

SPECIAL ANALYSIS**THE ROTATION OF THE PREMIERSHIP**

By David Landau

JERUSALEM, Oct. 8 (JTA)-- Two years ago the pundits here and abroad were predicting, almost to a man, that the government of national unity was a non-starter, a lame duck, bound to collapse no sooner than it set out on its 50-month course.

The differences between major parties were considered too big, the instability of the coalition too built-in, to brook any longevity. The capacity for crises was seen as endemic-- and any crisis was thought likely to be fatal.

Now, half-way through the term, and with the Prime Ministerial rotation about to be implemented with remarkably little friction, those same pundits -- having eaten their earlier words as gracefully as possible -- are now predicting with renewed self-confidence that the government will last its full statutory term.

"Its weakness is its strength," is one of the now-popular theories.

Each sides' inability to cobble together an alternative, narrow-based coalition is cited as the reason why the myriad crises of the past two years ended in compromise and resolution --and why the inevitable crises of the future will similarly be weathered.

The Real Lesson

The real lesson, however, of these past two years might well be not that the pundits were wrong then, nor that they are right now, but that Israeli politics are in an inherently unpredictable phase following the inconclusive results of the 1981 and the 1984 Knesset elections.

"A week," said former British Premier Harold Wilson, "is a long time in politics." Two whole years in Israel's unity coalition, with the two main partners straining to be rid of each other and of their shotgun marriage, are by that criterion a veritable aeon of mystery and unpredictability.

Even if Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Shamir had plighted to each other their solemn troth to stick together come what may --which they patently have not -- external circumstances, beyond their control or influence, could evolve in the months ahead to pull them apart.

The Peace Process

* In the peace process, a significant shift by Jordan would instantly put Labor and Likud into a confrontational posture. Premier Peres, in his valedictory address to the Knesset Tuesday, said that while he had not managed to lead Israel to the negotiating table, the door to the negotiating room had been opened.

He added that Israel and Jordan, through the United States, were discussing the modalities of an international forum that would ultimately facilitate direct negotiations.

What Peres did not say, in so many words, was that so far King Hussein of Jordan had disappointed both him and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in his failure to follow through on

his rift with the PLO by entering unequivocally into a peace process with Israel.

But Hussein's equivocation may suddenly end --especially if Peres is able to continue building for the hesitant Hashemite monarch a supportive bastion of moderate Arab opinion.

In this context, Peres' recent visits to Morocco and to Egypt, and the warm public endorsements he elicited from both King Hassan and President Hosni Mubarak, may be encouraging harbingers of an Arab consensus.

Peres, moreover, has made it abundantly clear that he will not permit himself to be stymied by Premier Shamir in his pursuit of these diplomatic overtures, which he launched late in his own terms as Premier.

Idea Of An International Forum

* Similarly, if the idea of an international forum or conference takes on more concrete and practical form -- at the moment it is still the subject of controversy or suspicion in many world chanceries -- this could quickly end the Labor-Likud policy-cease-fire which is at the basis of this unity government.

For after all, the government has maintained its existence until now because the two major partners have not been required to address the essentials of the Palestinian issue -- the issue on which they are irretrievably divided.

Preparations for an international conference would inevitably bring those differences to the fore, in the form of the question of Palestinian representation.

Peres, at his summit meeting with Mubarak in Alexandria, declared that the Palestinians were a people like any other people. He has said repeatedly that he would accept "authentic Palestinian representatives" as negotiating partners.

This is not a position which the Likud could support if it were removed from the realm of rhetoric and placed squarely in the center of an international diplomatic confabulation.

Shamir has been at pains to pour cold water on the notion of an international conference-- and seems to have won over at least some in the Reagan Administration to this viewpoint. These American policymakers are less exercised by the Palestinian aspect than by the prospect of the Soviets returning to center-stage in Middle East diplomacy.

The Domestic Front

* On the domestic front, relations between Labor and Likud could quickly deteriorate to breaking point if Labor begins to feel that the Likud, holding both the Premiership and the key Ministry of Finance, is loosening the reins of austerity and handing out pre-election largess, as it did in 1983-4.

