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# Rabin, the Last Day

By Amos Gitai

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Yitzhak Rabin went through a very  
difficult time before he was assassinated.  
That's when I admired him most.

Why?

There was tremendous propaganda  
against the Oslo Accords.

They made a coffin  
and dressed his effigy  
in SS uniform, Nazi uniform.

And I saw how he took it,  
with extraordinary courage.

That was inspiring.

He didn't back down,  
he wasn't afraid.

One day we passed  
the Wingate Institute  
and people spat  
and shouted at him.

Amazing.

He acted like he didn't care.

Not that he wasn't worried...

but he felt that support

for Oslo had diminished

and if elections were held...

we probably wouldn't win.

That's why we decided

to hold that rally,

that gathering...

in what's now called Rabin Square.

Were you afraid people wouldn't come?

He was desperate.

He didn't think people would come.

When we got to the rally

he was stunned to see...

the hundreds of thousands

of people...

and the unprecedented

excitement and enthusiasm.

We stood on the balcony

of City Hall.

Beneath us was a pool...

and the youngsters jumped into

the water shouting, Rabin! Rabin!

Peace! Oslo!  
He was beside himself.  
Everything went smoothly...  
and then that gentleman came along,  
the assassin.  
There are all sorts of conspiracy theories.  
What do you think?  
You were closest to the events.  
My opinion is  
that sedition was in the air...  
not organized sedition,  
but the atmosphere made it possible.  
How did it manifest?  
They dressed his effigy  
in Nazi uniform.  
They carried a coffin marked  
Here lies Rabin.  
They spat at him, shouted at him,  
swore at him.  
It was horrible.  
Did he talk to you about it?  
I saw it for myself.  
They did the same to me,  
but with him it was horrifying.  
Horrifying.  
One problem was what to do  
about it afterwards.  
I could've turned it into a civil war.  
Shimon, I'd like to go back  
to the murder and the sedition  
since they have implications  
on the current situation.  
That is, whenever Israeli leaders  
make concessions  
based on their historical perspective  
in order to come to agreements,  
all hell breaks loose.  
We've even seen recently -  
I spoke to Dalia Rabin,  
and she said that on Facebook,  
to this day,  
over 20 years later,  
people still slander Rabin.  
Going back to the sedition

of 20 years ago,  
how did you feel  
as the people initiating a process  
intended to create peace  
with the Palestinians?  
We refused to back down.  
Even if we thought  
we might have to pay a dear price.  
If you send out a soldier,  
he may get killed,  
and the same is true of a leader.  
There's no difference.  
I knew it might lead to catastrophe...  
but in terms of propaganda,  
the Likud outdid us.  
Where did the negative elements  
like Yigal Amir come from?  
Where in Israeli society?  
He was a religious fellow...  
he was even a yeshiva student,  
and he absorbed all the propaganda  
against dividing Israel.  
It was the continuation of the debate  
over the partition plan.  
Now back to Rabin.  
How do you see his last days?  
The threat made him  
even more determined.  
I said that to begin with.  
That was when I most admired Rabin  
because of his ability  
to stand up to the threats.  
How did that manifest?  
For instance, he gave up no ground.  
He didn't cancel one meeting.  
He didn't cancel one appearance.  
He paid no attention when people  
shouted at him and derided him.  
He acted as if it didn't concern him...  
and he carried on.  
He gave up no ground.  
No ground. That's the test.  
If Yitzhak Rabin hadn't been assassinated,  
would we have achieved -

maybe not peace,  
but a more stable situation?

Yes.

Permit me to say  
that I too am deeply moved.

I wish to thank each  
and every one of you  
for coming here to take a stand  
against violence and for peace.

This government...

which I am privileged to head...  
together with my friend Shimon Peres...

decided to give peace a chance,  
a peace that will solve most  
of Israel's problems.

I was a military man for 27 years.

I fought as long  
as there was no chance for peace.

I believe that  
there is now a chance for peace,  
a great chance...

and we must take advantage of it...  
for the sake of those standing here  
and for those who are not here,  
and they are many.

I've always believed that the majority  
of the people want peace  
and are willing  
to take risks for peace...

and you here,  
by attending this rally,  
demonstrate, together with many others  
who did not come,  
that the people truly desire peace.

It's odd  
that the footage  
of this horrific event  
which someone filmed  
is in our hands now.

The assassin managed to stay,  
unnoticed, for 40 minutes  
in what was supposed to be  
a sterile zone.

The obvious conclusion

is that security was disregarded  
in the northern parking lot...  
the crowd there was unsupervised  
as were the pedestrians  
coming from the east and the west...  
the lighting in the parking lot,  
the roof of the City Garden mall...  
and everything else  
having to do with the area.

Everyone knew that it would be used  
by the prime minister,  
the foreign minister,  
all the dignitaries,  
it was the passageway  
between the restricted stage area  
and the guarded car,  
everyone knew it.

A very dangerous zone  
that required special attention.

There was none whatsoever.

Back on-the-record  
for protocol's sake  
about the chain of events  
on November 4  
from the moment  
you arrived at the square.  
I arrived at the square  
in the evening

**at around 7:**

As soon as I got there I thought  
about the best place to film from,  
and I decided that the best place was  
as close to the stage as possible.

That's where I set up.

It was very crowded.

There were lots of people,  
which is why I stayed there  
most of the time.

The most important thing was  
to film Yitzhak Rabin's speech.

I filmed Rabin's speech.

I was very pleased.

And afterwards I decided

there was no point staying there.  
It was very crowded,  
people were pushing  
and there was no point staying  
for the musical performances  
because that wasn't  
the important part of the film.  
So I left and started looking for a place  
to film the last footage of the rally.  
I turned around  
and saw the prime minister's  
big official state car.  
I think.  
I don't know whose it is.  
A government vehicle.  
At that point,  
after the prime minister's speech,  
where were you standing?  
I was still down below, but  
I had a feeling  
that I wasn't welcome there.  
And it wasn't a good angle either.  
It was very crowded.  
We can see the camera wobble.  
The police didn't tell me not to go up.  
I wasn't considered suspicious.  
Later, when I went up,  
I started filming.  
I went up on the City Garden roof.  
- How did you go up?  
- Through the mall.  
Not through the VIP exit.  
Not that way.  
What did you do up there?  
I started filming and I saw  
how disorganized it was  
and for some reason  
I had a bad feeling.  
I can't explain why.  
I want to show you  
a diagram of the site.  
Come with us to the archive, please.  
Were there any other police here  
besides the security guard you mentioned?

I think there were  
two plainclothes policemen.  
- One approached me.  
- What did he say to you?  
The policeman was the one  
who stressed me out.  
He was fine.  
He questioned me,  
asked what I was doing there,  
where I was filming.  
He inspected my camera  
for anything unusual.  
He asked for my ID  
and all my details.  
I asked him,  
Don't you see what's going on here?  
He didn't like my question.  
I'm not sure  
I used those exact words.  
Anyway, then he told me,  
You can film everything,  
but only film Rabin  
as he gets into the car.  
Don't film him coming down the steps.  
After he said that,  
you can understand how I felt.  
I started imagining all sorts of things  
after I heard that.  
What did you say to him?  
I said...  
Look, I don't think -  
I don't think you have the right  
to tell me what to film.  
Is something secret going on here?  
He said,  
There's nothing secret going on,  
but if you keep insisting,  
I can make you leave.  
I said, If you want to get rid of me,  
get rid of me,  
but I'll complain to the police.  
I don't think you have the right  
to tell me what to do.  
Then he said, Okay, fine.



He gave in  
and told me to stay there...  
and that's where I shot the footage.  
How did you feel as you filmed it?  
After I spoke to the policeman...  
I started picturing  
some very ugly scenarios.  
Not only because the policeman  
made me think bad thoughts.  
It was also the atmosphere,  
the disorder,  
the intense darkness.  
And also because  
of what the policeman told me.  
But mainly because of the atmosphere.  
It made me think  
that bad things could happen.  
It had a very powerful,  
emotional impact on me...  
and I realized that I might  
or I was liable  
or -  
to film in a totally different way.  
In what way?  
I looked through the viewfinder,  
wondering if someone like that  
was out there, God forbid...  
and then I focused on Yigal Amir.  
I looked to see  
if he seemed suspicious.  
In the end I decided:  
He isn't.  
He must be a plainclothes cop.  
A plainclothes cop just spoke to me  
so he must be one too.  
I want to tell you,  
with all due respect  
for your impartial attitude,  
it's time to take off  
the velvet gloves.  
A bunch of incompetents is leading us on  
and the truth is here  
in black and white.  
Greetings from Tel-Ad Studios

in Jerusalem.  
We have an announcement.  
About half an hour ago,  
after the solidarity rally  
in Tel Aviv's Kings Square,  
there was an attempt  
on Yitzhak Rabin's life.  
Three gunshots were fired at him  
and the gunman was captured.  
The prime minister was taken  
to Ichilov Hospital in Tel Aviv.  
His condition is unknown at this point.  
Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin  
was wounded tonight  
by two or three gunshots  
at the end of the peace rally  
in Tel Aviv's Kings Square.  
No one knows what  
the prime minister's true condition is  
but since he's  
on the operating table...  
we can assume  
that Yitzhak Rabin is badly wounded.  
There were gunshots in Kings Square  
a few moments ago.  
So far we know  
that the prime minister was shot  
and evacuated to Ichilov Hospital.  
...his right foot into the car  
and suddenly gunshots rang out.  
- Was he hit?  
- No. I saw that Rabin wasn't hit.  
The prime minister was shot  
in his upper torso but not his head.  
His condition is critical but stable,  
right, Smadar?  
The good news is that  
the prime minister's condition  
is critical but stable.  
I'm entering the station  
with the suspect.  
Hurry up. Bring him in.  
Move it.  
Who's running the registry?

