

**SHAMIR VOICES 'GRIEF' OVER U.S. MOVE  
IN HARD-HITTING SPEECH TO THE KNESSET**

By David Landau

JERUSALEM, Oct. 7 (JTA) -- Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir accused the United States on Monday of causing Israel "disappointment and grief" by linking the Middle East peace process to the Jewish state's request for loan guarantees to help resettle immigrants.

Shamir's fiery speech at the opening of the Knesset's winter session seemed to foreshadow further conflicts with Washington if the United States continues to hold Israel's humanitarian needs hostage to a cessation of settlement activity in the administered territories.

Flatly refusing to consider trading territory for peace, Shamir laid down terms and conditions for Israel's participation in the proposed peace conference, which suggested to some political observers that he was drawing a blueprint for its inevitable failure.

The packed Knesset session also left no doubt that Israel is sharply polarized on the peace issue and its relations with Washington.

Shimon Peres, leader of the opposition Labor Party, accused the Likud-led government of adopting "a policy leading to nowhere."

He charged that Shamir's dedication to settlements put Israel on a collision course with its most powerful protector and ally. He urged the government to announce a freeze on settlement-building, "not for the Americans or for the Arabs, but for our own sakes."

With such a move, Israel could achieve the abolition of the Arab League economic boycott "tomorrow morning," Peres said.

The left-of-center opposition has introduced a motion of no confidence in the government which will now be voted on next week. Political observers believe it will fail to unseat the incumbent coalition of right-wing and religious parties.

**Peace Talks 'Not Yet A Certainty'**

In his speech, Shamir charged repeatedly that the Bush administration struck at the heart of Zionist aspirations when it demanded a four-month delay before Congress considered Israel's Sept. 6 request for guarantees covering \$10 billion in immigrant resettlement loans it plans to take out over the next five years.

"If the United States understood the sensitivity of aliyah for us and understood the Arabs' consistent objections to it, they would think again," the prime minister declared.

He said somberly that he hoped there would be no further delay in granting Israel's request when the waiting period ends in January.

Shamir played to his right-wing coalition partners when he pointedly observed that the peace conference, which the United States and Soviet Union would like to convene before the end of this month, is "not yet a certainty."

The far-right factions insist the conference is a "trap" and have threatened to leave the government if Israel attends.

Shamir enumerated a long list of conditions for Israeli participation. Israel has "made it known," he said, that it would "not support" a motion to reconvene the conference after its first

formal session, which the prime minister referred to as a "ceremonial meeting."

That session is to be followed by separate, bilateral negotiations between Israel and the individual Arab states, and between Israel and Palestinian representatives, who would be members of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

The U.S. position is that the conference plenum can be reconvened after the curtain-raiser if all parties agree. Shamir served notice in his Knesset speech that Israel would never agree.

He said that Israel "hopes and assumes" that the Soviet Union will re-establish full diplomatic relations with it "before the issuance of invitations" to the conference.

He warned there would be "no progress" in the bilateral talks until Israel has assured itself that the Arab side recognizes the Jewish state; strives to reach full peace with it; intends to cease all hostile propaganda after peace is attained; intends to remove "terror bases" from Arab territory; and intends to give Jewish citizens of Arab nations full and equal rights, including emigration.

**Golan Heights 'Vital' To Security**

While Israel says it accepts U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 as the framework for peace talks, the "bottom line," in Shamir's words, is negotiations for a full and lasting peace. All of the other provisions of these resolutions are merely non-binding "guidelines," he contended.

Shamir said Israel has "solid grounds" for its argument that by returning all of Sinai to Egypt in 1982, it completely satisfied the resolution's requirement that Israel withdraw from occupied territory.

With respect to the Golan Heights, the main issue of any negotiations with Syria, Shamir observed that Israel applied its law and administration there -- tantamount to annexation -- in late 1980, "and this situation will continue to guide us."

He stressed that the Golan is "a vital element of our security."

Shamir said Israel is ready to negotiate a five-year autonomy period for the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, in conformity with the 1978 Camp David accords.

"Needless to say," Jerusalem is "not a subject of negotiation," he added.

