**The Fall and Rise of The Jewish Underground- Dialogue list**

<begin subtitles>

01:01:06:03 01:01:10:01

Welcome to the ceremony,

the closest thing to the real thing.

01:01:14:05 01:01:17:01

We're here today so that

we'll be ready.

01:01:17:07 01:01:21:18

As soon as the government allows it,

we'll know exactly what to do.

01:01:21:20 01:01:24:01

Sacrifices can only be offered

in one place -

01:01:24:03 01:01:25:06

the Temple Mount.

01:01:30:01 01:01:32:20

We need absolute silence.

The slaughterer

01:01:33:08 01:01:36:01

will recite the blessing

in God's name.

01:01:36:05 01:01:39:15

*Blessed are You, O Lord,*

*King of the Universe,*

01:01:39:19 01:01:41:15

*Who has sanctified us*

*with His commandments*

01:01:41:18 01:01:43:09

*and gave us the laws*

*of slaughtering*.

01:01:43:18 01:01:45:08

Amen.

01:02:06:01 01:02:08:01

Etzion.

01:02:08:21 01:02:11:06

He was one of the leaders

of the Underground.

01:02:11:13 01:02:14:09

An enemy from within,

who knows you,

01:02:14:16 01:02:18:01

is hard to call an enemy.

He's part of the family.

01:02:18:06 01:02:20:20

It's not a problem to call

the Arabs an enemy

01:02:20:22 01:02:22:23

in some overly simplistic way.

01:02:23:14 01:02:27:06

But it's a problem for lots of people

to describe other Jews

01:02:28:09 01:02:29:06

as enemies.

01:02:37:13 01:02:41:04

If the terrorist attack on the Temple Mount

would have succeeded,

01:02:41:06 01:02:46:01

there might have been a nuclear war

here in the Middle East.

01:03:31:09 01:03:34:23

*Blessed are You, O Lord,*

*Who gave us the Torah of truth*

01:03:35:02 01:03:37:06

*and granted everlasting life within us.*

01:03:37:09 01:03:39:04

*Blessed are You, O Lord,*

*Who gives us the Torah.*

01:03:40:03 01:03:42:21

It's the wrong building

in the wrong place.

01:03:43:00 01:03:47:09

It must be removed,

and not by itself either.

01:03:47:12 01:03:48:21

It's commanded in the Torah:

01:03:48:23 01:03:51:08

"Make for me a Temple

and I will dwell among them."

01:03:51:11 01:03:55:05

Religious Jews pray for that

three times a day, if not more.

01:03:55:05 01:03:57:09

*Blessed are You, O Lord...*

01:03:57:12 01:04:02:14

The Muslim occupation of the Temple Mount,

which lasted about 1,300 years

01:04:02:16 01:04:06:19

drove me crazy back then

01:04:06:21 01:04:09:01

and still drives me crazy today.

01:04:18:13 01:04:20:04

It's still here.

01:04:47:10 01:04:50:15

The Six Day War occurred

01:04:50:23 01:04:52:08

when I was 16

01:04:52:11 01:04:55:20

in a religious high school.

01:04:56:10 01:05:00:21

The war was over quickly,

and Jerusalem was in our hands,

01:05:00:23 01:05:04:11

so my friend and I said,

"Let's go up to Jerusalem!"

01:05:13:05 01:05:15:00

I remember dancing

with my friends.

01:05:15:03 01:05:19:14

We were very excited to breathe in

the dust of Jerusalem.

01:05:19:21 01:05:23:11

Still, even though I was just a kid,

questions kept popping up:

01:05:23:13 01:05:26:06

Wait! Why here?

Why the Western Wall?

01:05:26:11 01:05:27:18

And what's going on up there?

01:05:27:20 01:05:32:11

We'll be here, while the building

up there stays put?

01:05:32:21 01:05:36:16

On one hand, we experienced

this incredible redemption,

01:05:36:19 01:05:38:16

but we weren't

fulfilling our duty.

01:05:38:19 01:05:42:03

We might even have been trampling

on the gift that we received.

01:05:42:12 01:05:45:05

All these questions...

"What's going on here?"

01:05:45:08 01:05:48:11

they still cause me

to think and act.

01:05:49:18 01:05:53:11

What initiated the Underground

was that I found friends.

01:05:53:15 01:05:57:15

That propelled it to

more practical measures.

01:06:00:23 01:06:04:20

I thought that if we woke up

one morning,

01:06:04:23 01:06:08:19

and the Temple Mount was free

of the building

01:06:08:22 01:06:11:09

that represented Muslim control,

01:06:11:12 01:06:14:11

we'd be on the verge of a new era.

01:06:16:10 01:06:19:23

What was our plan?

To blow up the building

01:06:20:01 01:06:23:19

and inflict a mortal blow on it,

so that it couldn't be rebuilt,

01:06:23:22 01:06:25:15

so that it couldn't be repaired.

01:06:28:09 01:06:31:21

As long as Muslims

control the Temple Mount,

01:06:32:00 01:06:35:15

our control over the entire country

is limited.

01:06:35:18 01:06:36:21

That is their source of power.

01:06:36:23 01:06:40:05

As long as they control it,

they haven't lost hope

01:06:40:08 01:06:43:13

that one day, they'll turn

the tables on us

01:06:43:15 01:06:45:13

and kick us out of the entire country.

01:06:58:03 01:07:02:01

*Jewish worshippers came under*

*automatic weapon fire this evening*

01:07:02:05 01:07:07:06

*on their way from the Cave of the Patriarchs*

*to Beit Hadassah in Hebron.*

01:07:07:09 01:07:11:06

*Grenades and improvised bombs*

*were also thrown at the group.*

01:07:11:09 01:07:15:03

*22 people were injured*

*in this organized attack.*

01:07:15:06 01:07:16:23

*Six were killed.*

01:07:20:03 01:07:26:04

In 1980, I was appointed head of the

Jerusalem, Judea, and Samaria Command

01:07:26:07 01:07:30:13

in the Shin Bet.

One of my first cases

01:07:30:23 01:07:32:08

was Beit Hadassah.

01:07:33:00 01:07:36:09

It was a Palastinian terrorist attack that...

01:07:36:19 01:07:39:21

shifted the balance.

01:07:40:07 01:07:43:08

"Terrorist Attack on Beit Hadassah"

01:07:45:04 01:07:49:05

"Built in memory of Hanan Krauthammer,

Gershon Klein, Yaakov Zimmerman,

01:07:49:07 01:07:51:16

"Eli Hazeev, Zvi Glatt,

and Shmuel Mermelstein.

01:07:51:19 01:07:54:04

"May God avenge their blood"

01:08:00:00 01:08:02:11

It was crazy growing up in

Hebron back then.

01:08:03:04 01:08:06:21

You couldn't drive around at night.

01:08:12:13 01:08:16:05

The Jewish settlers of Hebron

01:08:16:10 01:08:18:16

started with a small group

01:08:19:01 01:08:20:11

of... let's call them fanatics.

01:08:20:14 01:08:23:15

My father was definitely one of them.

01:08:23:17 01:08:27:10

The idea that we were returning

to a place

01:08:27:12 01:08:28:18

where we used to be

01:08:28:20 01:08:31:06

is very empowering.

01:08:31:10 01:08:33:06

It's very interesting,

very exciting,

01:08:33:09 01:08:35:03

especially as a child.

01:08:35:10 01:08:38:06

We lived it every day.

01:08:41:11 01:08:43:13

What did you think about

the Arabs then?

01:08:43:15 01:08:45:16

The goal was that ultimately,

01:08:45:18 01:08:48:13

we'd wake up one morning,

and they'd be gone.

01:08:48:16 01:08:51:21

Let's be honest.

I think everyone shared

01:08:52:15 01:08:54:11

the same vision that one day

01:08:54:14 01:08:56:11

they'd be gone.

01:08:59:16 01:09:04:16

*The funeral will leave the yeshiva*

*for the town gates.*

01:09:06:08 01:09:10:09

Obviously, the Beit Hadassah

attack was a major crisis.

01:09:10:11 01:09:13:08

The leaders of the settlement met

01:09:13:11 01:09:18:11

and said that there must be

severe consequences.

01:09:18:12 01:09:22:00

Obviously, the response

should be extreme.

01:09:23:16 01:09:26:10

I said, "Guys, we're aiming

at something much bigger.

01:09:26:12 01:09:28:13

"much more meaningful:

the Temple Mount."

01:09:28:15 01:09:31:04

We'd talked about

the Temple Mount before.

01:09:31:06 01:09:34:05

Maybe this act of retaliation

could be important,

01:09:34:08 01:09:36:03

to put a bullet in someone's head...

01:09:36:05 01:09:39:21

I'm exaggerating. It wasn't in the head.

It was just an injury.

01:09:40:00 01:09:44:11

But acting against

the terrorist leadership

01:09:44:15 01:09:46:09

is justified.

Can no one else do it?

01:09:46:12 01:09:48:11

Then let it be someone else.

01:09:49:13 01:09:53:10

They convinced me that

it should be done within a month,

01:09:53:12 01:09:56:08

so that the retaliation would be

very obvious and clear,

01:09:56:13 01:10:00:01

and there was no one else.

It was either us or no one.

01:10:00:04 01:10:03:21

So I agreed. I agreed

because I was furious.

01:10:10:16 01:10:13:01

A guy here in the Golan Heights,

01:10:13:04 01:10:16:11

told me that some friends

were very upset

01:10:16:15 01:10:20:05

after the Beit Hadassah attack,

and we have to help them...

01:10:20:09 01:10:21:23

take action.

01:10:22:11 01:10:26:18

They wanted to bomb the 5 members

of the Islamic Council,

01:10:27:04 01:10:29:00

so I said, "Okay, I'm in."

01:10:33:14 01:10:37:03

It was directed at those

who instigated

01:10:37:05 01:10:39:13

the murder, whether

directly or indirectly.

01:10:40:03 01:10:42:06

I said to myself, "That's who

we should attack."

01:10:42:12 01:10:47:03

The position I created for myself could

be called "regional coordinator."

01:10:47:14 01:10:52:23

I was in charge of three targets.

01:10:53:04 01:10:57:11

It wasn't hard to find people,

who were willing to do it,

01:10:57:15 01:11:01:13

since they knew that these were

enemies of Israel par excellence,

01:11:01:16 01:11:03:11

and that they deserved

to be attacked.

01:11:04:21 01:11:07:18

Some people are still upset

that I didn't recruit them.

