

cc: Melanne ✓
Lissa
Alice

File Israel



YITZHAK RABIN CENTER
מרכז יצחק רבין

l e c t u r e s

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton

“Building A Secure Peace”

Tel Aviv Performing Arts Center

Tel Aviv, Israel

November 11, 1999

THE YITZHAK RABIN CENTER
FOR ISRAEL STUDIES



Photo: Tamar Matzafi

Mrs. Hillary Clinton delivering the 1999 Rabin Lecture.

- Dear Hillary -

Once again - thank you so much for
joining us that day - and for your brilliant -
speech we all so adored -
with all my love, Yehuda

"Building A Secure Peace"

Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton

Thank you so much, Lea. I am deeply honored to be here for this occasion and to have been asked to deliver the annual Rabin lecture. I do this with full awareness that nothing I could say today could ever come close to the eloquence that we just heard in brief excerpts in the video about Yitzhak Rabin.

I am delighted to be here with the Rabin family, including Rachel, Dalia, Noah, Jonathan, and Avi. I am delighted to see Shimon Peres. I want to thank my friend, Nava Barak, and the Prime Minister for an extraordinary and gracious welcome that I have enjoyed immensely. The hospitality that you have extended my daughter and me will long, long be remembered.

As I was watching the video, I suppose like many of you here, there was another video playing in your heads of other moments that you recall either in person or through pictures or television of this extraordinary man whom I consider a personal hero. I thought of the times that the Prime Minister and Lea Rabin and Bill and I would talk together, and the jokes that would pass back and forth between them and among us. I know, as any parent or grandparent would, how our hearts swelled and our eyes filled as we saw again Noah's extraordinary eulogy. I also remember, as Lea does, the moments that we sat together with extraordinary pride watching our husbands move forward, hope against history.

I also remember being accused by the Prime Minister of endangering the peace process because I would not let either the Prime Minister or King Hussein smoke in the White House. When my husband became President, we declared the White House a "no-smoking" zone. It didn't bother me about anyone other than the Prime Minister and the King. But as they would come in and out of the White House, one or the other would turn and chide me that I was sending them out into the cold; I was denying them the comforts of their habits. I was, I have to tell you, often very weak in my resolve, and I would say, "Well, if it will further the effort toward peace, I will rescind the rule, but only as it applies to the two of you!" I also never persuaded him to dance with me. I wish I had!

You know, being here for my fifth trip to Israel, and the fourth since coming to the White House, has filled me with memories of hope and joy and of tragedy and despair. I remember very well our first trip when Bill and I came as private citizens over New Year's in 1981-82, when we spent more than 10 days and were able to travel freely throughout the country. I said to Nava earlier that I am so glad that I had that trip, because it's very different coming to Israel and being able to go from Masada to the Galilee and from Cesarea to Jerusalem, from one end to the other and throughout Tel Aviv and enjoy the nightlife. It's very different coming as a private citizen and coming with an entourage and a motorcade. Because I was so fortunate to come here earlier with Bill, I have such a sense of what it feels like in the streets and the markets and the villages. I hope some day to return again without all of the accompanying efforts that go into a trip such as mine.

My husband has spoken often of that first trip we took, and he tells the story of his pastor who had come to the Holy Land every year since the 1930's, a man named W. O. Vaught, who told Bill and me very seriously that we had an obligation never to let Israel down because God would never forgive that. Like Bill, I remember those words and strive to live up to them by supporting the long-term peace and security of Israel, and by supporting the goal that Prime Minister Rabin fought for, lived for, and died for. His life was Israel's history and his legacy must be Israel's future.

Like Moses, Yitzhak Rabin brought his people within sight of the promised land of peace and security, but he never got the chance to carry them across. He did not, however, leave them alone. He not only left a legacy being pursued by the Rabin Center, but he also inspired other leaders like Prime Minister Barak. He left behind a road map. The only way to honor him properly is to finish the journey he started. There has never been a better opportunity to do so than now.

When I told a friend of mine that I would be traveling here to Israel to deliver this lecture, he gave me a copy of last week's Torah reading from Genesis 25. You may recall it. It's when Yitzhak and Ishmael are finally reunited after decades of estrangement. They come together in quiet dignity to bury their father, Abraham. Throughout the book of Genesis we see such divisions and enmities overcome by the power of God's true intentions for the inhabitants of this Holy Land. We see Jacob fearing that his brother Esau was coming to murder him, but after years of alienation, they embraced. We see Joseph's brothers fearing retribution and receiving forgiveness.

How many fathers, mothers and children in the Middle East have dreamed of and sacrificed for that kind of reconciliation? We too see that now there is an opportunity to write another chapter in the ongoing lessons of Genesis. It is, yet again, a new beginning. Both sides are moving toward a compromise. For neither side will that be easy. For neither side will that be without pain. But the reward - a chance for a peace once only dreamed of by poets and prophets - far outweighs the cost.

That was the message of Oslo, echoed by President Clinton, Prime Minister Barak, and Chairman Arafat: How we can fulfill Rabin's legacy by bidding farewell to generations of war and ushering in a new century of real and lasting peace. The same must be true on all of Israel's borders so that the peace that now covers some will be a peace that extends to all Palestinians, Syrians and Lebanese.

Now by working for peace, we are not being naive or soft-headed. That was one of the lessons Prime Minister Rabin taught us all. We recognize, as he did, that peace in the Middle East is not only a moral imperative, but the smartest strategic choice to ensure security for the children of Israel. That doesn't mean that Israel can ever let down her defenses. It doesn't mean that her friends, especially the United States, will ever be relieved of our responsibility to help Israel maintain her military strength.

But Prime Minister Rabin believed that reaching this promised land of peace and security was the best way to protect Israel from the deadly marriage of terrorism at home, and missiles and weapons of mass destruction from abroad. He knew peace would not come easy. How many times, as we saw in the video, have the enemies of peace tried to derail the peace process by targeting sons and daughters, soldiers and prime ministers, by targeting a people's sense of security and humanity?

How many times have terrorists and enemies of peace tried to use violence to force a nation and its leaders to throw up their hands in defeat and walk away from the journey?

But one thing we do know, as my husband said from this very stage - we can never permit them to win. If we listen hard tonight, we can almost hear Yitzhak's deep and steady voice repeating some of his favorite sayings: "The coldest peace is better than the warmest war," or "A destroyed house can be rebuilt, a burned-down tree can be replanted, but a young life cannot be replaced."

We can hear him reminding us of all the children, the young soldiers who lost their lives on the road to the promised land. Each name is a powerful reminder of why a secure homeland for the Jewish people is not an abstraction, not a wish, but a necessity.

This morning Nava and I went to Yad Vashem. I saw the million and a half lives representing the children who perished. At the children's museum I saw the toys that young boys and girls clung to through their darkest hours. One in particular caught my attention: A Holocaust survivor named Eva recently gave a doll to the children's museum. This doll, called Gerta, traveled with Eva everywhere during her internment in the concentration camps, and she became a kindred spirit. Eva was very reluctant to let her doll out of her possession, but was later convinced to donate her doll to the museum. I was told by one of the curators there that Eva had a very hard time separating from this reminder of her life, and so she wrote her doll a letter: "Goodbye my doll, Gerta. I am leaving you with a heavy heart. I don't know whether I am doing the right thing by giving you to a strange lady from Yad Vashem. You will continue your existence among the sad possessions and memories of people or children who are strangers to you. Maybe you will be able to

tell the people of today, and particularly the children, what you saw and where you were with me. A sad story, but also a cheerful one, because I survived. Dear Gerta, you will be the last witness of a dreadful childhood. May no child anywhere go through anything like that again."

