

**NEWS AT A GLANCE**

■ Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was buried in a state ceremony at Jerusalem's Mt. Herzl cemetery. The funeral was attended by members of the Rabin family, Israeli government officials and world leaders. [Page 2]

■ A Tel Aviv court extended by 15 days the detention of Yigal Amir, the law student who allegedly killed Rabin. Amir refused legal representation at the tense hearing. Amir's brother Hagai was also arrested. Police told the court that Hagai Amir prepared the dum-dum bullets used in the assassination.

■ Israel's security establishment continued to investigate what was viewed as a serious failure of security procedures to protect the prime minister. The head of the Shin Bet, Israel's domestic intelligence service, reportedly called for a state inquiry into the matter, in addition to the internal investigation.

■ Jewish communities held memorial services across the country to pay tribute to Israel's slain prime minister. At the Israeli Consulate in New York, mourners gathered to sign a condolence book.

■ A trial began in Paris for the man who confessed to the 1993 killing of Rene Bousquet, the wartime leader of the collaborationist Vichy police who was charged with the deportation of 2,000 Jewish children. Christian Didier killed Bousquet before he could go on trial for crimes against humanity.

■ Canada announced that it would issue a postage stamp to commemorate the Holocaust. The 45-cent stamp is inscribed in English and French: "The Holocaust 1933-1945."

■ Opponents of federal contracting with Nation of Islam affiliates received a boost in the House Banking Committee. The committee approved an amendment that would require the Department of Housing and Urban Development to investigate contracts with Nation of Islam affiliates and either certify that they are in compliance with federal regulations or terminate them.

**BEHIND THE HEADLINES****Rabin's death prompts unusual outpouring of American emotions**

By Matthew Dorf

WASHINGTON (JTA) — Not since Winston Churchill died in 1965 has the United States mourned a foreign leader with as much outpouring of emotion as the death of Yitzhak Rabin.

Moments after Shabbat ended in the nation's capital, an emotional President Clinton emerged from the Oval Office to announce a period of national mourning for the slain Israeli leader.

The U.S. media followed the story continuously, with the major networks providing live coverage of the funeral Monday.

"Nothing could exceed what they have done," said longtime Jewish activist Hyman Bookbinder. "I am absolutely amazed at the extent of tribute to Yitzhak Rabin and to Israel."

In a move usually reserved for the most senior U.S. officials and leaders — most recently former first lady Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis — American flags at all federal buildings were lowered to half-staff in memory of Rabin.

An exception was made for former Egyptian President Anwar Sadat after he was shot dead by an assassin in 1981 and now, for Rabin.

In a deeply personal speech delivered Saturday evening in the White House Rose Garden, Clinton, on the verge of tears, praised Rabin as "my partner and my friend."

"I admired him and I loved him very much. Because words cannot express my true feelings, let me just say, shalom, chaver. Goodbye, friend."

Clinton delivered his remarks at a site ripe with history for the slain prime minister. It was on that site that Rabin initially greeted Clinton before they moved to the South Lawn before the historic Rabin-Yasser Arafat handshake. Since that September 1993 day, Clinton has greeted Rabin along with King Hussein and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak on numerous occasions at the same site.

From the moment the tragic news was delivered to the president, official Washington began an unprecedented operation to bestow the greatest honor upon Rabin. From the White House to the State Department to Capitol Hill and across town to the Israeli Embassy, people at all levels of government rose to honor the man who had moved toward peace with his enemies.

Clinton led a delegation of more than 100 to Israel to attend Rabin's funeral. The delegation included former Presidents Bush and Carter as well as secretary of states from the last four administrations.

Dozens of members of Congress, including Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole (R-Kan.) and Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), attended the funeral, along with American Jewish leaders and representatives from other faiths.

"I can't imagine another world leader whose untimely death would have brought such an outpouring of American support," said Steven Grossman, president of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, who accompanied the president.

"The entire leadership, from both the executive and legislative branches, is here to show the U.S. will redouble its efforts to support those who take bold risks for peace," Grossman said in a phone interview from Jerusalem after the funeral.

**Earth from Kennedy gravesite**

For Grossman, the special closeness between the two nations was best illustrated by a gesture of Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), who came to the funeral with his son, Rep. Patrick Kennedy (D-R.I.).

