

**SPECIAL ANALYSIS
ISRAEL FACING PROLONGED
PERIOD OF ACUTE INSTABILITY**

By David Landau

JERUSALEM, July 24 (JTA) — The problematic outcome of yesterday's Knesset elections threatens Israel with a prolonged period of acute political instability.

With 95 percent of the votes counted by mid-day today, the Labor Alignment appears to have won 45 Knesset seats to 41 for Likud. The remaining 34 are fragmented among a dozen small parties and factions that range from the far left to the extreme rightwing.

While either Labor or Likud could gain a Knesset majority in combination with one or another bloc of small parties, this is an arithmetic rather than a political possibility. Most analysts agree that neither of the two major parties is capable of forming a stable coalition government, protestations to the contrary by politicians on both sides notwithstanding.

Final Count Won't Be In Till Thursday

The Jerusalem Post aptly summed up the situation in its front page headline this morning: "Divided We Stand." The election results based on actual vote count differ only slightly from the computerized projections based on exit poll samplings which were broadcast shortly after the polls closed last night.

The final count, which will include the soldiers' vote, is expected to have a minimal effect, if any, on the composition of the next Knesset. It will not be in until Thursday. But as some observers cautioned, even a shift of one seat could be critical.

Present Knesset Lineup

The lineup of Knesset seats as it stands now is: Labor, 45; Likud 41; Hadash Communists, National Religious Party, Shas and Tehiya, four seats each; Shinui, Civil Rights Movement and Yahad, three seats each; Aguda Israel, Morasha and Progressive List for Peace, two seats each; Tami, the one-member faction of Yigael Hurwitz and Rabbi Meir Kahane's Kach party, one seat each.

In terms of possible coalition partnerships, the left of center Shinui and the leftist CRM are considered "natural" allies of Labor. Similarly, the ultra-nationalist Tehiya party is Likud's ally.

On the far left, the anti-Zionist Hadash Communists are automatically excluded by Labor from any coalition it may head; nor can Labor invite the Progressive List for Peace, a coalition of nationalist Israeli Arabs and leftist Jews who advocate a Palestinian state.

Likud for its part has made clear that it will not have anything to do with the Kahane faction which calls for the forcible ouster of all Arabs from Israel and the occupied territories.

Role Of The Religious Factions

What remains are the five religious factions which appear to have won 13 Knesset mandates between them. The NRP has served in both Labor and Likud-led governments since the founding of the State but emerged from yesterday's elections in a weaker condition than ever.

Shas is a new religious party, sponsored by former Sephardic Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yosef. The fact that it scored as well as the veteran NRP in its first run for the Knesset is considered a plus in its favor. Yosef is regarded as a political dove and may be amenable to an alliance with Labor.

Morasha, another new religious faction, comprises NRP, Emunim and Poalei Aguda defectors and may have hawkish leanings which could put it in the Likud camp. The Aguda Israel, a member of the outgoing Likud coalition seems to have lost two of its four seats in yesterday's elections and is therefore in a weakened condition.

Tami, a religious-oriented Sephardic faction, did even worse, dropping from three to one Knesset mandate. Former Defense Minister Ezer Weizman's new Yahad Party performed poorly on its first outing. Weizman insisted today that he would not be part of any coalition and is urging the establishment of a national unity government.

Long Period Of Bargaining

According to astute political observers, Israel faces a prolonged period of bargaining by both major parties to form coalitions with small, essentially weak partners. These efforts eventually will fail, most observers believe. They could be followed by moves toward a national unity government headed either by Labor or Likud.

Such a regime would be set up specifically to tackle Israel's worsening economic crisis and political issues that divide Labor and Likud would be held in abeyance.

But a unity government on those terms will be short-lived and early elections are again likely. Most political analysts believe it is inconceivable that the next Knesset — the 11th — will serve out its full four-year term.

Under these circumstances, it is considered likely that Labor and Likud would press jointly for legislation aimed at reducing the number of small parties in the Knesset. This can be done by raising the threshold above the present one percent of the vote necessary for a Knesset mandate.

Party Leaderships May Be Replaced

Politicians also predict moves within Labor and possibly Likud to replace their current party leaderships before a new election campaign begins. According to some analysts, Shimon Peres, who failed in three elections to lead Labor to a decisive victory, will be replaced by former Premier Yitzhak Rabin; possibly, former President Yitzhak Navon, who, being of Sephardic origin, may be best qualified to head a party that seems to be increasingly split along ethnic lines.

