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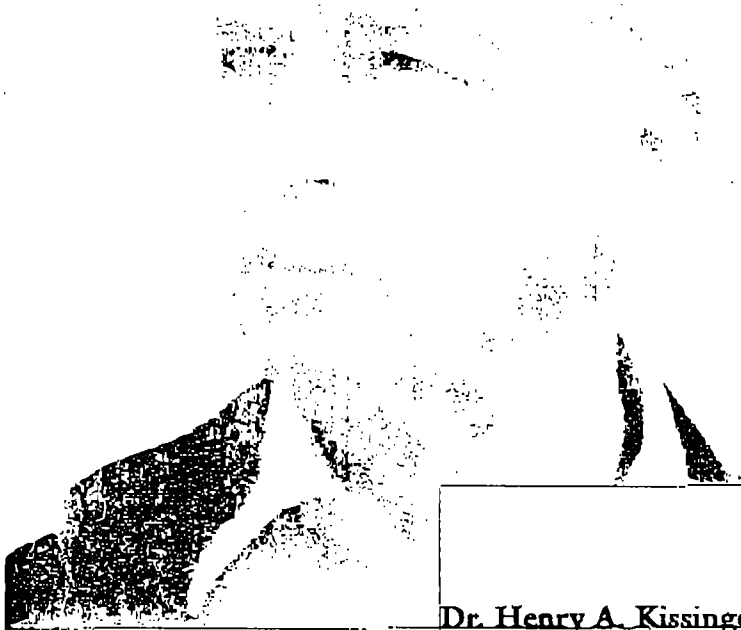
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# RABIN

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Dr. Henry A. Kissinger

**United States and Middle Eastern Policy  
in a Changing Global Arena**

**November 9, 1997**

**THE YITZHAK RABIN CENTER  
FOR ISRAEL STUDIES**

**United States and Middle Eastern Policy  
in a Changing Global Arena**

**Dr. Henry Kissinger**

I met Yitzhak Rabin in 1967, right after the Seven Day War, as I remember the Six Day War because, on the seventh day, he rested so I counted it. Relatively soon after, he invited me to deliver some lectures to the military leaders and shortly after that we worked together when he was ambassador of Israel and I was National Security Advisor.

Very early in my period in office, Abba Eban came to see me and said: Remember, we Israelis consider objectivity to be a hundred percent agreement with our point of view. I thought he was kidding. But it was a complicated period. It was the period of the War of Attrition, of the Soviet missiles along the Suez Canal, then of the Yom Kippur War. And through that period Yitzhak and I worked not only together as colleagues but became close friends.

I admired his extraordinary analytical skill and, while he was a shy man, he was also a very passionate man dedicated to the security of Israel and to the peace within which that security must be embedded.

When he was taken from us, it was a terrible personal blow. I had seen him two weeks before the assassination at a long lunch at the Regency Hotel in New York. He said that Israel really had no choice and that with respect to the Arabs on the West Bank, there were only three possibilities: integration into the Israeli state, which would change the character of the Israeli state; turning the Arab regions into a kind of

Bantustan, which would destroy the moral basis of the Israeli state; or working on coexistence.

Once I met the Australian Foreign Minister after he had just had a meeting with Yitzhak, and he told me that in trying to persuade Yitzhak to some point of view, had said: 'but I am preaching to the converted.' And Yitzhak said: 'no, not to the converted, to the committed.' That was the essence of what he stood for and why he was as close to being an indispensable leader as Israel is likely to have.

He was fortunate to have had as a collaborator Shimon Peres, my long-time friend. The combination of those two men made for extraordinary progress towards peace. At present the question is: Where are we now and where should we go?

I have always been in a rather complicated situation personally. I am of course Jewish and I lost 13 members of my family in concentration camps. That links my destiny with that of the Jewish people. But I have also been honored by being the first Jewish Secretary of State (1973 - 1976) to have contributed to guiding the destiny of America in a very tragic period for America: the ending of the Vietnam War and trying to maintain American credibility at a time of enormous domestic crisis. In the middle of all this came the Yom Kippur War, and then the peace process, all of it in very complicated circumstances.

Many of my colleagues from this period will remember what pressures existed at that time. The energy crisis, the oil embargo, the pressures from most of America's allies to force Israel back to the '67 borders immediately - not a peace process at all but abandonment under outside pressure. And Arab leaders would not even talk to Israel in those days

so that I had to carry messages back and forth. Of course since the two parties never even came face to face, both of them probably thought they could have done a lot better. And probably they could have, if they would only have talked to each other directly.

Through this period, the people I have mentioned, and others such as Simcha Dinitz who was ambassador then, and those of us on the American side, may have had occasional disagreements but we always had a common objective. And there was through all those years a fundamental agreement as to where we were trying to go.

The point I want to make is that that is the absolutely essential requirement for progress towards peace. It seems to me that there are three aspects for Israel's position in a peace process. The first is its relationship to America; the second is its relationship to the international community; and the third is the preservation of the security of Israel through all of this.

It is almost impossible to have every one of these three elements in perfect harmony, or to expect that everything is possible within each category. But enough of it must be achieved to allow for underlying harmony.

The great contribution of Yitzhak Rabin was that he was totally trusted in America and that by the end of his life he had established a truly extraordinary position in the international community. I was in Asia once and happened to be watching some Asian television when, quite by accident, I saw his arrival in China, where he was treated as an honored state guest. I tracked him down and called him up and said: I have become somewhat of an expert in Chinese receptions and you have

received the most respectful, courteous and high-level reception that I have ever seen.

That was a great achievement for Israel and not just in China but everywhere. And through all of this, as a former Chief of Staff he maintained of course his dedication to the security of Israel. Now, where are we?

I do not want to talk in categories that are part of the Israeli domestic debate. I simply want to describe what I believe to be the challenges which must be met in the contemporary period. First, relations with America.

The Israel of today is dealing with quite a different America from the one that started the peace process. It is a generation which, on the whole, has no memory of World War II. My generation went through World War II, the restoration of Europe, the Marshall Plan, and the rebuilding of free societies. For us it was absolutely axiomatic that we would protect the Middle East against Communist dangers.

Today there is no longer that sort of Communist danger. The formative experience of the current generation of Americans was the Vietnam War and its disappointments. In America today there is isolationism on the left and unilateralism on the right, and the government has to navigate with great care between them.

As some of you may know, President Clinton was my second choice in the last election. Nevertheless, I say that only to indicate that I support him on his recent initiatives to China, his NATO expansion policy and, if he should feel that it is necessary to take a strong stand against Iraq,

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which I certainly believe, I will certainly do my utmost to bring about bipartisan support for him in that respect.

But bipartisanship in America now is more difficult. Over 30% of those in Congress have never been outside the United States, and many of the issues we read about in the newspapers are almost incomprehensible to them.

When I am asked about the Middle East, or about the Palestinian-Israeli issue, I always ask an American audience: What is the distance from the Jordan River to the sea? Will you please raise your hand. Never have I found one person who knew. They think 300 miles, 500 miles. When I say 50 miles, it is a stunning piece of news to them.