01:11:14:15 01:11:19:13

It's a decision that people

don't normally consider.

01:11:19:16 01:11:24:06

You know that if you get caught,

there's a price to pay.

01:11:24:09 01:11:26:01

And you were willing to pay it?

01:11:26:03 01:11:30:00

What do you mean?

It's not like we were drugged.

01:11:30:03 01:11:31:13

We did it with a clear mind.

01:11:31:16 01:11:33:13

Who did you tell?

01:11:33:16 01:11:35:10

At home? My wife.

01:11:35:17 01:11:38:11

What did she say?

-She understood.

01:11:45:01 01:11:51:16

How hard is it for someone to cross the line

and say, "I'm going to do something illegal?"

01:11:51:20 01:11:54:08

It's a decision, just like when

you're driving your car,

01:11:54:12 01:11:55:19

and you cut someone off,

01:11:55:21 01:11:59:14

or you do whatever...

You broke the law.

01:11:59:17 01:12:02:14

So what?

Do you obsess about it?

01:12:02:18 01:12:08:11

For me, the important factor

wasn't the law.

01:12:09:09 01:12:13:10

How hard is it for someone

to decide to hurt someone else?

01:12:13:12 01:12:16:15

That is, what I consider,

01:12:16:17 01:12:20:19

a very harsh, very significant

responsibility to take,

01:12:20:21 01:12:22:21

much more than just

breaking the law.

01:12:29:17 01:12:33:19

We met up

to go to Nablus together,

01:12:33:21 01:12:36:08

to scout out Bassam Shakaa's house.

01:12:36:11 01:12:39:15

We sat with binoculars

on a hill across from his house,

01:12:40:17 01:12:44:19

in a forest,

as if we were birdwatchers,

01:12:45:00 01:12:50:11

to see what goes on there

between 7:15 and 8:30,

01:12:50:13 01:12:55:04

to know which vehicle,

when, and how to do it.

01:12:57:04 01:13:05:00

After several days of surveillance,

we devised a plan to attack his car.

01:13:10:05 01:13:13:11

On the night of the attack,

we arranged to meet with a driver,

01:13:13:13 01:13:17:00

whose identity we didn't know

until he arrived.

01:13:17:23 01:13:21:11

He came to pick us up

on a side road.

01:14:02:15 01:14:05:01

The amount of explosives

was planned in advance,

01:14:05:04 01:14:08:19

both in terms of quantity

and their position in the car.

01:14:08:22 01:14:14:21

The idea wasn't to kill them,

but to put them out of action.

01:14:17:00 01:14:18:06

We came back,

01:14:19:04 01:14:21:01

he took us home,

01:14:21:10 01:14:22:21

and with that

it was all over.

01:14:28:08 01:14:30:13

I drove my car

out of the Golan Heights.

01:14:30:21 01:14:33:15

I picked up two guys.

They got in the car.

01:14:34:01 01:14:35:01

Did you know them?

01:14:35:13 01:14:40:01

Not at all. I recognized Zambish,

but I'd never met him.

01:14:40:04 01:14:43:01

We had no ties before that.

01:14:43:11 01:14:45:06

Back then, he wasn't

as prominent as now.

01:14:45:10 01:14:48:16

I still have no idea

who the other guy was.

01:14:48:18 01:14:52:21

He had the standard beard

and knitted yarmulke, but...

01:14:53:19 01:14:58:01

Did you talk? Did he introduce himself?

-No, no one introduced themselves.

01:14:58:04 01:15:01:11

They said, "Go here. Go there."

I did, and that was it.

01:15:10:13 01:15:12:00

We got to Bethlehem.

01:15:12:02 01:15:14:06

They directed me to some street

01:15:14:09 01:15:17:09

and said, "Wait here.

We'll be back."

01:15:18:14 01:15:21:16

Meanwhile, dogs were barking,

01:15:21:18 01:15:24:08

and they came back

without doing anything.

01:15:24:11 01:15:26:21

They said, "Maybe we'll try

from the other side,"

01:15:27:01 01:15:31:08

but I got jittery, so I said,

"I get what you want," and we left.

01:15:32:04 01:15:36:14

No one was set on

carrying out the mission.

01:15:39:04 01:15:44:01

I can't judge why he gave up, or

if the problem could be resolved.

01:15:44:05 01:15:47:05

I can't judge.

I'm too removed from it.

01:15:47:08 01:15:51:09

Generally, when you plan

something that should have

01:15:51:13 01:15:55:01

around 7-8 teams,

01:15:55:22 01:16:00:01

but there were only three teams,

with me in charge of all of them,

01:16:01:10 01:16:02:14

it's frustrating.

01:16:13:06 01:16:16:14

*This is the Voice of Israel from Jerusalem.*

*Good morning.*

01:16:16:23 01:16:19:21

*Three explosions occurred*

*this morning in Judea and Samaria.*

01:16:20:11 01:16:26:05

*At 8:30, Nablus Mayor Bassam Shakaa*

*started his car, which was boobytrapped.*

01:16:26:08 01:16:29:13

*He was injured*

*and hospitalized in the city.*

01:16:29:15 01:16:35:06

*A few minutes earlier,*

*Ramallah Mayor Karim Khalaf started his car.*

01:16:*35:09 01:16:37:21*

*The moment it started,*

*the car exploded,*

01:16:38:01 01:16:39:04

*Khalaf was injured,*

01:16:39:06 01:16:40:16

*his legs were blown off,*

01:16:40:19 01:16:43:16

*and he was taken to hospital*

*in Ramallah.*

01:17:03:06 01:17:05:11

It was a complete surprise,

01:17:05:13 01:17:07:21

an almost-total surprise.

01:17:08:01 01:17:09:21

It was shocking.

01:17:10:15 01:17:13:21

And the Shin Bet found itself

with almost no intel.

01:17:13:23 01:17:18:01

It was like a blind man entering

a room he's never been in,

01:17:18:04 01:17:22:21

and has to feel for the desk and chair

so as not to bump into them.

01:17:23:01 01:17:25:05

We had no doubt

that they were Jews,

01:17:25:07 01:17:31:11

and that they were Jews

with experience using explosives.

01:17:32:05 01:17:37:15

Bassam Shakaa lost one leg below the knee

and one leg above the knee.

01:17:38:19 01:17:42:19

That's when he retired

from public activity.

01:17:43:07 01:17:46:08

It is impossible to say that

Karim Khalaf, Bassam Shakaa,

01:17:46:10 01:17:47:16

or Ibrahim El Tawil

01:17:47:19 01:17:49:01

were terrorists.

01:17:49:12 01:17:51:23

It was more like attacking

the political wing.

01:17:53:12 01:17:57:08

We sent the IDF

and bomb squad

01:17:57:15 01:18:02:01

to check other mayors'

cars and homes.

01:18:02:03 01:18:06:08

A Druze bomb specialist,

Suleiman Hirbawi,

01:18:06:11 01:18:10:01

arrived at the home of

the mayor of Al-Bireh,

01:18:10:09 01:18:11:11

Ibrahim El Tawil,

01:18:11:14 01:18:12:20

and checked the cars.

01:18:12:23 01:18:16:10

He opened a door,

which was boobytrapped.

01:18:16:21 01:18:20:16

It set off the bomb,

and he lost his sight.

01:18:30:05 01:18:31:19

It's a scar.

01:18:32:07 01:18:33:11

You live with a scar.

01:18:33:13 01:18:36:11

You know you hurt an honest man,

01:18:36:14 01:18:39:05

who is one of ours.

01:18:40:03 01:18:41:11

God help us.

01:18:41:22 01:18:46:21

I can't take back what happened.

It weighs on my conscience.

01:18:47:11 01:18:50:16

It's heartbreaking.

We didn't want that,

01:18:51:11 01:18:55:05

but despite the heartache...

01:18:56:06 01:18:59:19

still, we made every effort.

We didn't ignore the risk.

01:18:59:21 01:19:03:21

We tried to avoid it,

but it happens.

01:19:13:09 01:19:16:18

*In the mountains of*

*Judea and Samaria,*

01:19:16:20 01:19:20:13

*the worst kind of crimes*

*have been committed.*

01:19:21:03 01:19:24:15

*I ordered an intense*

*Investigation.*

01:19:24:17 01:19:27:01

*This is a law-abiding state.*

01:19:27:04 01:19:27:18

*This is a law-abiding state.*

01:19:27:20 01:19:30:01

*The investigation will continue*

*until the bitter end,*

01:19:30:05 01:19:33:13

*until we find the perpetrators,*

*the criminals.*

01:19:34:12 01:19:36:06

*We will prosecute them,*

01:19:36:10 01:19:38:06

*and the court will judge them.*

01:19:38:12 01:19:40:18

*As a human being,*

01:19:40:20 01:19:44:11

*I'd also like to express*

*sorrow for the injuries suffered*

01:19:44:15 01:19:47:13

*and to extend my condolences*

*to the families.*

01:19:51:21 01:19:54:11

The Shin Bet

was searching in the dark,

01:19:54:14 01:19:57:16

and when you search in the dark,

you make mistakes.

01:19:58:07 01:20:03:14

1-2 days after the attack,

the Shin Bet operations unit

01:20:03:16 01:20:05:16

infiltrated the settlement of Kiryat Arba.

01:20:05:19 01:20:10:04

A few hours later,

their cover was blown.

01:20:10:06 01:20:16:11

We tried all kind of tricks and

means of persuasion

01:20:16:14 01:20:18:21

to recruit informers too.

01:20:19:00 01:20:21:11

I can say that on the whole,

01:20:21:13 01:20:23:16

we had almost zero success.

01:20:38:03 01:20:39:19

In May 1981,

01:20:39:22 01:20:44:05

the director of the Shin Bet

assigned me sole responsibility

01:20:44:08 01:20:48:06

for handling the Jewish Underground.

01:20:48:09 01:20:53:15

It was an offer

I couldn't refuse.

01:20:54:17 01:20:58:16

The operation was called...

"Dead End."

01:20:59:09 01:21:03:21

I'm not superstitious,

but I didn't like the name,

01:21:03:23 01:21:10:00

so I asked for a new name:

"Green Light."

01:21:12:02 01:21:15:18

I came back from Paris in 1982

01:21:15:21 01:21:18:10

after three years in Europe.

01:21:19:02 01:21:24:11

They brought me in because

I thought outside the box.

01:21:24:15 01:21:31:01

For two years, the Shin Bet failed

to solve the attacks on the mayors,

01:21:31:20 01:21:34:01

so we were starting from scratch.