At the moment, most Israelis, regardless of their political preference, are dismayed by the inconclusive election results which they consider the worst possible in terms of the national interest.

Failure to put together a viable, cohesive government will damage the prospects of solving the country's urgent economic problems. Israel's standing abroad will be weakened and the very basis of democracy at home is threatened, in the view of many.

Menachem Savidor, Speaker of the outgoing Knesset, said in an interview today that he could not see how the Knesset will be able to function with 15 contentious fac-

tions and no clear cut coalition majority. Many political observers spoke with trepidation of the possible effects of Kahane's entry into the Knesset which will give him immunity from criminal prosecution.

Trying For A Coalition

All of the foregoing notwithstanding, Labor and Likud were each claiming victory today and seem intent on trying to put together a governing coalition. Labor conceivably could block a Likud-led coalition if Weizman's faction is prepared to join it in such a parliamentary move.

Labor plus Yahad, Shinui, the CRM, the Hadash Communists and the Arab-Jewish Progressive List for Peace together muster the 60 votes minimum needed to deny a Likud coalition a vote of confidence.

Even if no such move materializes, Likud would be hard pressed to form a coalition without Weizman's three mandates. The same applies of course to Labor but the latter may be able to arrange for the "passive support" of the Communists and Progressive which would obtain in a confidence vote to block Likud.

Labor leaders are speaking privately today of courting the NRP and/or Tami and Shas as coalition partners. Likud has hopes of uniting all of the religious parties under its wing and would try to woo Weizman or at least gain his "passive support" to block a Labor coalition. Likud is also presumably prepared to work such a deal with Kahane though it would not include him in a coalition.

Chances For A National Unity Government

Premier Yitzhak Shamir reiterated tonight his call for a national unity government, conceding that "any other government will be hard to establish."

But the Labor Alignment's left wing -- Mapam and MK Yossi Sarid -- is firmly opposed to any partnership with Likud. If they quit the Alignment, Labor would have fewer Knesset mandates than Likud. This apparently has entered into Shamir's calculations since it means that he would continue as Prime Minister.

Some political analysts predicted today that after weeks and possibly months of political wrangling, a unity government will evolve with the Labor Alignment intact. According to these analysts, Mapam will justify compromise on grounds of the economic crisis and the need to prevent prolongation of the Likud care-taker government.

Meanwhile, four prominent Israeli writers closely associated with the Labor Party -- Amos Oz, A. B. Yehoshua, S. Yizhar and Haim Guri -- issued an impassioned call to their party, and especially to its leftwing, to try and form a unity government under Labor leadership. The four noted that however unjust and unpalatable this is the clear wish of the people as expressed at the ballot box. The call by the four writers could prove vitally significant in terms of providing a doctrinal or ideological "fig leaf" for Mapam and Labor's leftwing to drop their opposition to a unity government.

ARAB VOTING PATTERNS INDICATE A SHARP REBUFF TO LABOR

By Gil Sedan

JERUSALEM, July 24 (JTA) -- Initial analyses of Arab voting patterns in yesterday's Knesset elections indicate a sharp rebuff to the Labor Alignment which had expected to win over Arabs who traditionally cast their ballots for the Communist ticket.

The Hadash Communists retained their four Knesset mandates. Two mandates went to the recently

formed Progressive List for Peace, a coalition of Israeli Arab nationalists and Jewish leftists. It was the Progressives' first run for parliament and it was they, rather than the Alignment, who won the votes of Arabs disenchanted with the Communist faction.

The Progressive List, which did not exist a few months ago, is now the second largest political force among Israel's 600,000 Arab citizens. But Likud was the real beneficiary of the Arab vote because it helped reduce Labor's margin in the next Knesset.

Arabs Miscalculated Again

The Arabs miscalculated once again, political analysts said today, just as they did in the 1977 and 1981 elections. Although Israeli Arabs clearly prefer a Labor to a Likud government, they contributed to Likud's 1977 victory by giving the Communists a record five Knesset seats in order to "punish" the Labor Alignment for alleged neglect of their interests.

In 1981, Labor credited three of its mandates to the Arab vote. But enough Arabs voted Communist to deprive Labor of a meaningful plurality and Likud again headed the government.