Kennedy offered his condolences to Leah Rabin after her husband's burial. He then went to the prime minister's fresh gravesite with his son, where he put some earth he had taken from the gravesite of his slain brothers, former President John F. Kennedy and Sen. Robert Kennedy, buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

"The tragedies of these two families" provide an extraordinary "link between Israel and the United States," said Grossman.

Malcolm Hoenlein, executive vice chairman of the Conference of

Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, met with Rabin on two separate occasions last week in Israel.

Hoenlein, who has spent time with both Rabin and Clinton during the past two years, said, "They frequently talked of each other with real genuine feelings."

Meanwhile, as media offices were inundated with statements praising Rabin this week, TV networks geared up for unprecedented live coverage of the funeral.

All three networks — ABC, NBC and CBS — sent their senior news anchors to Jerusalem to cover the funeral. CNN and C-Span also provided live coverage.

"There was not a lot of soul-searching," David Bohrman, NBC's executive producer of news specials, said of the decision to extensively cover the Rabin assassination.

"This is precisely the right thing to do," he said, adding that the decision was based on the importance of "the peace talks, the U.S.-Israel relationship and the history of the region, including the assassination of Sadat."

As he watched the funeral coverage on Monday, Bohrman said he could not "recall seeing a similar site of all the major world leaders gathered in this forum since the Kennedy assassination."

Hoenlein said, "I wonder today what other leader — except for, God forbid, if the president of the United States was assassinated — would get such an outpouring from so many world leaders and live broadcasts on all TV stations."

Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.), the only Jewish Republican senator and presidential candidate, said, "This shows the strong bond that is both emotional and substantive between the American people and the Israeli people."

Specter declined an invitation to travel to the funeral, saying that he preferred to attend local vigils in the Philadelphia area.

All told, 22 members of the House and 17 members of the Senate, including seven of the nine Jewish senators, attended the funeral.

As Rabin was laid to rest in Israel on Monday, one could not help but be struck by the thousands of flags in Washington flying at half-staff.

"It's an incredible mix of emotion," said Steve Rabinowitz, a Washington media consultant who is a former Clinton aide.

"It's really something to see my country mourn nationally for a foreign Jewish leader," he said.

"As an American Jew who worked in the White House," he said, "it's another layer of emotion to see the outpouring of mourning from mainstream Americans." □

*(JTA staff writer Cynthia Mann in New York contributed to this report.)*

## Rabin is laid to rest as world pays tribute to his leadership

By Naomi Segal

JERUSALEM (JTA) — In the city in which he was born, for whose very walls and gates he once fought, Yitzhak Rabin was buried on Monday.

Leaders from around the world joined Israelis in silent prayer as Rabin's coffin was brought for burial at Jerusalem's Mount Herzl Cemetery.

Thousands of people lined the streets of Jerusalem, which fell silent as the motorcade carrying the flag-draped coffin made its way slowly to the cemetery from the Knesset, where Rabin had lain in state the previous day.

On Sunday, some 1 million people filed past Rabin's coffin to pay their last respects, leaving behind poems, candles and bouquets of flowers to honor the slain soldier, statesman and peacemaker.

On Monday, when the coffin was carried in to the

cemetery, Rabin's widow, Leah, surrounded by her two children and grandchildren, buried her head in her hands.

A two-minute siren that sounded throughout the country marked the start of the burial ceremony.

Representatives from some 80 countries, including 60 heads of state, came to Jerusalem for the funeral. Security measures in the capital were said to be the tightest ever. Among those present were representatives from six Arab countries, including Jordan's King Hussein and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

Mubarak, who had never visited Israel's capital before, told reporters that he did not consider this an official visit to the Jewish state, but a condolence call.

Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat did not attend the funeral, after Palestinian and Israeli officials reportedly told him that his presence in Jerusalem would provoke security problems and could prompt acts of outrage in Israel as well as among his own people.

President Clinton headed a delegation that included former presidents Jimmy Carter and George Bush, Cabinet members, former secretaries of state, some 40 members of Congress and American Jewish officials.

President Ezer Weizman delivered the first of a string of eulogies by world leaders, close associates and family members. In their remarks, the speakers referred to the greatness of Rabin the leader; their deep affection and respect for Rabin the man; and their hope that a continued commitment to the peace process would be Rabin's lasting legacy.