- Who's running the registry?

- I'm here.

Stand up straight.

- Can I have this?

- Take it.

- What's your last name?

- Amir.

What?

Amir?

- First name?

- Yigal.

ID number?

023 789 42.

Where's the serial number of his gun?

His gun -

- Don't you know where it is?

- No, it was chaotic.

Where's the gun?

- I need the serial number.

- What do you mean, where's the gun?

- We don't know.

- Wait a minute.

- What's your father's name?

- Shlomo.

- What?

- Shlomo.

- Your mother's name?

- Geula.

Okay. Take him away.

- Any identifying marks or scars?

- No.

Tattoos?

Dentures?

Bring him to her.

Right hand, please.

- Can I have a man do this?

- No.

It's not your decision today.

Index finger.

Thumb.

Call Dr. Barbash, now.

What's your name?

- What's your name?

- Yigal Amir.

Empty his pockets, please.

Where's the gun?

Misha, the registrar?

Where's the gun?

Empty his pockets.

- He has side pockets. Skullcap.

- Here's his wallet.

- Can I have my skullcap, please?

- Search him again.

- My skullcap?

- No, you can't have it now.

Here is the report.

- Ten.

- Saliva tube.

Here we see the director

of Ichilov Hospital,

Professor Gabi Barbash.

What's the prime minister's condition?

He arrived at the hospital  
immediately after the incident  
with no pulse

and no blood pressure.

He was flatlining.

He was brought into the CPR room  
and given a blood transfusion.

He was diagnosed with chest  
and stomach wounds.

A drain was inserted  
since the chest wound  
is putting pressure on the lung.

In order to relieve the pressure,  
a drain was inserted  
and he's now being taken  
to the operating room.

He's sustained  
a multi-systemic wound,  
large blood vessels  
in the chest and stomach  
as well as  
a severe spinal column wound.

Take that scumbag to interrogation.

Bring him into the interrogation room.

No solid information yet,  
we'll put this very cautiously

but it seems,  
according to reliable sources,  
Bar-Ilan University employees  
have identified the assassin.  
He's a young religious student  
at Bar-Ilan University,  
a law student.  
Word is that his first name is Yigal  
but I can't say for sure.  
The man who shot the prime minister  
is Yigal Amir,  
a single 26-year-old  
from Herzliya.  
He's a member of Eyal,  
a radical right-wing movement.  
Hear, O Israel,  
the Lord is our God -  
Here at Ichilov Hospital, Haim,  
it's pandemonium and panic.  
Dozens of vehicles are barreling in  
with sirens blasting.  
Foreign Minister Shimon Peres,  
President Weizmann,  
the prime minister's wife,  
Leah Rabin,  
cabinet ministers, Knesset members,  
defense force agents, secret service agents,  
are constantly arriving,  
and we're gathered  
at the hospital entrance.  
The police are keeping us at bay,  
not letting us any closer,  
pushing away the dozens of camera crews  
from all over the world.  
Everyone is distraught.  
As we mentioned,  
a Jewish vengeance organization  
has taken responsibility for the attack,  
in a beeper message  
sent directly after the shooting,  
the Jewish vengeance organization stated,  
We missed this time,  
but maybe we'll do better next time.  
The government of Israel announces

in dismay,  
in great sadness, and in deep sorrow,  
the death of Prime Minister  
and Defense Minister  
Yitzhak Rabin,  
who was shot by an assassin -  
- Rabin is dead!  
- tonight in Tel Aviv.  
May his memory be blessed.  
Eitan Haber has just announced  
that Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is dead.  
More than that, Yaakov,  
I cannot say.  
The time is now 11:15 PM.  
Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is dead.  
He was murdered in the battle  
for peace.  
The soldier who fought many wars  
was murdered in the battle  
for peace.  
And he wasn't able to -  
By your leave, holy congregation,  
we'll begin the Pulsa diNura ceremony.  
Before Yom Kippur  
we were informed  
that the government  
of the villain Yitzhak Rabin  
is not only handing over Hebron,  
the city of our forefathers, to our enemies,  
it is even giving them  
control of the Jewish cemetery there.  
When I heard that,  
I knew that no holds were barred.  
The Pulsa diNura curse comes  
from the Talmud  
and was only cast twice  
since the Middle Ages, against Trotsky,  
and now, against Yitzhak Rabin.  
The prime minister is the enemy  
of the people  
and he will find his death  
in less than a month from now.  
And upon him,  
Yitzhak son of Rosa Cohen,

known as Yitzhak Rabin,  
we have leave to call upon  
the Angels of Destruction  
to wield their swords  
against this evil man  
and the Angels of Destruction,  
emissaries of the Lower Regions,  
have no right to pity him  
or forgive his sins.

And may all the curses  
be upon him, amen!

And may all the curses  
be upon him, amen!

Good morning.

Mr. Nolte,  
please call on the next witness,  
Attorney General Michael Ben-Yair.

Good morning.

Good morning.

Please state your name,  
ID number  
and position.

Michael Ben-Yair.

ID number 10 38 67 47.

I am the current attorney general.

It's my duty to warn you  
that you must speak the truth,  
the whole truth  
and nothing but the truth,  
or you may be punished  
as prescribed by law.

Please tell us what was written  
in the letter by Major General Y. Levy,  
Israel Police head of investigations.

Major General Y. Levy asked me  
to conduct an investigation  
concerning complaints  
against a number of rabbis  
who were suspected of passing a Din Rodef  
against the late prime minister,  
thereby rendering his life forfeit.

I have the letter here.

I'll read it to you.

**Regarding:**

the investigation of the rabbis.  
The attorney general read  
your aforementioned letter  
and the attached investigation file  
and after consulting  
with the state attorney  
and the director of the Criminal Division  
of the state attorney's office,  
he asked me to respond that in accordance  
with the police departments position  
and the state attorney's recommendation,  
the attorney general has decided  
to close the case  
due to lack of sufficient evidence.  
The investigation was initiated  
due to complaints  
against a number of rabbis  
suspected of passing a Din Rodef  
against the late prime minister,  
Yitzhak Rabin, RIP,  
thereby rendering his life forfeit.  
Rabbis Dov Lior,  
Nachum Rabinowitz,  
Eliezer Melamed  
and Shmuel Dvir were investigated.  
Two people claimed  
that Rabbi Dvir told them  
that he spoke to Rabbis Dov Lior  
and Nachum Rabinowitz  
and gathered from what they said  
that they passed a Din Rodef  
against Yitzhak Rabin.  
This is merely hearsay countered  
by absolute denial.  
The aforementioned rabbis deny  
that they passed a Din Rodef  
against Yitzhak Rabin.  
Rabbi Dvir denies saying these things  
to the aforementioned two people.  
The rabbis deny all acquaintance  
with Rabbi Dvir  
and insist that they have always  
warned against acts of violence.



Continue, please.

Regarding the letter  
to the great rabbinic jurists  
from Rabbis Dov Lior,  
Daniel Shilo and Eliezer Melamed  
asking about the content of the Din Moser  
concerning the PM and his ministers.  
The content of the letter was deemed  
insufficient grounds for criminal charges.

The interrogee's also claimed  
that the matter was theoretical  
and that the purpose of the letter was  
to receive a Jewish-law opinion  
on the existing situation.

The letter was signed  
by Noam Solberg,  
senior adviser to the attorney general  
and copies were sent  
to State Attorney Ms. Nava Ben-Or,  
director of the Criminal Division  
of the state attorney's office,  
and to Ms. Talia Sasson,  
head of the attorney general's office's  
Integrated Committee  
for Dealing with Crimes of Sedition.

On what were the claims  
against them based?

Against Dov Lior  
and Nachum Rabinowitz,  
two people claimed  
that they heard separately  
from Rabbi Dvir  
that he spoke to the rabbis  
and gathered that they passed  
a Din Rodef  
against the late Yitzhak Rabin.  
Rabbi Dvir denies this,  
and the rabbis deny  
all acquaintance with Rabbi Dvir.