So when the issue is how many kilometers one can safely withdraw, that is a very difficult concept to get into the minds of the average American. There is also inherent disparity with the views of a continental country which has never been in mortal danger or suffered a major defeat in war. Not even Vietnam really touched American soil.

In a country like Israel, which has never been out of danger, never been recognized and has lived a ghetto existence for most of its history, the dialogue between America and Israel is important and absolutely essential to acquiring some understanding of where we are going.

The second aspect of Israel's position in a peace process is its relationship to the international community. The international situation today is totally different from what it was 25 years ago. At that time it was a two-power world and it was relatively easy to integrate the thinking about the relative power positions of the various countries.

Now we have a Russia which is back to the borders of Peter the Great. We have a China growing at the rate of 10% a year for 20 years, an unheard-of evolution. India is developing rapidly. South East Asia is also growing. And then there are changes in the area much closer to you in Israel, in Iran, and possible changes in other regions as well.

In terms of just America, the question is how to handle this, and what the American national interest is in such a situation. We live in a world of global economics but politics remain national. I do not know how much of our current debate is presented in the Israeli press, or what the countries of South East Asia and elsewhere are saying. But we have to find a way of insulating ourselves from economic crises which start far away and are orchestrated by pension funds and other institutions we do not even understand. This will absorb an enormous amount of American attention, and Israel must be placed in all of this somehow if it is not to become in time the focal point of a lot of pressures.

So now let me talk about Israel. What a unique country. What other people would conceive to return to where they had not been for 2000 years. What a testimony to faith to build a significant nation on this territory.

I came here for the first time in 1961. The first Israeli leader I met was Yigal Allon, when he was studying at Harvard for three months in 1965. He told me about the Independence War in 1948, a fantastic adventure, but Israel then had only a few hundred thousand people.

I came to this city for the first time in 1962 when Shlomo Argov, who is now lying in the Hadassa Hospital because he was shot in the head by an Iraqi assassin, took me around and we stood at the separation of the

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City of Jerusalem and looked into the Old City. So, without a doubt, Israel has had a very complicated past, has grown into a modern industrial state, and is in the best economic position it has ever been in. But how can it look to the future?

As a result of its history, Israel has developed, or some Israelis have developed, notions of peace and security that are almost eschatological. The notion of security is one of perfect security and of avoiding a repetition of the endless cycle of wars through which Israel has lived. Or, if that is not achievable, perfect security against all the outside world.

The notion of peace is that some magic point will be reached when an agreement is signed, after which the Middle East will live with a consciousness of harmony. I think neither of these objectives is going to be achievable quickly. But definite and significant progress can be made towards each of them, and has been made towards each of them.

With respect to the problem of security, it is of course essential that Israel never be in a position where aggressors believe they can achieve a decisive victory; or where Israel is totally dependent, or even largely dependent, on foreign support for its security. On the other hand, Israel must also find itself in an international environment in which it is not perceived as the principal cause of tension in the region.

In 1973, when the peace process started, I was perhaps the principal advocate of what was then called the step-by-step approach. My reasoning was as follows: all the surrounding countries were demanding that Israel return immediately and unconditionally to the 1967 borders, after which they would be willing perhaps to open peace negotiations.

After a war of such magnitude, it was inconceivable for Israel to make such a retreat in return for such a promise. Therefore I believed - and the Israeli leaders of that time came to believe - that a series of smaller steps, each of which would invite some reciprocity, might create the conditions in which a breakthrough towards peace could be achieved by one or the other of the Arab countries.

At the time, I was heavily criticized for this. But I thought it important not to humiliate Egypt to the point where Sadat would not be able to participate in peace negotiations since, in my view, the soldiers of the Third Army could be replaced easily. But an Egyptian government willing to talk to Israel was harder to find. And so the step-by-step approach developed, gained huge momentum, and was culminated by Yitzhak and Shimon in the Oslo Agreements.

Like many of you, when the Oslo Agreements were first published I was quite uneasy. I am frank to admit it. I wrote some articles in which I raised a number of questions about what might happen, and about the things which might go wrong. Some of the questions I raised, such as the possible behavior of the Palestinian police, proved to be valid. Yet I came to believe, and I hold the view now, that if one had tried to tie up every last of the things that could go wrong, there would never have been an agreement.

The fundamental breakthrough was to teach the Arabs and Israelis the grammar of coexistence, and to enable them, by working through basically insoluble problems towards some practical solution to solve the fundamental challenge on the West Bank, which is this.

The Sinai was relatively easy to make an agreement on because there are 200 miles of sand between the Egyptian population and the Israeli population. But on the West Bank, it is not possible to create any physical separation of that kind. And there, the problem is one of coexistence.

On the Arab side, there are undoubtedly those who are using the negotiations in the way France negotiated with Germany before World War I - as a way of getting back Alsace-Lorraine at the right moment. And indeed, in one of the early meetings with Asad, he said to me: the French waited 50 years, I can wait 50 years. There are people who go even further and want to destroy the process.

Yet I also believe that there is no alternative for either side, as I was quoted in an Israeli newspaper. That, by the way, came about in a typically Israeli way: a journalist came to me at the airport and said: give me a break, I came all the way out here, at least give me one sentence. So, given the unlimited Israeli ability to make me feel guilty, I told her what I actually ought to believe.

I believe that the objective conditions to making progress are in place for the following reasons: neither side can or want to go to war; neither side can continue imposing its will because the international community will not stand for it; and there are critical limits even to terrorism.

I believe, in fact, that the tragic events since the death of Yitzhak have taught many Israelis who opposed him that what they thought was achievable is not achievable. I have the impression that Arafat and the Arab side are learning that they cannot mobilize enough outside pressure to make Israel do something which goes against the basic instincts of the Israeli people.

So now the problem is, how does one put this together. As I understood the Oslo Peace Process, it was the lead step, would improve the atmosphere and gradually create a situation in which the final decisions would operate on the momentum of what had already been achieved. I think that was a realistic and visionary concept.

Now I think that so much has happened on both sides that this expectation is harder to fulfill. Therefore I, the originator of the step-by-step approach, have become more and more attracted to the idea of either taking some bigger steps or even trying for a final, overall, settlement. The reason for this is that, in an atmosphere of distrust, if one does not know the destination, each concession becomes much harder.

I recognize that the atmosphere of distrust also makes a permanent settlement negotiation very difficult, because people may think it is an excuse for doing nothing. And so the question is whether it is possible to link a number of big issues together.

I have argued ever since Prime Minister Begin agreed to the concept of autonomy, that a Palestinian state was inevitable. Once the concept of autonomy had been granted, nothing would prevent the outside world from elevating the status of that autonomous unit. Therefore, I told Begin on the day after Camp David - and I have said it ever since - that the key question is: what borders will that unit have?

Those two issues must be linked. What are the borders, and that, in return for them, a Palestinian state will emerge and will be recognized by the outside world, whatever Israel does. That framework has to be faced. I do not think Israel can possibly return to the '67 borders on the West Bank. I have always believed that something like the Allon Plan,

without tying myself to any particular line, will have to be the outcome. And it has to be faced by the Arab side. What has to be faced by the Israeli side is the political outcome I have described.