01:21:35:21 01:21:39:23

My bosses said

I have the traits

01:21:40:01 01:21:41:20

of an intellectual intelligence officer.

01:21:41:23 01:21:47:08

The little picture isn't enough for me.

I want the big picture.

01:21:48:19 01:21:52:04

These people are

essentially law-abiding,

01:21:52:22 01:22:00:05

but when it comes to the future

of Judea and Samaria,

01:22:00:23 01:22:05:08

they forget or push aside

01:22:06:03 01:22:11:21

Israeli democracy

and its secular laws,

01:22:12:00 01:22:15:11

and focus on

Jewish law.

01:22:15:16 01:22:19:11

With this group of people,

the Shin Bet couldn't

01:22:19:14 01:22:25:23

fully understand their thinking,

their fanaticism,

01:22:26:01 01:22:31:05

their rigid motivation,

01:22:31:07 01:22:39:09

their love for the Land of Israel

and its soil.

01:22:44:12 01:22:48:21

When we settled in Shilo

in the winter of 1978,

01:22:49:00 01:22:51:06

we were the only Jewish settlement

in the area.

01:22:51:15 01:22:56:01

We were just eight families

and a small yeshiva.

01:23:01:02 01:23:02:21

They forgot to explain to the world

01:23:03:00 01:23:07:18

the historic significance of Jews

returning to their land.

01:23:08:04 01:23:10:16

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, yes!

01:23:10:20 01:23:12:01

Joshua son of Nun, yes!

01:23:12:04 01:23:14:14

This is the capital city.

You're sitting here

01:23:14:17 01:23:16:01

in Shilo,

01:23:16:04 01:23:21:01

which was the capital

of Israel for 369 years.

01:23:21:04 01:23:23:08

So what rights do

the Palestinians have here?

01:23:23:11 01:23:24:18

At best,

01:23:24:20 01:23:26:11

if they can behave themselves,

01:23:26:14 01:23:28:11

they can be nice neighbors,

01:23:28:14 01:23:30:00

in the best case.

01:23:30:07 01:23:32:05

It begins and ends with that.

01:23:32:11 01:23:34:16

Does anyone really consider

granting them title?

01:23:34:18 01:23:35:23

What's going on here?

01:23:36:01 01:23:37:01

For what?

01:23:37:13 01:23:38:18

This is my legacy.

01:23:38:20 01:23:39:15

This is my right.

01:23:39:18 01:23:43:01

What are you babbling about?

How can you say that?

01:23:43:04 01:23:44:21

I don't understand.

How are we connected?

01:23:45:00 01:23:46:21

What makes us partners?

01:23:47:00 01:23:50:16

You want me to be considerate

because you lived here for a while?

01:23:50:20 01:23:53:14

Rent control? Protected housing?

Let's talk.

01:23:53:17 01:23:55:14

I understand what you're saying.

I'm not...

01:23:56:12 01:23:58:11

I'm not ignoring

all your claims,

01:23:58:14 01:24:01:11

but first you have to realize

that I own it!

01:24:01:13 01:24:03:10

I was abroad.

I came back to the land.

01:24:03:14 01:24:07:11

It took the Jewish people a long time,

2,000 years, to come back to Israel.

01:24:07:13 01:24:08:20

We're back in Israel.

01:24:09:00 01:24:10:00

This is my home.

01:24:10:05 01:24:11:11

I'm telling you, this is my home.

01:24:11:15 01:24:15:04

Yes, my friends, if you used my house,

I'll forego the rent.

01:24:15:06 01:24:18:03

I won't punish you for what

you ruined here in the meantime.

01:24:18:05 01:24:21:11

Just do me a favor. Stay away.

Legally, it's mine. Get out!

01:24:21:15 01:24:23:21

What's wrong with

what we're saying?

01:24:38:01 01:24:41:11

The breakthrough came

01:24:42:02 01:24:44:15

about a month or two after I arrived,

01:24:44:18 01:24:47:00

no thanks to me.

We were lucky.

01:24:47:17 01:24:53:08

I may have brought some luck

they didn't have before.

01:24:55:11 01:24:59:03

We received intel about

a bomb found in a fuse box

01:24:59:05 01:25:02:21

in the Kiryat Arba Council building.

01:25:03:12 01:25:06:05

It was an explosive device,

wrapped in newspaper,

01:25:08:11 01:25:10:20

and the newspaper was dated

01:25:10:22 01:25:13:19

June 2, 1980.

01:25:14:08 01:25:17:09

It was a "small clue

in a big package."

01:25:17:17 01:25:21:01

The newspaper was dated

to the day of the attack.

01:25:22:14 01:25:25:20

We arrested the electrician

for questioning,

01:25:25:22 01:25:27:03

and the electrician told us:

01:25:28:01 01:25:30:11

I took the explosive out -

it wasn't hooked up -

01:25:30:14 01:25:34:21

and I reported it to "Zambish,"

Ze'ev Hever,

01:25:34:23 01:25:37:06

head of Kiryat Arba's

Local Council.

01:25:37:10 01:25:41:11

We took him to our

interrogation facility in Hebron.

01:25:50:04 01:25:56:18

The lone wolf can defend himself

better in interrogation.

01:25:56:21 01:26:02:15

Zambish, during that first interrogation,

01:26:02:18 01:26:04:00

was really a lone wolf.

01:26:04:22 01:26:06:10

He didn't say a thing.

01:26:07:02 01:26:09:01

He was stubborn and refused

to answer any questions.

01:26:09:06 01:26:13:16

From what I know,

Zambish put it in a fuse box,

01:26:13:18 01:26:16:21

and planned to

get rid of it later and...

01:26:17:17 01:26:19:11

Hide it.

-Yes.

01:26:20:09 01:26:24:14

He refused to take

a lie detector test.

01:26:24:16 01:26:26:23

I was sure Zambish

had something to do with it.

01:26:27:01 01:26:28:06

There was no way he didn't.

01:26:38:09 01:26:42:16

We had marked Kiryat Arba

as a trouble spot,

01:26:42:18 01:26:46:01

but here we had real proof.

01:26:46:03 01:26:50:20

It was someone in Kiryat Arba,

even if it wasn't Zambish.

01:26:50:23 01:26:52:11

We had a lead.

01:26:52:15 01:26:54:21

But if it wasn't Zambish,

who else could it be?

01:26:58:15 01:27:03:04

Then we found a pretty mysterious

character for us at the time,

01:27:03:06 01:27:04:11

Menachem Livni.

01:27:05:00 01:27:08:18

They said about him:

"Still waters run deep."

01:27:08:21 01:27:12:06

A deputy commander

of the Engineering Corps,

01:27:12:09 01:27:14:11

a graduate of the Technion,

01:27:14:12 01:27:18:10

and one of Israel's top experts

01:27:18:18 01:27:21:10

on preparing explosives.

01:27:22:06 01:27:25:04

We had no negative information

about him,

01:27:25:12 01:27:33:05

but we noted that he could

make sophisticated explosives.

01:27:37:18 01:27:39:18

We knew they were looking for us.

01:27:40:20 01:27:45:03

We had ties with

all kinds of groups...

01:27:45:21 01:27:49:08

We heard things.

We weren't living on the moon,

01:27:49:12 01:27:54:11

with some spaceship we didn't

know about dropping down on us.

01:27:55:00 01:27:57:21

Only God heard about it from me

on the High Holidays,

01:27:58:00 01:28:01:19

when I prayed that if

I failed in other things,

01:28:01:22 01:28:04:19

He would at least take this

into consideration.

01:28:08:13 01:28:13:01

You must enter their camp,

get into their shoes,

01:28:13:04 01:28:14:11

their minds.

01:28:14:14 01:28:17:16

You have to initiate moves

that enable you

01:28:17:18 01:28:21:01

to identify them, even if

they don't make any mistakes.

01:28:21:07 01:28:24:16

We set up a fake Shin Bet

recruitment operation

01:28:24:19 01:28:28:08

to advance our investigation.

01:28:28:17 01:28:32:21

Supposedly, we were recruiting

people to the Shin Bet.

01:28:34:10 01:28:35:13

We assumed

01:28:36:00 01:28:40:03

that some of them

would "take the bait."

01:28:40:12 01:28:42:05

And that's what happened.

01:28:44:13 01:28:47:19

David Handler was in Hebron,

01:28:47:21 01:28:51:04

and we thought he might be there

01:28:51:06 01:28:53:11

so that he could participate

in terrorist attacks.

01:28:53:15 01:28:57:11

He played right into our hands.

He wanted to work for the Shin Bet,

01:28:57:15 01:28:59:18

so we put him through

the acceptance process.

01:29:11:07 01:29:15:11

Anyone who wants to work in the Shin Bet

has to undergo a lie detector test.

01:29:15:13 01:29:17:01

Put your arm like this.

01:29:20:09 01:29:23:21

The test showed that

something was bothering him.

01:29:26:03 01:29:31:05

We said, "We can't continue

the test this way." What then?

01:29:31:08 01:29:33:20

We suggested that he resolve

whatever bothered him

01:29:33:22 01:29:35:16

and take another test.

01:29:35:19 01:29:40:20

We got him to tell us

his innermost thoughts

01:29:42:00 01:29:45:05

about who might have

attacked the mayors.

01:29:45:09 01:29:50:03

We said "Look.

Jot it down on some paper,

01:29:50:08 01:29:53:11

"and put the paper

underneath your hand."

01:29:54:00 01:29:56:03

He agreed to write it down.

01:29:56:08 01:29:59:20

Then he put his hand over it

and was interrogated.

01:30:01:00 01:30:04:11

He did another test, and whatever

was bothering him disappeared.

01:30:04:15 01:30:08:21

We said: "Keep the paper.

We don't care about that."

01:30:09:17 01:30:12:10

When he left the room,

he made a mistake.

01:30:12:13 01:30:15:03

He ripped up the note

01:30:15:15 01:30:18:11

and threw it in the waste basket.

01:30:19:07 01:30:21:03

It's a mistake you only make once.

01:30:24:05 01:30:25:11

We put the note together

01:30:25:14 01:30:28:09

and found the names of people

01:30:28:12 01:30:34:15

that he thought might have been

involved in terrorist attacks.

01:30:35:08 01:30:37:23

The name that he wrote down

surprised us too.

01:30:38:01 01:30:39:06

It was Yehuda Etzion.

01:30:51:14 01:30:58:01

One track led to Menachem Livni,

and another to Yehuda Etzion.