The rabbis also insist  
that they always warn  
against the use of violence.

Regarding the letter  
to the great rabbinic jurists,

the letter from Dov Lior,  
Daniel Shilo and Eliezer Melamed,  
the letter was weighed up...  
and deemed insufficient grounds  
for criminal charges.

Mrs. Orot,

I understand we have that letter.

Could you please read it  
to the commission?

I'll read the rabbis' letter.

Rabbi Dov Lior,  
chief rabbi of Kiryat Arba,  
Rabbi Eliezer Melamed, secretary of the  
Judea-Samaria Rabbinical Committee,  
and Rabbi Daniel Shilo,  
rabbi of Kedumim.

What judgment does this evil government  
and its leader deserve?

Can they be considered  
accomplices to murder  
perpetrated by terrorists?

Since after all, they are responsible  
for their increased power  
and their armament.

According to Jewish law  
should they be tried,  
and what would be their penalty  
should they be found guilty?

If they can be punished  
by the religious court,  
is it every Jew's obligation  
to see to it

that they are brought to trial  
in religious court,  
or, if given no choice,  
in a secular court?

Thus write the great religious jurists.

And is it the public leaders' duty  
to warn the prime minister  
and his ministers at this terrible time  
that if, following the bitter test  
of the Oslo Accords,  
they continue to apply it  
throughout Judea and Samaria,

they will be liable by Torah law  
to the punishment accorded to those  
who hand over Jewish lives  
and property to gentiles?  
We can no longer silence the question  
that bursts from our pained hearts.

- Thank you. That's enough.  
- Thus write the great jurists.

Rabbi Dov Lior,  
Rabbi Eliezer Melamed  
and Rabbi Daniel Shilo.

- Yes.  
- Thank you.  
- Were there other statements?  
- Yes.

A particularly vehement statement...  
by Rabbi Nachum Rabinowitz  
which was secretly recorded  
by Mr. Frankenthal.  
Rabbi Rabinowitz compares  
the Israeli government  
to the Nazi regime.  
He even mentions the possibility  
of planting land mines  
if IDF soldiers should come  
to evacuate the settlements.  
Under interrogation,  
Rabbi Rabinowitz stated...  
that he is against violence  
and the day when he spoke privately  
with Mr. Frankenthal  
he was apparently very upset  
since it was Holocaust Remembrance Day  
among other things.  
I don't get it.  
You decided to close the case  
despite all this?  
Look, I can't base  
a criminal charge  
on these types of statements.  
In order to prove grounds  
for a crime,  
the statement had to be publicized.  
It was not.

This is not to detract from the severity  
of the things that were said and heard,  
some of which are infuriating  
and unacceptable.  
They should reconsider  
their statements.  
And how, in your opinion,  
can they reconsider their statements  
if the legal system under your jurisdiction  
doesn't deal with sedition  
and willingly chooses not to?  
As I said,  
hearsay is not grounds  
for incrimination.  
Some of this hearsay,  
as we recall,  
resulted in unnecessary harm.  
I want to quote Avtalion  
from the Sayings of the Fathers,  
a verse with which  
I closed my report  
regarding the investigation  
of the rabbis.  
Sages, be careful with your words  
lest you bring exile upon yourselves  
and you are exiled to a place  
of evil waters...  
and your pupils drink of them  
and they die...  
and desecrate God's name.  
Yes. I made a note to myself  
that I'd like to read to you.  
I want to state that it grieves me  
that this important letter  
was brought to the attention of this  
commission only after it issued its report  
regarding the assassination  
of Yitzhak Rabin.  
It's an important document which should  
have been discussed in its proper time.  
- Thank you.  
- Thank you.  
May God's grace be upon us  
and may He guide our hands.

Bless You, O Lord our God,  
who sanctified us and commanded us  
to affix a mezuzah.  
Bless You, O Lord our God,  
who sustained us and brought us  
to this day.  
Yigal, I left you  
Tractate Sanhedrin on the desk.  
It talks about...  
Joab and Abner  
on page 49-A,  
the Din Rodef law.  
You'll get my meaning.  
And they brought Joab -  
They brought Joab before his judges.  
They brought Joab  
before Solomon to judge him.  
He said, 'Why did you kill Abner?'  
'Why did you kill Abner?'  
Joab said,  
'I avenged Asahel's blood.'  
'I avenged Asahel's blood.'  
'Asahel was a persecutor.'  
For it is written that Asahel pursued Abner  
in order to kill him  
and Abner justly killed him  
in self-defense.  
'He should have saved himself  
by striking one of his organs.'  
He replied, 'He couldn't.'  
He replied,  
'He aimed at his fifth rib.'  
As it is written: Abner struck him  
in the fifth rib with his hilt.  
Rabbi Yohanan said:  
In the fifth rib,  
where the gall bladder  
and liver are.  
'He couldn't strike  
only one of his organs.'  
He replied, 'Abner was right.  
Abner was innocent.'  
Tell me what you were doing  
before November 4, 1995.

I was a law and computer science student at Bar-Ilan University.

When did you start?

September '93.

Bar-Ilan also has a school of religious studies.

So you stopped studying law?

Yes. You could say I stopped.

Until November 4 I was a law student.

- How old are you?

- 25.

Describe the events of November 4.

I attended morning prayers as usual at the synagogue near home.

In my prayers I asked to succeed in killing the prime minister and to get away unharmed.

Then I packed a few things for school.

I took my gun

from above my desk...

and cocked it

after sorting through the bullets.

I loaded it with a hollow-point bullet,

then a regular bullet,

another hollow-point,

another regular bullet.

About 10 bullets.

I made sure the gun would shoot,

cocked it...

and left the house.

Excuse me.

Hello, everyone. I'd like to begin.

The incident takes place in the settlement of Beit El in the West Bank.

A large police unit bursts into the yeshiva.

They arrest a young student studying with friends.

A rabbi tries to intervene.

There are many policemen there.

Dror Adani, 23,

talks of his plans with Yigal Amir:

to fire a bazooka at Arafat's helicopter

when he arrives in Ramallah,  
destroy the Palestinians' electric grid  
and torch their fields.

**The location:**

The police arrest a religious girl.  
Margalit Har-Shefi.  
Twenty years old.  
Yigal Amir's girlfriend.

**Her job:**

from the Beit El armory.  
She's aware of Yigal Amir's plan.  
She spent hours with Amir's brother.  
She knew if there was a plan  
to kill Rabin or Peres  
or both.

**The location:**

a villa in Herzliya Pituah.  
First Sergeant Arik Schwartz, 23.  
Yigal Amir gives him 100 shekels  
to find a soldier who'll lend him  
a gun with a silencer.  
The police find an impressive number  
of guns in the basement.  
Arik Schwartz is in on the plan  
to poison the Rabin family's  
water supply.  
The plan is never carried out.  
He lives with his parents  
in Herzliya Pituah.

- Do you see -

- Questions later.

Do you see the direct connection  
between the sedition  
that preceded the murder  
by rabbis, by settlers,  
by government officials,  
by prime ministers,

- to this despicable murder?

- I can't answer -

- Where's the connection?

- I can't answer political questions.

- It isn't political, it's a conspiracy.

- Ma'am, I want to move on.

The assassin's relatives  
are now being investigated.  
In some of their houses  
arms caches were found  
big enough for a terrorist organization.

Magazines, homemade grenades,  
delay mechanisms,  
smuggled bullets,  
clock mechanisms  
and missile launchers.

We initiated investigations.

These are the weapons.

We initiated investigations  
and plan further investigations.

Charges were pressed against  
the first accomplice and he's being held.

The suspect is

Hagai Amir,

the assassin's brother,  
who confessed to preparing  
the bullets used for the assassination.

But Hagai Amir denies knowing  
what Amir's intentions were.

Both brothers are suspected  
of belonging to a radical movement.

The police are looking  
for other members of the movement.

You can ask questions now.

Thank you.

So your conclusion based  
on the evidence  
is that Rabin's assassination  
was the result of a conspiracy  
by a political or religious organization?  
Rabin's assassination could be the result  
of a radical right-wing conspiracy.

But we're extending our investigations  
among movement activists.

Next question.

Did Yigal Amir have accomplices  
who helped him get past security  
and commit the murder?



As far as we know, Amir acted alone.

Next question.

Was there any previous information indicating a possible right-wing attack?

All those accomplices, and neither the police nor the secret service knew anything?

The police know of no previous information regarding a Jewish assassin.

Last question.

I understand the police functioned badly during the incident.

What is your response?

We say that the police did their job properly.

- That's all. Thank you.

- No!

- We have more questions!

- No more questions.

We want to get back to work.

Thank you. That's all.

Thank you.

- We want to get back to work.

- The nerve!

I want all the files.

Go ahead, guys. Quick.

We want the truth.

We want the whole truth.

What happened there?

Where are the fingerprints?

I'm missing fingerprints.

That's mine.

I need Hagai's. Now.

Hurry up, people.