There is a whole host of other issues - from refugees to the precise limitations of armaments for the Palestinian unit, because that cannot possibly be a constant source of upheaval. But if we are clear about the destination and, above all, if Israel and the United States can agree that that is the destination, then the tactics can maybe be argued.

This seems to me the big decision which has to be made. One cannot possibly hope that there is a way around it. This is a relatively quiet period in international affairs but it would be unrealistic to expect that it will continue indefinitely, or even much longer; and then it will be much more difficult to mobilize public support, at least in America.

As I said, I was a great admirer of Yitzhak and I would like to close with one episode and one quote. Many of you will remember the episode of the young soldier whose father was killed in the last days of the 1973 war; who volunteered, after he had already served his time, in the unit charged with antiterrorist actions of the Israeli Army; and who was killed in that last action.

A friend of mine called me up and said: you know this is awfully tough on Yitzhak. He had to order this. Why don't you give him a call. I gave him a call, and of course those of you who know Yitzhak will recognize that he didn't want to talk about having done his duty. And any one who knew him knew he was suffering. So I said: Yitzhak, I sometimes think that all your life has been a preparation for this period and that it was really some divine providence that made you go through this.

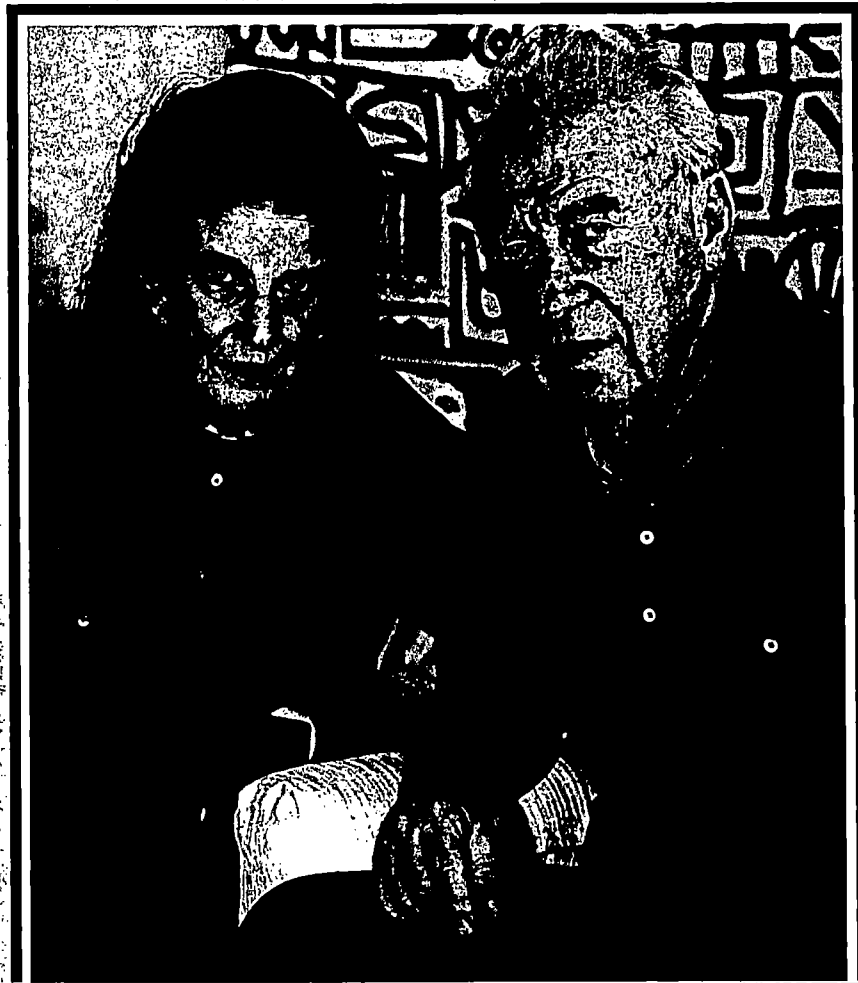
Well, even this did not elicit any more from Yitzhak except to say: we shall see. And of course we have.

Now I would like to read a paragraph from a speech which many of you will undoubtedly know, one he made at a joint session of the American Congress in 1994. I think it epitomizes what he stood for and the attitude that needs to animate our actions:

*It is said in the Bible, our Book of the Books, peace is mentioned in its various idioms 237 times, in the Bible from which we draw our values and our strength. In the book of Jeremiah we find the lamentation of Rachel, the Matriarch. It reads: 'Refrain your voice from weeping and your eyes from tears for thy work shall be rewarded, said the Lord.' I will not refrain from weeping for those who are gone. But on this summer day in Washington, far from home, we sense that our work will be rewarded, as the prophet foretold.*

I think there is no more to be said about the peace process than that. Thank you very much.

# RABIN



Our Life, His Legacy

# LEAH RABIN

## RABIN LECTURE - 1998



EDGAR BRONFMAN

RABIN CENTER.

I am excited about being here today, in a place named for a man of vision and courage, one of Israel's greatest leaders. It would have embarrassed him if I listed even some of his accomplishments in the service of his country, not to mention all of them.

*The solution in the F.S.U. How many?*

In a broad sense, I should like to speak today about Israel and the Jewish world in the next century. Those two topics are not unrelated. Of very deep concern is the schism in Jewish life between the secular and the Orthodox here in Israel. I use that term rather than the religious, because in Israel, the religious means the Orthodox, even if the two are not synonymous in the Diaspora. There is a long history of contention between the secular and the Orthodox in Israel that goes back to the days of the shtetl, when the religious believed

that there could be no redemption to Israel without the advent of the Messiah. This led to much acrimony. Those who first came to what was then Palestine were, in the vast majority, the secular. In Israel today, there is a bitter hangover from that battle. The secular say, all too often "Don't you dare try to teach me or my children that religious crap of yours." In other words, from a North American viewpoint, the secular are too secular and the orthodox are too orthodox

In the Diaspora, there is much more of a laissez faire attitude. This is understandable on two counts. The immigrants who came to America during and at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> really thought they had found their Zion. Part of that feeling derived from the fact that the founding fathers of America insisted on a separation of state and church. That doctrine made it possible for Jews to live lives of

relative freedom from persecution in America.

It may have been hard work, but the Jewish immigrants climbed the ladder to success with astonishing brevity. David ben Gurion was amazed when after the state was secure, millions of Jews did not descend on Israel from abroad. His vision of Jewish life in America was shaped by his own life in eastern Europe, in the Pale of Settlement. He could not imagine how different things were in America.

The battle over the legitimacy of the Conservative, Reform and Reconstructionist branches of Judaism was never fought in the Diaspora. Since the various states, and the states only (whether the individual states in the US or states such as France) could sanctify marriage and do all the other civil duties that in Israel have to a large extent

fallen to the Orthodox rabbinate, there was never a real issue. Indeed, in Israel the battle the Orthodox and Diaspora Jewry has been over the question of conversion. A thorny issue, and one that affects very few converts, yet it seizes the minds of all Jews, many who feel that they too are being delegitimized.