01:30:58:03 01:31:03:16

We had two tracks, but we didn't

know how they were connected.

01:31:19:02 01:31:23:10

King Saul was deposed, because he

listened to the people instead of God.

01:31:23:18 01:31:26:20

When those two wills conflicted,

he preferred the will of the people.

01:31:26:22 01:31:29:00

That was the only reason

he was deposed.

01:31:35:09 01:31:38:10

Do you care about what they want,

the Palestinians?

01:31:39:01 01:31:42:08

I care in the sense of

understanding

01:31:42:11 01:31:44:09

what we're up against,

01:31:44:12 01:31:46:16

the same way I care about

the car's control panel.

01:31:46:19 01:31:48:11

Of course I care.

01:31:48:13 01:31:49:21

I have to see what's going on.

01:31:50:19 01:31:56:11

I'm not saying we should hurt them

or even deport them.

01:31:56:15 01:31:59:20

Except for Jerusalem.

Jerusalem really can't contain

01:32:00:09 01:32:04:06

such significant numbers

of foreigners within it.

01:32:04:21 01:32:09:11

We must impose sovereignty

over the entire land.

01:32:09:13 01:32:13:11

The Arabs are invited to be guests.

We'll treat them with respect,

01:32:13:13 01:32:15:13

but they can't...

01:32:16:14 01:32:21:10

have any political rights

or be our partners in government,

01:32:21:12 01:32:23:14

or even partners in the Knesset.

01:32:24:02 01:32:29:16

But the democratic system

can't accept these premises.

01:32:54:09 01:32:59:06

Yehuda was in the Golan Heights

with my uncle and father,

01:32:59:09 01:33:03:16

and they started preparing

explosives for the Temple Mount.

01:33:04:07 01:33:05:14

What did he tell you?

01:33:06:13 01:33:12:01

That they were preparing for an

operation that could change the reality...

01:33:12:03 01:33:14:13

smoothly and in a clear-cut way,

01:33:14:16 01:33:19:16

without having to persuade

the public or the people.

01:33:24:06 01:33:25:14

Any second thoughts?

01:33:25:17 01:33:31:19

No, on the contrary. I was pleased.

I did it... wholeheartedly.

01:33:32:05 01:33:35:19

I considered it to be

a kind of mission.

01:33:49:12 01:33:52:06

What a complicated place!

01:33:53:09 01:33:56:06

Here's the Western Wall,

01:33:56:13 01:33:58:21

the holiest site for Jews.

01:33:58:23 01:34:02:01

Jews have aspired to it

for 2,000 years.

01:34:02:08 01:34:04:05

Above it are two mosques.

01:34:04:08 01:34:08:16

The al-Aqsa mosque is the third

most important mosque in Islam.

01:34:08:22 01:34:13:10

We're talking about

a few dozen meters.

01:34:15:03 01:34:20:03

That's what the fight is about.

There's nothing more symbolic.

01:34:20:06 01:34:22:16

If you remove the mosques,

two things will happen:

01:34:22:19 01:34:25:06

you'll eliminate the Islamic presence,

01:34:25:10 01:34:28:06

and make room for

the Third Temple.

01:34:37:12 01:34:42:01

Our intel included observations

and patrols on the Temple Mount.

01:34:42:03 01:34:44:14

I personally went into

the Dome of the Rock once.

01:34:52:09 01:34:57:00

I needed to learn about the building,

its materials, its exact measurements.

01:34:58:06 01:35:02:13

I wanted to figure out

how much "ammo" it needed.

01:35:04:20 01:35:09:01

We all agreed to set up a plan and means,

01:35:09:04 01:35:13:10

in order to be ready,

when the time is right.

01:35:16:15 01:35:20:05

How did you obtain the amount

of explosives you needed?

01:35:21:03 01:35:23:21

We took it from the Israeli army,

01:35:26:23 01:35:30:11

which isn't easy, of course.

It's far from easy.

01:35:32:16 01:35:38:08

But considering whether

to give up on the idea

01:35:38:19 01:35:43:11

or take it... We needed

a relatively huge amount,

01:35:44:21 01:35:48:05

and there was no other source.

We couldn't come up with one.

01:35:48:22 01:35:53:16

So we decided not to avoid it,

and we did it.

01:36:00:03 01:36:05:11

I helped prepare the bombs

from the technical aspect,

01:36:06:12 01:36:12:11

experimenting with

blowing things up,

01:36:16:06 01:36:18:21

digging pits to hide

the explosives...

01:36:30:14 01:36:34:04

So it all happened in your backyard

in the Golan Heights? -Yes.

01:36:34:10 01:36:37:01

And there's a bunker there too?

-Yes.

01:36:37:04 01:36:39:01

That's where we dug the pits.

01:36:39:09 01:36:42:15

So your parents were sleeping

on explosives?

01:36:43:02 01:36:46:20

Nope. Not my parents

My sheep.

01:36:48:12 01:36:50:21

My sheep slept on explosives.

01:37:02:00 01:37:03:08

We found out

01:37:04:03 01:37:06:13

that Yehuda Etzion had a warehouse

01:37:07:06 01:37:09:20

in Jerusalem.

01:37:13:23 01:37:15:15

We thought it was suspicious.

01:37:17:06 01:37:21:05

Why would Yehuda Etzion,

who owns a huge house in Ofra,

01:37:21:09 01:37:25:19

need to rent

a warehouse in Jerusalem?

01:37:26:17 01:37:29:03

Late one night,

we visited his warehouse.

01:37:37:22 01:37:39:23

What I saw there were

01:37:41:08 01:37:44:11

all kinds of strange metal parts.

01:37:45:04 01:37:47:01

We didn't understand what we...

01:37:48:01 01:37:52:21

We also found silencers

for Uzis.

01:37:59:14 01:38:03:01

It was obvious that we were on

to something very serious,

01:38:03:04 01:38:05:18

and that Yehuda Etzion was involved

in something very serious.

01:38:30:22 01:38:36:20

After a local seminarian's murder,

we expected a retaliatory attack.

01:38:42:06 01:38:44:01

*We've gotten used to*

*Jews being murdered,*

01:38:44:04 01:38:46:23

*and we have to tolerate it.*

01:38:47:02 01:38:53:13

*So, we call on the Israeli government*

*to hear this outcry,*

01:38:53:21 01:38:57:01

*because if they don't hear it,*

*God forbid,*

01:38:57:05 01:39:00:10

*the resolution will be very harsh.*

01:39:01:15 01:39:03:11

I knew what was intended.

01:39:03:19 01:39:06:11

I took part in the conversations.

I did everything to convince them:

01:39:06:14 01:39:08:21

"People, it's stupid.

Don't do it."

01:39:09:00 01:39:10:06

I was against it,

01:39:10:09 01:39:15:03

because I thought it was

too big a breach of the law,

01:39:15:06 01:39:16:20

and everything has its limit.

01:39:16:22 01:39:20:05

At an early stage,

before the operation,

01:39:20:07 01:39:23:16

I was already excluded, so

I was surprised when it happened.

01:39:39:14 01:39:41:21

*At around 12 o'clock,*

*two unidentified men*

01:39:42:01 01:39:45:20

*pulled up at the back entrance*

*of the college in a Peugeot.*

01:39:45:22 01:39:47*:21*

*They got out and*

*burst into the yard,*

01:39:48:09 01:39:50:03

*shooting in all directions.*

01:39:50:09 01:39:53:15

*The two gunmen continued*

*to the main entrance*

01:39:53:17 01:39:55:08

*and threw a grenade inside,*

01:39:55:15 01:39:58:03

*killing three and injuring dozens*

01:40:14:01 01:40:16:01

List of Casualties

01:40:33:12 01:40:36:16

They destroyed the weapons.

I know this after the fact...

01:40:37:09 01:40:40:18

anything that could lead to them...

01:40:42:00 01:40:45:16

Murderers... "Men in Black."

01:40:53:20 01:40:57:06

There was a growing push

01:40:58:16 01:41:00:16

to harm Arabs in general,

01:41:00:19 01:41:03:11

and worst of all,

to harm random Arabs.

01:41:03:15 01:41:07:01

So only after you read the morning paper,

will you find out who you hit.

01:41:07:16 01:41:12:16

People got carried away.

It was a slippery slope.

01:41:17:17 01:41:18:16

Explosives

01:41:18:23 01:41:22:11

They reached the next stage,

01:41:22:13 01:41:26:15

which was planning the attack

on the buses in Jerusalem.

01:41:26:23 01:41:33:11

Five Arab buses were supposed

to explode at 4:00 pm on Friday.

01:41:34:11 01:41:37:11

Why 4:00 pm on Friday?

01:41:38:15 01:41:40:15

The buses are jam-packed

01:41:40:20 01:41:43:11

with people heading home

after work.

01:41:43:19 01:41:47:05

Had they succeeded,

they'd have 250 casualties.

01:41:55:18 01:42:01:21

They brought me old Syrian mines

and said we need to take them apart,

01:42:01:23 01:42:06:16

and melt them down...

We made 3-4 bombs out of them.

01:42:06:20 01:42:08:03

You didn't ask?

01:42:08:08 01:42:09:21

For what?

For where?

01:42:10:00 01:42:11:01

I didn't want to know.

01:42:12:00 01:42:13:05

Not at all.

01:42:32:03 01:42:37:21

We were already planted

deep inside their network.

01:42:41:06 01:42:45:19

We intercepted a call about

moving some saplings

01:42:45:21 01:42:49:16

from the Golan Heights to Kiryat Arba.

01:42:49:20 01:42:52:15

At first, it sounded very innocent.

01:42:52:18 01:42:56:05

"Bring me some saplings

to plant," etc.

01:42:56:18 01:43:00:09

We took a closer look at it.

It turned out you can find the same plants

01:43:00:12 01:43:04:06

in Judea and Samaria.

In other words, it made no sense.

01:43:04:09 01:43:09:11

That's when we suspected that

they weren't talking about plants

01:43:09:13 01:43:12:23

but about transferring explosives.

01:43:30:06 01:43:35:14

Right in front of us, we saw the planning,

the preparation of the explosives,

01:43:36:09 01:43:39:01

up until they were planted.

01:43:51:13 01:43:55:06

We followed them

from Kiryat Arba to Jerusalem.

01:43:55:09 01:43:59:19

The only cars on the road

were theirs and ours.

01:44:09:17 01:44:12:14

It was 2:00 am, 3:00 am.