I'd like to bring up an ideological issue.

I'm not sure the commission has a mandate to look into it but I'll read it to you anyway.

I'm sure you're aware of these things but we think

it's important

and it constitutes a background to the bloody confrontation

we're in the midst of.  
There are right-wing religious  
political circles  
that perceived Israel's victory in 1967  
in theological terms  
and saw it as the beginning  
of the Redemption  
and an opportunity to realize  
the dream of the Greater Israel.  
From these circles came  
the Gush Emunim movement in 1974  
led by Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook  
whose primary goal was  
to force the Labour administration  
to build as many settlements  
as possible all over Greater Israel

**and I quote:**

After the Likud came to power  
in 1977,  
Matitiyahu Drobles,  
head of the Settlement Division  
of the Zionist Federation,  
prepared a comprehensive plan  
on behalf of the government  
to build settlements  
throughout the West Bank,  
mainly in eastern Samaria  
next to Palestinian-populated areas.  
Ariel Sharon,  
then agriculture minister  
and supervisor  
of the Israel Land Administration,  
contributed significantly  
to the settlement effort.  
Through Sharon's plan  
dozens of settlements were built  
in areas of high-density  
Palestinian population  
including the Hebron region  
and the western strip of hills  
adjacent to the Green Line.  
To sum up,  
in 1977 there were 31 settlements

with a population of 4,400 settlers.  
In 1992 there are 120 settlements  
with 100,500 settlers.  
Interesting study.  
And now to the point.  
The establishment of settlements  
in the West Bank  
constitutes a violation  
of two important international law treaties  
which prohibit the establishment  
of settlements.  
This violation is the cause  
of a long list of violations  
of the Palestinians' human rights.  
I'm referring to the Hague Convention  
concerning the laws and customs  
of ground war  
and its bylaws from 1907  
and the Fourth Geneva Convention  
concerning civilian rights  
in wartime from 1949.  
Israel promised to uphold them.  
In 1971  
I served as attorney general,  
and my position was then  
and still is  
that since Egypt  
and Jordan's sovereignty  
was never recognized  
internationally,  
these territories are not considered  
occupied territories.  
It's true  
that Israel promised to uphold  
the humanitarian directives  
of the Fourth Geneva Convention,  
but it never defined which directives  
it intended to uphold.  
But Article 49  
of the Geneva Convention states  
that the occupying power  
will not expel,  
nor transfer its civilian population  
to the occupied territory.

The settlements also constitute a violation of the Hague Convention since they weren't built for the benefit of the local Palestinian population but for the benefit of the Israeli population. The government initiated, built and funded most of the settlements while creating a very generous system of benefits and incentives to encourage people to move to them. Article 49 doesn't prohibit the building of settlements. The directives of the Geneva Convention regarding the transference of populations to occupied territory are not prohibitions. The settlements weren't built in order to expel the Arab populace. Israel runs a complex bureaucratic and legal system in the West Bank whose purpose is to take over hundreds of thousands of acres of Palestinian land, some of which is privately owned, in order to build new settlements or to expand the existing settlements. Israel's main methods are the seizure of land for military purposes, declaration or registration of land as government property and expropriation of land for public use. Between 1979 and 1992 over 228,000 acres of West Bank land were declared government property. Remember, in 1992 the Rabin administration decided to freeze construction in the settlements. As I mentioned, Israel used these three means to take over about half the area

of the West Bank.  
At the same time, independently,  
settlers are taking over  
privately-owned Palestinian land,  
destroying olive trees  
and damaging Palestinian property,  
houses and vehicles,  
while the authorities almost always  
avoid enforcing the law  
and returning the land  
to its rightful owners.  
According to Chief Justice Aharon Barak,  
the Hague Convention revolves  
around two main axes.  
One, ensuring the legitimate rights  
to security  
of the side which takes over land  
through combat...  
and two, securing the interests  
of the civilian population  
in the given territory.  
The military commander  
may not place the national,  
military, economic or social interests  
of his own country  
before the interests  
of the local populace,  
and this is how the army  
conducts itself.  
Gentlemen,  
let's get back to our subject  
which is the assassination  
of Prime Minister Rabin.  
I don't understand the connection  
between your questions  
regarding the Geneva Convention  
and government policy in the territories  
and the Rabin assassination.  
That's exactly my point.  
That's our investigative committee's  
lacuna.  
It doesn't address  
the religious school of thought  
that legitimized

the violation of human rights  
and theft of Palestinian land  
which led directly to hooliganism.  
In the final analysis, Yigal Amir's gun  
was only the murder weapon.  
Behind it is a series of laws,  
the humiliation and trampling  
of the Palestinian populace  
and moonstruck rabbis  
with weird religious edicts  
who no one  
in this grand legal system  
saw fit to bring to trial.  
Your arguments  
are interesting intellectually  
but it is not within this commission's  
authority to address them.  
Our job is to examine the operative acts  
of negligence in the Rabin case,  
not their political background.  
Not of the rabbis,  
not of the circle of settlers you describe  
and not of the parliamentary right wing.  
Thank you, gentlemen.  
We'll meet again  
tomorrow morning at 9:00.  
- Thank you.  
- Thank you.  
City dwellers and country dwellers,  
supporters of Likud and Tsomet  
and the NRP and Moledet...  
but also supporters  
of the Labour Party  
and those who voted  
for Yitzhak Rabin,  
we are here to say on behalf  
of an even bigger public  
which is watching us now,  
we're here to say three things -  
Death to Rabin! Death to Rabin!  
We are here to protect Jerusalem,  
to protect the Galilee,  
to protect the Negev.  
The people of Israel,

this ancient, strong nation,  
is awakening from the illusions  
it was sold,  
shaking off the great swindle  
it was led into.

Even now  
the vast majority supports us.  
With an additional effort  
by all of us,  
in the next elections we will,  
God willing,  
see an incontestable victory  
by the National Bloc  
because what we are fighting for  
is true peace,  
not a false peace.

We are fighting  
for the expansion of Jewish settlement,  
not reduction.

We are fighting  
for Jewish immigration,  
not the Palestinian right of return.

But this administration isn't only trying  
to lead the public astray.

It's leading itself astray too.

We'll get rid of Rabin  
with blood and fire!

We'll get rid of Rabin  
with blood and fire!

Rabin traitor! Rabin traitor!

Our alternative has a name.

It's called Zionism.

That is our alternative.

Zionism.

We'll get rid of Rabin  
with blood and fire!

Rabin, resign,

we don't want you anymore!

I call on the masses

gathered here today...

to go out to the junctions,

to go out to the streets,

to go out to the city squares

and demonstrate our disappointment

with the governments policies,  
our opposition to bringing  
Arafat to the Land of Israel  
and our determination  
to preserve our state, our hills  
and our city of Jerusalem.  
He's a traitor! He's a traitor!  
Death to Rabin! Death to Rabin!  
Death to Rabin! Death to Rabin!  
The current administration  
doesn't have a Jewish majority  
and therefore it has  
no authority whatsoever  
to give away parts  
of the Land of Israel.  
The very signing,  
the declaration  
of giving away parts of Israel,  
constitutes the concession  
of parts of the Torah...  
and that is a desecration.  
The Oslo Accord means nothing,  
and no administration  
that represents the Jewish people  
should even consider it.  
The Accord is a violation  
of the Torah for three reasons.  
Giving away parts  
of the Land of Israel,  
the Holy Land,  
is a violation of Torah law,  
an explicit violation.  
Placing the security of Jews  
in the hands of gentiles,  
in the hands of others...  
is risking lives,  
an invitation to murder.  
Furthermore...  
the emissary may not act against  
the wishes of he who sent him.  
And the majority of Israelis,  
the Jewish majority,  
and certainly in the Diaspora,  
did not grant this minority government



the authority to act  
in fundamental, essential matters  
that determine our fate.  
And now...  
the question must be asked:  
Must not the leaders  
of the public...  
warn this administration...  
warn the prime minister  
and his ministers  
that if they continue  
to act on this awful treaty,  
if they continue to try to apply it  
in the territories...  
they will be liable by Torah law,  
by Jewish law...  
to the Din Moser,  
punishment accorded to traitors...  
since they are placing the lives of Jews  
in the hands of gentiles?  
That's all I have to say.  
- Let's begin.  
- Who has the floor?  
Gentlemen,  
I have something to say.  
If we want to stop  
the peace process,  
we have to attack Rabin  
and only Rabin.  
To crush him and his legitimacy  
in security issues,  
to undermine his emotional  
and political stability.  
Since Rabin is the dominant figure  
he must be weakened,  
presented as someone who gave in  
to leftist dictates, a puppet of the Left.  
If we succeed,  
the Left will lose the upcoming elections.  
Every time I see his face turn red  
from the pressure  
applied by my small team -  
Go ahead. I had my say.  
I know we've won.