I thought of Eva and Gerta later today when Nava and our daughters and I went to the Western Wall. And tucked between those massive stones was a prayer for all children: "For the children of Israel, for the children of the Middle East, so that none like Eva's letter would ever, ever go through anything like that again."

We saw in the video the great emotion that occurred when those young Israeli paratroopers collapsed and wept against the Western Wall. I thought about the ultimate sacrifices that Prime Minister Rabin saw time and time again as he sent children - 15- and 16-year-old children - into battle. I have met parents of soldiers still missing in action. It's hard for me to imagine waiting for word of what happened to one's child - waiting as birthdays go by or high holidays are marked. I was pleased when my husband signed a law that sends a message to the region that the United States will not rest until we uncover the fate of every single Israeli soldier.

Before coming here this evening, Nava and I visited the Rabin Medical Center and we saw, Lea, the newborn nursery named for you and contributed to by our great friends King Hussein and Queen Noor. We saw mothers cradling their healthy babies, Jewish and Arab. These infants didn't know it yet, but they could become the first generation to grow up in an Israel free from terror and war. But if we are to make that dream a reality, we have some work to do. First and foremost, we should be guided by courageous leaders willing to take risks for peace, willing to endure setbacks, willing to understand as Rabin did that peace is something you make with your enemies, not with your friends.

I can only imagine how pleased he would have been by the events of last week, including the peace rally held in Rabin Square, and how proud he would have been, as people all over the world were, of Prime Minister Barak, who had been told that it was too dangerous for him to come to honor his friend's legacy. But Ehud and Nava went anyway. They stood in the spot from which Rabin had addressed the crowd. Lea was there, and with great emotion Prime Minister Barak looked out at the Israeli flags and the thousands of people refusing to let hatred or fear win and said, "We are not afraid."

We have to stand by leaders, but the real work of peace must be done by citizens. It is that work, day in and day out, that each of us has to do. The United States will do its part. We Americans will honor the peace process by fighting terrorism and intimidation; by helping the parties, not by imposing decisions upon them; by honoring the peace process; by fighting for the foreign aid that helps guarantee Israelis' security and brings prosperity and stability to the West Bank and Gaza. I know the President is very pleased that Republicans and Democrats in Congress are moving toward the approval of the assistance promised at Wye River. So Americans will do all we can to keep faith with Israel. But our peacemakers are not only leaders or diplomats, but ordinary citizens especially, I would argue, women and children.

In Lea's book about her husband and their life together, she talks about their last day, about how he had been warned about the rally. But there was something else worrying him. He was wondering whether or not people were supporting peace, not just in large crowds, but in the quiet moments around their kitchen tables when they talked with one another or when they encountered each other around street corners. Because he understood that agreements between leaders are the beginning, not the

end, of peace. Whether peace takes hold depends upon peace becoming a habit of the heart, shaping the way Israelis, Palestinians, Syrians, and Lebanese treat and talk about one another; shaping messages of respect broadcast by their media to their people; shaping the lessons that children learn in their classrooms and the ones their parents tell them as they tuck them into bed at night.

I have been privileged to travel to many countries and meet many citizen peacemakers. Their names will not ever appear in a headline or on a television news show, but they are showing in a very real, daily way what it takes to put generations of hatred behind us. From Northern Ireland to El Salvador to South Africa, I've met with women who have lost sons and fathers, husbands and loved ones; women who had fought each other through terror and in war, but who are now sitting across tables from one another to help build a common future. Think if you will for a moment of a place like Kigali, Rwanda, where 800,000 women, men and children were slaughtered in the space of a few months. How does one make sense of a future so stained with blood? But I met with Rwandan women not so long ago, and they asked me for only one thing. They didn't ask me for resources from our government; they asked me if I could help them build a playground in the middle of Kigali. They understood that it takes those small steps, those daily acts of courage, and they envisioned a playground where children would play again like children should, and where their parents could once again believe in the future.

A few years ago, I met with a group of women in Bosnia. They were Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. They had come together in the aftermath of that war to rebuild their lives. One of them gave me a sculpture of a woman that I keep in my office in the White House. It's about this tall,

and like many women, she is standing very proudly. But embedded in her knee are pieces of shrapnel, real shrapnel, that had been collected off the streets and out of the fields of that conflict - tangible symbols of the losses and the pain endured. But on her heart is her hand, and on her hand is a dove, and on her face is a confident smile. When I look at her, I think that if she could talk, if that small statue could have a voice, she would say something like this: "Despite the past, despite the fact I have shrapnel embedded in my knee, despite the pain I feel every day, I will dream and work for peace for my children."

That was the goal that Prime Minister Rabin taught all of us to seek, and he knew that it wasn't enough to imagine living without war. We also needed to imagine living with adequate health care, with education, with economic opportunity and dignity. Yesterday I met some young people from the Peres Peace Center who gave me one of their peace calendars. They are selling these calendars to raise money to buy computers to link Israeli youngsters with Palestinians. At ELEM, I met teenagers who had joined the campaign against violence and had found their way off the streets and back to school. I have seen over and over again, both in Israel and in the West Bank and Gaza, a commitment to bringing healthy babies into the world - a commitment to making life better.

One of the most interesting stories I heard today was at the Sha'are Zedek Hospital in Jerusalem. I was told that two infants - one Jewish, one Moslem - were both x-rayed on the same day. When the x-rays came back, they included a strange rectangular outline that had absolutely no medical explanation. It turned out that the mothers of these babies had tucked two small booklets in each of their baby's sheets before sending their baby off to be x-rayed. The mother of the Moslem child had left the Koran, and the mother of the Jewish child had left the book of

mysticism that was meaningful to her. All parents have the same concerns, fears, hopes and dreams for their children.

We all know that the work of peace and the work of democracy are neverending. When I talk with people in new democracies around the world, I remind them that our country is still working to perfect our own union and democracy. Whether or not we are successful in seeking and obtaining peace depends on how we see one another and see ourselves. We've heard lectures about morality and ethics, about law and politics, about economics, and all the reasons why peace does make strategic sense. But a few weeks ago, at the White House, my husband and I heard a lecture that had a profound effect on both of us. He mentioned it in his remarks at Oslo. We had two scientists speaking about two of the most astonishing changes that are occurring in the world as we enter a new century - changes in information technology and in genetics. And the geneticist said to us that despite all of our many outward differences - of race and religion, of ethnicity and tribe, of gender and region - we are still, as human beings, 99.9 percent identical in our genetic makeup. Think about what that means: all the wars, all the violence, all the hatred that has been based on that one-tenth of one percent. Imagine what we could accomplish if, while celebrating our differences, we taught our children to draw strength from that 99.9 percent that makes up our common humanity. Think of the message that would send - from the Balkans to Central Africa to Northern Ireland - to all the places ripped apart by violence and bloodshed. Think of the affirmation of all that we hold dear, if the people of the Middle East are able to defy history and raise their children in peace.

Now I know that during any journey there is always the temptation to turn back. There are always people who fear going forward. I think often of the story in the Bible of Moses leading his people out of Egypt. Now you can imagine people who had been enslaved for generations thinking they were on the way to the Promised Land. But it was hard. There were many obstacles along the way. So when Moses went up to receive the Ten Commandments, what happened? Well, many of the Israelites fleeing from Egypt got together and decided they wanted to go back. Indeed, they needed to go back. They wanted to return, because as bad as things had been, at least it was a known evil. So the "Back to Egypt Committee" was formed. And when Moses came down with the Ten Commandments, he was met by people who said: "This is too hard; we cannot do this anymore. Let's go back to slavery. At least there we get our bread, we know what our job is, we don't have to think for ourselves, we don't have to break any new ground."