01:44:12:18 01:44:17:03

Even dead cats don't roam

Jerusalem at that hour.

01:44:17:05 01:44:18:20

There's nothing.

01:44:18:23 01:44:21:06

So if you see lights,

01:44:21:09 01:44:24:01

someone must be following you.

01:44:31:00 01:44:35:06

The head of the Shin Bet

was ruthless. He sat at home,

01:44:35:09 01:44:40:18

saying: "Don't stop! Don't stop

until we catch them red-handed."

01:44:53:03 01:44:56:08

At some point, we lost them.

01:45:12:06 01:45:18:06

You can imagine the tension,

the anxiety. What if we lost them?!

01:45:18:12 01:45:21:00

Bombs will start going off.

01:45:27:17 01:45:31:04

We found them 20 minutes later.

01:45:34:11 01:45:38:21

They reached the parking lot,

took out the bombs,

01:45:39:07 01:45:42:11

and attached one or two

to each bus.

01:45:42:18 01:45:46:18

We stopped them in the act

on the fifth bus.

01:45:48:06 01:45:50:08

The rest is history.

01:46:22:19 01:46:25:15

The Head of the Shin Bet

reported to the government

01:46:25:18 01:46:29:04

how the attempt to blow up

buses in Jerusalem was thwarted,

01:46:29:06 01:46:32:15

and the ensuing arrest

of suspects.

01:46:35:21 01:46:38:08

What do you have to say

to the press this morning?

01:46:40:16 01:46:44:21

Based on details we collected

here in the Golan Heights,

01:46:44:23 01:46:47:19

three residents were arrested

for involvement

01:46:47:22 01:46:50:10

in yesterday's bus-bombing attempt

in Jerusalem.

01:46:50:13 01:46:55:00

Security forces arrested them

yesterday, before the Sabbath.

01:46:55:08 01:46:57:15

Mines were found in the orchards

of Ramat Magshimim,

01:46:57:17 01:46:59:13

with the explosives missing

from some of them.

01:47:13:08 01:47:15:20

On Friday, at around 2:00 pm,

01:47:16:14 01:47:18:05

the Shin Bet showed up.

01:47:18:20 01:47:24:05

I immediately understood

what was going on.

01:47:25:12 01:47:26:21

And...

01:47:27:12 01:47:29:08

I didn't try to hide anything.

01:47:30:09 01:47:38:11

I was totally stunned by the bus idea,

but I also felt relieved.

01:47:39:20 01:47:43:11

Like, "Wow! Good thing

it didn't go any further."

01:47:55:02 01:47:58:05

I was arrested two days after

everyone else. I remember it well.

01:47:58:08 01:48:02:00

It was Holocaust Memorial Day.

"Please come with us."

01:48:02:02 01:48:04:20

They took me

from one place to another.

01:48:08:00 01:48:10:06

What were you like

under interrogation?

01:48:13:07 01:48:15:09

Not as nice as I am with you.

01:48:15:12 01:48:23:06

No one thought they'd sing Hava Nagila

with us during the interrogation.

01:48:36:16 01:48:38:18

They have their own tactics.

01:48:39:18 01:48:41:09

They're skillful at them.

01:48:44:00 01:48:47:01

They annoy you,

deprive you of sleep,

01:48:47:23 01:48:50:01

drag you from one

place to another.

01:48:53:12 01:48:54:21

Ok, fine.

01:48:58:00 01:49:00:16

Yehuda Etzion opened

the floodgates for us.

01:49:00:20 01:49:03:01

We told him we knew

01:49:03:04 01:49:07:13

who took part in the attacks that

they succeeded in carrying out:

01:49:07:16 01:49:10:23

Ramallah, El Bireh, and Nablus.

01:49:11:01 01:49:13:13

But we didn't really know.

01:49:20:04 01:49:23:18

He said: "You don't know!"

01:49:23:21 01:49:25:03

I said: "We do know."

01:49:25:06 01:49:27:00

He said:

"There's no way you know!"

01:49:28:01 01:49:30:09

They were trying to get me...

01:49:33:08 01:49:35:04

to list the names of the people

01:49:35:06 01:49:38:14

who took part

but hadn't been arrested yet...

01:49:39:23 01:49:43:04

to write them all down but

not give them the paper.

01:49:43:15 01:49:49:03

I said, "I'll write my names down,

you write your names down,

01:49:49:06 01:49:51:04

"and we'll give them

to Menachem Livni,

01:49:51:06 01:49:55:11

"who will act as 'referee,'

01:49:55:16 01:49:58:11

"and he'll tell us if

the notes are identical."

01:49:58:23 01:50:00:08

He agreed.

01:50:04:21 01:50:07:04

That note was burned.

We burned it.

01:50:07:06 01:50:10:19

But the notes were deciphered,

and people were arrested,

01:50:11:15 01:50:15:23

because I wrote their names down,

even though we burned it.

01:50:17:23 01:50:22:06

As they say, "Better not to write it

than to write it, burn it, and think

01:50:22:10 01:50:24:18

"that it can't be accessed."

01:50:25:08 01:50:27:10

So they tricked you?

-Yes.

01:50:30:14 01:50:32:11

They'd never get to it

without that.

01:50:32:13 01:50:33:13

I don't think so.

01:50:34:13 01:50:36:09

What do you think happened?

01:50:36:23 01:50:40:10

As surprising as it seems,

I still don't know the answer.

01:50:40:16 01:50:45:23

I don't know what technology they used

but they solved it.

01:50:50:06 01:50:52:06

Maybe a hidden camera.

01:50:52:08 01:50:54:11

The options are still open.

01:50:55:04 01:50:58:06

There were no leaks from the Shin Bet.

01:50:59:06 01:51:01:18

When you use a pen

on a notepad,

01:51:02:16 01:51:04:16

you leave indentations.

01:51:05:10 01:51:08:21

It's very simple.

You take a pencil like this,

01:51:10:03 01:51:11:11

and go like this...

01:51:13:04 01:51:16:05

Then, the indentations...

01:51:19:15 01:51:21:01

pop out.

01:51:26:04 01:51:29:06

Anyone who wasn't listed

didn't get arrested.

01:51:39:02 01:51:42:11

On Saturday night,

three cops knocked on the door,

01:51:43:07 01:51:44:19

nice people.

01:51:45:17 01:51:48:21

They told me,

"it's time. You're involved too.

01:51:49:09 01:51:50:15

"Pack a bag and come with us."

01:51:50:17 01:51:54:03

At first I played dumb.

"I don't know what you're talking about."

01:51:54:05 01:51:57:01

Every few hours they put me

with a new group of people.

01:51:57:04 01:52:02:10

The pressure built up until

I couldn't keep denying it,

01:52:02:12 01:52:06:11

so I decided I had no choice

but to talk.

01:52:13:06 01:52:16:06

I can't say I like

being reminded of it.

01:52:17:18 01:52:23:01

Immediately after their arrest, I was

appointed to lead the prosecution.

01:52:23:07 01:52:24:18

It was all so chilling.

01:52:24:20 01:52:28:04

There were those buses

that they wanted to blow up,

01:52:28:06 01:52:32:03

but their plan for the Temple Mount

was incredible.

01:52:32:05 01:52:33:19

It was terrifying, very much so.

01:52:39:19 01:52:41:10

It was also remarkable to learn

01:52:41:12 01:52:44:04

how much professional thought

went into it.

01:52:44:06 01:52:48:11

It was evaluated and checked

by people who knew how to do it

01:52:48:13 01:52:49:16

and could do it.

01:53:06:03 01:53:10:06

The idea was to put

all those plastic explosives

01:53:11:06 01:53:14:05

inside the explosive containers

and attach them

01:53:14:19 01:53:18:01

to some of the beams and pillars,

01:53:18:15 01:53:21:16

to cause the dome to collapse inward.

01:53:21:20 01:53:24:08

They couldn't cause

a volumetric explosion

01:53:24:14 01:53:26:15

or send the dome flying like this,

01:53:27:10 01:53:31:23

because Jews praying

at the Western Wall

01:53:32:02 01:53:35:05

would be hit by stones

falling down on them,

01:53:35:08 01:53:36:10

and they could be killed.

01:53:37:00 01:53:42:21

Imagine that the Dome of the Rock

is destroyed and that Jews did it.

01:53:43:01 01:53:44:19

The entire Muslim world

would rise against us.

01:53:44:22 01:53:46:06

Armageddon.

01:53:46:16 01:53:49:16

That was their intention:

to bring about Armageddon.

01:53:50:17 01:53:53:11

In order to show

how serious it was,

01:53:53:19 01:53:58:06

we asked the police bomb expert

to photograph

01:53:58:10 01:54:01:20

the amount of explosives

that was collected and discovered...

01:54:40:16 01:54:43:11

I took it to the Police Minister

and the Prime Minister

01:54:43:14 01:54:46:11

so that they'd see

what those people had.

01:54:49:06 01:54:54:11

The silencers were intended

for the "fighters",

01:54:54:13 01:54:57:01

who would go up

to the Temple Mount

01:54:57:04 01:55:01:23

to take out the Muslim guards

without drawing any attention.

01:55:03:06 01:55:04:09

Lunatics.

01:55:04:11 01:55:09:00

Really. You need to be a messianist

to do things like that.

01:55:16:04 01:55:19:21

27 members of the Jewish Underground

were arrested in total.

01:55:20:01 01:55:23:16

They were the heart of

the hardcore settler movement.

01:55:42:14 01:55:46:10

We're talking about

a group of people,

01:55:46:12 01:55:50:18

who really were the leaders of

the settlements in Judea and Samaria.

01:55:50:20 01:55:55:21

They were in daily contact

with Israeli military authorities.

01:56:09:05 01:56:12:15

I don't think this group believed

01:56:12:18 01:56:14:18

that they'd have to deal with a trial

01:56:15:00 01:56:17:04

and prison, with punishment.

01:56:17:06 01:56:18:16

They thought that someone

would get them out of it.

01:56:18:18 01:56:20:06

They thought that someone

would get them out of it.

01:56:25:13 01:56:29:04

The trial was conducted

in a strange and terrible way,

01:56:29:20 01:56:30:20

as far as I'm concerned.

01:56:34:05 01:56:36:16

In prison, we put together

a very nice defense pamphlet

01:56:36:20 01:56:41:05

which consisted entirely of

sources, verses, and prophecies

01:56:41:08 01:56:42:20

about the Temple.

01:56:43:02 01:56:44:10

Mrs. Beinisch got up and said:

01:56:44:12 01:56:50:04

"How is any of this relevant?