Friends, all we need  
are 10 men.  
My men disguise themselves  
as journalists  
and get Rabin's schedule  
from the local councils  
where he's appearing.  
They organize quickly,  
as a small, noisy group,  
and greet the prime minister  
with catcalls  
wherever he goes.  
Bravo. Very good.  
True, sometimes Kach and Kahane's  
activists show up, but we can't control that.  
Friends, we're following the rules  
of this administration,  
which has no mandate.  
These people know they're being sold out  
and they won't have it.  
We have to rebuild the democracy  
since this administration  
is an insult to the Knesset  
and the rule of law.  
And it's only the beginning.  
We always act  
through legitimate means  
and the message we want to spread  
through our people is:  
Rabin, go home. Rabin, go home!  
Hello. Good evening.  
Friends, I'd like  
to cut this discussion short  
so we can listen to Dr. Neta  
who'll give us a psychological profile  
of Prime Minister Rabin.  
Go ahead, Neta.  
- Good evening.  
- Good evening.  
Besides all of your discussions  
here at the Council,  
may God bless you,  
and besides  
all the strategies and tactics,

I want to devote a few words  
to a character analysis  
of our prime minister.  
This is a professional opinion  
since I'm a clinical psychologist  
and for many years now I've treated  
all kinds of characters  
including schizophrenics.  
My diagnosis is...  
the prime minister...  
is schizoid,  
there's something missing.  
A schizophrenic is a person  
who loses, to some degree,  
contact with reality  
and lives in an absurd imaginary world  
of his own making,  
out of touch with objective reality.  
This kind of person  
has strange thoughts,  
hallucinations,  
thoughts with no rational basis.  
These people usually  
find themselves  
in psychiatric hospitals.  
The schizophrenic...  
suffers from detachment.  
It's hard for him to understand,  
to communicate with others,  
and schizophrenics have a proclivity  
for addictions,  
to drugs, to alcohol.  
As a clinical psychologist...  
I'd recommend very strongly  
that Yitzhak Rabin receive treatment  
and the public should be informed  
of the prime minister's sad condition.

- Excuse me.
- Yes.
- Pardon me for interrupting.
- It's perfectly all right.

But in light of the important things  
you're bringing up here,  
I'd like to know if there are

other leaders in the world  
who have such severe  
psychological problems.  
Unfortunately, yes.  
Certainly there are other leaders  
like him.  
Hitler, curse his name,  
was schizoid.  
And there are still those like him,  
plenty of them.  
I've observed Rabin's personality  
in the media.  
I've studied a lot of documents  
in order to reach this diagnosis,  
and it is precise.  
The symptoms speak for themselves.  
It's obvious.  
The detachment.  
The inability to find ways  
to express himself.  
The grasping for words,  
for concepts.  
The repeated tendency  
to use the term  
which, naturally,  
indicates a certain megalomania.  
Certainly.  
His contorted facial expressions,  
his odd gestures...  
his uneasiness...  
and above all...  
his absolute belief  
in his perverse reality,  
the fruit of his imagination...  
and the complete loss...  
of his ability to judge.  
All these symptoms indicate,  
clearly and incontrovertibly,  
that Yitzhak Rabin is a schizoid.  
It's unthinkable  
that we should place our country,  
our trust and our leadership  
in the hands of a man  
who suffers this pathological disease!

My God!

We will treat the signing  
of the Oslo Accords  
as occupied France treated  
collaboration with the Nazis.

I'm so sorry, but...

the facts are unbearable.

It's treason! Listen to me!

- We have to make the point clear.

- He's right.

It's treason...

and the day may come

when Rabin is put on trial

just as Ptain was,

and from now on the word traitor

should be attached to Rabin's name.

- Friends, friends -

- You're blurring the point.

- It needs to be made clearer.

- But he's right.

Friends, we have to be practical.

The people must know

that Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres

have joined the Cult of Satan.

- The Cult of Satan.

- Friends, it's a fact.

You can't bring that message  
to the public.

It's a cult that has taken over  
the government.

Just as the Vichy government.

Mrs. Orot,

please call the next witness.

Sit down, please.

Please state your name  
and ID number.

**Name:**

ID number 02 44 06 001.

**Address:**

Mr. Kedem, it's my duty to warn you  
that you must say the truth,  
the whole truth

and nothing but the truth  
or you may be punished  
as prescribed by law.

Mr. Kedem,

what do you do for a living?

By training I'm an accredited lawyer,  
by trade I own 50%  
of a certain small business  
that's just starting out.

I'm also a cofounder  
of Generation of Peace,  
that's short for

A Whole Generation Demands Peace,  
an organization that was founded  
just after the assassination.

What did you do at the rally?

We were making our way  
toward the stairs

where we hoped to get  
a glance of Yitzhak Rabin.

We were thrilled by his courage  
in continuing the peace process  
despite the despicable attacks  
by the fascist Right.

Please focus on the rally itself.

Do you remember barriers  
being placed at a certain point?

While we were waiting for Shimon Peres  
and Yitzhak Rabin,

I was talking with my girlfriend  
about the very question of security  
because what we saw there  
seemed very odd.

Odd? In what way?

- Can you be more specific?

- Certainly.

First of all, when we got there  
there was no order  
and no one in charge.

A uniformed Riot Squad commander  
was standing there  
giving orders to his men:

You stand here, you do this.

I'm referring to the shoddy measures

that end in tragedy.

He stood there greeting his friends  
who'd just arrived.

How are you? How's it going?

Chatting with them.

Can you show us exactly  
where that was?

- Yes, if you have a diagram.

- Yes.

Sigal, can you show us  
the diagram of the square?

We'll bring out a diagram  
and you can show us exactly.

Go ahead.

Here was the barrier  
on the stairway.

After that were two  
or three barriers  
that continued to the street  
leading out of the parking lot.

I was standing -

After they put the barriers in place,  
I stood behind the barrier  
closest to the exit from the parking lot.

I was the last in line  
where Shimon Peres came down  
to shake people's hands.

The last person to shake his hand  
before he went behind his Volvo  
was me.

So you walk around freely.

Yes, we walked around freely,  
more or less,  
and from time to time  
a policeman said, Folks, move back.

It was the same policeman  
who later gave orders  
to the Riot Squad.

Did you see what was happening  
on the roof?

People stood there freely,  
and I told my girlfriend  
that a sniper would have  
no problem shooting from there.

It also bothered me  
that in the City Garden corner  
there was only one  
border patrolman.

Do you really think that I,  
a simple bystander,  
should be giving you  
all this information?

Don't any of the so-called  
security forces have any answers?

What's going on here?

Please state your name,  
ID number and position.

My name is Rafael Yulazri.

I'm a police superintendent, commander  
of the Ayalon District Riot Squad,  
ID number 567 776.

It's my duty to warn you  
that you must say the truth,  
- the whole truth and nothing but the truth -  
- Yes, sir.

Or you may be punished  
as prescribed by law.

Please tell us about the rally  
on November 4.

What was your position then?

I was under the deputy commander  
of the Yarkon District Riot Squad,  
provisory,  
on the southwestern corner  
of the stage.

What time did you arrive?

If my memory serves...

**around 4:**

- 4:  
- Yes.

- I came at 4:

- 4:  
And I went straight  
to the first briefing,



and a half hour or hour later  
I was asked to reinforce  
the City Garden roof.  
Reinforce? What do you mean?  
Was someone there?  
No, no one was there.  
He asked me to place two men there.  
I did  
and added a few more men  
including myself.  
- Were there people in the parking lot?  
- Yes.  
A lot of people,  
plainclothes security agents,  
drivers.  
Lots of people with food.  
People with trays of food  
going up and down.  
And basically,  
we sent away everyone  
who wasn't supposed to be there.  
Did you check any of the people  
in the parking lot?  
Not those beyond the barrier.  
There was this secret service agent...  
who told us to send them away.  
So everyone we checked  
who didn't have authorization,  
we got rid of.  
Other people came from the west  
and the secret service agent pointed out  
that people were coming in.  
So I sent two men  
from the Yarkon Riot Squad  
over there,  
and from then on,  
almost nobody got in.  
I can't say that the place was  
totally sealed, but I can say -  
Please go back to your place.  
That everyone the secret agent  
told us to get rid of -  
- Yes, but go back to your place.  
- we got rid of,

and from then on it was  
the secret service's responsibility.  
Yes, but you relied on his opinion.  
Naturally.  
But did you, the police,  
also check people?  
You see someone standing there,  
leaning on a car.  
Did anyone go up and ask him,  
Who are you?  
What are you doing here?  
I want to make it clear  
that the job we police did that day -  
- Please go back to your place.  
- Fine.  
We police worked very hard that day.  
We worked on the barrier.  
It was war.  
- We had to fight -  
- Let me help you.  
We had to fight  
to keep it together.  
Tell me exactly  
what your assignment was.  
To reinforce the troops  
so people wouldn't get in  
from Ibn Gabirol Street,  
and that's just what we did.  
I wasn't told to make  
the place airtight.  
No, not airtight.  
But I'm asking  
if anyone asked you,  
the policemen in charge  
of the barrier,  
did anyone tell you to check  
who the people in the parking lot were?  
I don't want to press the point,  
but I personally  
was never told anything  
about making the place sterile!  
Okay?  
But it was obvious that  
whoever didn't belong there

should be removed.