In yesterday's elections, Arab voters apparently took a Labor victory for granted. They were unhappy, however, with the fact that only two Arabs made Labor's 1984 election list and decided to send the Labor Party a message.

Having over-estimated Labor's strength with the general electorate, the Arabs contributed to the incisive results of yesterday's voting.

But by sending the Progressive List to the Knesset they also created a political phenomenon. For the first time in the history of the State, Israeli Arabs will be represented in parliament by a faction that is nationalistic in character -- it advocates a Palestinian state -- but is in no way linked to Moscow or, directly, to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Progressive List in fact enjoys considerable public legitimacy. The No. 2 man on its list is Gen. (res.) Matityahu Peled, an outspoken peace advocate who will enter the next Knesset after years in the political wilderness.

Kahane's 'Solution To The Arab Problem'

However Israelis may feel about the new Arab list, many of them are genuinely frightened by the accession of Rabbi Meir Kahane whose extremist Kach Party won a Knesset seat yesterday.

Kahane, at a press conference today, outlined his "solution to the Arab problem." He said that on the first day of the new Knesset he would propose a bill to deport all Arabs from Israel, "either peacefully or by transporting them in trucks." He will also propose, he said, legislation to shift social insurance payments from the State to the Jewish Agency so that only Jews would be entitled to them.

Finally, Kahane promised to propose a bill subjecting every Arab to three years of hard labor. To Kahane's way of thinking, Zionism and Western democracy are incompatible. He told reporters today that he prefers the Jewish State to democracy.

U.S. REACTION TO ISRAEL'S ELECTIONS

By Helen Silver

WASHINGTON, July 24 (JTA) -- The State Department asserted that it does not anticipate any change in the "traditional, close" relationship between the United States and Israel regardless of which party emerges as the winner of the Knesset elections held yesterday in Israel. The election in Israel "has reaffirmed the value of a democratic society and its institutions," the Depart-

ment said in a statement released yesterday and repeated today. "While we still await complete election results, we are certain there will be no change in the traditional, close cooperation which has existed between the governments and people of the United States and Israel.

"We look forward to working with the next government of Israel, regardless of which party emerges victorious at the polls."

THE LONG NIGHT OF WAITING

By Hugh Orgel and Gil Sedan

TEL AVIV, July 24 (JTA) -- For leaders, officials, and volunteer workers of all the political parties it was a long, long night, with roller coasting moods throughout what seemed to be interminable time between the closing of the polling booths and the wee hours of the dawn. By the number of lights that remained on in houses and apartment windows until early morning, it was a long night for most Israelis as well.

The evening started with tension, with party workers waiting expectantly in their various headquarters, and voters settling down, mainly in groups of friends, before television sets and radios to see and hear the results of Israel Television's exit poll that was scheduled to be announced within one minute of the closing of the polling booths at 10 p.m.

The tension mounted as one minute, then two minutes, and many more minutes passed until it was announced that there would be a delay in announcing the election results due to computer punching errors. And when the result of the poll was finally given, some 20 minutes late, it was clear that the Labor Alignment had failed to achieve its hoped-for big lead over the Likud.

Elation And Depression

From that moment on the mood varied between elation and depression, each change following the receipt of a fresh batch of data via computer screens to politicians and news analysts. On the whole, most parties managed to put on a brave face with the ongoing reports and the best possible interpretations of the results.

TV camera crews at the party headquarters of the main parties had their batteries of cameras trained on the party leaders, and whenever a newscast ended, those politicians attentive to the red "on" light on the cameras smiled broadly when they knew their pictures were being transmitted. But some of them were caught by surprise occasionally and clear signs of fatigue and depression were to be seen.

On the whole, the Likud, whose leaders and approach to political issues is more emotional than that of Labor, appeared to be more satisfied while the Laborites appeared more concerned. And for those viewers who gave up and went to bed an hour or so before dawn, the early morning newscasts appeared to provide reason for the general concern underlying the apparent momentary satisfaction. It now appears that neither major party will find it easy to establish a stable government.

Voting Was Orderly, Uneventful

The voting itself during the day, by some 78 percent of the 2.6 million eligible voters, was orderly, uneventful and devoid of any incidents. Voting, though increasingly heavy as the day progressed, was leisurely. Banks and other businesses were closed and most people took the day off for trips to the seashore or countryside before or after they cast their ballots.