Political observers remarked that the prime minister may already be maneuvering to avoid blame at home and abroad if the peace conference collapses immediately after the opening.

They said Shamir expects culpability to fall on the Syrians, who, he is convinced, will refuse to state categorically at the outset that they are ready for full peace with Israel.

The Likud leader expects the Syrians to offer nothing more than "non-belligerency" status, in which case Israel could not be faulted for refusing to negotiate withdrawal from the Golan.

Political observers said the harshness of the clash between Shamir and Peres during the normally festive opening of the Knesset foreshadows a stormy winter session. The stark political divide here will become increasingly evident as the diplomatic process gathers momentum, they said.

**GLEMP INVITES RABBIS TO WARSAW, BUT RULES OUT APOLOGY IN POLISH**  
By Debra Nussbaum Cohen

NEW YORK, Oct. 7 (JTA) -- Cardinal Jozef Glemp of Poland met here with 11 Jewish leaders Sunday and invited them to come to Warsaw in February to inaugurate a series of conferences to promote Catholic-Jewish understanding there.

Glemp, who heads the Catholic Church in Poland, said he would participate in the first session, indicating that he plans to get personally involved in efforts to ease the longstanding strains between Catholics and Jews in Poland.

But the primate would not agree to repeat in Poland a statement he made in Washington last month, after meeting with many of the same Jewish leaders, in which he said that remarks about Jews he made two years ago, in a now infamous homily, were based on "mistaken information."

When the Jewish leaders, most of them rabbis, asked him Sunday to repeat that statement when he returns to his native country, Glemp responded with silence, leaving some dissatisfied.

"I expected something more concrete," said Rabbi Leon Klenicki, director of interreligious affairs for the Anti-Defamation League. "Whatever he says condemning anti-Semitism here must be said in Poland, in Polish, otherwise it's just tea and sympathy."

Klenicki refused to meet with Glemp in Washington on Sept. 20, because the prelate had not explicitly repudiated the statements about Jews he made in the homily, among them, that Jews got peasants drunk, control the international news media and introduced communism to Poland.

Klenicki said he was attending the New York meeting out of respect for Cardinal John O'Connor, who hosted the gathering at New York parish offices behind St. Patrick's Cathedral and who has a strong relationship with the Jewish community.

**'Way Beyond What I Expected'**

Another participant who said that Glemp's statements did not go far enough was Rabbi Mark Winer of the Jewish Community Center of White Plains, N.Y.

"He did not address all that needs to be," said Winer, who represents the Reform movement's Central Conference of American Rabbis on the Synagogue Council of America.

Not everyone agreed with that assessment.

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, a longtime participant in Catholic-Jewish dialogue, said that the promises made by Glemp to better Catholic-Jewish understanding in Poland "were excellent, way beyond what I expected."

But, he acknowledged, the real outcome of the meetings with Glemp "will depend on what follow-up takes place."

During Sunday's meeting, Cardinal O'Connor urged Glemp to use his influence to persuade the Vatican to establish full diplomatic relations with Israel, participants said.

They said that perhaps the most valuable result of Glemp's 19-day, 14-city trip here was that he had the chance to see strong Catholic-Jewish relations at work.

"Now he has come to a new realization, since he has seen concretely what a model of these relationships should be," said Rabbi Jack Bemporad of Lawrence, N.Y., who chairs the Synagogue Council's interreligious affairs committee.

Gunther Lawrence, a spokesman for the Synagogue Council, likened the educational pro-

cess Glemp had been involved in during his trip to "retraining."

The Synagogue Council is composed of delegates from each of the three major movements of Jewish religious affiliation. It is the American secretariat for IJCIC, the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations, which is formally charged with acting on behalf of the Jewish community in relations with the Vatican.

**IJCIC Trip Postponed**

Those who participated in Sunday's meeting, however, did so as individuals rather than as representatives of the Synagogue Council, which, as part of IJCIC, was not able to arrive at a consensus about whether or not to meet with Glemp during his U.S. tour. Some felt the cardinal had not sufficiently apologized for his past remarks before leaving Poland.