Or whoever the secret service agent said was authorized to be there.

I gather from your words that you were at the secret service's disposal.

To do whatever they told us.

From then on, the place was almost completely sealed off.

No one could get in from either the west or the east unless they were authorized, and we checked them.

Authorized like the assassin, for instance?

No. Not the assassin.

I don't remember him coming in or leaving.

No, because he was already there.

Excuse me, sir, are you being cynical?

No. He was already there.

He was there.

I beg your pardon, but your cynicism is out of place.

Please continue and stick to the facts.

He was there and you didn't remove him.

That's true, but your cynical implication that -

I beg your pardon.

No name-calling.

I'm asking you,

he was there and you didn't remove him.

If you, sir, put it that way,

- I'll answer in kind.

- Go ahead.

I don't -

It's possible that he was there.

I don't know.

Mrs. Orot, please sum up the testimony in two sentences.

Superintendent Rafael Yulazri's assignment was to reinforce the troops in order to prevent people coming in from Ibn Gabirol Street. The area was not defined as sterile. He was not told explicitly to remove everyone, but it was clear that unauthorized people or those whom the secret service said shouldn't be there should be removed.

Thank you.

Thank you. Many thanks.

What am I supposed to do?

- How do you feel?

- I don't know.

I feel like -

I don't know

whether to laugh or cry.

How do you feel about it?

Damti, Menachem.

ID number 102 714 3.

My job is...

driver for the prime minister.

Are you the only driver?

Do you take turns?

The prime minister generally has two drivers.

We decide when to switch.

Please describe your actions until the prime minister arrived.

I went to the car

and waited in the car.

As I was waiting in the car,

Shimon Peres, who was foreign minister at the time, came down

and asked me,

When is the prime minister coming?

I answered,

He'll be here in a few seconds.

He said, I'll wait.

He waited.

Then he said, Well, I'm leaving.

I stood by the door.  
Later the prime minister came down.  
I mean, he came down -  
He was a foot or two  
from my door,  
and Mrs. Rabin was behind him.  
Now, I was about  
to open the door for Mrs. Rabin,  
not for the prime minister,  
because the prime minister  
used the other door.  
I saw his wife behind him.  
I opened the door.  
When the prime minister  
reached my door,  
about...  
a foot or two from the door,  
and I was standing at an angle...  
the assassin came from this direction...  
and I heard a bang.  
I turned quickly  
and saw him shooting  
and shouting,  
Blanks, blanks.  
Then I got into the car...  
and as I got into the car -  
I mean, I was in the car,  
and the head of security, Yoram,  
put him in  
and said, Drive.  
Was your blue light flashing?  
In the car?  
Yes, in the car.  
It's always in the car. Yes.  
Now, I don't know if it was on.  
I got into the car  
and turned on the siren and sped away.  
I don't know if the light was flashing  
but I know the siren was on.  
I was in no state  
to play with the buttons so I -  
I drove straight to the hospital.  
Were you told in advance  
which route to take

to the hospital in an emergency?  
Usually, Your Honor,  
they always tell me.  
For some reason they forgot to.  
They didn't give me  
an escape route.  
Who usually tells you?  
The commander,  
the head of the team  
and the whole crew,  
if it's a big event like that.  
What happened at the hospital?  
Was he admitted immediately?  
No one was expecting me  
at the hospital.  
When I got to the hospital  
I parked the car at the entrance,  
got out quickly.  
There was a hospital  
security guard there,  
and I shouted to him hysterically,  
Please bring a stretcher!  
He did so very quickly.  
He brought the stretcher,  
I took the prime minister by the back,  
Yoram took him by the head,  
and I asked the policeman  
to help us from behind.  
We put him on the stretcher  
and ran to the trauma unit.  
How long was the drive  
from Kings Square to the hospital?  
I'd estimate...  
a minute  
or a minute and a half,  
with the delay,  
with the policeman and everything.  
I'd say it took a minute and a half.  
According to the hospital's files  
the prime minister arrived  
at the hospital at 9:55 PM,  
that is, eight minutes  
after the shooting,  
500 meters away.

It seemed like a minute  
and a half to me.

Thank you.

On November 4, 1995,  
I was the prime minister's  
personal bodyguard.

There were seven guards  
on the team.

All in all there were 20 guards  
at the incident.

Please speak up.

I was the team leader.

I walked next to him.

Into the microphone, please.

There was one man in front,  
one in back, theoretically,  
and another joined us  
on the left.

How did you regroup  
after the rally?

We went down the stairs toward the crowd  
with the crowd on our right.

I thought the idea was  
to shake hands with the crowd  
through the barrier  
when suddenly,  
out of the blue,  
he turned left toward the car.

At that point

I was behind the prime minister.

I wasn't next to him.

How far away were you?

About a foot and a half away.

Continue.

When we turn left toward the car  
and we were standing

at the rear door,

I heard a gunshot  
from behind and to the left.

I wrapped my arms  
around the prime minister  
and started to pull him down.

I didn't see the gunman.

I realized he misfired

or he was overpowered.  
But that wasn't my concern.  
The PM was still alive after the shooting.  
Not only was he alive,  
he helped me up.  
And I naively thought  
that your job was  
to protect the prime minister...  
even to take a bullet for him,  
and certainly to kill the assassin.  
Please continue.  
At that point  
we leapt into the car.  
In retrospect  
I'm surprised that a man his age  
was able to leap like that.  
We leapt into the car  
with the PM in the backseat  
and me between the seats.  
His legs stuck out a bit  
so I pulled in his feet  
and told Damti to drive.  
At the police station  
on the night of the assassination,  
on November 5...

**at 1:**

you said,  
I picked the prime minister up  
and pushed him into the car.  
Right?  
At Yigal Amir's trial  
you gave a different testimony  
after the shooting.  
And I quote.  
You said,  
I spoke to the prime minister.  
I grabbed his shoulders.  
I told him,  
'You listen to me and only me.'  
You shouted that.  
You said,  
according to our documents,  
'Listen to me and only me.'



I repeated that a number of times.  
I continue to quote you.  
There's a part that I don't remember,  
then I found us  
on top of each other in the car.  
There are many contradictions  
in your testimony.  
I covered him with my arms  
from the right.  
The assassin came from the left.  
Do you think the decision  
to take the prime minister  
to the hospital was correct?  
I think so.  
In that situation the casualty should be  
evacuated as soon as possible.  
What would've happened  
if they'd used the evacuation corridors  
and the route the driver took  
had been clearer?  
I can't answer that.  
The fact that the prime minister  
arrived at the hospital dead  
and we managed to restore his heartbeat  
raises the question:  
What would've happened  
if he'd arrived two minutes earlier?  
That question can't be answered.  
It's clear that his wound was severe  
and he wouldn't have survived it,  
but no one can answer that question.  
Please describe in detail  
the wounds that he sustained  
when he arrived.  
A bullet wound  
next to the spinal column  
and a wound to the spinal column.  
At that point we couldn't diagnose  
the wound to the spinal column itself.  
Additional wounds  
from a knife or a regular bullet,  
a hole in his back that crushed  
his spleen and left lung,  
passed next to his heart

and cut the aorta  
which caused bleeding.  
That's what usually happens  
with this kind of wound,  
but he didn't -  
he didn't die from the bleeding.  
The mechanism that caused him  
to lose consciousness  
and his actual death  
was pneumothorax,  
abnormal amount of air in the chest.  
When we breathe,  
air enters our lungs.  
Due to the wound  
the air entered the space  
between the lung and the chest  
creating pressure,  
a valve effect.  
The more he breathed,  
the greater the pressure.  
A drain was inserted  
and his heartbeat returned,  
but the damage to his brain  
was irreversible.  
Air entered the wound  
in his aorta  
and his heart sent air  
to the brain instead of blood.  
That's a fatal situation.  
Thank you.  
Thank you.  
Please introduce yourself  
to the commission.  
In the service I'm known as Y.S.  
The VIP Security Unit.  
When did you first hear of the rally?  
The head of operations  
in the VIP Security Unit  
contacted me on October 25, 1995,  
and decided that I'd be in charge  
of security at the event,  
six days before the assassination.  
When did you start  
to plan for the event?

On October 31, 1995,  
a preliminary morning survey  
was conducted together with the police.  
Was there no survey  
to check field conditions  
including lighting intensity  
in real nighttime conditions?

No.

In your opinion, did the short notice  
hamper your planning capability?

Yes.

Only four days before the rally  
was, in my opinion, too late...  
considering the size of the event  
and the identity  
of the dignitaries who attended,  
as well as the ability to be involved,  
to feel out the territory.

