of their generation, is skilled in playing on the most primitive emotions. He calls the Socialists and conservatives the "old parties" and offers himself as the solution to the problems they supposedly brought on the country.

Having never had the task of governing,

Haider has no record to defend but can point to the blunders of the ruling bureaucracy.

"While the Socialists and conservatives become ever more hazy in their desire to please everybody, the Freedom Party harvests the fruits of their foolish behavior," says political scientist Anton Pelinka.

The political vacuum was created both by the Socialists, who forgot they were the workers' party, and by the conservatives, who weakened their identity as the Catholic party, Pelinka said.

Meanwhile, Haider's blatant neo-Nazi remarks did not frighten off his young supporters. When he praised Hitler's labor policies before the regional parliament in the southern Austrian region of Carinthia, he lost his seat but his popularity did not suffer.

Several years ago, pollsters predicted the Freedom Party would peak with 20 percent of the popular vote. It exceeded that in Vienna last week and stands as the most successful party of the right in all of Europe.

**BUCHANAN UNSURE ON WHITE HOUSE RUN,  
WILL ANNOUNCE DECISION IN DECEMBER**

By Howard Rosenberg

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20 (JTA) -- Conservative political columnist Patrick Buchanan, whose perceived hostility to Israel worries the pro-Israel community, said Wednesday that he has not yet decided whether to challenge President Bush in the Republican primaries next year.

But he said that if he does decide to run, a decision he would announce in early December, he would strongly oppose foreign aid because of his desire to "look out for America first."

Buchanan served as White House communications director under President Reagan. While in that office, he drew the ire of U.S. Jews for his defense of alleged Nazi war criminals in the United States facing extradition by the Justice Department to stand trial in other countries.

He defended his position by arguing that such trials should take place in U.S. courts and not in courts abroad, which he said would not necessarily conduct fair trials.

Last year, Buchanan was branded an anti-Semite by New York Times columnist A. M. Rosenthal for arguing that few Americans wanted the United States to go to war against Iraq with the notable exception of "Israel and its amen corner" here.

Buchanan denied he was anti-Semitic, although he later apologized for the statement.

William F. Buckley Jr., editor of the conservative National Review, will also brand Buchanan an anti-Semite in an upcoming issue, according to a report in the Washington Times.

Buchanan had no comment Wednesday on that article.

The conservative commentator said he does not share Louisiana State Rep. David Duke's view that if they both ran against Bush, they would form a good "one-two punch."

Buchanan added that he rejects "everything" that Duke, a former Ku Klux Klan grand wizard, has said in the past. But he blamed "White House mice," who he said for months had tried to reject assertions that Bush was "the father of David Duke," for now "calling me (Duke's) brother."

Less than two weeks earlier, on NBC-TV's "McLaughlin Group," Buchanan said Duke's positions are very much in line with conservative thinking in America.

## POLL FINDS MOST FEDERATION LEADERS OPPOSED TO SHAMIR'S POLICIES

By David Friedman

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20 (JTA) -- The warm applause Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir receives from Jewish audiences on his current visit to the United States should "not be misunderstood as endorsement" of his government's policies, the head of a Jewish think tank said Wednesday.

David Gordis, head of the Los Angeles-based Wilstein Institute of Jewish Policy Studies, made his comments as he released a poll of 205 of the 339 board members of the Council of Jewish Federations and presidents of local federations.

The telephone survey, conducted between Nov. 7 and Nov. 18, found that while there is near-unanimous commitment to Israel and its security, the leaders of America's Jewish philanthropic community overwhelmingly support territorial compromise, a freeze on settlements and other policies the Shamir government opposes.

The poll was released the day before Shamir's scheduled address before the CJF's general assembly in Baltimore and two days before the Israeli leader meets with President Bush at the White House.

Gordis said that the warm welcome Shamir will receive in Baltimore befits his position as prime minister. But he said such welcomes has in the past been misinterpreted by Shamir as support for his views.

The poll was designed and analyzed by Professor Seymour Martin Lipset of George Mason University in Virginia and Professor Steven Cohen of Queens College in New York.