Well that story, as many of the stories in the Bible do, tells us something important about human nature. It describes to us what happens in every generation when there is great change. There are always those who want to form a "Back to Egypt Committee," or in this case turn back and away from the peace process. But in the end - thank God - the Israelites did not go back. They pressed on for 40 years before reaching the Promised Land. It was only the beginning of a long journey that took the Jewish people to the far corners of the world. It brought them back home again, just 51 years ago, and sent them on to a half century of struggle for peace and security.

Now again a fateful decision lies before the people of Israel and her neighbors. Again we have to ask ourselves, do we follow the path of Moses and Rabin? And again, I trust that the answer is the one that his

legacy dictates to us, "that we must press ahead until this Holy Land freely flows, not with blood and tears, but with milk and honey, peace and security." God bless Yitzhak Rabin and the journey he started us all on.

Thank you very much.

THE YITZHAK RABIN CENTER
FOR ISRAEL STUDIES

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 15, 2000

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: THE EXECUTIVE CLERK

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *SB*
CHARLES BRAIN *CMB*

SUBJECT: Jerusalem Embassy Act Waiver

Purpose

Sign a Presidential Determination waiving the provisions of the Jerusalem Embassy Act for an additional six months.

Background

Under the Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995, the State Department is prohibited from obligating more than 50 percent of its FY00 appropriations for "Acquisition and Maintenance of Buildings Abroad" until we open an Embassy in Jerusalem. The Act allows you to waive these restrictions for 6-month periods if doing so is "necessary to protect the national security interests of the United States." You exercised your authority for the first time on June 17, 1999 and a second time on December 17, 1999.

Since your first waiver Israelis and Palestinians have signed the Sharm el-Sheikh agreement, which puts them on an accelerated path to a permanent status accord. As was the case last summer, any action to move our embassy would seriously damage the peace process at a critical time. Madeleine and I therefore recommend that you now exercise your waiver authority for an additional six months to protect the peace process and to preserve funds necessary to safeguard our missions and personnel overseas.

Reactions from Congress

After you exercised your waiver authority a year ago, 84 Senators and 102 Members of Congress wrote expressing their disappointment in your decision. However, Prime Minister Barak's statements during his July visit left the clear impression that the peace

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

process is his top priority and that he preferred not to be confronted with any developments that could complicate his efforts. The congressional reaction to your second waiver in December was much more muted. The ongoing negotiations -- which make our logic stronger now than ever -- will probably contribute to a muted reaction to this waiver as well. Even so, we can anticipate some expressions of congressional disappointment. If there are attempts to legislate in this area before the year is out, we will work to stop them.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached Presidential Determination.

Attachments

Tab A Presidential Determination

Tab B Justification

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Presidential Determination
No. _____

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT: Suspension of Limitations Under the Jerusalem Embassy
Act

Pursuant to the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, including section 7(a) of the Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995 (Public Law 104-45) (the "Act"), I hereby determine that it is necessary to protect the national security interests of the United States to suspend for a period of six months the limitations set forth in sections 3(b) and 7(b) of the Act.

You are hereby authorized and directed to transmit this determination to the Congress, accompanied by a report in accordance with section 7(a) of the Act, and to publish the determination in the Federal Register.

This suspension shall take effect after transmission of this determination and report to the Congress.

JUSTIFICATION

The President has exercised his authority under the Constitution and the laws of the United States, including the waiver authority granted to him by Section 7(a) of P.L. 104-45, in order to protect critical national security interests, most crucially in preserving the prospects for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace between Israel and its neighbors. The President has also taken this action at this time because, absent the waiver, the Act would have denied to the Department of State further access to funds necessary to protect its personnel and missions worldwide so it can continue to pursue vital U.S. objectives.

A fundamental and overarching foreign policy and national security goal of the United States is to obtain a just, lasting and comprehensive peace between Israel and its neighbors. An Israeli-Palestinian peace is critical in that regard.

When Congress passed the bill that became the Jerusalem Embassy Act, the President opposed the legislation, stating that a step such as relocating the U.S. Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem could hinder the peace process and that he would use the waiver authority to avoid damage to that process. Israelis and Palestinians have agreed to include Jerusalem among the issues covered in their permanent status negotiations. In the Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum the sides agreed to conclude a comprehensive agreement on all permanent status issues by September 13, 2000. Prime Minister Barak and Chairman Arafat have recently reiterated their commitment to that goal.

At a time when the Israelis and Palestinians have resumed and intensified permanent status negotiations, and a historic opportunity exists to reach an agreement on all permanent status issues by September 13, 2000, the United States should not be taking steps of its own that prejudice the outcome of those negotiations or make them more difficult. Indeed the Israelis and Palestinians have asked the United States to play a role in facilitating such an agreement, an effort which is currently underway. Taking a position on any permanent status issue would severely constrain our ability to play that role.

Moreover, any action to move the Embassy during this period, would prejudice the outcome of these negotiations at the very moment that the parties' negotiations are addressing this issue. The differences that remain between Israelis and

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Palestinians, including over Jerusalem, can only be resolved in a lasting way through direct negotiations, and the United States should do everything it possibly can to facilitate their success. The sensitivity of the Jerusalem issue -- and thus U.S. actions related to it -- cannot be exaggerated. Action by the United States to move its embassy to Jerusalem would also adversely impact other aspects of the peace process.

Moreover, in this time of very real terrorist threats to U.S. missions and personnel abroad, the Department of State must also have access to the funds necessary to upgrade its missions worldwide. Section 3(b) of P.L. 104-45 would prohibit the Department of State access to 50 percent of funds appropriated for its missions abroad. There is a real danger that despite the fact that Congress has directed the use of these funds for just such urgent national security purposes, the absence of those funds would hamper our ongoing efforts to protect our personnel and missions abroad.

The United States should not adversely affect the prospects for reaching a real Middle East peace or undermine a peace process that holds out the potential for creating a better, more peaceful future for Israel and its neighbors in the near term. For all of these reasons, it is therefore necessary for the President to exercise his waiver authority in order to protect the national security interests of the United States.

file Israel
HIPPY

THE WHITE HOUSE

May 18, 1999

Dr. Avima Lombard
HIPPY
The NCJW Research Institute
for Innovation in Education
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
91905, Israel

Dear Avima:

This morning I had the pleasure of meeting with Her Majesty Rania Al-Abdullah, Queen of Jordan. In a discussion about education, she expressed her deep interest in child development and mentioned HIPPY. I described my experience in bringing HIPPY to Arkansas and offered to advise you of her interest. She may be contacting you in the near future.

I hope my letter finds you well and I very much look forward to hearing from you again.

With appreciation and warm regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hillary

Hillary Rodham Clinton

file Israel-Hillary

National Council
of Jewish Women

NCJW

November 3, 1998

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ncjwi@hum.huji.ac.ilMelanne Verveer
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Melanne,

I spoke with Hillary's scheduling office to see if she would be going to Gaza with the President. They indicated that it was a strong possibility.

If she does accompany him, I have an idea I'd like her to consider. I will be in Israel, along with some of my colleagues, from December 8 through the 14th for our annual NCJW Research Institute Board meeting at Hebrew University. It would be a wonderful opportunity for her (and the President, too,) to visit a HIPPY site in Israel, particularly one in an Israeli/Arab community, which would underscore the idea of mutual cooperation and partnership so important to the peace process. Avima Lombard, will be in Israel at that time and could also join us. It might possibly serve as the impetus to get a HIPPY program started in Gaza!

Please let me know if there is a possibility of putting this together and if you need any further information. Shari Eshet, the Director of NCJW's Israel office, would be available to assist with any arrangements.

When Hillary came to Detroit for my installation in 1996, she said she'd love to see HIPPY in Israel. This could be her chance! I look forward to hearing from you.

