

**PALESTINIANS REACT WARILY
TO RABIN PEACE INITIATIVE****By Gil Sedan**

JERUSALEM, July 14 (JTA) -- Palestinian leaders are reacting warily to the push for peace coming from newly installed Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and the rapprochement beginning to take shape between Washington and Jerusalem.

Hanan Ashrawi, spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation to the Middle East peace talks, said Rabin's inaugural address to the Knesset on Monday reflected "a change in tone, but no change in substance" from his predecessor, Yitzhak Shamir.

In his speech, Rabin placed peace at the top of his agenda and called on Palestinians to take Israeli offers of autonomy seriously. Ashrawi was unimpressed by Rabin's willingness to "talk" to the Palestinians. "We need to see real change, no gestures," she said in a telephone interview with the Jewish Telegraphic Agency.

Ashrawi also warned that if, in a gesture of good will toward the new Rabin government, the United States eases conditions for Israel to receive loan guarantees, her delegation will walk out of the talks.

The United States would no longer be "an impartial peace broker," she said.

Ashrawi issued a similar warning should the Democratic Party win the White House in November. She called the Democratic Party "biased" regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict and said that if the next administration adopted the party's strong pro-Israel platform, that administration too would not be considered an honest broker in the peace process.

"We do not interfere in American internal politics and we only express an external view," Ashrawi told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in a telephone interview.

However, in the same breath she said that support for the loan guarantees amounted to an "illegal statement, because the settlements violate both American policy and international law."

PLO Schedules A Meeting

Ashrawi said she took into account the fact that the Democratic statements of support for Israel made before the presidential elections amounted to electioneering, but the very fact that they were made was an indication of a biased view in favor of Israel.

She welcomed the forthcoming visit of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, due here on Sunday, expressing confidence that the peace process would now move forward at a faster speed.

Meanwhile, Palestine Liberation Organization leaders called for a meeting next week in Tunis to work out a response to Rabin's overtures.

At a news conference here on Tuesday, Faisal Husseini, head of the Palestinian delegation to the peace talks, said there was a clear difference between the Rabin and Shamir governments. Shamir, he said, was determined not to negotiate, whereas Rabin hopes to push the peace process forward through negotiations.

The Palestinian leaders refrained from reacting directly to Rabin's call to put an end to

violence in the territories. They challenged Israel to take the first confidence-building measures.

The intifada could change in form, they said, but its scope would depend largely on Israel's treatment of the Palestinians, they said.

Husseini, who is not directly involved in the peace negotiations in part because he lives in Jerusalem, indirectly challenged the Likud's policy of boycotting any negotiations with Palestinian residents of Jerusalem, by suggesting that Rabin contact him for a meeting. "We are here," he said, "not far."

Husseini is also closely identified with PLO leader Yasir Arafat, who is barred from any part in the peace process. Husseini was therefore appointed head of the unofficial advisory council, which, in effect, guides the official Palestinian delegation.

At the news conference Tuesday, the official head of the Palestinian delegation, Dr. Haidar Abdel-Shafi was even more dismissive of Rabin's invitation to meet.

"As long as this invitation comes within the context of this speech, this is not really encouraging to accept the invitation," he said. Abdel-Shafi stressed that the Palestinians rejected any distinction between "political" and "security" settlements, and demanded a total freeze on all settlements in the territories.

Rabin has asserted repeatedly that he would safeguard settlements in the administered territories that he considered vital for security.

Dr. Riad Malki, identified with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, said that opposition to the peace talks by radical elements would continue, despite the change in the Israeli government.

NEWS ANALYSIS:**NEW ISRAELI GOVERNMENT COMMITTED
TO MAKING PEACE, NOT MERELY PROCESS****By David Landau**

JERUSALEM, July 14 (JTA) -- When Yitzhak Rabin gave the Knesset his new government's policy blueprint this week, he pledged there would be no more talk about the "peace process" and that Israel would focus instead on "peacemaking."

That perhaps best captures the fundamental difference between the Labor-led government that took office Monday and the Likud regime that was swept out of power by the June 23 elections.