If we could go back in time  
and give you another  
two or three weeks,  
what would you do?

What would I do differently?

I'd get involved from the beginning,  
due to the number of participants  
as well as the complexity  
of the event  
and the fact that it covered  
a broad area  
with many points of access.

Did the police give you comments  
from the summary of the survey  
you conducted with them?

No.

You said it was a preliminary survey.

Were there other surveys?

No. That's all we managed to do  
at such short notice.

But you checked  
the police instructions?

We didn't check  
the wording  
of the police instructions,  
but the police were certainly required

to visually screen everyone  
who entered the area.  
That is, spotting suspicious people  
and preliminary questioning.  
If I understand you correctly,  
if you wanted to be precise  
you should've said,  
We asked the police  
to question suspicious characters.  
That way one would get the impression  
that anyone who wanted  
to pass the barrier,  
like the drivers who had to show  
an authorization by the police,  
a policeman should've asked him,  
Who are you?  
Where are you going?  
Isn't that right?  
I didn't ask the police to do that.  
Take no responsibility.  
I'm sorry, Your Honor,  
that that's the impression I gave.  
Did you ask for something else?  
Did you meet with the police again?  
Your Honor,  
our requirements were very clear.  
Preliminary questioning and visual screening.  
It's standard procedure.  
Sir, I want to remind you  
that I was given the assignment  
just a few days before the event.  
I did everything I could do  
and should've done  
in the given amount of time.  
I have no more questions.  
It's quite possible that the police  
didn't do their job properly  
and that should be looked into.  
Thank you.  
The next witness,  
Mrs. Sara Eliash,  
asked to appear before the commission  
of her own volition.  
She's the second witness

after Rabbi Benny Elon  
to ask to appear  
of his or her own volition.  
I don't see  
what this has to do  
with the commission's mandate  
to investigate the operative acts  
of negligence that led to the PM's murder.

- Good morning.

- Good morning.

Please state your name,  
ID number and job  
into the microphone.

Sara Eliash.

ID number 10 256 801.

I'm the principal  
of the girls' school in Kedumim,  
Ulpana Lehava.

It's my duty to warn you  
that you must speak the truth,  
the whole truth  
and nothing but the truth,  
or you may be punished  
as prescribed by law.

Can you tell us why you asked  
to speak to the commission?

When Avishai Raviv's name  
appeared in the newspapers,  
as a school principal

I was shocked  
at the thought  
that behind a man  
who incited sedition  
among little schoolgirls,  
and who knows  
how that might affect them -  
That an official entity  
stands behind him,  
that made me very upset.

I asked the girls  
what exactly was said  
and it was not the first time.

They knew them well.

Not very well,

but they knew them by name.  
By your leave I'd like to quote  
a few things that were said  
a little more clearly.  
How old are the girls?  
They're now in ninth grade.  
That means they're about 14.  
Not all of them.  
Some are 14, 15, 16,  
who went away for Shabbat -  
Not girls. Young women.  
You could call them young women.  
These young women  
often went away for Shabbat  
by themselves,  
just for fun.  
- When was this?  
- There were two Shabbats.  
The 26th of Nisan,  
that's what the girls said,  
and the 3rd of Tammuz,  
if I'm not mistaken. Yes.  
- This was 1995? This year?  
- Yes. This summer.  
May I?  
One of the girls told me,  
I went into a room  
where there were Kach activists.  
Those were her words.  
Avishai Raviv said that a Din Rodef  
had been passed against the government...  
that all the Arabs in Israel  
should be killed  
and that the whole government  
should be blown up.  
These things were said  
in Yigal Amir's presence  
and in front of college students.  
The girls said they tried to argue  
and then Avishai Raviv said  
that the Arabs should be killed  
and that soldiers  
who evacuate settlements  
should be shot in the leg.

This girl told me,  
When I heard that I was shocked.  
She tried to tell them  
that soldiers shouldn't be attacked  
and that you can't kill all the Arabs,  
some other solution should be found.  
Afterwards, of course,  
we came to the conclusion  
that he needs -  
I'm referring to Avishai Raviv -  
he needs psychological help.

- Excuse me.

- Yes.

Mazi, escort her  
to the archive, please.

What's going on?

You have to go to the archive  
for a few minutes.

- Okay. Can I leave my purse?

- Sure.

- What's the matter?

- This is classified information.

The secret service has informed us  
that they insist

that everything concerning  
Avishai Raviv remain classified.

I'll bring it to your attention  
that the subject of Avishai Raviv  
should be kept to a minimum.

Platoon 5, follow me!

Please leave this place now.

Hello, sir. How are you?

I'm fine. Leave now, please.

What right do you have  
to get rid of us?

I want to tell you something.

A higher-ranked officer  
than you was here.

- A retired general.

- Leave or I'll have to use force!

He asked,

What right do you have to be here?

I said, God commanded us to!

You know what?

Your son will do army service  
on that hill too,  
because we're going to decide  
where this country's borders are!  
When did you come up  
with the idea of shooting the PM?  
When the Oslo I Accord was signed.  
I realized that the only way  
to stop the travesty was  
to get rid of the prime minister.  
There are many ways to do that.  
I tried them.  
But I realized that the only way is  
to hurt him so he can't function  
as prime minister.  
And if that can't be done,  
if I can't put him out of commission,  
then death is the answer.  
Doesn't the Bible say  
Thou shall not kill?  
There's an agreement -  
There's a more important commandment.  
It's saving a human life.  
According to the Torah,  
if a Jew hands his people  
and his country over to the enemy,  
it's an obligation to kill him.  
Can you stop rocking?  
Sit up straight!  
When you kill someone...  
in battle, it's a negative act,  
but the purpose is lofty.  
That's why it's permitted.  
If someone comes to kill you,  
get up and kill him.  
Who says it's lofty?  
You? Do you decide  
what's lofty and what isn't?  
Whether to kill or not to kill?  
Do you know -  
Do you know what it means  
to save a human life?  
Who brainwashed you,  
the rabbis?



An entire nation elects someone  
and you decide he should be killed?  
Not to kill him,  
to paralyze him politically  
so he can't function as prime minister.  
Israel has laws, doesn't it?  
I don't care about the law.  
I only care about the Jews.  
I want to tell you something  
about what's lofty.  
I'm talking about saving  
a life in hell itself  
and I'm talking about my father.  
World War Two was hell.  
He'd been captured in Germany.  
Then he came back to the family.  
He escaped and came back...  
and he smuggled the whole family  
over the Russian border.  
The Russians told him:  
You can have Russian citizenship,  
but only you.  
Not your family.  
He passed up the opportunity.  
He said no,  
and he saved lives by doing so.  
He took his family  
and decided to go to Siberia  
because the condition was  
either you go to Siberia or you join us.  
He said, No. I'm going with them.  
He passed up the opportunity  
and he made a sacrifice.  
He served five years in Siberia  
doing hard labor...  
and that's what I call lofty.  
He didn't look out for himself.  
He did something  
for the whole family.  
- You see?  
- I made a sacrifice too.  
No! You didn't sacrifice anything!  
What did you sacrifice?  
I sacrificed myself

for the sake of the Jews.  
Rabin is sacrificing the Jews  
for the sake of his ideals.  
I sacrificed myself  
for the sake of the Jews.  
Did you ask if the Jews  
want your sacrifice?  
How can you be so arrogant?  
When you left your house,  
did you know where you were going  
and for what purpose?  
When I went to the square  
I didn't know I'd kill Rabin.  
I figured,  
if the opportunity comes up -  
I stood there and waited.  
I waited between them for 50 minutes  
and nobody said a word.  
Between who and who?  
Between the police and the bodyguards.  
- Between the police and the bodyguards?  
- Yes.  
When I got within range of Rabin,  
I saw a space open behind him.  
So I turned,  
walked around someone  
and approached from the side.  
I couldn't believe I got so close.  
I could have touched him.  
When I started walking,  
I intended to shoot him in the head,  
but when I saw the space open  
I went in and aimed at his back,  
the seam on his jacket.  
Did you shout that they were blanks?  
Why would I?  
To throw off the security guards.  
Interesting idea,  
but I didn't do that.  
Wipe that stinking smile  
off your face.  
Sit up straight!  
- Do you regret what you did?  
- I don't regret a thing.