The turnout was especially high in army camps and among soldiers in the field. Many soldiers were voting for the first time in their lives. Army policy is that "if a soldier can't get to the polls, the polls will get to the soldier." Mobile polling stations were provided for soldiers in outlying regions and in Lebanon.

Nuances Of Voting Activities

There was very little voting in East Jerusalem where only several hundred of the 180,000 residents are Israeli citizens and entitled to vote. A similar condition prevailed in the ultra-Orthodox Mea Shearim quarter in West Jerusalem where anti-Zionist religious groups posted signs warning that to vote for a secular government would delay the coming of the Messiah.

In another religious neighborhood, Bayit Vagan, the polling station opened a half hour late because the woman in charge of the station and her assistant wore light summer dresses. This offended the sensibilities of religious male voters who refused to enter the booth until the women went home and changed to what they considered more modest attire.

President Chaim Herzog, accompanied by his wife, Aura, cast their votes at a polling station in a senior citizens club in the Talbiye section, and on emerging, the President delivered a brief speech. "For hundreds of years Jews did not even dream that they would ever reach such a time. I for one always feel excited," he said.

Premier Yitzhak Shamir voted at a polling station in Tel Aviv, where he is still registered as a resident. Afterwards he visited Likud headquarters on the outskirts of the city.

Labor Party chairman Shimon Peres voted in the New Avivim quarter of Tel Aviv where he lives. He was among friends. His wife, Sonia, is a member of the polling committee. Mordechai Gur, chairman of the Labor election campaign, voted at the same place. Peres toured Labor Party headquarters in Rishon LeZion and Ashdod before going home for a nap.

Reporters, curious crowds and Herut loyalists waited all day outside a polling station in the Bayit Vagan quarter where former Premier Menachem Begin was to vote. But he failed to appear. Begin, who has been in self-imposed seclusion since his resignation last September, issued a statement in the evening. "I cannot vote. It is because of personal reasons only," he told the State Radio by telephone.

THE NET RESULT

BROOKLINE, Mass., July 24 (JTA) -- Aaron Krickstein, the 16-year-old tennis sensation, upset Jose Luis Clerc 7-6, 3-6, 6-4 to take the U.S. Pro Tennis championship on the Longwood clay courts here last night making him the youngest player to win this tournament.

Krickstein of Grosse Pointe, Mich., staged a late rally in the third and deciding set to upset Clerc before a crowd of nearly 8,000 persons. The 25-year-old Clerc, from Argentina, was the defending champion and also the winner here in 1981.

Krickstein became the youngest player ever to win a Grand Prix event, capturing the Israel Tennis Classic in Tel Aviv last year when he was 15 years old. Krickstein's win at Longwood was his first major victory as a professional.

BEHIND THE HEADLINES THE JEWS OF SOUTH AFRICA

By Sheldon Kirshner

(Part Two Of A Two-Part Series)

PRETORIA, July 24 (JTA) -- Daniel Elazar and Peter Medding, in their work, *Jewish Communities in Frontier Societies*, wrote that the period from 1910 to 1948 was "undoubtedly the least happy" for South Africa's Jews. It was a period, they argue, that saw an estrangement between Jews and Afrikaners -- the largest white group in the country.

Jewish immigration was singled out for restriction by Afrikaner nationalists and, under the influence of Nazi ideas, anti-Semitism spread. In 1930, the Minister of the Interior and future National Party Prime Minister, pro-Zionist Daniel Malan, introduced the Quota Bill which favored immigrants from such countries as Germany, France and Italy.

After 1933, when increasing numbers of German Jews sought refuge, a new Aliens Act was passed to close this unforeseen loophole. Malan claimed that the Aliens Act was really in the best interests of Jews.

As late as 1941, when the Nazis were readying the gas chambers for European Jewry, the National Party issued a formal statement reiterating support for the Aliens Act. In 1943, the Transvaal branch of the party officially banned Jews from membership. And these anti-Jewish sentiments, say Elazar and Medding, penetrated the very influential Dutch Reformed Church.

Holocaust Tragedy Seeps In

Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, suggested in the 1930's that Jewish economic activity should be regulated by a quota system. In the wake of the Holocaust, when the full impact of this tragedy seeped in, the National Party underwent a metamorphosis vis-a-vis Jews.