As the new prime minister himself put it during his hard-fought election campaign, in Labor's view, "not one centimeter" of progress toward peace has been achieved since Israel's Likud government signed a peace treaty with Egypt in 1979.

Much has been said about Rabin's tough stance on security-related issues. But the former army chief of staff and defense minister made it clear this week that from now on, the government would mount a continuous and intensive peacemaking effort, with the negotiators meeting for weeks on end, rather than for a few days once a month or less.

Even the most dovish members of the new government could find nothing in Rabin's remarks to arouse latent suspicions about his true intentions on this issue.

Rabin stressed, time after time, in his opening address Monday and in his remarks closing the debate, that peacemaking and especially reaching an autonomy accord with the Palestinians would be the very top priority of the new government.

He also emphasized the pledge in the new government's policy platform that nothing would be done to disturb the peace talks. That means that there will be no new settlement activity, other than in the Jerusalem area and on the "confrontation lines" along the Jordan River and on the Golan Heights.

Preparing For Baker And Bush

With these goals firmly set forth, Rabin and his team are preparing now to receive U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Jerusalem next week and to fly to the United States in early August for a series of crucial talks with President Bush at his vacation home in Kennebunkport, Maine.

The new government anticipates that an early dividend of these talks will be approval by the Bush administration of Israel's longstanding request for billions of dollars in U.S.-guaranteed loans, to be used to help resettle immigrants.

Finally giving Israel the loan guarantees would not only reward the Jewish state for its change of policy on settlements, but would help Bush, fighting a tough battle for re-election, shore up his sagging relationship with the American Jewish community.

All that being said, the new government is more left-wing than Rabin had wanted.

The prime minister had hoped to have Labor flanked at the Cabinet table on both the right and left. But a series of errors and mishaps in the coalition negotiations left the right-wing Tsomet and the ultra-Orthodox United Torah Judaism parties out of the government, at least for the time being.

As a result, Rabin's desire of heading a coalition large enough that no one party could topple it remains unfulfilled for the moment.

With only a 62-seat majority in the Knesset, the 12-seat Meretz bloc holds Rabin in its thrall, while a secession by the six-seat Shas party would force the prime minister to rely on the two Arab parties to remain in power.

Hoping To Attract Other Parties

Rabin is still hoping that United Torah Judaism will join the coalition. But that is unlikely in the immediate future, given the uproar in the ultra-Orthodox community over Rabin's decision to put the Education Ministry in the hands of Meretz leader Shulamit Aloni, who is regarded as hostile to the religious establishment.

In an attempt to put out that fire, Labor has installed a Shas politician to serve as Aloni's deputy, with authority over the ministry's religious education programs.

And analysts say there is little reason to expect change in the religious status quo under the new government. They say that any hope of challenging the Orthodox monopoly over marriage and divorce for Jews in Israel was buried the moment it became clear that Labor and Meretz did not have sufficient seats between them to form a government.

The only possible shift on religious issues will stem from the decision to create a panel, under Rabin, in his capacity as defense minister, that will re-examine criteria for the deferment of yeshiva students' army service.

TOP LIKUD ECHELON STEPS DOWN, CHANGING POLITICAL LANDSCAPE By Gli Sedan

JERUSALEM, July 14 (JTA) -- Israel bid farewell this week to a number of political figures who have been part and parcel of national politics for the past 15 years.

At least three of them, former Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i and Defense Minister Moshe Arens, have announced they will be leaving politics altogether, sooner or later.

There departure will create a dramatic change in Israel's political landscape, triggered by the volcanic results of Israel's June 23 elections.

Until Election Day, Shamir had still been hoping to lead the country for another four years. And Arens was regarded as having the best prospects of succeeding Shamir when he retired.

Moda'i was confident that his New Liberal Party would win enough Knesset seats to hold the balance of power between Labor and Likud.

Two years ago, Moda'i did wield that kind of power. When Shamir was having trouble forming a coalition government, Moda'i was able to foil an attempt by Labor Party leader Shimon Peres to create an alternative coalition to that of Shamir.