Peres has made it clear -- he did so with diplomatic understatement in his Knesset speech Tuesday -- that he and his party take most of the credit for restoring the country to economic stability after inheriting the roller-coaster hyperinflation of the Likud years.

In the pre-rotation wrangling, Labor has sought -- with scant success, it seems -- some

modicum of power in the economic sphere. The Likud has been understandably reluctant to cede any. Finance Minister Moshe Nissim (Likud-Liberal) has pledged full cooperation and argued that this need not be formalized.

Nissim, unlike his predecessor, Yitzhak Moda'i, has built for himself a calm, solid, dependable image. Peres himself admits privately that Nissim has been a pleasant surprise and that the Treasury, therefore, is in good hands.

Still, Labor finds it hard to face the future. It denied any real say in economic policy-making. This frustration may grow ominously as the Shamir Premiership wears on and the next elections loom closer.

* In the administered territories, the right flank of the Likud and the parties to the farther right are openly anticipating a new wave of Jewish settlements. And the Labor Defense Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, is stating plainly that there is no money for it -- nor does the carefully crafted unity government policy-platform require it.

Shamir, always canny and patient, has let his ideologues have their say. But he has made it clear that he is aware of the constrictions and limitations imposed on him both by economic exigencies and by the nature of unity government politics.

As long as Shamir can hold off the incessant challenge (to himself) from Ariel Sharon, his pragmatism should ensure that, on this issue at least, the unity government can continue to hold together.

ANGRY CROWD AT BURIAL OF SECOND ASHKELON RESIDENT WHO WAS STABBED TO DEATH IN GAZA

By David Landau

JERUSALEM, Oct. 8 (JTA) -- Ashkelon held its second funeral in less than two weeks Wednesday for a local resident stabbed to death in Gaza and the town seethed with fury. Strong police re-enforcements prevented anti-Arab violence. Police warned Arab workers from the nearby Gaza Strip to stay away from Ashkelon for the time being, for their own safety.

On Tuesday, Yisrael Kitaro, a 43-year-old taxi driver from Ashkelon, was fatally stabbed in a garage near Gaza's Medina Square while waiting for repairs on his vehicle. His assailant escaped. The garage is not far from the Gaza fruit market where, on September 27, Haim Azran, 35, of Ashkelon, also met death at the hands of a knife-wielding attacker.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin who visited Gaza shortly after the latest slaying, labeled the attack on Kitaro terrorism. He said new measures would be taken to fight it but acknowledged that it is difficult to prevent surprise knife attacks. He suggested that Israelis refrain from visiting Gaza.

Kitaro was apparently taken by surprise in the garage. The owner told police he heard the victim scream but did not see the attack. Kitaro was taken to local military headquarters where he died from loss of blood. His body was transferred to a hospital in Ashkelon. Enraged crowds gathered outside. Ashkelon taxi drivers used their vehicles to block roads from the Gaza Strip. Reinforced police restored order but tension remained high Tuesday and Wednesday.

Several thousand local residents gathered at the burial site Wednesday, shouting "Death to

terrorists," "Revenge," and "We won't let Arabs into Ashkelon."

Deputy Premier David Levy, who, like many Ashkelon residents is of Moroccan origin, visited the town Wednesday and appealed for calm. He urged the residents not to vent their anger on innocent Arabs "who come to us to work or trade." He said the army and the security services can be relied on to apprehend the killers and prevent further attacks. Military authorities said Wednesday they were keeping a high profile in town to discourage violence from any quarter. They said there would be frequent random searches of people and vehicles, at least in the next few days.

JEWISH CHAPLAIN TO PROVIDE YOM KIPPUR SERVICES FOR JEWISH MEMBERS OF REAGAN'S STAFF DURING SUMMIT MEETING

NEW YORK, Oct. 8 (JTA) -- Rabbi Arnold Resnicoff, a U.S. Navy Chaplain with the rank of Lt. Commander, left for Reykjavik, Iceland, Wednesday on special assignment to provide Yom Kippur worship services for Jewish members of President Reagan's staff accompanying him to the summit meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev October 11-12.