IJCIC's chairman, Seymour Reich, resigned in protest over that internal battle, and as a result, an IJCIC trip to Warsaw, Prague and Budapest that was planned for later this month has been postponed. It may be at least partially supplanted by the February visit of those invited individually to Poland by Cardinal Glemp.

The purpose of the trip was to begin implementing the September 1990 Prague Declaration, a document signed by Vatican and IJCIC leaders that calls for measures to bring Catholics and Jews toward greater understanding of one another.

Though the details of the upcoming trip to Poland are still being worked out, Rabbi A. James Rudin, director of interreligious affairs for the American Jewish Committee, promised that it will be "systematic, comprehensive and complete."

Reich, who felt strongly that Jews should not meet with Glemp during his American tour, said in a telephone interview Sunday that he was "distressed" that IJCIC was being circumvented by the issuing of invitations to individual Jews.

If Christian groups select the individual Jews with whom they want to meet, Reich said, "Jews are being selected who may give their host the kind of statements that are being sought" rather than statements that are representative of the entire Jewish community.

The diversity of Jewish opinion was evidenced Sunday when a group of 200 activists, organized by New York Rabbi Avi Weiss, staged a protest across the street from the parish compound as the Jewish leaders met with Glemp.

**'Bending To Anti-Semitism'**

The activists chanted, "Shame! Shame!" and held signs reading "Glemp: Stop Hiding Behind Your Cross," and "Cardinal Glemp: Apologize."

Weiss, a tallit wrapped around his shoulders, vehemently criticized those who were meeting with the cardinal, accusing them of "bending to anti-Semitism."

About 30 Catholics from the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights staged a counter-demonstration across the street, calling for an end to what they said was Catholic-bashing.

One Catholic protester called Weiss a "Jewish Al Sharpton," a reference to the black activist who has stirred up racial unrest in New York, most recently in Brooklyn's heavily Hasidic Crown Heights neighborhood.

Glemp also met last week with Jews in Chicago, where he visited the Spertus College of Judaica and was quoted as saying: "Thank God our dialogue has begun, and we know only in God will it succeed."

## GORBACHEV CONDEMNS ANTI-SEMITISM IN STATEMENT AT BABI YAR CEREMONY

By Jackie Rothenberg and Susan Birnbaum

NEW YORK, Oct. 7 (JTA) -- Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's unprecedented acknowledgment and condemnation of anti-Semitism has received a welcome response from Jewish organizational leaders, who now want to see words followed up by deeds.

Gorbachev acknowledged the existence of Soviet anti-Semitism in a statement read on his behalf at a ceremony Saturday night commemorating the murder of tens of thousands of Jews 50 years ago at Babi Yar, on the outskirts of Kiev.

In a statement read by Alexander Yakovlev, one of Gorbachev's top political aides, the Soviet leader expressed regret that anti-Semitism is causing so many Soviet Jews to emigrate.

Gorbachev's remarks were the strongest condemnation of anti-Semitism ever made by a Soviet leader. A similarly forceful statement was made at the Babi Yar gravesite by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, who acknowledged Ukrainian collaboration in the Nazi massacre.

Kravchuk accepted "part of the blame" for his republic's collaboration and asked the Jewish people for forgiveness.

Last week in New York, Kravchuk told a gathering at the Park East Synagogue convened by the Appeal of Conscience Foundation that the Ukraine aims to create a favorable environment for Jews. He also said the Ukraine would "publish a book of the names of all those who perished" in Babi Yar, and name, too, "all those who helped Jews hide from their death."

In keeping with that pledge, the Ukrainian government erected a large bronze menorah at the exact site in Babi Yar where the Nazis killed more than 33,000 Jews in about 36 hours beginning on Sept. 29, 1941.

Some 100,000 people, including Gypsies, communists and homosexuals were later killed in the mass grave. But most victims were Jews.

The Ukraine also amended the wording on the large marker erected some way down the ravine to say that the majority of the victims at the site were Jews.

### A 'Courageous, Clear Position'

Meanwhile, statements praising Gorbachev's stance on anti-Semitism were issued Monday in New York by a number of Jewish groups.

Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League and a member of the American delegation to the four-day commemoration at Babi Yar, said that the Soviets took a "courageous, clear position" in denouncing anti-Semitism at a time when "it is not such a popular thing to do."