### Unsparring praise for Rabin

In a moving eulogy, Hussein described the man who was once his enemy as "a brother and a friend."

"Never in all my thoughts would it occur to me that my first visit to Jerusalem" by Israeli invitation would be "on such an occasion," said Hussein.

"As long as I live, I will be proud to have known him, to have worked with him, as a brother and as a friend and as a man. And the relationship of friendship that we had is something unique, and I am proud of that," said Hussein.

Clinton spoke of Rabin as a driving force in the regional peace process: "Legend has it that in every generation of Jews from time immemorial, a just leader emerged to protect his people and show them the way to safety. Prime Minister Rabin was such a leader."

Referring to the Torah portion in which God tests Abraham's faith by asking him to sacrifice his son Isaac, Clinton said, "Now God tests our faith even more terribly, for he has taken our Yitzhak."

Acting Prime Minister Shimon Peres, whose longtime political rivalry with Rabin turned into a partnership for peacemaking, pledged to carry on the torch.

"Goodbye, my oldest brother, the bringer of peace. We will add and continue to carry this peace for near and far that you wanted and expected in your life and death," he said.

Perhaps the most moving eulogy was given by Rabin's 17-year-old granddaughter Noa Ben-Artzi, who tearfully described the personal pain she felt at the loss of the man she described as "my personal hero."

"Grandpa, you were the pillar of fire before the camp, and now we're just a camp left alone in the dark, and we're so cold.

"We love you always, Grandpa," she said.

Rabin's coffin was later lowered into the grave. His headstone was to be inscribed in the same way as other Israeli soldiers: name, dates of birth and death, rank.

Yitzhak Rabin, 1922-1995, Reserve Lieutenant-General. □

**NEWS ANALYSIS****Political leaders weigh future as Peres takes over coalition***By David Landau*

JERUSALEM (JTA) — The assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, coming just one year before Israel's national elections, has thrust to the forefront questions about the future leadership of the Labor Party and the political tactics of the opposition.

And tied up with both these issues is the future of the peace process, as Likud, the main opposition party, has stated that it is not bound by the agreements made by Rabin's government.

In the immediate aftermath of Rabin's death, Israel underwent a smooth transition of leadership within hours of one of the grimmest moments in the country's history.

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres was named acting prime minister at an emergency Cabinet session shortly after Rabin was killed Saturday night.

The Likud, led by Benjamin Netanyahu, announced that it would not contest the creation of a new Peres-led government. "In Israel," Netanyahu declared Sunday, "governments change by election, not by murder."

Under Israeli law, a government is deemed to have resigned with the death of the prime minister, and the president must consult with the political parties in the Knesset about forming a new government.

The Likud, said Netanyahu, would recommend to President Ezer Weizman that he select Peres to form a new government. Among the other opposition parties in the Knesset, the National Religious Party quickly announced that it would follow suit.

**Seemed to be sincere**

Only the ultrahardline Moledet Party, led by Rehavam Ze'evi, said it would oppose another Labor-led government at this time. But it was a statement of no political significance, given the Likud's gesture.

Netanyahu's action seemed to be sincere. After all, the whole nation was in too deep a state of mourning to be playing politics while Rabin's body lay in state outside the Knesset, prior to Monday's funeral.

Yet despite the presumed sincerity of Likud, Israeli political commentators could not help but point out the deft, indeed near-brilliant tactical advantage in the Likud's move. By facilitating the swift creation of a new government, Israel's main opposition party is substantially reducing the prospect of early elections before the regularly scheduled voting in November 1996.

Peres' best chance of winning his party's nod to run for prime minister — and of beating Netanyahu at the ballot box — lies, in the view of most pundits, in an early election, when the traumatic memory of the Rabin assassination is still fresh in the Israeli public's consciousness.

Indeed, several leading Labor figures — including Knesset member Hagai Merom, along with Nissim Zvili, party secretary — went public this week with their assessment that the party's best option now is to bring about elections as soon as possible. If the elections were held soon, the reasoning goes, Peres could run as the champion of peace who is carrying forward not only his own bold vision, but also the political legacy of the martyred Rabin.

Because of his dogged pursuit of the peace process, and his close cooperation with Rabin in that endeavor, Peres is believed to have risen in popularity, both within the Labor Party and among the Israeli public at large.