Six months before the 1948 general election, which the Nationalists won for the first time, Malan published a policy statement on Jews. He acknowledged that there were anti-Semitic members in the party, but denied that the party itself was anti-Jewish.

After the election, the Jewish Board of Deputies held a meeting with Malan, and Malan said he "looks forward to the time when the so-called Jewish (issue) will disappear altogether from the life of this country and its politics." He added: "Apart altogether from the question of immigration, we believe that there must be no discrimination in regard to the Jews who are in South Africa."

The rapprochement between the Nationalists and the Jewish community was perhaps also an historical necessity: the Nationalists needed the Jews to maintain a "united" white community. And, as Elazar and Medding point out, the rise of the National Party to full political power coincided with the creation of Israel. Since the Afrikaners had a special affinity with the Old Testament, they looked upon Israel with great favor.

Inevitably, Israel's establishment generated "a new respect for Jews in South Africa," remarked Dr. Sylvia Kaplan, national president of the South African Association of Arts.

Changes Since World War II

Louis Pienaar, a Cape Town lawyer, and an Afrikaner, explained how the complex relationship between Jews and Afrikaners has changed since World War II: "We had a mixed approach to the Jewish

community. Endearment for those rural Jews with whom we associated closely, fear and jealousy for those in the city who were economically successful."

Since then, he added, the Afrikaners have assumed political power and have come to realize the important contribution of Jews to the economy. "This role is accepted and respected, and the image of the Jew as Hoggeneimer (a mythical, anti-Semitic caricature of Jewish financial power) has disappeared."

Kaplan, who lives in the port resort of Durban, agreed that since 1945 attitudes of prejudice have broken down. "There is less anti-Semitism and a greater acceptance of Jews. Jews have been able to identify as South Africans. There are still restrictions in social clubs, right here in Durban, for example, but in every day life one is hardly aware of anti-Semitism."

Some Anti-Semitic Incidents

John Moshal, president of the Council of Natal Jewry, in Durban, an engineer by profession, said that anti-Semitism no longer is viewed as a serious problem by the Jews of South Africa. Nevertheless, Jews must put up with anti-Semitic pinpricks:

* Some clubs are out of bounds to Jews, as they are elsewhere in the world, and a number of anti-Semitic publicists -- notably S.E.D. Browne of the SA Observer and Ivor Benson of Behind the News -- rant on.

* Recently, on the University of the Witwatersrand campus, anti-Semitic graffiti showed up.

* Some Blacks who support the Palestinian cause tend to be anti-Semitic, but Black anti-Semitism is also a reaction to Jewish shopkeepers and landlords, observers say.

All in all, anti-Semitism, South African style, is far from being an urgent problem. How then, can the Temple Israel bombing -- an extremely grave event -- be explained?

Temple Israel, a Reform synagogue in Johannesburg's Hillbrow district, was heavily damaged last August when a limpet mine exploded. The authorities immediately blamed the banned African National Congress, for South African President Marais Viljoen had been scheduled to attend a service to mark 50 years of Progressive Judaism in South Africa. No one today is certain who was behind the explosion, but it has caused synagogues and Jewish institutions throughout the nation to tighten security.

Theo Aranson, a Jewish MP who represents the National Party, told this reporter that the Temple Israel incident embarrassed the government. "Every bomb that goes off undermines our stability and foreign confidence in South Africa," he observed. Archie Shadling, a Jewish communal leader in Cape Town, concurred. "It's simply not in the government's interest to permit overt acts of anti-Semitism," he said.

The government has been particularly tough on Eugene Terre Blanche's movement, the Afrikanse Weerstandsbeweging. On the basis of his statement that Jews should be deprived of their political rights, Prime Minister P.W. Botha blasted Terre Blanche, saying there was no room for neo-Nazism in South Africa, and that Jews had served South Africa faithfully. For good measure, the authorities warned Terre Blanche that his activities were being monitored.

More recently, the government expelled Brendan Wilmer, a British neo-Nazi, after his application for permanent residence was rejected.

Harry Schwartz, an opposition MP who sits on the national executive of the Jewish Board of Deputies, said South African Jewry remains vigilant. "This is a community that doesn't take anything lying down," he said. "We're a fairly tough and aggressive lot, and we don't stand for anti-Semitism."