Best regards,

Nan

Nan Rich
National President

ROUTINE

UNCLASSIFIED

file Israel

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 04

PRT: FUERTH firstlady

SIT: BOLAN BOWLES BRUNS NSC DUNCAN LEE MALLEY ORFINI RIEDEL ROBERTS
SAUNDERS

<PREC> ROUTINE <CLAS> UNCLASSIFIED <DTG> 141103Z MAR 00

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

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INFO RHEHAAA/WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
RUEHAM/AMEMBASSY AMMAN 1245
RUEHJM/AMCONSUL JERUSALEM 7522
UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 TEL AVIV 001419

FOR NEA/IAI, NEA/PPR, AND NEA/PD

FOR OES-A/S SANDALOW AND OES-AMBASSADOR HAMBLEY

FOR EPA-ADMINISTRATOR'S OFFICE AND INTERNATIONAL
ACTIVITIES/MIDDLE EAST PROGRAMS-LEE PASAREW

WHITE HOUSE FOR OFFICE OF THE FIRST LADY

WHITE HOUSE FOR OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

USDOC FOR TD/ODAS/PTANOS

USDOC FOR TD/ODAS/ETE/CMONTOULIEU/MLEMMOND

USDOC FOR MAC/ODAS/ONE/MWILLIAMSON

USDOC FOR ITA/USFCS/OIO/ANESA/KBRENNAN

USDOE FOR SECRETARY RICHARDSON'S OFFICE

E.O. 12958: N/A

TAGS: SENV, OVIP, ECON, ECIN, PREL, IS

SUBJECT: ENVIRONMENT MINISTER ITZIK PLANS TO VISIT U.S.

1. THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE - PLEASE SEE PARAGRAPH 6.

2. MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT DALIA ITZIK PLANS A "STUDY
TOUR" TO THE UNITED STATES FROM 3 TO 12 APRIL. ON MARCH
7 WE MET WITH HER STAFF TO DISCUSS THE TRIP AND THE
ISSUES ITZIK WOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS WHILE IN THE US.
ITZIK PLANS TO BE ON THE EAST COAST, MAINLY NEW YORK AND
WASHINGTON.

BACKGROUND

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ROUTINE

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PAGE 02 OF 04

3. MINISTRY STAFF STRESSED REPEATEDLY TO US THAT MINISTER ITZIK IS NOT A TECHNICAL OR SCIENTIFIC ENVIRONMENTAL EXPERT: SHE IS A LAWYER BY TRAINING. HER INTEREST IS TO SEE HOW DECISIONS ARE MADE AND IMPLEMENTED: SHE IS NOT INTERESTED IN SITTING THROUGH DETAILED TECHNICAL OR SCIENTIFIC BRIEFINGS. ITZIK IS INTERESTED IN THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY, "ENVIRONMENTAL EQUITY", AND ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION AND PUBLIC AWARENESS. HER STAFF TOLD US THAT SHE PREFERS SEEING THINGS IN ACTION, EG, SITE VISITS, TO TALKING ABOUT THEM.

ISSUES AND PEOPLE

4. THE ISSUES THAT HER STAFF SAID MOST INTEREST ITZIK ARE:

- SOLID WASTE;
- AIR POLLUTION FROM TRANSPORTATION;
- RIVER REHABILITATION (CONTROL & PREVENTION);
- RECYCLING (LAW ENFORCEMENT);
- BROWNFIELD REMEDIATION AND DEVELOPMENT (SUPERFUND MECHANICS);
- MILITARY ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES, EG, SITE CLEAN-UPS;
- NATIONAL PARKS MANAGEMENT; AND
- NOISE POLLUTION (AIRPORTS).

BASED ON OUR SUGGESTIONS, THEY SAID ITZIK WOULD ALSO BE INTERESTED IN:

- PARTICIPATING IN A USDOC-ORGANIZED ROUND-TABLE;
- ACCEPTING AN INVITATION BY ENVIRONMENTAL PRODUCTS CORPORATION (ENVIPCO) TO SEE THEIR DEPOSIT CONTAINER SYSTEM IN OPERATION; AND
- POSSIBILITY OF A TEAM TO VISIT SITES AND TO LEARN PROCEDURES TO ENFORCE REMEDIATE AND PREVENT POLLUTION FROM VEHICLE FILLING STATIONS, INCLUDING REPLACEMENT OF GASOLINE STORAGE TANKS.
- MEETING NON-POLITICAL NGOS FOCUSED ON EDUCATION AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION.

5. THE ISRAELI EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON HAS ALREADY BEEN ASKED TO SET UP MEETINGS WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT AND WITH THE FIRST LADY. WE WARNED ITZIK'S STAFF THAT THE PRESS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL AND SENATE CAMPAIGNS MAY MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO SECURE MEETINGS WITH EITHER. ITZIK WOULD ALSO LIKE TO MEET WITH NEW YORK MAYOR GIULIANI, WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, AND WITH SENIOR EPA OFFICIALS, INCLUDING ADMINISTRATOR BROWNER. WE ALSO RECOMMENDED --

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AND ITZIK'S STAFF IS AGREEABLE -- THAT SHE MEET WITH ENERGY SECRETARY RICHARDSON TO DISCUSS CLIMATE CHANGE ISSUES AS A FOLLOW-UP TO HIS RECENT VISIT TO ISRAEL.

6. ACTION REQUESTED: ACTION ADDRESSEES (STATE, USDOC, USDOE, AND EPA) ARE REQUESTED TO PROVIDE POST WITH SUGGESTIONS AND ASSISTANCE TO SET UP A BENEFICIAL US PROGRAM FOR MINISTER ITZIK. SPECIFICALLY, WE WOULD UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 TEL AVIV 001419

FOR NEA/IAI, NEA/PPR, AND NEA/PD

FOR OES-A/S SANDALOW AND OES-AMBASSADOR HAMBLEY

FOR EPA-ADMINISTRATOR'S OFFICE AND INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES/MIDDLE EAST PROGRAMS-LEE PASAREW

WHITE HOUSE FOR OFFICE OF THE FIRST LADY

WHITE HOUSE FOR OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

USDOC FOR TD/ODAS/PTHANOS

USDOC FOR TD/ODAS/ETE/CMONTOULIEU/MLEMMOND

USDOC FOR MAC/ODAS/ONE/MWILLIAMSON

USDOC FOR ITA/USFCS/OIO/ANESA/KBRENNAN

USDOE FOR SECRETARY RICHARDSON'S OFFICE

E.O. 12958: N/A

TAGS: SENV, OVIP, ECON, ECIN, PREL, IS

SUBJECT: ENVIRONMENT MINISTER ITZIK PLANS TO VISIT U.S.

APPRECIATE:

-- USDOC'S PROPOSING DATES AND ATTENDEES FOR A ROUND-TABLE MEETING;

-- DOE'S CONFIRMING AVAILABILITY OF SECRETARY RICHARDSON TO MEET WITH MINISTER ITZIK AND PROPOSING DATES AND TIMES;

-- EPA'S PROPOSING ACTIVITIES AND MEETINGS APPROPRIATE FOR MINISTER ITZIK; AND

-- THE DEPARTMENT'S INDICATING WHICH OFFICIALS AND OFFICES ARE INTERESTED IN MEETING WITH MINISTER ITZIK, EG, OES ASSISTANT SECRETARY SANDALOW.

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file Israel

UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

Mrs. Hilary Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C.

1550 M Street NW
Suite 700
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20005-1708

TEL 202 457-1700
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WEB WWW.USIP.ORG

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

March 3, 1998

First of all, I would like to express my deep appreciation for what I understand was your part in having your husband light, this past Chanukah, the Chanukah Menorah created by my father. This act, by the President, in the White House, has brought great honor both to my family and indeed to the people of Israel. Please know that my 86 year old father lovingly labored on the "Chanukia" in his tiny kibbutz workshop with deep gratitude in his heart.