Explanations from the Torah?

01:56:50:15 01:56:52:08

"We have clear accusations

based on the law.

01:56:52:11 01:56:55:01

"If they want to respond,

let them respond to the law,

01:56:55:03 01:56:57:10

"and if not,

then they should shut up."

01:56:57:12 01:57:01:08

As a prosecutor,

it was never personal.

01:57:01:12 01:57:04:01

I'm not at war

with any defendant.

01:57:04:03 01:57:06:15

We have a different purpose,

which is enforcing the law.

01:57:06:18 01:57:10:13

How did they see it? I think

they saw me as their enemy.

01:57:10:16 01:57:12:19

There is no overlap

01:57:12:21 01:57:16:11

in the language,

the logic, the culture,

01:57:16:14 01:57:19:21

or the practices that led us

to take these actions

01:57:19:23 01:57:23:21

and the language and logic

in which...

01:57:24:00 01:57:26:01

she and the prosecutors

01:57:26:03 01:57:28:11

and the law,

the minor clauses of the law...

01:57:28:18 01:57:30:23

What minor clauses?

People committed murder!

01:57:31:01 01:57:33:11

What minor clauses?

What could be worse?

01:57:33:21 01:57:36:13

But it goes back to the idea

that for the sake of security,

01:57:36:16 01:57:38:08

killing Arabs isn't murder.

01:57:38:11 01:57:41:06

The law plays no role here.

01:57:41:19 01:57:44:16

The divine, messianic,

Zionist movement,

01:57:44:20 01:57:47:16

according to him,

is what ultimately determines.

01:57:48:18 01:57:54:03

They're holy! They're pure!

They're national heroes!

01:57:55:01 01:57:59:08

The lobby that was created

immediately after the arrests

01:57:59:11 01:58:02:13

worked 24/7 to obtain pardons,

01:58:02:23 01:58:04:14

reduced sentences,

01:58:04:17 01:58:05:23

their release.

01:58:06:20 01:58:08:06

The Ministry of Internal Security

01:58:08:09 01:58:10:09

was flooded with dozens of requests.

01:58:10:11 01:58:13:19

One had a funeral,

another had his son's bar mitzvah,

01:58:13:21 01:58:17:11

while another one's wife

had a party at school.

01:58:17:14 01:58:20:14

It was turning into a joke.

01:58:20:16 01:58:24:04

I found myself writing

professional opinions

01:58:24:06 01:58:28:01

about whether he could go

to his mother-in-law's circumcision...

01:58:28:03 01:58:33:10

all kinds of ridiculous stuff, which

no criminal doing time would ever get.

01:58:34:06 01:58:39:01

They'd drive me crazy all day about

the circumcision of Menachem Livni's son,

01:58:39:03 01:58:42:01

even though he was indicted for murder.

01:58:42:04 01:58:43:21

Should he be allowed to go?

Shouldn't he?

01:58:44:03 01:58:47:20

I said: "Am I a social worker

or do I work for the Shin Bet?

01:58:48:00 01:58:50:00

"I'm really not cut out for this."

01:58:55:06 01:58:57:20

I think the Jewish people have

a deep understanding of this.

01:58:57:22 01:58:59:08

What makes you think that?

01:58:59:11 01:59:02:23

We can feel the hearts

of the Jewish people stirring.

01:59:04:03 01:59:05:21

When they brought them

to the prison,

01:59:06:01 01:59:08:11

it turned into summer camp.

01:59:08:14 01:59:11:11

They managed, together with

the prison guards, to create

01:59:11:15 01:59:13:11

an atmosphere of...

01:59:14:03 01:59:18:21

we're practically on the same side.

We didn't steal anything,

01:59:19:01 01:59:22:16

or commit murder like

a common criminal, or deal drugs.

01:59:23:05 01:59:26:21

We did things for

the sake of the Jewish people,

01:59:27:01 01:59:30:18

to strengthen the settlement

enterprise in the Land of Israel.

01:59:34:21 01:59:36:19

We were never cuffed.

01:59:36:22 01:59:38:18

We wandered about freely.

01:59:38:21 01:59:43:00

There was one incident, where

we were taken to court in a car,

01:59:43:02 01:59:44:16

and the car broke down,

01:59:44:19 01:59:48:08

so they told us to go back

to prison on our own.

01:59:48:11 01:59:50:06

So we went back to prison

on our own.

01:59:50:09 01:59:52:13

What are you saying?

-Exactly what you heard.

01:59:52:15 01:59:55:20

What do you mean, on your own?

-We hitchhiked back to prison.

02:00:00:00 02:00:02:19

I remember that they went to the beach.

02:00:03:03 02:00:05:16

One morning,

the Border Patrol commander said,

02:00:05:20 02:00:08:06

"Let's do something this afternoon."

02:00:08:10 02:00:10:05

What? Just go and come back?

02:00:10:07 02:00:12:01

So I asked him,

"What do you want us to do?"

02:00:12:03 02:00:14:16

We usually stopped

in the woods for a picnic.

02:00:14:20 02:00:17:04

So he said, "You know what?

I'll take you to the beach."

02:00:17:06 02:00:20:04

We said, "Fine."

We agreed.

02:00:20:10 02:00:21:13

So we went to the beach.

02:00:24:01 02:00:27:03

Public support soared.

02:00:27:06 02:00:31:01

Once we got to Jerusalem,

cars would honk for us the whole way.

02:00:31:04 02:00:33:16

There was a grocer

who'd stop the convoy

02:00:33:19 02:00:35:10

and give us a bag of candy

02:00:35:12 02:00:38:00

every morning on our way to court.

02:00:38:23 02:00:41:09

There was a lot of confusion.

02:00:41:12 02:00:44:13

Who are the good guys,

and who are the bad guys?

02:00:45:10 02:00:50:15

We had a steady stream

of political visitors to the prison:

02:00:50:17 02:00:52:21

members of Knesset, ministers...

02:00:53:06 02:00:57:05

Plenty of publicists could only

dream of something like that.

02:00:59:19 02:01:02:11

The chief rabbis and non-chief rabbis...

02:01:02:13 02:01:06:11

it felt like a pilgrimage.

02:01:07:01 02:01:09:11

The former Chief of Staff

02:01:09:14 02:01:12:14

immediately came to visit us.

It was as if...

02:01:13:06 02:01:16:05

you had to report

to the Underground.

02:01:16:18 02:01:19:00

People identified with us,

02:01:19:05 02:01:22:06

and it was hard to ignore.

02:01:22:09 02:01:28:11

In some way, it fulfilled

many people's innermost desires.

02:01:31:11 02:01:32:23

Rabbi, were you released on bail?

02:01:33:08 02:01:36:11

Hello, no comment.

02:01:37:01 02:01:40:19

*Rabbi Moshe Levinger was*

*detained for 11 days in Jerusalem*

02:01:40:21 02:01:44:11

*for allegedly knowing about Jewish*

*terrorist activity in the Occupied Territories.*

02:01:44:13 02:01:45:21

*Today he was released on bail.*

02:01:46:07 02:01:51:08

Ultimately, the ones who gave

the orders and instructions

02:01:51:10 02:01:55:21

to launch a retaliatory attack against

the mayors, and later, the Islamic College,

02:01:55:23 02:01:59:06

were the rabbinic authorities.

02:01:59:19 02:02:04:09

To this day, the Shin Bet has

not only been unable to prove that,

02:02:04:22 02:02:09:00

but it never "settled accounts"

with them either.

02:02:18:02 02:02:22:19

Livni claimed that he attacked the mayors

under orders from the rabbis,

02:02:22:22 02:02:24:16

and he named the rabbis.

02:02:24:21 02:02:27:08

But when we brought the rabbis in,

02:02:27:11 02:02:30:05

they laughed in Livni's face.

02:02:30:08 02:02:32:04

We made them confront each other.

02:02:33:03 02:02:35:04

They denied it completely.

02:02:37:05 02:02:45:04

I felt we weren't given the same freedom

to investigate the rabbis

02:02:45:06 02:02:47:23

as they gave us with the perpetrators.

02:02:48:07 02:02:53:01

Not enough measures were

taken against them either.

02:02:53:14 02:02:56:09

I think political pressure

was also involved.

02:02:56:15 02:02:58:06

They were protected.

02:03:05:04 02:03:07:16

Did Rabbi Levinger know about

the operation before it occurred?

02:03:07:20 02:03:09:13

Which?

-In Hebron.

02:03:09:15 02:03:12:23

He knew about it before...

He didn't know...

02:03:13:01 02:03:17:14

I'm not sure he was told

who would carry it out.

02:03:17:17 02:03:22:15

I'm not sure they told him that.

I assume not, and rightly so.

02:03:22:18 02:03:26:09

But I know that they consulted with him.

02:03:26:21 02:03:29:10

So why didn't it turn

into an indictment?

02:03:29:20 02:03:31:08

Ask Dorit Beinisch.

02:03:32:17 02:03:38:20

We couldn't establish

concrete evidence in the case,

02:03:38:22 02:03:41:13

to link responsibility

for every action

02:03:41:16 02:03:43:18

to the rabbis, who

gave their blessings.

02:03:44:13 02:03:48:15

Also, the thought of giving these people

a podium in court

02:03:48:17 02:03:50:00

to expound on their ideas

02:03:50:03 02:03:52:06

resulted in some very

complex considerations,

02:03:52:10 02:03:53:21

very complex.

02:03:53:23 02:03:56:21

Do we really want a rabbi

to explain

02:03:57:01 02:03:59:10

why the Torah permits murder?

02:03:59:15 02:04:04:16

If we would have treated

the most radical rabbis

02:04:04:18 02:04:07:14

the same way -- and we shouldn't

treat them differently --

02:04:07:17 02:04:12:03

that we treat the religious leaders

of Hamas, like Sheikh Yassin,

02:04:12:09 02:04:18:00

we would have been spared

many terrorist attacks by the far right.

02:04:18:03 02:04:20:11

I think they should have

been indicted.

02:04:20:15 02:04:22:08

If they had been indicted,

02:04:22:12 02:04:25:16

rabbis would be much more careful

02:04:25:18 02:04:29:06

about ruling that someone

is a "deadly assailant,"

02:04:29:10 02:04:37:10

and authorizing terrorist attacks, like

they did for all attacks by the far right.