Foxman and another member of the American contingent, Benjamin Meed, president of the American Gathering/Federation of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, both said they were particularly pleased to see exhibits in the streets of Kiev that showed graphic photographs of the massacre.

While Meed said he came away with a feeling that the Soviets genuinely appeared to "want to come to terms with the truth of the black chapter" in their history, he also espoused a wait-and-see attitude, saying, "We want to see what the future will bring."

On a similarly cautious note, Pamela Cohen, national president of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, suggested that Gorbachev made his

remarks because he was pressured by the West to do so and said that any real progress for Soviet Jews was not soon to be expected. But she conceded that Gorbachev's remarks were historic in that "he spoke openly about Jewish genocide in the Soviet Union."

The killings at Babi Yar were commemorated on Saturday, when about 3,000 people gathered in a semi-circle on the edge of the ravine. There, Yevgeny Yevtushenko read the poem he published in 1964 which broke the silence about Babi Yar.

American actors Tony Randall and Cliff Robertson read translations in English, while Israeli actor Topol read a Hebrew translation.

And on Sunday, some 50 Jewish delegates from the United States, Britain, Canada and Israel gathered in bright sunshine at the edge of the ravine and said Kaddish. And then spontaneously, several people made remarks honoring the dead.

Shoshana Cardin, chairman of both the National Conference on Soviet Jewry and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, said, "Through us they will be silent no more."

The existence of Israel, she said, "will make such horrors impossible in the future."

And then the crowd sang Hatikvah, the Israeli national anthem.

## FRENCH JEWS CELEBRATE 200 YEARS OF FREEDOM, CLAIMING FULL EQUALITY

By Michel Di Paz

STRASBOURG, France, Oct. 7 (JTA) -- French Jewry, the fourth largest Jewish community in the world, celebrated the bicentennial of its emancipation here this week with expressions of pride in its French and Jewish heritage and confidence in its acceptance as full-fledged members of French society.

Yet President Francois Mitterrand saw fit to remind the assembled leaders of France's 700,000 Jews that a resurgence of European anti-Semitism is not impossible.

The chief of state flew to this ancient city in eastern France, long a center of Jewish life, to address a commemorative conference marking the anniversary. He used the occasion to question whether tolerance and the cause of human rights have really triumphed in the half-century "since the martyrdom of French Jewry."

"Some words one hears, sacrilegious inscriptions and the desecration of Jewish graves lead us to believe that the filthy beast (of anti-Semitism) still lurks in the shadows," Mitterrand said.

The president came here as the guest of CRIF, the Representative Council of French Jewish Organizations.

Defiance as well as vestiges of unease were apparent in the remarks of former Justice Minister Robert Badinter, who chaired the conference.

"The times of the shameful Jew are over. There will never again be a shameful Jew in France," declared Badinter, who is Jewish.

"It so happens we are French. That's the way we are, born of French parents or French by the right of soil. The way we are seen by others does not bother us anymore, except when we find in that look a hidden spark of hatred."

The bicentennial commemorates the Sept. 27, 1791 decree by the French Revolution's Constituent Assembly that granted citizenship and full rights to French Jewry after centuries of oppression. At the time, there were barely 40,000 Jews in France, mostly peddlers and shopkeepers.

**BEHIND THE HEADLINES:  
NEW SUPREME COURT TERM MAY SEE  
CHURCH-STATE SEPARATION REDEFINED**

By David Friedman

WASHINGTON, Oct. 7 (JTA) -- Jewish groups concerned with maintaining a strict separation between church and state in America are fearful that the U.S. Supreme Court may lower the constitutional barriers to governmental involvement in religion during its 1991-92 term, which opened Monday.

They are carefully eyeing court action on a Rhode Island case, which they fear could seriously weaken the clause of the First Amendment that bars government establishment of religion, in the same way that the court last year weakened the clause guaranteeing free exercise of religion.

Orthodox groups, on the other hand, are looking forward to such a move as a way of bolstering their long-fought campaign for government aid to parochial schools.