My university, the University of Haifa, would like to show similar gratitude to you for your work for a better world. They have given me the privilege of extending to you an invitation to accept an Honorary Doctorate.

It is obvious that you receive many invitations a month and can only help so many good causes. Still, we hope that you will be able to accept our invitation. The university would like to recognize your professional contributions in the field of health reform and your impact on populations in America and beyond. We have followed your itinerary around the world and like to think that in our own, small way, we too are working on many of the issues which you hold close to your heart. Among the University's many programs, one which impacts far from the walls of the University, are month-long courses in the Unit of External Studies, each summer, funded by the Foreign Ministry for students coming from third-world countries. One such subject is the development of tourism.

Like Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, we too are a microcosm of the world. The student body of the University of Haifa comprises veteran residents and new immigrants (most recently from Ethiopia and the previous Soviet Union), Jews, Arabs, Druze, senior Israeli Defense Force and police officers. They all sit

together on the bench of learning: a true example of peaceful coexistence, tolerance and mutual respect. The Arab student population is about 15% which is by far the highest in Israel. The person who preceded me as chairman of our department is an Arab, and the one who succeeded me this academic year is a Druze.

By accepting an honorary Ph.D. from our university you will be giving support and tremendous help in demonstrating to the skeptics that, despite yet-unresolved political conflicts, thousands of young men and women from diverse communities can and do live and study together in peace and harmony.

From our campus on the top of Mt. Carmel our students can see a valley that has seen more wars over a longer period of time than any other piece of land on this earth: the Jezreal-Megiddo Valley (otherwise known as The Valley of Armageddon). Towards the new millennium we hope and work for peace with pluralism and tolerance as our guide. One of the main architects of the Oslo agreement is a member of our faculty and we back all dialogue to further the peace process. Through our Jewish-Arab Center we initiate projects designed to promote coexistence between Palestinians, Israelis and neighboring Arab countries, as well as between our Arab & Jewish students.

Enclosed you will find a list of those who have received our Honorary Doctorate. You might note that President Jimmy Carter, Mrs. Brundtland of Norway who was also involved with the health issues of her country, as well as Isaak Stern, Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres are on this list. We believe that your presence here will serve as a powerful message of hope for Jews and Arabs alike and encourage people to overcome their deep-seated mutual fear.

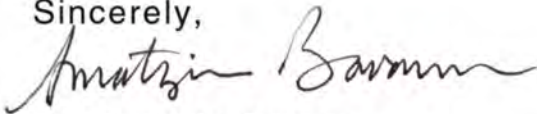
The fate of the State of Israel has on many occasions been influenced by help given by the USA. With American help we have made it to a 50th year anniversary. We would like to share this special anniversary with you representing your people.

The awards ceremony will be held between June 7-9, 1998. If you will accept our invitation, the time and specific date can be arranged to meet your schedule. If your participation in a formal awards ceremony in Israel would be too taxing on your time schedule

perhaps we can do this in Washington at an annual gathering of our University Friends.

I understand that you toured Israel with your husband when he was governor. Please know that there are many new and exciting ancient sites that have recently been revealed which help to bring the Bible to life. My wife is an Israeli tour guide specializing in Christian groups. She would like to reciprocate your kindness by taking you and/or your family to some of these sites if you will have a few days to spend in Israel.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Amatzia Baram". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Dr. Amatzia Baram
Professor

Social Safety Net

Estimates are that by 2005 one billion portable Internet connections will be deployed around the world — be it through cell phones, pagers or Palm Pilots. And by 2010 there'll be about three billion — so many in fact that 100 million toasters should be online by then. Why not? Finland is already putting phones in Coke machines — you can charge your drink to your home number — and the company DigiScents plans to deliver smells over the Internet by sending data to a "Snortai" attached to your PC, which would on command mix different chemicals to recreate various scents. Look around: anything with electricity is being reinvented to carry software and become networked. That's the future. Even for your toaster.

I picked up such futurology not at an Internet trade show but at an Aspen Institute seminar on poverty, headed by Nelson Mandela and Jimmy Carter. The question participants were asking was this: Can any of this whiz-bang Internet technology be used for alleviating poverty?

The answer is yes. "The Internet scales like no other technology," argues Allen Hammond, the senior scientist at the World Resources Institute. "One education Web site translated into Hindi, Mandarin, Swahili and Spanish would have a potential user base of two billion people. It can help even the poorest people invent their way out of poverty."

How so? Consider the Web site www.PlaNetfinance.org. The brainchild of a French banker, Jacques Attali, PlaNet Finance works like this: Roughly 1.3 billion people live on a dollar a day. One thing we know is that one of the most effective tools for combating their poverty is micro-lending. Micro-loans range from \$10 to \$1,000. They go mostly to women and are given without any collateral. Micro-loan recipients use them to buy everything from sewing machines to a cell phone the whole village can use, to beauty supplies to start a salon in a Bangladeshi slum. These people have the will to better themselves, they just don't have the basic cash, and that's what micro-loans provide.

While people who need micro-loans are not online today, many of the micro-banks and aid organizations that work with the poor do have computers and can get online. What PlaNet Finance is doing is wiring these 7,000 micro-finance groups around the world into a network that holds huge possibilities.

"First," says Mr. Attali, "PlaNet

will connect as many micro-banks as possible so they can share solutions. Second, we will help those that are not online get online, as we did in Benin. Third, we are creating a system, like Moody's, that will rate micro-banks according to their ethics, how well they serve the poor and financial efficiency. Fourth, we are setting up a university online to teach best practices to micro-banks, and an online marketplace for micro-loan recipients to sell their crafts. Finally, we are creating PlaNet Bank, which will extend lines of credit to micro-banks and will enable anyone to come to our Web site, donate money to selected projects

Soon, online micro-loans for the poor.

offered by the best micro-banks, and then track whom that money went to and how it is used."

If PlaNet can really rate and link all the micro-banks, it could help them lower their biggest cost — tracking and processing all these little loans. The idea is that a single micro-banker, armed with the sort of information device that FedEx uses to track your packages, could keep track of hundreds of loans and payments at a time. If the processing and transaction costs of these micro-loans can be reduced, they can be bundled together and sold on a commercial basis to the Citibanks of the world. Micro-banks usually charge 4 to 5 percent interest a month, so this market would appeal to big banks — if the processing costs were cut. And that would change everything, because right now there is great demand for micro-loans, but their cash pool is limited to donations. With \$20 billion in commercial loans from big banks you could provide micro-loans to 100 million people living on \$1 a day.

That's how you change the world — get the big market players to do the right thing for the wrong reasons.

"There's an old saying: 'Feed a man a fish and you've fed him for a day. Teach a man to fish and you've fed him for a lifetime,'" says Mr. Attali. "Well, we have millions of poor people who know how to fish. They just don't have a pole. Through PlaNet we might be able to get poles for a lot more of them." □

file Israel
plus Ann Lewis
done!



Kimberlin L. Love
05/30/2000 05:14:26 PM

Record Type: Record

To:

cc:

Subject: Statement by the Vice president on Israel Joining a United Nations Regional Grouping

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Vice President

For Immediate Release
Tuesday, May 30, 2000

Contact:
(202) 456-7035

STATEMENT BY THE VICE PRESIDENT ON ISRAEL JOINING A UNITED NATIONS REGIONAL GROUPING

Today Israel announced its acceptance of an offer to join the Western European and Others Grouping (WEOG) at the United Nations. This development effectively ends an injustice that for decades deprived Israel of its right to fully participate in the UN's decision making process. Until today, Israel -- a member of the United Nations since 1949 -- was the only country to be actively excluded from participating in the regional groupings of the United Nations.