In his meetings with President Clinton, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and other world leaders attending Rabin's funeral, Peres reiterated his resolve to press ahead with the peace process despite the death of Rabin.

"I see our Arab neighbors, and I want to tell them peace is attainable, both here and with you," Peres said at the funeral Monday. "We are not allowed to postpone or hesitate in reference to peace."

True, Peres ordered a temporary closure of the West Bank for security reasons and suspended the Israel Defense Force's ongoing redeployment there pending a post-assassination Cabinet-level reassessment of the situation on the ground. But he has made it clear that these measures in no way signal a slowing of the timetable for extending Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank.

Peres reportedly told French President Jacques Chirac at a meeting after Monday's funeral that Palestinian elections would take place as scheduled in January.

If early Israeli elections are not held, the dangers to Peres' election chances during the coming year — apart from the obvious one of renewed terrorist violence — could come from one of several quarters:

- Within the Labor Party, there is likely to be increased momentum to remove Peres in favor of a younger man. Among those who see themselves as suitable candidates for the premiership is Police Minister Moshe Shahal. A stronger candidate could be the leader of the Histadrut labor federation, Haim Ramon, a popular former minister under Rabin who broke away from Labor in 1993 over health reform but is now close to rejoining the party.

- President Weizman has grown increasingly critical of the government's peace policy in recent months. Although his outspoken reservations barely put a dent in his warm relations with the late Rabin, they have created a strain in ties with Peres. Some pundits feel that Weizman may be angling for the prime ministership himself.

- Leah Rabin was deeply affected by the long period of animosity between Rabin and Peres, despite their recent period of working together for peace. The question is whether she would articulate her views and whether they would influence the Labor Party or public opinion.

- The Israeli right will presumably recover from the massive blow that it sustained with the death of Rabin, whose confessed killer is a rightist-religious extremist.

**Recent harsh assaults**

Labor and its allies are pointing to recent harsh public assaults from the right — including demonstrations against Rabin in which he was branded a traitor and murderer — as inciting the killing or at least fostering a political climate for an assassin to emerge.

Netanyahu's quick decision to acquiesce in a new Labor-led government without a fight was believed intended primarily to deflect this potentially devastating attack on the entire right.

He and advisers will need to come up with additional actions in the weeks ahead to strengthen their image.

This will become increasingly important as the election campaign heats up. Netanyahu has made it clear that he does not feel bound by the recent agreements reached between Israel and the Palestinians.

If the Likud and the other parliamentary parties need to work to bounce back, that is all the more true with the Yesha Council, the main extraparliamentary organization articulating pro-settler activities and opinions.

Council leaders took to the airwaves within minutes of the slaying to claim not only that the confessed killer is not part of their movement, but that he could not have drawn his inspiration from their movement's ideology.

In a somber irony of fate, those who declared for three years that the Rabin government and its policies had delegitimized them now find themselves facing a massive wave of delegitimization, led by the left-wing parties and the media, that could debilitate their political effectiveness and indeed threaten their very existence. □

**FOCUS ON ISSUES**
**Jewish 'idealization' shattered in wake of Rabin's assassination**

By Debra Nussbaum Cohen

NEW YORK (JTA) — What happens to the Jewish sense of national unity, of a people linked in common destiny, when a Jew assassinates the prime minister of Israel?

What happens to the collective self-image of Jews as "a light unto the nations," as a people that believes that it behaves — or should behave — just a little bit better than other peoples.

What impact will this act have on the Jewish national psyche, the collective Jewish consciousness that holds Israel up as the embodiment of its spiritual and national aspirations?

Not since Gedalia ben Ahikam, who governed Judea under the Babylonians 2,000 years ago, has a leader of the Jewish people been assassinated by another Jew.

When a Bar-Ilan University law student cut down Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on Saturday night, Jews in every corner of the world felt a profound sense of loss — for the man and for something much larger and more profound than any one individual.

"The idealization has been shattered," said Simkha Weintraub, a Conservative rabbi and rabbinic director of the National Center for Jewish Healing.

"One of the legacies of the Holocaust was to try and rebuild ourselves in our own eyes. If we couldn't count on anyone else, we wanted to reach for the best and hope for it about ourselves, to believe that our people and way of life was really going to be a light to the nations.