02:04:37:10 02:04:40:06

*Remember me, I pray Thee,*

02:04:40:10 02:04:43:06

*And strengthen me, I pray Thee,*

02:04:43:10 02:04:49:13

*Only this once, O Lord,*

02:04:49:15 02:04:55:11

*That I may, this once, be avenged*

02:04:55:15 02:05:01:11

*against the Palestinians,*

*God damn them!*

02:05:02:00 02:05:07:06

There are those who want an artificial

peace with these evil terrorists.

02:05:07:14 02:05:10:11

There never was peace, there is

is no peace, there never will be peace,

02:05:10:16 02:05:11:14

because they don't want it.

02:05:11:17 02:05:11:18

because they don't want it.

02:05:15:16 *02:05:18:23*

*This is the Voice of Israel*

*from Jerusalem,*

02:05:19:02 02:05:21:11

*and here is the news.*

02:05:22:18 02:05:28:01

*Three members of the Jewish Underground*

*received life sentences for murder.*

02:05:29:05 02:05:32:21

*In the Temple Mount incident, 9 members*

*were found guilty of conspiracy.*

02:05:34:19 02:05:39:20

*In the case of the mayors,*

*Nathan Nathanson et al*

02:05:40:07 02:05:43:03

*are found guilty and*

*sentenced to 3 years in prison.*

02:05:43:06 02:05:47:09

*Yehuda Etzion, found guilty in the Temple*

*Mount incident and the attack on the mayors,*

02:05:47:11 02:05:49:06

*is sentenced to 7 years in prison.*

02:05:49:16 02:05:52:01

I can't say I'm surprised.

It was obvious.

02:05:52:04 02:05:57:01

The main question for me is

how Jewish history will judge us.

02:05:57:04 02:05:59:14

In that regard, I have no doubt

that the Dome of the Rock

02:05:59:17 02:06:04:23

will not remain on the Temple Mount.

The site will return to our sovereignty,

02:06:05:01 02:06:11:09

just as I have no doubt that those murderers,

whose legs I helped amputate, deserved it.

02:06:12:02 02:06:14:21

When did they start talking

about a pardon?

02:06:15:15 02:06:17:16

From the very first moment.

02:06:17:23 02:06:19:05

Even before that.

02:06:19:23 02:06:25:03

I'm exaggerating, but they were talking

about a pardon before we went to prison.

02:06:29:22 02:06:33:01

Two demonstrations took place outside

the Prime Minister's residence:

02:06:33:03 02:06:38:18

one calling for the Underground's release,

and the other opposing it.

02:06:38:21 02:06:42:14

It's time to release them.

02:06:42:17 02:06:49:11

We know our boys. They worked hard

on behalf of the State of Israel.

02:06:49:14 02:06:53:00

We are here to say

Israel must follow the rule of law,

02:06:53:01 02:06:55:11

with no distinction between

one person and the other.

02:07:02:09 02:07:05:19

This is between us and ourselves.

How do we maintain our humanity?

02:07:05:21 02:07:07:11

What will we see, when

we look in the mirror?

02:07:07:14 02:07:15:01

They're not an underground.

They must, they deserve, to go home.

02:07:41:22 02:07:45:01

*I expressed my*

*feelings and thoughts,*

02:07:45:05 02:07:49:01

*I am against the existence*

*of an underground in Israel,*

02:07:49:05 02:07:51:21

*but after they've been punished,*

02:07:52:01 02:07:54:21

*after they expressed remorse,*

02:07:55:05 02:07:58:15

*I think that in order*

*to eradicate this chapter,*

02:07:59:01 02:08:03:11

*it is best to show*

*mercy and compassion*

02:08:03:23 02:08:08:13

*and pardon these sons of ours,*

02:08:08:19 02:08:10:09

*who have gone astray,*

02:08:10:19 02:08:14:14

*and stop their families' suffering.*

02:08:15:00 02:08:16:01

Remorse?

02:08:16:04 02:08:19:06

I have no remorse

over Mayor Shakaa getting hurt.

02:08:19:10 02:08:21:04

None?

-None.

02:08:21:19 02:08:26:16

He deserves worse. And as I said,

the government should have done it.

02:08:27:04 02:08:29:16

To say that the objective was wrong?

02:08:29:23 02:08:33:16

To say that the Dome of the Rock

deserves to remain in its place,

02:08:33:19 02:08:37:05

and that it mustn't be disturbed,

that Muslim control is fine, and...

02:08:37:13 02:08:41:21

that it was just a foolish thought

on our part and I regret it?

02:08:42:00 02:08:44:00

I never considered saying that,

02:08:44:02 02:08:45:01

and I didn't.

02:08:49:07 02:08:51:16

One sentence was reduced,

then another.

02:08:51:18 02:08:56:01

The murderers, of course.

Their sentence was reduced to 24 years.

02:08:56:03 02:08:58:05

They kept reducing and reducing it,

02:08:58:07 02:09:02:11

until it reached 10 years,

and then they got one-third off,

02:09:02:12 02:09:04:19

so they were released,

I mean the murderers,

02:09:04:21 02:09:07:05

after less than 7 years.

02:09:32:12 02:09:33:23

It's an insult,

02:09:34:01 02:09:35:10

an insult.

02:09:36:04 02:09:37:15

It's a disgrace,

02:09:39:02 02:09:41:05

a disgrace to the State of Israel.

02:09:42:12 02:09:47:01

The prime minister, who called my unit,

"the jewel in the crown,"

02:09:47:03 02:09:50:00

the day after the arrest

of the Jewish Underground,

02:09:51:03 02:09:53:11

suddenly went, "Poof!"

02:09:54:17 02:09:59:05

It was leniency toward criminals, who

could have brought a holocaust on us.

02:09:59:15 02:10:02:06

It was a green light to others,

02:10:03:08 02:10:05:01

perhaps, to follow in their footsteps.

02:10:05:23 02:10:07:11

It was a kind of wink,

02:10:07:15 02:10:11:11

meaning, "Show good taste,

when killing Arabs.

02:10:11:21 02:10:14:03

"Don't do it...

02:10:15:00 02:10:17:06

"too brutally.

For example,

02:10:17:10 02:10:20:03

"don't burn a child in his home.

02:10:20:12 02:10:23:11

"That should not be done.

02:10:25:20 02:10:28:11

"Boobytrapping mayors' cars

02:10:28:20 02:10:30:11

"is reasonable.

02:10:30:19 02:10:34:11

"Killing students in

an Islamic college,

02:10:34:20 02:10:36:04

"reasonable.

02:10:36:12 02:10:38:06

"We can understand

the distress you feel."

02:10:42:13 02:10:45:21

Prison is a great breeding ground

for revolutionary movements,

02:10:45:23 02:10:48:16

and in our case,

the Redemption Movement.

02:10:48:19 02:10:50:10

Yes, we did conspire.

02:10:50:12 02:10:54:06

We conspired to break the conspiracy

of silence surrounding the Temple Mount.

02:10:54:10 02:10:56:11

The conspiracy is out

in the open now.

02:10:56:13 02:10:58:11

The Temple Mount

is on the public agenda.

02:10:58:13 02:11:00:13

No one will be able to remove it

02:11:00:15 02:11:03:01

until the disgrace is removed.

02:11:08:19 02:11:12:10

Things got complicated because the action

was allegedly shelved at this stage,

02:11:12:12 02:11:14:21

but I still see no alternative.

02:11:15:00 02:11:17:18

I've since made a decision

to express myself freely,

02:11:18:00 02:11:21:04

regardless of the consequences.

I'm already burnt out for life,

02:11:21:06 02:11:25:08

when it comes to secrecy.

Now it's all out in the open.

02:11:33:16 02:11:37:11

We talk about how

the Temple will be very tall,

02:11:37:14 02:11:40:00

much taller than in Herod's era.

02:11:40:02 02:11:42:15

This is the altar.

The Hall of Hewn Stones is here.

02:11:42:18 02:11:46:04

The entire, enormous

Temple structure faces east.

02:11:46:06 02:11:50:13

Notice how we even thought about

accessibility for the disabled.

02:11:50:15 02:11:53:19

And of course, notice

the difference in size

02:11:53:21 02:11:57:21

between what is there today,

and what will be there, God willing.

02:11:58:11 02:12:00:06

The Temple Mount will expand

02:12:00:10 02:12:02:01

especially northward,

02:12:02:03 02:12:04:18

at the expense of

today's Muslim Quarter.

02:12:04:21 02:12:09:03

In our vision, we see far more Jews

and far fewer Arabs.

02:12:09:05 02:12:14:10

In the area around the Temple, these

changes must be an integral part

02:12:14:17 02:12:17:03

of the building of

the Jerusalem of the future.

02:12:17:16 02:12:21:11

I wanted to ask what is being done

in practice to advance this plan?

02:12:21:13 02:12:25:09

And do you have a time frame?

100 years? 50 years?

02:12:25:15 02:12:26:21

When is it supposed to happen?

02:12:26:23 02:12:30:06

The stronger the

practical aspect is --

02:12:30:09 02:12:33:23

and don't expect it just from me. You and

everyone else here are also responsible --

02:12:34:01 02:12:36:20

the shorter the time span.

02:12:36:23 02:12:39:13

We have complete faith in that.

02:12:42:09 02:12:45:13

*Blessed are you, O Lord,*

*Who gave us the Torah of truth..*

02:22:46:16 02:22:53:09

*Be strong, be strong,*

*and may we be strengthened...*

02:12:57:20 02:12:59:04

When you got out of prison,

02:12:59:06 02:13:01:06

did you resume

public activity immediately?

02:13:01:10 02:13:05:05

No, it took two or three months.

02:13:13:13 02:13:15:15

Where are we going?

02:13:16:07 02:13:18:08

To the new

settlement of Amichai.

02:13:18:10 02:13:23:01

Development work started there

about two months ago,

02:13:23:17 02:13:30:23

including an access road

and temporary living quarters.

02:13:31:02 02:13:34:16

It's the first official settlement

that's been built in how long?

02:13:35:03 02:13:37:05

Many years.

02:13:38:07 02:13:42:19

Israel doesn't like fighting

about these things with the U.S.

02:13:42:21 02:13:46:11

It's almost certain that this wouldn't

have happened without us.

02:13:46:18 02:13:49:08

Hello! Is the Minister here yet?

-Who are you, sir?

02:13:49:11 02:13:51:18

I'm part of his team.

02:13:51:20 02:13:54:11

Your name?

-Nathan Nathanson.

02:14:10:08 02:14:12:16

How's it going?

-Fine.