I raised this issue with UN Secretary General Kofi Annan earlier this year, and later with the Government of Spain, which played an important role in building international support. I am proud to have led the Administration's effort to correct this inequity, which also involved intensive efforts by President Clinton, Secretary Albright, and Ambassador Holbrooke. I welcome this courageous and historic step taken by the membership of the WEOG and Israel.

###

file Israel

To: Melanne Verveer
Office of the First Lady
From: Jill Indyk
US Embassy Residence, Israel

September 14, 2000

Dear Melanne,

We think of you often and pray for Mrs Clinton's success. We are finding the return to Israel no less challenging than it was the first time round! When we got on the plane to come back to Israel at the end of January, the Syrian deal was on the horizon, and peace with the Pals not far behind. Ah well... a little humility goes a long way!

You may be aware from the interview Christiane Amanpour conducted with Ehud Barak during his New York UN visit last week, that Lea Rabin came out with a fairly scathing interview critical of Barak, of his (lack of) relationship with Arafat, of Barak's willingness to 'compromise' on Jerusalem. This has been a topic of much conversation here. The interview appeared in (Hebrew language only) *Yediot*. Because of the furor, I asked FBIS to translate it, and sent it to Martin in New York. I thought you might like to be aware of it too.

The interview expresses well the polarization in Israel over the peace process and the future of Jerusalem. The contradiction in the interview is the criticism of the lack of a relationship between Barak and Arafat, while at the same time insisting that Yitzhak would be 'turning in his grave' at Barak's negotiations over Jerusalem at Camp David. There won't be one without the other. I suspect that the interview was inspired by the recent revelation by Deri that Barak had persuaded him to vote against the Oslo Accords; an act of gross disloyalty on Barak's part, according to Lea.

The Lions of Judah women are in town - 300 from all over the world including a large delegation (Susie Stein et.al) from New York. I've copied them on the interview because they will be brief tomorrow by both Nava Barak and Lea Rabin.

Your life must be full these days. We send our best regards, and hope you are thriving.

Jill

Diflucan
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Unique ID: GMP20000908000127
Precedence: Priority
Topic: INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL, LEADER
Country: ISRAEL, LEBANON, SYRIA, WEST BANK & GAZA STRIP
SourceLine: Tel Aviv Yedi'ot Aharonot (Ieshabat supplement) in Hebrew 08 Sep
00 pp 2-5
Subject: Rabin's Widow Criticizes Baraq's Handling of Negotiations With
Arafat
Processing Indicator: FBIS Translated Text
Subslug: Report on interview with Le'a Rabin, widow of former Prime Minister
Yitzhaq Rabin, by Sima Qadmon; place and date not given.
Reference(s):

Text:

"This isn't Yitzhaq's Oslo," Le'a Rabin says. "Not in the manner it is being conducted, not in the relationships, and--according to Baraq's view--not in the strategy. Yitzhaq's Oslo was in a spirit of conciliation. To reach accord in an atmosphere of conciliation and agreement, while negotiating with good will. This is how it began, and this is how it was conducted until Yitzhaq was assassinated. This is not what is happening today."

What are you saying? I asked her. The negotiations with the Palestinians are continuing.

"Do you call these negotiations?" Rabin asks. "Can you conduct negotiations without talking? Baraq and Arafat are co-located at Camp David and don't even meet. They are trying to resolve the Jerusalem problem, the most difficult and most penetrating problem, at a time when relations are so gloomy. You can't reach agreement with someone if you barely speak to him.

"The walls of suspicion fell with that handshake between Rabin and Arafat, seven years ago," Rabin says. "People are inclined to remember Yitzhaq's reservation, but that isn't accurate. Yitzhaq wanted that meeting on the White House lawn. And naturally, such a meeting includes a handshake. From that day, Rabin says, despite the ups and downs, despite the difficulties, Yitzhaq regarded Arafat as a full partner. This was not a case of passionate love, but relations between them were based on mutual respect, trust, and partnership.

"It is not by chance that they didn't agree on the third

withdrawal in advance. Yitzhaq thought, without being naive, that three withdrawals should take place initially, time would pass, and then we would reach a permanent solution. This whole strategy suggested that by the time they complete the third withdrawal, the peace process would mature and reach a permanent solution in an atmosphere of agreement, trust, and understanding. The solution is a lot easier if you follow such a path.

"I can say to Baraq's credit that he never agreed with Oslo. I was very angry after he abstained in the vote on Oslo 'B.' I was offended for Yitzhaq. That was also the time when Baraq came into the government. A week ago, Arye Der'i said that Baraq had influenced him not to vote in favor, at a time when Yitzhaq needed every vote. Since that time, and to this day, Baraq has thought Oslo was a bad idea."

[Qadmon] But despite that, he is doing it. He regards himself as following Rabin's path.

[Rabin] He is not doing so. He is trying to achieve a permanent solution while claiming that if we go for a third redeployment, we will come to an arrangement without any of our assets. And what is he coming with today if not with all our assets?

[Qadmon] Are you saying, Le'a Rabin, that Baraq is not following Rabin's path?

[Rabin] To my great regret, no. It involves so many things that if I begin, we will be sitting here till morning. But I regret to say that he is not. Certainly not. I was among those who hoped and anticipated, who gave full support. I wanted to believe that he would continue Yitzhaq's path. I supported him all the way. But after a year and three months, I have to admit that a large part of my hopes have met with disappointment. [end Rabin]

It Isn't a Picnic

Le'a Rabin's alertness has not been affected in the least by her illness. Her friends say that there is still no one who can keep up with her. A new book, a new film, a new performance, there is nothing with which she isn't up to date. She reads all the newspapers, listens to all the newscasts, gets angry, reacts, never tires. In the morning she receives treatment at the hospital, and in the evening she goes to the ballet. When asked, she says it isn't as picnic, and quickly moves on to another topic. She has the inquisitiveness and alertness of a young person, the energy of a healthy person, and that same short-fused temperament that has created a large body of critics and an even

larger body of friends, people who are prepared to jump through hoops for her.

"It was Netanyahu who destroyed relations with Arafat," she says. "And he did it willingly.

"I had great hopes that Baraq would restore these relations. I had no doubt that he would do it. It didn't happen. He focused on the Syrian issue, and for a long time, he felt that he could ignore Arafat. He didn't talk to him for a year. You can't place all the responsibility only on us, Arafat also has a part in this. But when you don't talk for a year, positions harden, the price list goes up, and Arafat ends up having to salvage his position on the Palestinian street. Even if they don't continue the path of Oslo, even if they choose another path, the first thing is to rehabilitate relations, and this shouldn't have been difficult. Arafat was waiting for this. He expressed himself on several occasions. I miss Yitzhaq, he said. He kept his word. I want Yitzhaq back."

[Qadmon] Are you in touch with him?

[Rabin] He gets in touch very infrequently. My sister, he says, how are you? I remember, during the week of mourning, how he came here to our apartment. That night I spoke to Yitzhaq: You're not going to believe this, I told him. Yasir Arafat came here to your mourning. He sat in your living room. Without a keffiya. He kissed your children.

[Qadmon] At the end of the day, Rabin would also have come to Camp David. What is it that bothers you about Baraq? The timing?

[Rabin] Yitzhaq would not have come to Camp David under such conditions. It is inconceivable that he would have come to Camp David to discuss the end of the conflict with Arafat when he was hardly on speaking terms with him. It is simply illogical.

And I am also surprised at the willingness to make concessions. The willingness to make concessions in Jerusalem. All the time, Baraq stresses how his heart is with the settlers, how much he understands them, and on the other hand, he is prepared to make such concessions. I read that they are prepared to grant us sovereignty over the Jewish Quarter. I am hearing that they may permit us to pray at the Wailing Wall. Would you believe it?