Resnicoff, assigned to the Navy Chaplain School in Newport, R.I., was selected for the assignment by Rear Adm. John McNamara, Chief of Naval Chaplains, in response to a White House request forwarded through the Armed Forces Chaplains Board, the Jewish Chaplains Council of the JWB reported.

A JWB staff member met Resnicoff at Kennedy Airport in New York before his flight Wednesday with High Holiday prayerbooks, prayer shawls, skull caps and Jewish calendars to be used in Reykjavik, the JWB said.

Meanwhile, the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews (UCSJ) announced that it is sending six representatives to Reykjavik to press U.S. leaders to include human rights on the summit agenda.

According to David Wakesberg of San Francisco, director of the Bay Area Council for Soviet Jews and a UCSJ vice president, who is one of the UCSJ representatives going to Reykjavik, "We will be presenting cases to the media and delegations and try to insist that Soviet Jews are not forgotten; even though the summit is in Iceland on the eve of Yom Kippur."

The UCSJ said it also arranged for its representatives to be joined in Iceland by about 10 emigre relatives of prominent Soviet Jewish refuseniks who will be coming from Israel.

On The Eve Of The Reagan-Gorbachev Summit: SHULTZ SAYS THE USSR WILL BE TOLD THAT U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS CAN BE IMPROVED ONLY IF RUSSIANS IMPROVE HUMAN RIGHTS

By David Friedman

WASHINGTON, Oct. 8 (JTA) -- Secretary of State George Shultz stressed Wednesday that the Soviet Union will be told in Iceland this weekend that there can be improvement in relations with the United States only if the USSR improves its human rights conditions, including increasing emigration for Soviet Jews.

"They need to know there can be no lasting improvement in our relations as long as Soviet citizens are deprived of the right to speak freely, freedom of worship and to live where they

please," Shultz told some 400 Jewish leaders attending a National Leadership Assembly for Soviet Jewry.

The day-long assembly was sponsored by the National Conference on Soviet Jewry (NCSJ), the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC). Also cooperating in the event were the Coalition to Free Soviet Jews, the Council of Jewish Federations and the Synagogue Council of America.

After the speech by Shultz at the State Department, the Jewish leaders went to Capitol Hill for another meeting attended by members of Congress and then participated in a prayer vigil in Lafayette Park, across from the White House.

Progress Tied To Human Rights

Shultz said that when President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev meet in Reykjavik, Iceland, Saturday and Sunday the Soviets must be made to understand that progress in the issues discussed, including arms control, are tied to human rights.

The Secretary said that when Reagan has an issue that is important to him like human rights, "he looks you in the eye and tells you what he thinks and I'm sure he's going to do that" in Iceland. Shultz added that Gorbachev and his colleagues will hear about human rights, including the Soviet Jewry issue, from "the President and me and others."

A Different Statement By Shultz On TV

However, Shultz said on an ABC television interview Wednesday that the U.S. would not refuse to sign an arms control agreement with the Soviets if there were no progress on human rights. "We're not making any firm and formal linkage" between arms control and human rights improvement "but these various areas of our relationship are interrelated," Shultz said in response to questions.

He added, "It is essential if we're going to have a really decent and constructive relationship with the Soviet Union that we make progress in this area" (human rights) but "that doesn't mean telling them they have to change their system. They aren't going to do that and we have no right to do that."

Over the past few days both Reagan and Shultz have stressed the importance of human rights for the meeting in Iceland as well as the official summit in the United States that is expected to follow.

Reagan strongly stressed this point when he welcomed Yuri Orlov, the Soviet human rights leader, to the White House Tuesday. "I will make it amply clear to Mr. Gorbachev that unless there is real Soviet movement on human rights, we will not have the kind of political atmosphere necessary to make lasting progress in other issues," Reagan said.

Morris Abram, chairman of both the NCSJ and the Presidents Conference, in introducing Shultz, said that the Secretary told a group of Jewish leaders recently that while he always has the issue of Soviet Jewry in his mind, he wants Jewish groups to keep giving "me the needle."

Shultz said that while he believes in private diplomacy, the pressure of the organized Jewish community and others "is something I can point to" in talks with the Soviets.