So it is clear that one of the battles between we in the Diaspora and you in Israel is about religion, as strange as that may seem to others. On the subject of peace, the overwhelming majority of Diaspora Jewry longs for peace in the Middle East. In Israel you are not so sure, as you ponder the enmity of the Arabs since the declaration of statehood. You tend to follow slogans like "Peace with Security," without anyone defining precisely what that means. You say to us, when it comes to peace and war, those of us who live here are the only ones with a

right to speak. No one in the Diaspora argues that point, but nonetheless many feel frustrated with the lack of progress.

When it comes to religion, those of us who would like peace on that front too find that our natural ally, the Israeli secular Jew, is very hard to find when it comes to taking a stand. Fighting each other seems to be the national ethos of the country. We have always been a contentious people, despite how many of us have prayed forgiveness for that sin on Yom Kippur.

The Diaspora faces another serious challenge, which by definition is also a challenge to Israel. I now refer to assimilation on a scale never believed possible by our ancestors. I have read Michael Blumental's "The Invisible Wall," a personal exploration of the relationship and the history of Germans and Jews, that

led to the Holocaust. He makes it very clear that in Europe's most cultured state, there was always an invisible wall separating Jew from Christian, and that there still is. In America, the ease of assimilation would astound our grandparents, and if you're as old as I am, your parents. Why is this a danger to Israel? On two counts: one, that if there will be significantly fewer Jews in the USA, there will be significantly less of a lobby in support of Israel; the other danger is that Israel, if it does not solve the "War" between the secular and the religious, could become another fundamentalist Middle Eastern country, of interest to fewer and fewer Jews in the Diaspora, and fewer and fewer non-Jews. Is that too drastic to say? I don't believe it is. Since the new election laws went into effect, the two main parties cannot now claim a majority of Knesset seats and the government is now dependent on the religious bloc to maintain its majority

another leader with the same vision will emerge. And perhaps the zealotry of the messianists will be contained.

It would seem that Jews cannot stand prosperity. Every time we have been on top, we have fought among ourselves and paid an enormous price. Now that once again we have our own state, with a Diaspora of wealth and influence, we seem to be doing it again - fighting among ourselves - inviting disaster. The 21<sup>st</sup> century should and can be a wonderful time for our people. Israel can lead the Middle East into a prosperity it has never known. A Jewish renaissance of the Diaspora can slowly turn off the rapid escalation of assimilation. Jews in the Diaspora can invest in and become real partners with Jews in Israel. The dream can come true if we all wake up to what must be done. I pray we do.

example of homosexual weddings performed by Reform rabbis. I understand them, and I understand the terrible pressure put on gays and lesbians by society. Let us argue about what is right and what is not right. But we must strive to be inclusive if Judaism and Israel will survive fundamentalism.

I call this attempt to radically change the Jewish agenda a Renaissance. We desperately need an awakening of the spirit, a re-birth of our relationship to Torah. This, of course, will not solve the problem of making peace with Israel's neighbors. Israel came so close once before, and then backed off. I hope the time is coming soon when it will try again. I remember like it was yesterday Yitzhak Rabin, alev ha shalom, on the White House lawn when he made that incredible speech about bloodshed, saying for all the world to hear "Enough!" Perhaps

and were looking for the right key to get Hashem's ear and find salvation. Conditions are different today.

I should like to suggest here, as I do when talking in the Diaspora, that Jews should be challenged to take control of their synagogues. The Rabbis seem owned by the Siddur, and in turn dominate the synagogue service. We should demand of our rabbis a different, educational and interactive service. We must challenge the rabbinate to be creative and to vastly increase attendance at services.

Two generations of American Jews expressed their Judaism with a check to the UJA. Now that too is slipping away. I believe there is a need today for Israel to welcome Conservative and Reform branches of Judaism in their midst. The ultra-Orthodox will despair of the idea, using the

discussion of the Akeida. Imagine an argument as to whether Abraham was right in not arguing with G-d about the killing of his son. He did when G-d told him that all of Sodom and Gemorrah would be destroyed, and Abraham argued - successfully - for his nephew Lot. Imagine the discussion as to why Torah calls Isaac "...his only son...." We know full well that Ishmael had been born first. Imagine a discussion of the relationship of sons and fathers, fathers and sons that the Akeida brings to mind. Isaac, who was 38 at the time, barely spoke with his father on the way up the mountain or after their descent. Torah is full of allegorical stories. How interesting, nay fascinating our services could become if we could teach and learn instead of repeating ourselves with praise of Hashem endlessly. Certainly praise of the Lord is important to our service, but the boring repetition was born of an era when Jews were desperate

Diaspora now has to make up his or her mind whether or not he or she wants to remain Jewish. In Israel the situation has its own parallel. Walk down the streets of Tel Aviv, and ask young people whether or not they are Jewish. Their reply, "We are Israeli," could well begin with "No." "No, we are not Jewish, we are Israeli."

To tempt the choosing to choose to be Jewish, we need to instill in them a sense of pride in their peoplehood, their history, their traditions. In Israel we must fight the apathy about Judaism in the secular. In the non-Orthodox schools in Israel, the need to teach our youth their Jewish story is apparent. Of course the youth in Israel are proud of their country. We must also make them proud of their Jewishness. In the Diaspora, there is an urgent need for day schools for the non-Orthodox. The sons and daughters of Reform and Conservative Jews as well as of

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~~Ammanising. I turn to the wonders of our~~  
religion to Hillel groups all over. The one subject I have ignored is the synagogue. Why? Because I cannot wax enthusiastic about something I find tedious, repetitious - boring - with hardly any redeeming features. I have in the past advocated that the synagogue be more of a Beit Midrash than it is. I do so again. Imagine that if on the first day of Rosh Hashana there would be a

in order to govern. Look at the difference in the birthrates of the Orthodox and the secular, and think about what that will mean to Israeli parliamentary politics in 10, 20, 30 years time.

I have painted a gloomy picture of the future, haven't I? It is certainly fair to ask me whether I see any solutions to the problems facing us. Unfortunately, not many will agree with me at this point in time. But let me try to conjure up a brighter future for Jews and Judaism. The founder, along with Stephen Wise, of the World Jewish Congress, Nahum Goldman, used to say that when things are good for Jews, it's bad for Judaism, and *vice versa*. In America and indeed in much of the Diaspora, this is the first generation of young Jews who find that being Jewish is not a condition. They are no longer "The Chosen," they have become the choosing. Every Jewish youth in the

Copyright 1996, The Commercial Appeal  
The Commercial Appeal (Memphis)

September 26, 1996, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: NEWS, Pg. 13A

LENGTH: 836 words

HEADLINE: Yitzhak Rabin 'was there for us' ,  
Here for him, widow to accept Freedom Award

BYLINE: Jody Callahan, The Commercial Appeal

BODY:

She remembers that November night, the night her world stopped turning with three shuddering echoes.

Leah Rabin stood with Yitzhak, her husband of 48 years, as he nervously sang The Song of Peace with 100,000 others at a rally in Tel Aviv's Kings of Israel Square.

As the rally ended, the 73-year-old Israeli prime minister folded the sheet of song lyrics and tucked it into his shirt pocket. Surrounded by a cluster of security officers, he walked toward his waiting car.