[Qadmon] Are you saying that Rabin wouldn't be ready to make such compromises in Jerusalem?

[Rabin] I am saying that Yitzhaq is definitely turning in his

grave. [end Rabin]

He Would Not Have Made Concessions

Le'a Rabin is a total woman. She sees life in black and white. With her, gray is also black, and white is so white, it is almost pink. She is open-hearted, firm in her convictions--almost bordering on the aggressive.

"Yitzhaq would never compromise on the Temple Mount, nor on the Old City," she says. "This was off limits. He was born in Jerusalem. He fought in 1948 and saw the battle for the Old City. He saw it fall and its people taken prisoner. He saw how they left it divided. This was traumatic for him.

"Over the years, we would travel to Jerusalem with the children and view the Old City on the other side. He never overcame this trauma and he was eternally grateful that in 1967, he was the chief of general staff who liberated it.

"Jerusalem was holy in Yitzhaq's view. Not in a religious way but in a national-historic way. Jerusalem is history, it is survival, it is unity, it is hope. I remember the day when the paratroopers reached the Western Wall in the Six-Day War. At the time, we lived in Zahala. A holocaust survivor lived opposite me. Every few minutes, she would knock on the door and ask: Have we reached the Western Wall yet? Has the army reached the Western Wall? In the evening, I went out of the house. A neighbor was standing on the corner of the street. She took my hand. We were like dreamers, she said, we were like dreamers."

Le'a Rabin is crying. It is strange: She is a hardened woman. Through all the hours that we talked, she didn't shed a tear. Not when we spoke about her husband, Yitzhaq, not when we spoke about her illness. Only when she remembered her neighbor's words, over 30 years ago, did she begin to cry. I told her this.

"Yes," she said, "that was an emotional moment. The Temple Mount was in our hands. Now, they are trying to take it from us? Conquered territory? Yitzhaq said we would never return all the conquered territories. There are territories that we would not return. He would not have conceded the Old City and the Temple Mount. He believed that in the framework of correct and good relations with the Palestinians, they would understand what Jerusalem means to us and they would moderate their demands."

Rabin's fervor arouses empathy. But not necessarily agreement. Those who knew Yitzhaq Rabin doubt that she is right. Rabin was a pragmatist. A few days before the assassination, he appeared on the Moked [television interview] program. I don't have time, he

said, I'm over 70. I have to stop. He let it be understood that there were no obstacles that couldn't be overcome peacefully, that he was prepared to put up with everything, that he knew the aim and that he was determined to achieve it. He stood up to all the incitement, curses, and threats. There is no doubt that when the Jerusalem problem arose he would have understood that he had to confront it as well. He wouldn't have stopped. Rabin would not hesitate to change his positions and deviate from preconceptions when circumstances changed.

"Look," Rabin says, "the Jordan Valley was also a taboo for Yitzhaq. But I can't speak with such insistence on this matter because Yitzhaq honestly said that we wouldn't come down from the Golan Heights, and he was ready to do so in the end, and he said that he would never shake the hand of the PLO leader, and he did so. When he was defense minister, he hoped that an alternative Palestinian leadership would arise with which it would be possible to conduct negotiations. When he realized that there is no alternative, he changed his mind. So I am ready to accept that there are things that can change according to circumstances. It could be that in a certain situation, Yitzhaq would have compromised over the Jordan Valley, I don't know.

"Not over Jerusalem. Not over the Old City."

[Qadmon] But there are things you view as major successes on Baraq's part. Like the withdrawal from Lebanon.

"Lebanon is a success," she says. "But there is no certainty that the issue is closed. The elections there promise good things. The moderate forces have been on the rise there. But other things are happening on the ground. My sister-in-law, Rahel, Yitzhaq's sister, lives in Kibbutz Menara. There is a grave under her window, and it is not clear to which sanctity it belongs. It used to be part of an IDF outpost. Since the withdrawal, the fence bisects the grave. This is where the border passes. And the Hizballah people are pushing the fence. They are slowly moving the border. So there might be hope, but there is so much hatred that it is uncertain if the final word has been said.

"You Are Undermining Mother"

Occasionally, Rabin's views generate discomfort. When one remembers her unreserved support for Baraq during the elections, it appeared that she had completely turned around. Despite her openness and lack of inhibitions, she is careful. She is not prepared to reveal her disappointments with the prime minister.

"It is not a simple matter," she says. "My support for Baraq was not easy. There was a serious problem in our home when Dalya

went into politics. On the day Dalya announced she was joining the Center Party, Ehud got in touch with me. We want you to close the One Israel list, he said. You should be listed as number 120. At the time, I didn't think he had a hidden motive. I believed that they wanted to give me this fictitious placing as an honorary position, and I accepted this happily.

"That evening, I had an argument with Yonatan, my grandson. 'You are undermining my mother,' he said. I said to him: 'Yonatan, there is no element of competition here. I don't want to sabotage mother's path. It is only an honorary position.' 'You shouldn't have accepted it,' he said. 'You are causing a split in the family.'"

"This wasn't an easy time for the whole family," Rabin says. "At first, they all believed in Amnon (Lipqin-Shahaq)."

[Qadmon] In the beginning, you also believed in Baraq.

[Rabin] I very much wanted to see him as the person continuing Rabin's path. I hoped for it. No one could have been an exact copy. But it is a question of whether you regard someone as a model, as the shoes that you aspire to fill. I don't think that Baraq even tried. He regards himself as continuing the path of Ben-Gurion, and I regard this as very pretentious. Ben-Gurion was different, and he had the unique right to establish the state, establish the army, and consolidate the reparations agreement [with Germany]. He was the model of a leader prepared to dedicate the whole of his future for the benefit of principled and important decisions."

[Qadmon] And isn't Ehud Baraq like that?

[Rabin] In my view, no. To say that he wishes to bring about a decision on the scale that Ben-Gurion did--I have no other word for this but pretentiousness. This country was established one time. It was a historic, fateful decision. Anyone even declaring that he will bring about a decision as momentous as the establishment of the state is being pretentious. [end Rabin]

The Half of the Bottle That's Full

Le'a identifies totally with her husband. She defends his honor as if it were he himself who grimaced when he heard Baraq declare himself to be the follower of Ben-Gurion, after he stopped mentioning Rabin, upon whom he once used to rely on every occasion--when he entered politics and was contesting the premiership. Perhaps, deep inside, Rabin suspects that Baraq shows her husband too little respect. She never forgets, and hardly ever forgives.

"True," she says, "I cannot forgive Bibi Netanyahu for the incitement against Yitzhaq. He orchestrated it. He and his people planned to destroy Yitzhaq politically. Rabin is covered in Teflon, Netanyahu said, and we should fire all the bullets at him. He wasn't referring to real bullets, but he meant all acceptable means. And I accuse him of conducting a very cruel campaign to get rid of Rabin. When one talks today about the dangers posed to Baraq from the right, it is not the same. It will never be that same joint orchestration of the Likud, YEHSa, and many ultra-orthodox rabbis.

[Qadmon] Are you taking account of the fact that Binyamin Netanyahu could be the next prime minister?

[Rabin] I am an optimist. I see the bottle as half full and I can see hope that he won't return. We have already experienced this plague once. I find it hard to believe that it will happen again. [end Rabin]

And she isn't forgetting Moshe Qatzav, who is president of the state today, who stood at Netanyahu's side on the stage in Zion Square, at that famous demonstration that turned into the epitome of incitement against Yitzhaq Rabin. "I receive reports from the presidential residence," Rabin says, "that not a day passes without Qatzav mentioning Yitzhaq. I don't know if he wants to soften my view of him in this way. But I expect him to stand up and say publicly that he expresses sorrow and regret that he also stood on the balcony that night.