I did it wholeheartedly.  
I did what many have wanted to do,  
and it's about time the people woke up.  
Do you consider yourself sane?  
- I am sane.  
- Do you think you're normal?  
- Completely normal.  
- Or -  
Completely normal.  
Do you remember your conversation  
with Rabbi Tal?  
Who told you I spoke to Rabbi Tal?  
When did you meet him?  
I met him  
at Baruch Goldstein's funeral.  
I went up to him and asked,  
What is this?  
Rabin's giving everything away  
and nobody says anything?  
He said, There's nothing we can do.  
It's a divine decree.  
I asked,  
Isn't he considered Din Rodef?  
He said, I don't know.  
He isn't authorized  
to make Jewish rulings.  
He said, I don't know  
if there is a Din Rodef.  
Then he said, It's a good deed.  
That's enough for today.  
I want to make this clear.  
Perhaps it has been overstated  
in the media  
prematurely  
that two major, dramatic subjects  
are going to be decided on  
at the meeting  
between Mr. Arafat and myself:  
the policing of the Jordan Bridge  
and a significant enlargement  
of the Jericho region.  
I think that at the beginning  
we were coping too much...  
not only because of us,

maybe mainly because of us,  
with symbolic issues.  
And the main problem...  
of what's going to happen  
with Gaza -  
750,000 Palestinians,  
economic woes...  
building a system which will uphold  
civilian law and order,  
which will also bear responsibility  
for the security of this region,  
which will prepare for development,  
which will, first of all,  
replace us as administrators  
because as I mentioned,  
there are 24,000 paid employees  
in Gaza's civil administration.  
A week from now, when we leave,  
who will pay them?  
Who is prepared to pay them?  
Is there a system  
that can take on that responsibility?  
In the past I was very much  
against a unilateral withdrawal  
and the main reason was  
that we would be accused -  
That by withdrawing  
we would create chaos and killing,  
and all sorts of things might happen  
if we withdraw from Gaza unilaterally  
and there is no entity that can take on  
the minimum of military responsibility,  
and there isn't.  
Someone who can take on  
the minimum of responsibility  
for Gaza's immediate essential needs.  
If we don't give electricity,  
Gaza will have no electricity.  
If we don't supply water,  
Gaza will have no water.  
If we don't supply their hospitals  
with oxygen,  
I don't know  
what the hospitals will come to.

If we don't provide medicine  
and the rupture is too violent -  
RABIN IS KILLING ZIONISM  
The government's policy  
is leading us to destruction.  
It's endangering not only the settlers  
but the people of Ra'anana,  
demonstrating here with me,  
and they understand  
that the choice is simple:  
either a Palestinian state  
a few minutes from here,  
which is only the beginning,  
or autonomy and security,  
which we offer.  
And that's the choice  
the public will face,  
I hope, in the early elections.  
Honorable Knesset,  
the administration that took office  
over a year ago  
decided to try to put an end  
to the cycle of war and terrorism...  
to try to build a new world  
in our country,  
in our homes, in our families,  
which haven't known a year,  
a month,  
when mothers didn't mourn their sons.  
We are not blind to the risks  
and we will do everything necessary  
to minimize them.  
At the same time,  
we believe  
that the risks are calculated  
and they are worth taking.  
I call on all Knesset members  
to give us a chance to take advantage  
of this great opportunity.  
- Aren't you ashamed of yourself?  
- No. I'm the son of a Holocaust survivor.  
The grandson  
of four grandparents I never met  
because of a Judenrte

like this government.  
I feel good and safe  
among the Israeli people,  
even if there are  
negative elements.  
I went through enough  
in my military service  
not to be afraid of such things.  
There's a backdrop  
of verbal violence in the streets.  
There's -  
The verbal violence  
and the attending mood  
lead to noisy rioting  
as well as actual violence.  
I think the actual violence  
is only being perpetrated  
by the radical fringes.  
This is the emblem.  
People managed to remove  
the emblem from the car,  
and this emblem symbolizes the fact  
that just as we got to this emblem  
we can get to Rabin.  
Mr. Rabin, how does it feel  
now that almost all  
of your contact with the public  
takes place under heavy security,  
more and more policemen and security guards  
separating you from the public?  
I know that sedition is  
running rampant, verbal violence,  
violence on the Israeli street.  
If there's violence in the Knesset,  
verbal violence,  
there is violence in the street,  
violence on the roads.  
I saw the demonstration  
in Jerusalem  
where I appeared  
in a picture of a Gestapo agent  
and I saw a Knesset member,  
a former Likud minister,  
David Levy,

driven away by an incited crowd.  
I saw the violence  
in front of the Knesset.  
Knesset member and Likud Chairman  
Benjamin Netanyahu contacted me  
before I left for the US for a meeting.  
I came home one Friday afternoon  
and I saw a demonstration.  
Likud signs, people shouting,  
Traitor! Murderer!  
I said it would be foolish of me...  
to play the Likud chairman's  
hypocritical game.  
He sat there and spoke  
in front of pictures of the Gestapo.  
He suggests that we meet,  
and he holds demonstrations.  
- Won't you try to stop the radicals?  
- I don't trust him.  
- It'll get worse until the elections.  
- That's possible,  
if the Likud decides to.  
- We aren't creating the violence.  
- You're the prime minister.  
I can't use coercion  
except as the law allows.  
If the prime minister is here  
I'll ask him to come in.  
I'm personally asking  
the prime minister to come in.  
I'm asking him to come in.  
I'm personally asking  
the prime minister to come in.  
No. Don't do this to me!  
Look what you're doing,  
you're carrying on -  
what you did outside.  
These are the results.  
Pardon me, sir.  
If he can talk, can't I?  
Certainly. Absolutely.  
Please do, Mr. Prime Minister.  
I wish you would.  
No. And we'll conclude with this.

Sir, he's the prime minister  
and he'll say whatever he wants.

Excuse me.

I'm not asking -

Don't interrupt the prime minister.

I'm not asking to speak  
from the podium.

The phenomenon of incitement...

under the heading

of preventing a national schism...

is nothing new.

- It has existed -

- Don't interrupt. We didn't interrupt you.

- Has existed -

- Don't interrupt!

- But you also did -

- Excuse me, Deputy Alon,  
don't interrupt the prime minister.

Look what you're doing.

You're repeating a syndrome  
that manifests outside later.

You don't let him speak here  
and that's how it starts.

- This isn't -

- Let him speak!

- This is nothing new.

- Let him speak like you let Netanyahu!

- This is nothing new.

- Let him speak!

- I repeat.

- Have a little respect.

This is not a new phenomenon.

It's now disguised

as national unity,

and in the guise of national unity

people use expressions

that only lead to schism

and I suggest

you stop the hypocrisy.

**WE LIVE UNDER:**

A BLOODY ADMINISTRATION

WHO'S NEXT IN LINE?

RABIN, ARE YOU NEXT IN LINE?



People who put Jewish lives  
in danger,  
according to Jewish law,  
their lives are forfeit.  
He shot at Jews in the iAltalena incident.  
Rabin himself.  
He'll get shot in the head  
by a Jew.  
If you'd asked him that morning...  
that Saturday,  
if he considered the possibility  
that he could be harmed,  
the answer would be no. Never.  
He was unworried and confident  
and he certainly wouldn't agree  
to wear a bulletproof vest.  
He was absolutely confident  
in terms of his personal safety.  
And I have to admit that I was too.  
I trusted the people guarding him  
and it never occurred to me  
in my wildest dreams  
that such a thing could happen,  
that such a thing would happen.  
Although there were  
warning signs here and there...  
it didn't occur to us  
and we refused to consider it.  
We didn't believe  
such a thing was possible,  
that the most insane, cruel,  
incomprehensible thing  
could actually happen.  
That's why I'm angry,  
if I'm angry at all -  
and I do put thought  
and effort into it -  
at the school of thought  
that produced this negative element...  
and preached such things  
and the political group  
that called Yitzhak murderer  
for so long.  
Murderer and traitor,

saying that he didn't know  
where he was leading the people.  
And that's how they led the way...  
in such a way that  
it produced the element  
that could understand things that way,  
that if he really was  
a murderer and a traitor  
who was selling Israeli land,  
then Israeli land is more sacred  
than this man's life  
and it's a commandment to murder him.  
I can't even get angry.  
There's no anger in me.  
It's beyond me.  
I can't get angry.  
I can only feel sorrow.  
This committee,  
which it was my honor to lead,  
was not appointed  
to investigate the factors  
that led to the social and political  
culture that led to the assassination.  
It was not asked to offer its opinion  
on the circumstances  
that led to the assassination.  
That is not the role  
of an investigative committee.  
The committee was restricted by law  
to examining the functioning  
of the people and the systems  
responsible  
for the prime minister's safety.  
This report does not exempt  
Israeli society  
from its obligation to conduct  
a thorough investigation...  
and to try to answer the question  
of how we reached the point  
of the assassination  
of an Israeli PM by an extremist...  
and how violence turned into a means  
of solving political conflicts.  
This investigation should be conducted

by society as a whole  
and the educational institutions  
in particular.  
Since the establishment  
of the State of Israel,  
its strength has lain in the essential balance  
between fostering its power  
and the moral restrictions it took on.  
Israel's pride as the only democracy  
in the Middle East lay,  
among other things,  
in the fact that negative phenomena  
such as political murder  
do not exist  
in its social and political culture.  
Three gunshots  
on November 4, 1995,  
totally changed these axioms.  
Israel after the assassination  
of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin,  
may he rest in peace,  
will never be the same.