"Your presence is a demonstration that we not only hold and care about our values, but that

we are willing to extend ourselves, go out of our way and work ... to do everything we can to do something about it," Shultz said. He said the issue of Soviet Jewry and human rights in general, is not just "bipartisan," but "universal."

Emigration Situation Called 'Grim'

Shultz said that despite all the efforts, the situation is "grim" with emigration for the first nine months totaling only 631 Jews. He said if this continues only 1,000 Jews would have left the USSR in 1986.

When he met with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the State Department in September, Shultz said he showed him a chart prepared by the NCSJ which gave a breakdown month-by-month of the emigration figures, which did not have to be translated into Russian.

Shultz said that when Shevardnadze replied that the Jews who wanted to leave had left, he presented him with documents from the NCSJ showing that some 400,000 had applied for exit visas. Shultz said the NCSJ is supplying another easy to read chart for the Iceland meeting.

Abram said Shultz was also given a list of all the Jewish Prisoners of Conscience in the Soviet Union and National Security Advisor John Poindexter was given a list of 18,000 refuseniks.

Shultz stressed that the human rights issue is not an internal issue but a matter of the Soviet Union living up to the international obligations it agreed to when it signed the Helsinki Final Act and other international agreements. "They signed them," he said.

He said the Soviet Union has made some "high-profile gestures," but this is not enough. They must be shown they pay a "high price" for not improving human rights conditions, he stressed. "We need to keep showing that we care, that we really care," Shultz declared.

Meanwhile, Abram will lead a delegation of eight Jewish leaders to Iceland for a press conference in Reykjavik Friday to support Reagan on the human rights issue.

The others are, Albert Chernin, executive vice chairman of the NJCRAC; Jerry Goodman, executive director of the NCSJ; Theodore Mann, president of the American Jewish Congress; Michael Pelavin, chairman of the NJCRAC; Alan Pesky, chairman of the Coalition to Free Soviet Jews; Ruth Popkin, president of Hadassah; and Seymour Reich, president of B'nai B'rith International.

WALLENBERG MEMORIAL UNVEILED

WASHINGTON, Oct. 8 (JTA) -- A memorial to Raoul Wallenberg was unveiled here Wednesday with a pledge by a Reagan Administration official that the U.S. will continue to probe the fate of the Swedish diplomat who saved 100,000 Jews from deportation to Nazi death camps during World War II.

Interior Secretary Donald Hodel declared at the ceremony, "We will not be satisfied until we learn the truth about this great man." Wallenberg was arrested by the Red Army when it entered Budapest in January, 1945 and has not been heard from since. Soviet authorities claimed that he died in prison some years later.

A section of 15th Street near the Tidal Basin was named Wallenberg Place and a bronze plaque designating the area was unveiled by Rep. Thomas Lantos (D. Calif.). Lantos and his wife, Annette, as children, were among the Hungarian Jews saved by Wallenberg.

SPECIAL TO THE JTA HIS NAME WAS BEN GURION By Sheldon Kirshner

(Part Two Of A Two-Part Series)

TORONTO, Oct. 8 (JTA) -- David Ben Gurion, despite enormous pressure from the U.S. and the doubts of many of his colleagues, proclaimed the State of Israel. A lesser leader might have hesitated and postponed a decision, but he charged ahead. In declaring statehood, Ben Gurion had come a long way.

Before the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, he had urged Jews to support the Turks in World War I so as to win from them the promise of autonomy in Palestine. But when the Turkish authorities cracked down on Zionism, he switched sides and championed the British cause.

In the 1930's, when Palestinian Arabs were rising up in revolt against Jewish settlement and the British mandate, Ben Gurion favored a Jewish homeland but felt that statehood should be deferred until the country was sufficiently populated with Jews. By the early 1940's, he had come around to favoring the creation of a Jewish commonwealth. By 1948, he was prepared to declare statehood.

Ben Gurion fathered the modern Israeli army and considered it a tool of national unity. As the War of Independence raged, he disbanded all Jewish militias, including the Palmach, the Haganah and the Irgun, and molded them into the new Israel Defense Force, the IDF.