"There is a tradition that the first remembrance candle that is lit on the anniversary of Yitzhaq's assassination is lit in the presidential residence. I strongly urged that this tradition should continue now. It is the presidential residence and we respect it, without reference to who occupies it. I also came to terms with Ezer Weizman."

[Qadmon] And what about the president of the Supreme Court, Ron Baraq, the only person whose hand you didn't shake at Rabin's funeral?

"I have already shaken his hand since then," she says. "He is under so much attack now that he has moved into another category. I carried a lot of anger toward him since that affair, the dollars affair [Le'a Rabin's illegal foreign currency account during Rabin's first term as prime minister, which led to his resignation], when he was attorney general. Maybe now, he also thinks he should have handled our matter differently."

You Know What I Feel

Le'a Rabin is big-hearted, both in her loves and in her hatreds. Paradoxically, she is a naive person. She is quick to trust people, and her largesse in her relations with people, the quick bonding, the enthusiasm, and what she invests--also bring her disappointments. She bursts into flame and then the flame is extinguished. Someone said that when she hates, she goes all the way, but when she loves, it is without reservation.

On the day that Shim'on Peres lost the presidency, Le'a Rabin got in touch with him. Shim'on, she said to him, I have nothing to add, you know what I feel. Peres thanked her and promised to come and visit. On the following day, during Qatzav's inauguration ceremony in the Knesset, he came to her home. They sat alone in the study where Yitzhaq Rabin used to sit. The television, which was carrying a live relay of the ceremony, was switched off.

"I really wanted him to be elected," Rabin says. "I really, really wanted it. I couldn't believe that it wouldn't happen. Today, I really regard Shim'on as Yitzhaq's follower."

How do you explain it, I asked her: after all the years of hate, jealousy, rivalry, and anger, it is precisely Shim'on Peres who has become the person who is close, the follower of the path?

"I believe that Yitzhaq's assassination was a heavy blow for Shim'on. Yitzhaq had total respect for him from the moment Peres became foreign minister, and there was real cooperation between them later on, with regard to all aspects of Oslo. When Shim'on used to contact us at home, if something went wrong and I was unable to transfer the call, Yitzhaq would get very angry: He didn't want Shim'on to think that there was an element of dismissiveness, of lack of attention. He was sensitive toward him, and wanted to show him all the time how much he respected him."

[Qadmon] Do you believe that this was a real conciliation?

[[Rabin] I don't know, but one can only cry when one sees them together on the stage, on the last night. Yitzhaq was heady with joy. He didn't expect such a gathering of support. He was so emotional that he lost all inhibition and gave Shim'on a real hug. I think he was very grateful to him, for the cooperation and for the total trust they had for each other, for the joint feeling that they were doing something huge.

[Qadmon] But what about you, what do you feel for Peres?

[Rabin] I see before me a man who went with Yitzhaq to the end

of his journey. It makes me forget the unpleasant episodes and remember this chapter. And also to empathize with Shim'on who lost Yitzhaq. In the distribution of roles between them, Shim'on was the man of vision and the dream, and Rabin was the realist, and I am certain that Shim'on is grieving over the absence of that rock. When I see Shim'on, I have a burning sense of nostalgia, of partnership in my loss.

"When Shim'on celebrated his birthday in Tzavta [hall] about two weeks ago, I was supposed to say a few words. I didn't feel well and I didn't come. But I intended to say that the book, "Appetite for Life," should have been written about him. This is a man with an appetite for life, who loves life, takes advantage of life. I wanted to tell him: Shim'on, you don't have to be president. Your life is fascinating. You are the president wherever you are in the world."

Relations of Respect

Her friends say that since Rabin's death there has been no decline in his wife's status. On the contrary. Five years have passed, and she is surrounded by even more people, flooded with letters, telephone calls, and invitations from all over the world. Since she became ill, she has received hundreds of letters with advice about how to look after herself. She doesn't rest for a moment. She treats the illness like another enemy that has dared insult her or Yitzhaq. You simply push it aside and continue on your way.

"I feel a lot of support," she says, "and not only because of the illness. Yitzhaq's assassination placed me in some kind of category that people want to touch. I am aware of all the criticism leveled against me over the years. People who knew me closely admitted that their perception of me used to be completely different. I have no explanation. I have never had a media adviser, someone to tell me how to behave. There was criticism of my external appearance, of the jewelry that I wear. But that's me. It is part of me."

"Recently, a truck passed by the entrance to Dixie, and someone shouted at me: Le'a Rabin, are you still here? When are you packing your bags? He even remembered my remark after Netanyahu won the elections. Can someone imagine that I will run away from here? That I will leave Yitzhaq alone on Mount Herzl [Rabin's grave]? That I will leave my children behind me? That I will leave this house, our common world?"

"I am an optimist," she says, "and I don't despair quickly. But I look around me and see how hope is becoming more distant. I see how Der'i was accompanied to jail, the things that Suissa

says about me, what is happening in Israeli society, and I am trying not to despair. One has to promote the social and educational issues, you can't spend all your time putting out fires. I can't avoid comparing what is happening now with the way in which Yitzhaq worked, simultaneously, on all fronts. They were all his sons: He would hold talks with [former Bank of Israel governor] Ya'akov Frenkel, and with Bayga [reference unknown], with the justice minister, and certainly with the education minister. The whole framework of relations with SHAS was completely different. Yitzhaq would insist on going to [SHAS spiritual leader] Ovadya Yosef; they had respect for each other.

"When Yitzhaq visited someone, it wasn't a courtesy visit, to be photographed and then to leave. He came in order to be there.

"Maybe he thought that Meretz was too left-wing, but he felt himself a partner to the peace camp right across its values. It was inconceivable that Meretz would be outside his coalition. To say that he is closer to Yitzhaq Levi than to Yosi Sarid? I would never hear him say such a thing. He is a man who grew up in a youth movement, in an agricultural school, in the Palmah [Hagannah strike force]."

Baraq too, I tell her.

"It is unfair to compare the two men," she says. "In any case, it is difficult to make a comparison with Yitzhaq."

[Qadmon] So what is it you are saying here, Le'a Rabin?

[Rabin] I am saying that someone may still rise up and be able to bring about a change in our society. I want to believe in that.

That leader has to be someone who is in touch with the people. Who speaks to people at eye level, who is able to inspire, to generate trust, who will be endowed with a great deal of tolerance and liberalism, including toward those who do not agree with his views. Someone who knows how to arouse good will in people, Perhaps, someone who has known poverty. So that when he talks about a child from an underprivileged background, he knows what he is talking about. Not a child with a silver spoon.

Not from a social or economic elite.

"No leader can take the lead on an initiative if there isn't a sense of power behind him, of people trusting him and believing in him. There has to be a chemistry with his people. He has to have charisma. You can't acquire this. You are born with it.

[Qadmon] That doesn't sound like a description of Ehud Baraq. Is there someone specific to whom you are referring?

[Rabin] The Labor Party has been blessed with a long list of people with intellectual stature, each one of whom could be viewed as a leader. Beilin, Burg, Ben-Ami, and Ramon. They are all suitable people. [end Rabin]

Doesn't Walk Into the Snow

This week, I asked Le'a Rabin how she deals with her situation. She looked straight into my eyes and rebuffed my expression.

Perhaps she didn't like what she saw in it. What do you mean by "deal with," she asked coldly.

You know, I said with embarrassment. The illness.

"I remember," she said, "when I was a girl of four in Germany. There was a snowstorm and I was walking together with a girl of my age. Our mothers walked behind us. I can remember them saying: Look at Le'a, how she walks into the snow. Like a Cossack."

So what, I asked her, are you walking into the snow now?

"No," she said, "I don't walk into the snow. But if I come up against a storm, I will deal with it."

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