A young man stepped from the crowd. The man aimed his pistol and fired three shots into the prime minister's chest and back.

With that act, Rabin was dead, and gone was a prime architect of perhaps the strongest chance for a lasting peace in the Middle East.

In honor of Yitzhak Rabin, Leah Rabin will accept the National Civil Rights Museum's \$ 50,000 International Freedom Award at noon today in a free public forum at Mississippi Boulevard Christian Church, 70 N. Bellevue.

Mrs. Rabin will be joined by civil rights pioneer Andrew Young, who will receive the museum's \$ 25,000 National Freedom Award. Both will speak at the museum's sold-out Freedom Awards Banquet at 7 p.m. tonight at The Peabody.

The awards are the centerpieces of the museum's annual Conference on Freedom.

When asked, Leah Rabin answers yes, yes she remembers that evil night of Nov. 4, 1995.

But, as her young granddaughter Noa Ben-Artzi Philosof did in a eulogy that made the world cry, she'd rather just remember the man who was her husband.

'On the human side, he was a man of total dedication to his country and his people with a full sense of purpose, working day and night to achieve his goals,' Mrs. Rabin said.

"He was a very, very dedicated family man. Me, my children and my grandchildren all miss him terribly," she said. "We all realized that when we needed him, he was there for us."

Although his life ended in the role of diplomat, Rabin's career was marked by his time as a hardened soldier in an elite underground band called the Palmach, as a brigade commander in Jerusalem during the 1948 War of Independence and as a planner of the Six Day War as chief of staff in 1967.

But, Leah Rabin pleads, don't judge her husband solely by his military record.

"If people think or try to portray him as a soldier who solved problems by military force, this I'd like to emphasize as all wrong. He was a big advocate of a very, very strong Israeli army. . . . When our neighboring countries realize that they cannot defeat us on the battlefield, that is when great men come and say, 'We want no more war. We want peace,' " said Mrs. Rabin, who was also a member of the Palmach.

"He believed in peace from the very beginning and never stopped hoping and aspiring for peace between Israel and its neighbors. (The military) for him was not a goal, it was only a means to eventually achieve peace."

Others also point to Rabin's military side as a means to an end.

"Yitzhak Rabin spent his life transforming, from a young soldier to an experienced global statesman," said Belz Enterprises chairman Jack Belz, who met with Rabin briefly the Thursday before the assassination and who will introduce Leah Rabin at the banquet tonight.

"He said something about, 'I was a military man for 27 years and waged war as long as there was no chance for peace. I believe there's now a chance for peace, a great chance and we must make the most of it.' "

After Rabin's assassination, Israel's right-wing Likud Party won the elections to succeed Rabin's Labor Party. His detractors charge that new Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is not as enthusiastic about the 1993 peace accord between Israel and Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization as was his predecessor.

Netanyahu's apparent attitude makes Mrs. Rabin - who has publicly blamed her husband's murder on an "atmosphere of hate" fostered by Likud and others - fearful for peace.

"The prime minister and his members of the government claim . . . they have to honor the signed agreements. It seems the honoring is a little behind but I hope it will take place," she said.

During her husband's career, she most often stood by his side, not out in front. With his death, her role has evolved, becoming so prominent that some have speculated she may run for office.

Uncomfortable though it may be, she said, she accepts her new, more prominent role.

"I have to take . . . the public role of accepting all kinds of honors, awards, honorary degrees in honor of my husband's memory," she said.

"I see it as my commitment to my husband. We were married for 48 years and we were very close. . . . It's a sadness and sorrow and sense of loss, but at the same time it's what I feel I need to do for his memory and to keep his legacy alive."

GRAPHIC: Photo,

(Color) Leah Rabin will accept the National Civil Rights Museum's \$ 50,000 International Freedom Award today in honor of her slain husband, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. (A1),

LOAD-DATE: September 27, 1996

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company  
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December 8, 1995, Friday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section B; Page 7; Column 1; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 183 words

HEADLINE: CHRONICLE

BYLINE: By NADINE BROZAN

BODY:

COLETTE AVITAL, the Israeli Consul General in New York, telephoned MARVIN HAMLISCH a few days ago to ask him to perform in a public memorial tribute to Yitzhak Rabin on Sunday at 10 A.M. in Madison Square Garden.

"She wanted me to play a song I wrote with Marilyn and Alan Bergman called 'One Song,' and I said, 'Not only will I do that, but I have written another song that would be great for this occasion,'" Mr. Hamlish said yesterday.

His new composition is called "Noa's Song," and he was inspired to write it when he watched Mr. Rabin's granddaughter, Noa Ben-Artzi Philosof, who is 18, deliver her heartbreaking eulogy at the funeral of the Prime Minister, who was assassinated on Nov. 4.

"The song was brought about by the chilling remarks that she made, but it is not specifically about Noa," Mr. Hamlish said. "It is about the importance of listening to children who are wise beyond their years."

Dudu Fisher, an Israeli tenor, will sing it, accompanied on the piano by Mr. Hamlish, and the Professional Performing Arts School Concert Choir will sing "One Song."

GRAPHIC: Photo: Marvin Hamlish.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: December 8, 1995

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**  
**REMARKS AT YITZHAK RABIN CENTER EVENT**  
**THE WHITE HOUSE**

**March 18, 1999**

It is my great honor to welcome you to the White House. It is particularly moving for me -- and, I'm sure, for all of you -- that we meet today on the South Lawn. Who can forget that mere steps from here -- on a brilliant, cloudless morning in September of 1993 -- Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin helped set Israelis and Palestinians on the unalterable path of peace with the handshake seen 'round the world.

Thank you all for being here to share this day. I particularly want to thank the members of the Rabin family who are here [Mrs. Lea Rabin, Ms. Dalia Rabin Polossof [PELL-oh-sof] (Yitzhak's daughter) and Noa Ben-Artzi Pelossof (Dalia's daughter); Yuval Rabin (Yitzhak's son); Mrs. Rachel Rabin-Jacob (Yitzhak's sister)].

We also have joining us today Secretary of State Albright and other distinguished members of the Administration; Members of the Diplomatic Corps; Members of Congress; and honored guests.

Most of all, I want to thank my friend, Mrs. Rabin. You and I have come to know each other -- and I have come to admire you so deeply -- through both the most painful and the most joyous of times.

The unforgettable day of the handshake. The scorching hot day in the Arava [Ah-Rah-Vah], when everyone hugged and cried as the border between Israel and Jordan swung wide open. The day here at the White House when your husband signed the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement and my husband helped him straighten his black tie. The day of Yitzhak's funeral, when you said goodbye to your beloved husband and we said shalom to a dear, dear friend. And, just last month in Jordan, when King Hussein was laid to rest. We have celebrated together when peace has taken wing. We have mourned together when the peacemakers' lives have been tragically cut short.

Today, thank God, is a joyous occasion. A time for celebrating the contributions of your heroic husband. A time for bringing the Yitzhak Rabin Center for Israel Studies to life.

The Yitzhak Rabin Center, as we've all just seen in the model on display, will be a magnificent facility. Moshe Safdie's reverent design incorporates hints of the ancient Western Wall in a setting as modern and lush as the nation Yitzhak Rabin helped to build.