"... I see in it (IDF) not only the fortress of our security ... but also an educational force for national unification, and a loyal instrument for welding together the dispersed ethnic groups," he said.

The Vital Role Of Aliya

Ben Gurion viewed aliya as one of his chief nation-building tasks. He promulgated the Law of Return, which enabled Jews to claim immediate Israeli citizenship, and he diverted scarce financial resources to ensure that the new arrivals from all corners of the world would be properly integrated.

"Aliya precedes everything else," he was fond of saying. "For in aliya there is security, in aliya there is renaissance ..."

Ben Gurion, in opposition to the United Nations, declared Jerusalem as Israel's capital. "Jewish Jerusalem is an organic and inseparable part for Israel, just as it is an inseparable part of Jewish history, Jewish religion and the Jewish soul," he wrote.

Ben-Gurion, though totally secular, signed an historic agreement with Jewish Orthodox parties granting them certain concessions in return for their acceptance of a Jewish State. The so-called "status quo" in religion was frayed at the edges and alienated many Israelis, but it has helped preserve Israel's national unity.

Ben Gurion turned Israeli foreign policy westward, away from neutrality, and sowed the seeds of Israel's alliance with the U.S. He laid the foundation for Israel's relationship with West Germany, and he cultivated African and Asian nations.

He opened up the Negev, the sandy, desolate wasteland which comprises two-thirds of Israel's land area. But for all his efforts, the Negev still remains sparsely populated and, in comparison to the West Bank, a financial stepchild.

Despite all his successes, Ben Gurion failed at peace-making. He wanted to come to terms with Israel's Arab neighbors, but could not do so. In general, he adopted a hardline approach to the Arabs, permitting the IDF to retaliate for each blow delivered by the enemy.

According to some historians, Ben Gurion relied too heavily on retaliatory raids. They claim that if he had been less provocative, that if he had not ordered the assault on Egyptian positions in the Gaza Strip in February of 1955, Israel might have had a chance to enter into meaningful talks with Egypt, the leader of the Arab world.

In retrospect, Ben Gurion's fateful decision to collude with France and Britain in the 1956 Arab-Israeli war was probably a strategic error, for it branded Israel with the stamp as a collaborator of colonial European powers.

After his retirement, and particularly in wake of the 1967 Six-Day War, Ben Gurion's attitude mellowed. A hawk during much of his tenure as Prime Minister, he turned into something of a dove in his declining years.

"... we must return to the pre-1967 borders," he told an interviewer several years before his death. "Peace is more important than real estate." David Ben Gurion usually knew what was good for Israel.

VANDALS HIT JEWISH CEMETERY

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 8 (JTA) -- Seventy-three headstones were knocked over by vandals at a Jewish cemetery in East Los Angeles two days before the Rosh Hashanah holiday, the World Jewish Congress reported here.

According to the WJC unit on the documentation of international anti-Semitism, the vandals struck last Wednesday night at the Home of Peace Memorial Park. Although the tombstones were knocked from their mountings, none was broken and there was no graffiti, so the cost of repairing the damage will not be great.

It is not clear whether the vandalism was timed to coincide with the Rosh Hashanah holiday, as similar acts of vandalism have occurred during the last three weeks at two non-Jewish cemeteries in the East Los Angeles area, the WJC reported.

The vandals apparently broke into the cemetery, entering it after its gates had been locked for the night.

BEN GURION CENTENNIAL IN CANADA

MONTREAL, Oct. 8 (JTA) -- Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has announced that he will serve as honorary chairman of the Ben Gurion Centennial Year in Canada, marking the 100th anniversary of the birth of David Ben Gurion, the first Prime Minister of Israel. The event is being celebrated in many countries in addition to Israel.

The proceedings will be opened in Montreal on October 30 by Yitzhak Navon, Israeli Minister of Education and a former President of Israel who was a close associate of Ben Gurion. The Canadian Parliament in Ottawa will officially proclaim the start of the centennial year at a special session on October 29 which will be attended by Israel's Ambassador to Canada, Eliashiv Ben-Horin.

Renana Ben Gurion, daughter of the late Prime Minister, will visit Canada next month to inaugurate centennial celebrations in various cities.