"It's very hard to let go of that" notion, said Weintraub, who is also a certified social worker and psychotherapist. The murder of the Israeli prime minister "is a painful indicator that the state we founded really is a state like any other."

"We have found the enemy and it is us," he said. "There can be no healing without addressing this."

**'A charmed people'**

According to Tsvi Blanchard, an Orthodox rabbi and senior teaching fellow at CLAL — the National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership, "When a Jew kills another Jew, especially in Israel, which is almost like our spiritual center, it means we no longer see ourselves as a charmed people who have transcended the destructive aspects of nationalist politics."

In addition to being engulfed in a profound sense of grief, "everybody in Israel is now doing a 'cheshbon nefesh,' an internal accounting of their own souls," to come to grips with having allowed the anti-Rabin climate to escalate to the point that it did, Steven Cohen, a professor at Hebrew University's Melton Center for Jewish Education, said in a telephone interview from Jerusalem.

The last time that Israeli citizens — and Jews around the world — felt called to introspection may have been when Emil Grunzweig, a student demonstrating at a Peace Now rally in 1982, was killed when someone tossed a hand grenade into the crowd.

Except for the Grunzweig murder, extreme political violence committed by Jews against other Jews has been rare throughout the history of the Jewish state.

It was precisely because no one believed that such a thing could happen among Jews that the fierce rhetoric and incidents of violence from those opposed to the peace accords escalated, said Rabbi David Gordis, director of the Wilstein Institute for Jewish Policy Studies.

Pictures of Rabin with a Gestapo uniform superimposed on his body were circulated at anti-government

rallies in the last year or so and demonstrators often chanted, "Rabin is a traitor! Rabin is a Nazi!"

In recent weeks, protesters threw stones at cars carrying ministers of the Israeli government.

It was this escalation, many contend, that created the context that allegedly allowed law student Yigal Amir to plot the assassination of the prime minister and then say that "God told me to do it" after he shot and killed Rabin.

"The context means that it's not irrational, but an extreme expression of something which is essentially rational," Gordis said. "It opens enormous questions about the effects of demonization of the other, the nature of public responsibility and how one disagrees."

For Rabbi Irving Greenberg, the founder of CLAL, the price that the Jewish community may pay for allowing the rhetoric to grow as violent as it has may be "a loss of innocence and trust."

"I hope we'll learn from the American experience" of the 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy Jr. "and not let that sense of trust be lost," Greenberg said.

"A lot of it depends on whether we rally together rather than let this become another stepping stone on the slippery slope of polarization," he said.

Several of those interviewed said Rabin's assassination should compel the Jewish community to re-examine what it means to be the bearers of a unique ethical system.

The concept of Jewish ethics has devolved in recent years, they said, as has the internal Jewish expectation of a higher standard of behavior.

During the Lebanon War, for example, when Christian Phalangist forces massacred Palestinian civilians at the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps in 1982, after they were sent in by Israel to rout remaining Palestine Liberation Organization forces, "the idea of 'taharat haneshek' was cast into a more critical view," Weintraub said.

**Goldstein a watershed moment**

Taharat haneshek, or the purity of arms, was the concept central to the Israel Defense Force that weapons should only be used for defense. It was a creed that permeated Israeli society, where nearly all adults go through military service, and where many are licensed to carry personal weapons.

Another watershed moment in this devolution occurred when Jewish settler Baruch Goldstein mowed down Palestinians praying in the mosque at the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron in February 1994, and people in some quarters of the Jewish community, particularly in Orthodox spheres, celebrated his actions.

Now, in the wake of Rabin's assassination, some of these values need to be reconsidered, some said.

"Some features of idealism, which have stressed Jewish strength, power and domination have to be re-evaluated," said Blanchard.

At the same time, "the part that stresses Jews as bearers of universal values and as a light unto the nations has to be re-emphasized."

For Gordis, the whole devolution of internal expectations of Jewish behavior must also be examined.

"The notion that Jewish ethics means that we're no worse than everyone else rather than aspiring to being something better" has guided the response to the rhetoric against the peace process, said Gordis.

"Well, we're not better than anyone else," he said, adding that "this ought to be very sobering in a very introspective way."

Said Blanchard: "Any nation can believe that it has a special spiritual mission without needing to destroy others. Now we're at the point where we have to wonder, can we do without destroying parts of ourselves?" □