The Center will be far more than a monument. When the Center opens its doors two years from now, it will be a vital institute, a museum, an archive, a library. The Center will be a place where scholars and students, parents and children will learn about and engage in the causes of tolerance and peace that Yitzhak Rabin gave his life to uphold. The Center will be constant and perpetual proof that this great man did not die in vain.

At Yitzhak's funeral, Lea's poised and beautiful granddaughter Noa brought the entire world to tears with her loving portrait of her grandfather. "Grandfather, you were and still are our hero," she said. "I wanted you to know that every time I did anything, I saw you in front of me."

I believe all of us still see Yitzhak Rabin in front of us. I know I saw him this past December, when I visited the hills overlooking the Ayalon Valley and met 30 courageous Jewish and Palestinian families who have chosen to live together side by side. The most wonderful moment was watching three kindergartners of different faiths light a Menorah, a Christmas tree, and a Ramadan lantern. In the warm glow of those lights, everyone in the room saw beautiful rays of reconciliation.

And, of course, everyone in the room saw the guiding spirit of Yitzhak Rabin.

I am grateful to all of you who are heeding this spirit and keeping the flame -- by building the Yitzhak Rabin Center, by promoting greater understanding between neighbors, by striding toward a Promised Land not only of milk and honey but also of true tolerance, security, and peace.

And now, it is my great pleasure to introduce Yitzhak Rabin's daughter, Dalia Rabin-Pelossof [PELL-oh-sof], the Chair of the Executive Committee of the Yitzhak Rabin Center. She is also one of Israel's top labor lawyers, a candidate for the Knesset, and the proud mother of Noa and Jonathan. Please welcome Dalia Rabin-Pelosoff.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

For Immediate Release

August 15, 1994

REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON YOUTH VIOLENCE  
WASHINGTON, DC

Thank you so much, and thank you Secretary Riley, we have been friends and allies for many years and I am so grateful for his leadership on behalf of education for our entire country. I want to thank my friend Deborah Prothrow-Stith who years ago first taught me that violence is a public health epidemic. She made it very clear that if we had a disease in our country that was killing 65 people a day, this country would be mobilized. We would not rest until we had figured out how to stamp out that epidemic. Particularly when it was including in its death 7 young people a day. And now we know there is an epidemic of violence and yet there are still some among us who either refuse to accept the ravages of that epidemic or have other agendas besides the saving of lives and the reforming of people's futures. And it is imperative that conferences like this including people like all youth around this country speak out loudly and clearly to what your elected representatives know that on this issue as with many others, when it comes to violence enough is enough and America wants action now.

I want to especially thank all the cities that sent teens here to this conference. Because each of you have made a step as Secretary says starting with the first conference last year, of recognizing the problem that violence particularly youth violence poses to our society. We know we have to form partnerships among all different kinds of people in every community and we have to have partnerships at the local, state, and federal level in order to combat the ravages of violence. But I particularly want to thank the young people who are here and I want to thank Lucretia for that welcome when I came and sat down. I love that enthusiasm, I love the sound of young voices speaking out on what they care about. Truly your being here and your being willing to commit yourselves to finding solutions is very significant. And I am grateful for your accepting this responsibility.

This conference as those of you who are participants know, is about possibility and also about success. And is about never, never, giving up. I often give commencement speeches and I've heard many and I'm sure all of you in this room have. But the favorite I've ever heard about was the one Winston Churchill gave at his prep school when he strode to the podium and with very few introductory words said, "Never, never, never give up." That is the way I feel about many of the issues facing our country today. And it is also the way I feel about every single young person in our country today. Every young man or woman, every boy or girl, has a God given potential that we at our herald give up on. And it is incumbent upon us, as representatives of the adult community of this society, to recommit ourselves to youth. The young people who are here are pledging to you, "If you don't give up on yourself, we will not give up on you."

We also have to admit it is a lot harder in many ways

growing up today than it was when most of us of a certain age in this room were coming up. It is much harder. I can remember times when kids in my neighborhood would take on kids from another neighborhood. I probably shouldn't say this you'll hear more stories about my life. But I can remember and since I was kind of a tomboy I was often involved in some of those discussions that would occur. But that's what they mostly were they were discussions when we thought up the worst things we could call each other. Occasionally there be fists thrown and people rolling on the ground. Not me I was standing there trying to say, "Now, boys, now boys." For most of us of a certain age we can remember it happening. But you know, the occasional black eye, the occasional hurtful word, the occasional pushing and shoving that went on, I just thank God that given the strong emotions that accompany growing up no matter who you are or where you grow up we did not have guns, we did not have assault weapons, so when tempers got hot the most we could do to one another is yell and scream and push and shove and occasionally throw a punch.

Think of what it is like today where the young people in this room and the millions others like them are immersed in a culture of violence. A culture that in so many ways glorifies violence. We see it everyday on television, we see it in our movies, but worst of all we see it every single day on the streets and neighborhoods where children are trying to grow up. Where many, too many in effect are raising themselves. In too many neighborhoods gunfire is a daily ritual of life, and uzi is a badge of honor, instead of a mark of cowardice, which it truly is. A bullet wound is an emblem of adulthood. As I've traveled from hospital to hospital in the last year and a half, and I've gone into emergency rooms, what I heard over and over again is that the epidemic Deborah warned us about is now raging in so many of our communities. It is different when you see thirteen and fourteen year-olds brought in with bullet wounds. It is different still when they are brought in not with one bullet, but multiple bullets from assault weapon. It is different still when the techniques of medicine cannot even keep up with the carnage that is daily brought through the doors of your emergency rooms. You go to any emergency room in a medium size city, let alone a large city in our country, and you talk to the doctors and the nurses there as I have. If you do not believe violence is an epidemic, you will become quickly convinced as they tell you the stories of struggling to save thirteen and fourteen year old lives. Sometimes saving those lives only to send those young men out on the street knowing they are likely to be back in that emergency room in a relatively short period of time.

We see it everyday as we pick up our newspapers. I picked up a newspaper here in Washington today and read about another thirteen year old gunned down on the street corner. In Washington last summer, gun shots were fired at a public swimming pool packed with children trying to escape the 90 degree heat. A few months ago, a four-year old girl was fatally shot in the head when groups of youngsters opened fire on an elementary school playground. And during the past week a one year-old was grazed by a bullet from a gunfight. That thirteen year-old who died, it appears his killer is also thirteen years-old. What does it say about a society that has graduated from taunts and yells and thrown punches and raised fists--, that all of us remember from school yard fights, neighborhood fights in the past. To thirteen year-olds being gunned down on street corners, a four year olds being killed on playgrounds, and one year olds being grazed by bullets.

Over and over we see that children are not only the victims of violence but all too frequently the perpetrators. In the 1980's more than 11,000 people died as a result of homicide committed by high school age young people. Gunfire and drive by shootings and violence have become so common place that many people don't even notice it or talk about it anymore. In matter of fact ways children tell you they're not sure they will live to finish high school. It is not only the academic challenges they confront, it's the challenges to their physical safety. There is as you know, no simple answer to this epidemic of youth violence. That's why we brought federal agencies together to try to fulfill the President's pledge to begin at least to address this problem. That's why we need a comprehensive strategy that emphasizes responsibility and opportunity and community. It's why we need all the other pieces of security that the President is working on. It is important to do things like health reform, so that every young person has a good healthy start in life. It is important to do welfare reform so that we once again reward independence and self-sufficiency. It's important to have job training programs and life-long learning and the legislation that Secretary Riley shepherded through to the Congress that will make an enormous difference in how young people learn and what they learn and what they're prepared to do once they finish school.