He agreed to go with Shamir by extracting a promise, one never kept, that he would get a "safe spot" on the next Likud list for Knesset.

As it turned out, his new party did not win enough votes in last month's elections to qualify for even one Knesset seat.

But as he was packing his belongings this week, Moda'i took satisfaction in his record as Israel's finance minister.

It was during his term, he pointed out, that the annual inflation rate was kept below 20 percent, that the country had absorbed hundreds of thousands of new immigrants and that a slow pace of economic recovery began.

"I hope that the next finance ministers will be better than me, not worse, and I promise that the results will be just as good as the results I am leaving behind," said Moda'i.

Arens Bitter, Shamir Proud

Arens, though, is leaving politics with hard feelings. While he had wanted to be Likud's next leader, he has been shaken by the party's internal strife and has adopted a more dovish stand since Likud's crushing defeat in the elections.

Before leaving office, he dropped several bombshells. Arens, who voted against the peace agreement with Egypt and was always considered a hawk, declared that it was time to change Likud's "Greater Israel" doctrine.

He also took issue with the massive settlement-building drive and said he favored giving up the Gaza Strip. And this week, he criticized lack of discipline in the Israel Defense Force.

Shamir, on the other hand, is leaving proud of his accomplishments, which he listed in a speech at his last Cabinet session Sunday: the beginning of direct peace negotiations with the Arabs, the immigration of 430,000 Jews from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia, and the spread of Jewish settlements "throughout Eretz Yisrael."

The outgoing prime minister knew exactly where he had been heading the country during the past four years. He had wanted peace, but he had not wanted to go down in history as the man who made concessions for peace. He expressed no remorse over anything he had done or not done.

JEWS, LIKE OTHER DEMOCRATS, WORKING TO KEEP PARTY UNITY

JTA Staff Report

NEW YORK, July 14 (JTA) -- Like other members of their party, Jewish Democrats appear determined this week to exploit the growing national hunger for change, paper over their differences and forge a united front to put Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton in the White House.

The fractiousness that plagued the Democrats in 1988, at its worst over a minority platform plank on the Middle East, was conspicuously absent this week as delegates gathered at Madison Square Garden.

In its stead are speeches with carefully coordinated themes, a Middle East platform slated to be approved without debate, and a dizzying array of receptions, briefings and tourist events for the delegates.

Those events include a pastrami party thrown by the New York Jewish Community Relations Council and a desert reception replete with belly dancers sponsored by Arab-Americans.

Not everyone was sanguine about the effort to squelch differences, however.

David Luchins, an aide to Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), said a dull convention was too high a price to pay for party unity.

"We should have a debate on Israel; we should have a debate on abortion," said Luchins, who is also vice president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America's Institute of Public Affairs. The pro-Israel and pro-choice position "would win, and we'd be the stronger for it."

Perhaps the parties most aggrieved by the pressure for convention unity were former California Gov. Jerry Brown, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Arab-American delegates.

Brown Delegates Angry

Brown delegates, angry their presidential candidate had been denied an opportunity to address the convention, drowned out Monday night's speech by Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.), with chanting and stomping that reverberated through the bleachers of Madison Square Garden.

On Tuesday, the party leadership agreed to let him address the convention Wednesday.

Meanwhile, the Arab-American delegates were privately charging they had been shut out of the platform drafting process and criticized the platform for pandering to pro-Israel forces.

Among Jewish groups there is an unusual appearance of confluence. Eyebrows were raised, for instance, over the buttons distributed to delegates by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee that bore the words, "peace" and "Israel," slogans that have belonged to groups like Americans for Peace Now.

It was a sign that AIPAC may be repositioning itself in the wake of the new Labor government in Israel.

Jews make up an estimated 10 percent of the delegates, and Jewish groups are never far from the center of the convention fray.

AIPAC, which maintains a well-stocked hospitality suite at the Ramada Inn, headquarters for the hordes of visiting press, hosted two crowded receptions. One was in an art gallery, the other at the South Street Seaport.