### Split On Public Criticism

At the news conference, Lipset noted the strong commitment to Israel among those polled. Forty-five percent of them contribute more than \$25,000 annually to the United Jewish Appeal and 75 percent more than \$10,000. Most have visited Israel about seven times, he noted.

But he conceded that the organizational leaders may be more dovish than the general Jewish population. The more concerned Jews are with Israel, the more knowledgeable, the more likely they are to be dovish, Lipset said.

He and Gordis stressed that Jewish leaders have expressed these views to Israeli and U.S. leaders privately, although in public they have been more hawkish.

The poll showed that Jewish leaders are almost evenly divided on whether American Jews should publicly criticize Israel, with 49 percent approving public disagreement and 47 percent opposed.

The Jewish leaders demonstrated in their responses a strong concern to Israel's security. Those polled were virtually unanimous in believing that Israel would require a strong military even if peace treaties are signed and that Israel must retain control of Jerusalem as its capital. Eighty-eight percent believe that Israeli troops would have to remain at key points in the West Bank, and 72 percent believe that civilian settlements enhance Israel's security in the West Bank.

Two-thirds of the respondents would agree to a settlement freeze in return for an end to the Arab boycott or to intifada violence, and 59 percent believe that the settlements in the administered territories make peace more difficult to achieve.

Asked what Israel should do if it had to choose between U.S. guarantees for \$10 billion in loans to help absorb Soviet Jews and continued settlements in the West Bank, 78 percent would freeze settlement activity and 13 percent would forgo the loans.

But 85 percent of Jewish leaders polled disagree with Shamir's declaration not to give up "one inch" of territory, 88 percent supported territorial compromise and 79 percent said that after Palestinian self-rule in the territories proved peaceful, they would support the gradual emergence of a demilitarized Palestinian state.

Asked whether Israel should return part of the Golan Heights for peace with Syria, 58 percent favored this while 40 percent were opposed.

### Majority Favor Labor

Ninety-seven percent of the Jewish leaders believe that the Palestine Liberation Organization would destroy Israel if it could. But 64 percent say the mainstream PLO leadership realizes it cannot do so and 61 percent think Israel should negotiate with the PLO if the PLO recognizes Israel's right to exist, ceases terror and ends the intifada.

On the U.S. role in the Middle East, 91 percent agree that continued U.S. involvement is necessary for a successful outcome, and 75 percent agree that the U.S. must press both sides to adopt more flexible positions.

An overwhelming 83 percent of the Jewish leaders are "generally more grateful" for the U.S. efforts in bringing about a Middle East peace conference, while 15 percent are "generally more upset."

Three percent said U.S. policies in the Middle East were "very helpful" to Israel and 49 percent said they were "somewhat helpful." But 41 percent believe the policies were "somewhat harmful" and 3 percent "very harmful."

At the same time, 72 percent think the U.S. administration does not "adequately" appreciate Israel's security problem while 25 percent are of the opinion it does.

Asked their positions on Israeli politics, 53 percent favored Labor and 22 percent Likud; 74 percent were generally unfavorable toward Gush Emunim and 16 percent favorable, and 54 percent were generally favorable toward Peace Now while 40 percent viewed the movement unfavorably.

### 'Just Jewish'

Sixty-seven percent of the Jewish leaders polled were men and 33 percent women, with a median age of 55 and median income of \$200,000. On political issues, 36 percent considered themselves liberal, 15 percent conservative and 48 percent middle of the road.

On religious orientation, 51 percent were Conservative, 35 percent Reform, 5 percent Orthodox, 2 percent Reconstructionist and 6 percent "just Jewish."

The polling interviews were conducted by the ICR Survey Research Group, an independent research group. The study was made possible by a grant from Alan Wurtzel, past president of the Jewish Community Federation of Richmond, Va., and former president of Operation Independence, which seeks American investment and trade with Israel.

Project Nishma, a dovish Jewish organization that sponsors programs on Israel's security needs in the context of the peace process, helped in preparing the study and securing funding for it.