It is also right, it is absolutely critical, that this country not walk away again from dealing with crime, as it has so many times in the past and did again last week. You know, the crime bill has been around for 6 years. The average criminal serves four years in jail. There's been a lot of tough talk about crime going back a lot of years. All kinds of rhetoric. Mostly hot air not connected to doing anything positive, to reaching out a helping hand, to make stricter and surer, neither smart nor tough, but boy a lot of talk. We're seeing it again because some people unfortunately would rather practice their own brand of partisan politics or personal advantage than to deal with the problems that are right before their eyes. Those who voted against the crime bill were willing to sacrifice all the achievements represented at this conference. Those who voted against the bill weren't listening to the voices of young people who are with us today or were with us last year. They can testify the importance of recreational facilities, education programs, family support services, and other preventive measures that nurture hope and possibility in our young people. Those who voted against that bill last week don't seem to care that our children cannot feel safe at school. A recent survey showed that fifteen percent of school children believe there are gangs in their school. Almost one in ten of students in high school reported that in the previous month they had been in at least one serious physical fight. Those who voted against the bill don't seem to care that this pattern goes on and on just as it has for the past six years, when time after time, Congress caved in to the pressures of special interest, instead of making this legislation law.

The crime bill is not perfect; no piece of legislation is. I bet every one of us would have written it slightly differently, we would have added or taken out according to what we thought was best. It is a critical, important, and necessary start. And it is for the first time a piece of legislation that lays down the twin principles of fighting crime, punishment and prevention. It is clear that we face a choice, the President and I were in church yesterday we heard a great sermon, and one of the lines from it that I will always remember is when the preacher said, "You know you can make a choice in your life, but you can't pick the consequences." I think about that a lot because every day we

make choices, but we cannot be told the consequences that swell from those choices. So what are the consequences of turning down the crime bill? Well, the consequences are that once again we would have turned our backs on the problems you are hearing discussed. Once again we will have substituted rhetoric for reality. Once again we will have seen in-action triumph over action. Now we can focus on all the things we want to change, or we can say, this is a mission we are on and this is where it starts to try to begin to deal with the epidemic of violence.

Let's look at some of these pieces of this crime bill that are so important. Things like YES, Y-E-S, Youth Employment Skills program. I think it's important to focus on young people in high unemployment areas to give them the skills they need to be able to find jobs. I think that's a goal for society and I know it will help to prevent crime. I wish the folks on Capitol Hill would agree. Things like the Community Schools Program, that will give grants to community groups to keep schools open after hours and on weekends and during the summer so that kids can have a place to go and stay out of trouble. Safe places where they can engage in learning and recreation, where there can be adult mentors and coaches. We know from the examples of such schools around our country that if schools are transformed into safe havens for youngsters, children will be safer. I'm not sure what the folks in Congress who were voting against the crime bill think we can do with our children after school when it takes both parents in a home working or when it takes a single parent working and they then live in fear about what happens to their children on the streets between the time school is over and the time they get home for dinner. I want children to have safe havens and the crime bill would be a good start to that. Programs like the Gang Resistance Education And Training Program called, G.R.E.A.T., already a proven success. I've been in a lot of neighborhoods, places where many of you come from and you know you fight a losing battle year in and year out to try to convince young people not to join gangs. Why? Because the gangs provide a, "haven", not safe but a haven. It provides a family if you will. It provides a network of people who say they will look out for each other. It fills a vacuum in the lives of thousands and thousands of youngsters. Now wouldn't it be better if we had a positive alternative a program like GREAT where youngsters can be safe in coming together and working together and learn how to resist the faults and in many ways dangerous, seductive pleasures that the gang propose in the short run which leads to death and misery for so many children. I think we should vote for gang resistance programs instead of letting more and more children end up in the gangs.

Look how programs like Police Partnerships for Children, programs where police officers will take their time to work with young people, coupling that with community policing where we again get police officers on the street. Somebody that a young person can hopefully find some support from, but if we turn our back on these partnerships that police are offering, we lose an opportunity to transform our police officers not only into instruments of punishment but also instruments of prevention. And if we also turn our back on this crime bill we walk away from one of the most important advances on behalf of women, the Violence Against Women Act. It is time we stood up and said women should not be victimized, whether it is in the home, or on the street and we need to give our law enforcement officials the tools to protect women. It has gone on long enough, ignoring and denying the depth of the problem of violence against women this crime bill begins to turn that around. And that's another reason.

Now if you've heard all of this prevention, and I've only touched the tip of the old prevention iceberg that is in that crime bill, with the other elements: a hundred thousand more police on the streets, a ban on handgun ownership for minors. A ban on assault weapons that only lead to death and injury. A three strikes and you're out bill so that violent offenders can be taken off the street. And I see these young men clapping wildly because they know what happens in their neighborhoods. You take all of that and it adds up to a well-balanced reasonable approach that mixes both prevention and punishment. An approach that has been worked out and struggled over with lots of input from people from the grassroots level.

Those of you participating in this conference know first hand what it will take in your own hometowns to combat violence. You also know that even though a crime bill is a critical step in putting this society on the right track for combating violence it alone can't do the job either. It's not a panacea. If the President signs that crime bill it's not going to solve all of our problems. It's not going to keep families together, it's not going to get adults to give children the type of supervision, love, discipline, and attention little children need. It's not going to instill a sense of faith and responsibility in the souls of young people who have been damaged and alienated, it's not going to do those things. It is going to begin to put into place people and institutions and programs that can help lead to those outcomes. It can give people a chance once again to feel they are a part of something bigger than themselves. And to lay a line very clearly that despite all the tough talk about crime in the last decade has become obscure, and that line is, you have to know the difference between right and wrong and we're going to hold you responsible for the choices and the consequences of those choices. It begins to once again fight the violence in society. This whole crime debate, the whole issue of youth violence, is an indication of something much deeper and more profound. It is an indication of literally millions of Americans walking away from their responsibilities. And that is what we're ultimately trying to reverse. We are trying again, against tremendous odds to say the individual is responsible for his or her actions. But society is also responsible for individuals. It is not an either or, it's not a liberal and conservative, that old stuff is so out of date. That is like beyond talking about. Some people think they can answer every problem by saying, "Oh that's liberal. Oh, that's conservative." Or maybe they step further on down the road of meaningless analysis and say, "Oh, that's republican. Oh, that's democrat." An assault weapon doesn't care what political party you are. An assault weapon in a drive by shooting doesn't even care if you're a member of the National Rifle Association.