The pro-Israel lobby also held a briefing in a packed ballroom at the New York Hilton, headquarters of the Democratic National Committee.

All three events were well attended by members of Congress, as well as state and local leadership from around the country.

Americans for Peace Now, flush with the Labor victory in Israel, held a breakfast for a select group Tuesday on Manhattan's Upper West Side, with actor Richard Dreyfuss giving the introductory remarks.

The crowd overflowed the spacious apartment of Victor and Sarah Kovner, requiring half the guests to go downstairs to the apartment of Peter Yarrow, member of the folk trio Peter, Paul and Mary.

Peace Now Holds Overflow Breakfast

At the breakfast, Peace Now activists urged top Clinton foreign policy advisers to resist "mindless" attacks on the Bush administration for its Israel policies. They argued it was critical to make clear to all the Middle East parties that a Clinton administration would maintain a leadership role as a broker in the peace process.

Some activists said that effort already has been tainted by Clinton's unequivocal declaration against a Palestinian state. Indeed, Hanan Ashrawi, spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation to the peace talks, has accused the Democratic Party of a pro-Israel bias that would undermine its credibility as an honest broker in the talks.

On Wednesday, the liberal Jewish intellectual journal Tikkun had scheduled a delegates' forum on the relationship between the Democrats under Clinton and Israel.

Michael Lerner, editor of Tikkun, said the forum was intended to "educate the Democratic Party to the fact that there are two different voices in the Jewish community, not only those who supported (former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak) Shamir."

"We want them to know being pro-Israel is doing anything to support peace," said Lerner.

Pro-Israel delegates were not hard to find at the convention this week.

Among them were Sam Dubbin and Richard Allen of Miami, who ran together as a pro-Clinton slate in Florida's 19th district. The two had never taken part before in the state's caucus process, but decided to cast their lot with Clinton after hearing his positions on Israel and other issues of concern to them.

"We basically wanted to ensure there would be pro-Israel delegates" at the convention, said Dubbin.

Pro-Israel Delegates Visible

Bruce Yampolsky was on the convention floor Monday night, proudly displaying his pro-Israel leanings. The Democratic committeeman of St. Louis' 28th ward wore one of the buttons printed up by AIPAC, as well as a button of the National Abortions Rights Action League.

Yampolsky served as a delegation whip for both groups. That meant, he explained, that if he saw anti-Israel activity, he would "notify the top."

But Israel was not an issue in the delegation, unlike abortion, where his pro-choice stand offended some of the rural delegates.

As the only Jewish elected official in St. Louis, Yampolsky was recently approached to get involved with AIPAC. He said he is likely to accept the invitation.

(Contributing to this report were Cynthia Mann of States News Service and JTA staff writer Larry Yudelson.)

JEWISH COMMUNAL INVOLVEMENT RUNS WIDE BUT SHALLOW, NEW STUDY SHOWS

By Debra Nussbaum Cohen

NEW YORK, July 14 (JTA) -- Substantial numbers of American Jews affiliate with communal organizations, both Jewish and non-sectarian, but their level of commitment is not very deep, a new study by the American Jewish Committee reveals.

While 70 percent of the survey's 1,114 respondents are affiliated with the Jewish community in some way, the majority do no volunteer work, attend no meetings and contribute little financially.

"This, then, is the reality of affiliation with which Jewish organizations and Jewish leadership must grapple," Drs. Renae Cohen and Sherry Rosen wrote in the study, entitled "Organizational Affiliation of American Jews: A Research Report."

That reality is "a potential membership pool that 'believes in' Jewish organizations, gives to them of their time and money at relatively modest levels and prefers the organizations to adhere to an unchanged agenda that emphasizes fighting anti-Semitism, supporting Israel and preserving Jewish identity," the authors wrote.

"There do not appear to be large numbers of Jews here who are willing to participate with greater expenditures of time and money or who care enough to re-evaluate current organizational structures and agendas," they conclude.