The case in question, *Lee vs. Weisman*, on which the court will hear oral argument Nov. 6, is a seemingly innocuous one involving whether prayers can be allowed at public school graduation exercises.

The Providence (R.I.) School Committee has asked the high court to reverse a decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals in Boston, which ruled that a rabbi's benediction during a 1989 Providence middle school commencement was an unconstitutional advancement of religion.

The suit against the school board was filed by Daniel Weisman, a professor at Rhode Island College, whose daughter, Deborah, was one of the graduates.

While his family is Jewish, Weisman maintained that non-Jewish students might have been offended by the prayer, in which God was mentioned.

Weisman complained three years earlier, when his older daughter, Merith, graduated from the same school, because a commencement speaker thanked Jesus for the students' accomplishments.

**Could Reverse 1971 Ruling**

The American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, and the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council have joined in a friend-of-the-court brief supporting Weisman.

The Orthodox position is in a brief filed by COLPA, the National Jewish Commission on Law and Public Affairs, which asks the Supreme Court to overturn the appellate decision.

While both sides differ on whether the commencement prayer should be allowed, they agree that this is not their major concern in the case.

What is important for both sides is whether the ruling will do away with the so-called Lemon test, used for two decades to determine whether a public religious practice constitutes an unconstitutional establishment of religion.

The test, established in the Supreme Court's 1971 *Lemon vs. Kurtzman* ruling, says that in order to be considered constitutional, such a religious practice "must have a secular purpose"; "its principal or primary purpose must be one that neither advances nor inhibits religion"; and it must not foster an "excessive entanglement with religion."

COLPA supports the position of the Bush administration, which wants a new test asking

whether anyone who does not want to participate in a religious practice feels coerced into doing so.

"We welcome a re-evaluation" of the Lemon test, said David Zwiebel, general consul for Agudath Israel of America. "We think that the Lemon test often led to inequitable and non-sensical decisions."

But Marc Stern, co-director of the AJCongress Commission on Law and Social Action, said abandoning the Lemon test would be a "sea change and the end of an era." He said it would obliterate the separation of church and state.

**'More Intrusion By The Government'**

"*Lemon vs. Kurtzman* is a pretty good test and draws an intelligent line on what is permissible and what is not," said Samuel Rabinove, legal director for the AJCommittee. "Those unhappy with it want to have more intrusion by the government in religion."

Rabinove said the opponents of the Lemon test see it as a bar to school prayer, parochial aid and the setting up of religious symbols, such as creches and menorahs, on public property. He said many church-state cases are not being brought to the Supreme Court until the decision in *Lee vs. Weisman* comes down.

Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas was questioned about his views on Lemon during his Senate confirmation hearing, as was Justice David Souter last year. Both indicated general support while acknowledging the test has problems.

The split this year between secular and Orthodox Jewish groups is a change from last year, when they were united in opposing the court's erosion of the "free-exercise clause" of the First Amendment, in the so-called "peyote case," *Oregon vs. Smith*.

In that ruling, the court ended a 27-year-old practice that required any federal or state law to show a "compelling state interest" if it infringed on religious practices.

A bill by Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-N.Y.) to restore the compelling interest requirement, which initially had wide support, has been bogged down by opponents of abortion, who fear it could be used to overturn anti-abortion laws as an infringement on a woman's religious right to an abortion.

The new Supreme Court term will also consider one other major case in which Jewish organizations have a major interest.

**Split On Cross-Burning Case**

In the case, *RAV vs. St. Paul*, the Minnesota State Supreme Court said a St. Paul municipal ordinance that prohibits anyone from placing a racist symbol, such as a burning cross or a swastika, on someone's property does not violate the constitutional protection of freedom of speech.

ADL and AJCongress have filed opposing briefs in this case, which involves the burning of a cross in front of someone's house.

Steven Freeman, ADL's legal director, said his group supports the Minnesota Supreme Court's ruling, since it was made on narrow grounds that dealt only with expressions of hatred or harassment, which the Constitution does not protect.

But Stern of AJCongress said the ordinance was badly crafted to infringe on freedom of speech. He said that anti-hate measures can be enforced through other means.

During the court term, other cases affecting the Jewish community may come up, including ones dealing with abortion.