Let's just stop for a minute and ask ourselves, "Haven't we wasted enough lives, haven't we lost enough young men and women to prison instead of college? Haven't we turned our back too many times on the God given potential of every one of our young people?" I don't care what race they are, I don't care where they live, every single young person in this country, has a spark about them that we have for too long allowed to be extinguished by a level of violence, hatred, and divisiveness that still stalks this country. We can do much better than that, all you have to do is look at the faces of the young people around you today. We know we can do better. But we cannot unless we stand up and are willing to be counted. I hope you will not only attend this conference, I hope you will not only work on what needs to be done back in your own hometowns, I hope you will take

the time to let your member of Congress know why you are here, what you stand for. And I hope you will say it may not be perfect, but this crime bill represents a huge first step in staking out new territories in this country. Once and for all we're going to be both smart and tough. We're going to begin to save a generation of young people from this epidemic of violence. Thank you all.

END

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December 5, 1995, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section D; Page 10; Column 3; Business/Financial Desk

LENGTH: 466 words

HEADLINE: From Rabin Granddaughter, Memoir of a 'Pillar of Fire'

BYLINE: By MARY B. W. TABOR

BODY:

Noa Ben-Artzi Philosof, the 18-year-old whose eulogy for her slain grandfather, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel, brought nations to tears last month, has sold the rights to a book -- to be part memoir, part plea for peace -- to Alfred A. Knopf for a hefty advance, according to publishing executives and a published report.

Jonathan Segal, a vice president and senior editor at Knopf, a division of Random House, said yesterday that he had been deeply moved by the eulogy, in which Miss Philosof described her grandfather as "the pillar of fire in front of the camp."

So on Friday, with a three-page proposal for her cri de coeur in hand, he scooped up the North American publishing rights from the French publisher, Editions Robert Laffont-Fixot, which had acquired world rights to the young woman's story.

According a report in Daily Variety, the Knopf deal is believed to be worth close to \$1 million. But neither the publisher nor Miss Philosof's mother, reached by telephone last night in Israel, would comment on the contract. Random House is a unit of Advance Publications Inc.

Eager to give sales representatives a taste of the acquisition, Knopf executives had a videotape of the eulogy shipped to Fort Myers, Fla., where representatives were gathering for Random House's winter sales conference. In it, Miss Philosof, speaking to and about her grandfather, talked about a side of him that few others knew.

"Others greater than I have already eulogized you," she said. "But none of them ever had the pleasure I had to feel the caresses of your warm, soft hands, to merit your warm embrace that was reserved only for us, to see your half-smile that always told me so much, that same smile which is no longer, frozen in the grave with you."

The book, which is to be about 200 pages long, is to be published in April to coincide with a memorial service planned for Mr. Rabin around the time of Passover. The author will write under the name Noa Rabin, Mr. Segal said. "Hers is such an eloquent voice," he said. "It's so pure and so moving."

American publishers, meanwhile, have been considering whether to publish a memoir by Leah Rabin, the Prime Minister's widow. Mrs. Rabin published a memoir in Israel eight years ago, written in Hebrew.

Marvin Josephson, her literary agent, said the new book would not be a rewrite of the existing one. "If she does decide to do it, it will be a new book," he said. Negotiations for the book began last week; no deal has yet been reached.

HarperCollins, a News Corporation unit, also said yesterday that it would publish a biography of Mr. Rabin late next year. The book, "Rabin: A Martyr's Life," will be written by Dan Kurzman, a former Washington Post reporter and author of "Ben-Gurion: Prophet of Fire."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: December 5, 1995

**TALKING IT OVER****BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON****RELEASE: WEEKEND, NOVEMBER 11-12, 1995**

I am writing this aboard Air Force One, traveling home with my husband after attending funeral services for Yitzhak Rabin, the assassinated prime minister of Israel. This is not the column I had intended for today; that will have to wait until next week.

I want to share some of the feelings and questions this awful experience raised for me. I was in the White House when my husband and I learned that Rabin had been shot at a nationwide rally for peace. Together, we prayed that the assassin had failed. Soon, we learned he had succeeded.

The grief and outrage the President and I felt was deeply personal. Prime Minister Rabin and my husband had developed a warm friendship built around their shared commitment to a Middle East peace. I am very fond of Leah Rabin and always treasured the time I spent with her and the Prime Minister, even when he kidded me for not letting him smoke in the White House.

At the funeral service, one could not escape the enormity of loss suffered by the Rabin family. This was captured best by his 18-year-old granddaughter's brave and eloquent tribute to her grandfather. She hailed him as her hero and the pillar of fire in her family's camp.

The loss for Israel was evident in the moving words of the Prime Minister's aides. One held the blood-stained copy of the peace song that Rabin had sung at the rally and was carrying in his pocket when he was shot. The loss for the cause of peace in the Middle East was manifest in the dignified tribute by Egypt's president Hosni Mubarak and the moving eulogy by King Hussein, who had come to consider Rabin as his brother in the struggle for a new future in the Holy Land.

But the assassination was more than a personal loss and more than a loss for the peace process. It was an attack on democracy. In the midst of Israel's grief, there are still those who share the gunman's extremism and applaud the murder.

What have we come to in America, Israel or any democracy if those who disagree with an elected leader's political position choose bullets over ballots as the way to bring about change? When the electronic media carry hate-filled messages of extremism, they give these zealots far more prominence than their numbers justify. How, then, can legitimate political differences be expressed without encouraging those who might be moved to violence in Tel Aviv or in Oklahoma City?

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Under Rabin's leadership, Israel signed a peace treaty with Jordan and agreements with the Palestinians. When he was criticized for dealing with these former enemies, he said forthrightly that you don't make peace with your friends.

Every step in the peace process was ratified by a majority of parliament, although sometimes by only one or two votes. In a democracy, that is enough. In our own country, the President's deficit-reduction plan in 1993 passed by only one vote in the U.S. Senate, and a ban on assault weapons in the anti-crime bill became law last year with only two votes to spare. The recent separatist vote in Quebec lost by less than 1 percent.

Everywhere I travel in the world, I hear the same concern in democracies -- hard decisions are dividing people right down the middle. In difficult times like these, extremists often find a larger audience than they should because they simplify the solutions to the problems we face. If, as they claim, God or Holy Scriptures from the Bible or the Koran tell them to do something, who can argue?

Democracy flourishes when individuals are free to express differing and controversial positions. Democracy flounders when any one person or group proclaims there is only one right answer to complex issues. Democracy fails when extremists believe violence aimed at elected officials is a legitimate means for resolving disagreements.

Each of us who values democracy knows it is a messy and imperfect process. As Winston Churchill once said, "Democracy is the worst form of government except all other forms that have been tried from time to time." We should treat our elected leaders with respect -- even when we disagree with them. Here in America, churches pray every Sunday for those who lead us. More of us should reflect that spirit during the other six days of the week.

And we all should speak out against hateful speech and actions directed at our leaders. In Israel, the extremists who opposed Rabin distributed posters of him dressed in a Nazi uniform and called him a traitor. Those fanatics should have been condemned by all reasonable people whether or not they liked Rabin or agreed with his policies. Hate begets more hate and can create a climate of violence in which extremists may get pushed over the edge to bomb buildings or assassinate prime ministers.

How do we express our strongest views without resorting to violence in word or deed? That is a question for all of us to answer.

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