But what deserves emphasis, Rosen said in an interview, is the fact that 31 percent of respondents said that they have less involvement in Jewish organizations than they want, compared to 19 percent who want more involvement in non-Jewish organizations.

And respondents have a very positive image of people involved with Jewish organizations; a majority think of them as well educated, Jewishly knowledgeable, active in the community and interested in community or world affairs.

The policy implications of these findings are far-reaching, said Rosen, a research associate in AJCommittee's department of communal affairs. There clearly is a sizable Jewish population ready to be asked to do more, a widespread willingness on which Jewish organizations should capitalize, she explained.

"It leaves the field wide open for Jewish organizations to do much more," she said. "Organizations can build on the weak ties but positive attitudes to ask more of Jews."

Make Organizations 'More Relevant'

Jewish groups should "get them more involved in setting agendas and in making the organizations more relevant to everyday lives."

Some of the findings that could shape the way Jewish groups market themselves include:

- * More than twice as many respondents said they belong to non-sectarian organizations to network for professional reasons as said they belong to Jewish groups for that reason (33 percent vs. 15 percent).

- * Many more said they belong to Jewish groups because of family and friendship ties to the organization (43 percent), and because of an emotional attachment to the group (34 percent) than cited those as reasons for belonging to non-Jewish groups (21 and 19 percent, respectively).

In other findings, two-thirds of respondents believe that affiliation with Jewish groups and with non-sectarian organizations is of equal importance and that affiliation with a Jewish

organization is as important as belonging to a synagogue. Most of those surveyed expressed satisfaction with their level of involvement.

A plurality -- 46 percent -- said they were involved with one Jewish organization other than a synagogue in 1990, 25 percent said they were involved with two, and 28 percent with three organizations or more.

But two-thirds of the survey's respondents said that other than dues and membership fees they donated less than \$200 to all Jewish organizations. Roughly the same percentage of respondents donated less than \$200 to non-sectarian groups.

By a margin of 56 percent to 47 percent, more respondents said they gave money to Jewish organizations than to non-sectarian groups, but more were likely to do volunteer work for non-sectarian groups than for Jewish ones (41 percent vs. 32 percent).

As might be expected, the stronger someone's Jewish identity, the more likely the person is to affiliate with Jewish organizations, according to the study. Those who are married to other Jews, belong to a synagogue, attend services, and are more religious are likeliest to affiliate.

There is "a very strong association" between one's religious observance and membership in Jewish organizations, said Rosen.

Orthodox Jews are more likely than Conservative Jews to participate in Jewish organizations, and Conservative Jews are more likely than Reform Jews and those who claim no denominational affiliation, the survey found.

The survey was conducted by Market Facts Inc., a national research company, in February 1991. The 1,114 responses came from 1,600 surveys sent to self-identified Jewish members of the company's consumer mail panel.

ISRAELIS AND ARABS SEND GET-WELL WISHES TO POPE

By Ruth E. Gruber

ROME, July 14 (JTA) -- Israelis and Arabs alike have sent get-well messages to Pope John Paul II, who entered a Rome hospital Sunday evening for tests and possible surgery for an intestinal ailment.

"I was sorry to learn of your hospitalization," wrote Avi Pazner, Israel's ambassador to Italy. "I send you my warmest wishes for good health and hope that you will quickly resume your full activities."

King Hussein of Jordan sent flowers, and the Palestine Liberation Organization sent a similar message.

"I sent to the pope, a man of peace who has always recognized the rights of all peoples, not only those of the Palestinians, the best wishes of the Palestinian community and of the general PLO delegation in Italy," said Nemmer Ahmadi, the PLO representative in Rome.

In his nearly 14 years as pope, John Paul has had a high profile both in Catholic-Jewish dialogue and in Middle East affairs.

In 1985, he took the unprecedented step of visiting the main synagogue in Rome, and he has met many times with Jewish leaders and has spoken out forcefully against anti-Semitism.

Under his leadership, Jewish-Catholic dialogue has broadened and deepened. Despite a number of crises, both Jewish and Catholic observers agree that the momentum of the dialogue would be hard to stop.