02:14:13:16 02:14:18:09

Right now, most of the plots are in

the final stages of development.

02:14:18:12 02:14:22:21

90% of the groundwork is done.

02:14:23:06 02:14:26:01

What are the chances

of this place being evacuated?

02:14:29:12 02:14:32:19

They're not slim.

They're not big, but not slim either.

02:14:34:02 02:14:38:09

I can say that if you put up a settlement,

I'll join you. I can say that.

02:14:38:23 02:14:42:21

He won't let me go up to the Temple Mount,

so I'll come here instead.

02:15:01:10 02:15:06:04

People, who work hard and

believe in what they do,

02:15:06:08 02:15:08:19

will persevere and win.

02:15:29:01 02:15:31:11

I was appointed Chair

of the Ministerial Committee.

02:15:31:13 02:15:33:08

Before I called the first meeting,

02:15:33:11 02:15:35:18

I went into Minister Uri Ariel's office.

02:15:35:20 02:15:40:04

Sitting in front of me...

I knew him as Nuss.

02:15:40:06 02:15:43:20

We stared at each other.

He looked familiar.

02:15:43:22 02:15:46:19

He smiled, so I asked,

"What are you smiling about?"

02:15:46:22 02:15:50:05

He said: "The last time we met

was at the prison."

02:15:50:07 02:15:51:13

"Over what?" I asked him.

02:15:51:15 02:15:53:03

He said: "The Jewish Underground."

02:15:54:14 02:15:56:15

It came as a surprise.

It was...

02:15:56:18 02:15:59:11

shocking.

02:16:17:22 02:16:20:03

I conducted negotiations

for the Jewish Home Party

02:16:20:05 02:16:23:06

to enter the last two governments.

02:16:23:09 02:16:25:11

For years,

02:16:25:14 02:16:28:16

I've been a member of the Knesset's

Central Elections Committee.

02:16:28:19 02:16:29:21

I know that

02:16:29:23 02:16:31:21

the Arab members of the committee

02:16:32:00 02:16:33:15

recognized me.

They asked me if it was me.

02:16:33:18 02:16:35:11

I knew it wasn't easy for them,

02:16:35:15 02:16:39:18

but I still participated

in the meetings and votes.

02:16:39:20 02:16:41:10

I knew that some of them

02:16:41:22 02:16:43:21

had daggers coming

out of their eyes,

02:16:44:00 02:16:46:14

but that's fine. In time,

02:16:47:08 02:16:49:13

the Chair of the

Central Elections Committee

02:16:50:12 02:16:53:03

was Supreme Court Justice

Dorit Beinisch,

02:16:53:05 02:16:55:09

who was the Chief Prosecutor

at my trial.

02:16:55:12 02:16:57:10

Once, when I got up to speak,

02:16:57:12 02:16:59:11

she said, "Mr. Nathanson,

02:16:59:13 02:17:03:16

"I see you have nothing new to say.

02:17:03:18 02:17:05:14

"I knew you were going to say that."

02:17:05:17 02:17:09:08

So I told her,

"I know your opinion too.

02:17:09:12 02:17:12:15

"No need to voice it.

I've known it for years."

02:17:18:20 02:17:21:20

They don't disparage

state institutions.

02:17:21:22 02:17:24:16

But when state institutions,

don't do their job,

02:17:24:20 02:17:27:11

or become politicized,

02:17:27:15 02:17:28:23

in a way that they don't like,

02:17:30:10 02:17:31:21

they think the situation

has to be fixed,

02:17:32:02 02:17:33:23

and who will fix it if not them?

02:17:43:16 02:17:46:16

The Party Chairman, Education Minister

Naftali Bennett, will speak.

02:17:46:23 02:17:47:23

Please.

02:17:48:12 02:17:49:11

Good afternoon.

02:17:49:20 02:17:54:06

The process of choosing judges

for the Supreme Court is underway.

02:17:54:21 02:17:56:16

We have a worldview,

02:17:56:20 02:17:58:00

and it is clear to everyone.

02:17:58:02 02:18:01:00

We will work to ensure that

the justice system reflects

02:18:01:03 02:18:03:21

the Jewish and Zionist

principles of the state.

02:18:04:01 02:18:06:05

This is a rightwing government.

02:18:06:08 02:18:07:15

That's why we were elected,

02:18:07:17 02:18:09:05

and that's what we will do.

02:18:09:07 02:18:12:06

You now hear talk that

we need judges from "our side,"

02:18:12:09 02:18:14:20

who "think like us."

We were elected.

02:18:15:03 02:18:17:19

Anyone who isn't "with us"

has no legitimacy.

02:18:18:09 02:18:20:20

He doesn't understand the

importance of the Land of Israel.

02:18:20:23 02:18:23:19

He doesn't understand

our historic role.

02:18:23:22 02:18:25:06

He should be put in his place.

02:18:34:03 02:18:37:03

Who feels more comfortable

in the Knesset? You or them?

02:18:37:05 02:18:38:10

Them, for sure.

02:18:39:10 02:18:40:13

For sure.

02:18:42:20 02:18:44:11

I walk next to the wall,

02:18:44:14 02:18:48:15

so I don't run into any politicians.

They walk around with confidence.

02:18:49:09 02:18:51:03

It's true. That's their status there.

02:19:16:05 02:19:17:11

Glasses.

02:19:22:15 02:19:24:10

"The 100 Most Influential People"

02:19:24:20 02:19:26:05

Number 18.

02:19:27:15 02:19:28:21

Zambish.

02:19:31:09 02:19:34:04

"Ze'ev Hever, nicknamed Zambish,

has come a long way

02:19:34:06 02:19:37:00

"from being a member

of the Jewish Underground

02:19:37:02 02:19:40:20

"until becoming the most powerful

person in the Israeli right."

02:19:57:20 02:20:00:18

Look. Take a look at the whole list.

02:20:01:10 02:20:05:05

They went back to being

public officials with influence

02:20:05:07 02:20:07:11

in the corridors of government.

02:20:07:12 02:20:09:21

They gained legitimacy.

02:20:09:23 02:20:14:21

Zambish is "doorman" for the settlers

in the Prime Minister's Office.

02:20:15:00 02:20:20:14

He has one goal: to strengthen

Israeli control in Judea and Samaria.

02:20:20:17 02:20:24:00

They forgot about the terrorist attack

02:20:24:07 02:20:25:16

that he took part in.

02:20:35:04 02:20:37:05

There was one person in the squad

02:20:37:08 02:20:39:21

that carried out the attack

in Bethlehem.

02:20:39:23 02:20:43:05

His name has been kept secret

by Zambish to this day.

02:20:43:07 02:20:46:09

Only two out of the three

were arrested.

02:20:53:03 02:20:54:14

He didn't tell.

02:20:56:04 02:21:00:10

He refused. He said,

"I won't tell you who it was."

02:21:00:12 02:21:01:11

Period.

02:21:05:12 02:21:07:08

If Zambish knows,

then he knows. Fine.

02:21:07:11 02:21:13:01

I assume he knows because he

was there, but why should he tell?

02:21:16:03 02:21:19:11

If he wasn't caught, it never happened.

What can you do?

02:21:19:14 02:21:21:05

That's part of it.

02:21:46:10 02:21:50:01

Do you think that Zambish and Nuss

have changed their ideology?

02:21:50:03 02:21:51:21

Not in any significant way.

02:21:52:18 02:21:54:08

They're too serious.

02:21:54:11 02:21:57:21

Serious people don't

change ideologies.

02:21:58:00 02:22:01:00

Politicians change ideologies,

not serious people.

02:22:05:22 02:22:09:15

I invite the Prime Minister,

Mr. Benjamin Netanyahu,

02:22:09:18 02:22:10:23

to say a few words.

02:22:31:21 02:22:34:19

If anyone had any doubt

02:22:35:15 02:22:37:16

that the Jewish people

is alive and thriving,

02:22:37:19 02:22:39:14

let them come here

to the Merkaz HaRav Yeshiva.

02:22:39:20 02:22:41:15

They'll hear the Jewish people

02:22:41:18 02:22:43:08

very much alive.

02:22:44:12 02:22:46:04

We love you.

02:23:07:00 02:23:11:01

It's no secret that most

Israeli governments since 1977

02:23:11:03 02:23:13:21

have been supportive of

the settlement enterprise,

02:23:14:02 02:23:16:11

and the movement's leadership.

02:23:16:14 02:23:19:11

They are welcome at their table

02:23:19:15 02:23:21:20

and vice versa.

02:23:22:14 02:23:25:01

The government's priorities have changed.

02:23:25:03 02:23:28:16

The peace process

isn't even on the agenda.

02:23:28:22 02:23:33:06

In 1980, 12,000 Jews

lived in Judea and Samaria.

02:23:33:14 02:23:36:14

Today there are over 420,000.

02:23:36:16 02:23:39:03

People who live in a fantasy world

02:23:39:05 02:23:44:09

and think that they can turn back

the wheel and change direction

02:23:44:12 02:23:45:21

are simply confused.

02:23:45:23 02:23:48:01

Will there be a Palestinian state?

02:23:48:03 02:23:49:03

I don't believe so.

02:23:49:12 02:23:51:15

People just don't get it.

02:23:51:17 02:23:53:19

People, you don't understand

what's going on here.

02:23:53:21 02:23:55:16

This is an empire.

It really is an empire.

02:23:55:19 02:23:57:13

People don't know

what they're talking about.

02:23:57:16 02:24:01:01

They reduced the space for flexibility

02:24:01:03 02:24:04:04

to almost zero,

almost zero.

02:24:04:12 02:24:07:23

We have to take into account that if

we want to make any compromises,

02:24:08:02 02:24:09:15

any concessions,

02:24:09:19 02:24:12:11

there will be a clash.

02:24:16:04 02:24:19:16

What about people who call you

a Jewish terrorist?

02:24:20:21 02:24:22:05

I understand them.

02:24:22:22 02:24:30:16

These days, it barely

affects my life at all.

02:24:32:03 02:24:36:19

Instead of twisting and turning, saying

it isn't terrorism. It's freedom fighting,

02:24:38:02 02:24:41:21

I'm willing to bear this burden

and say, "Okay,

02:24:42:05 02:24:45:15

"if you like that definition,

then I'm a terrorist."

02:24:45:20 02:24:48:05

Now you can move on

to the next question.

02:24:48:19 02:24:50:21

If you don't see yourself

as a Jewish terrorist,

02:24:51:01 02:24:53:10

you don't understand

the severity of it.

02:24:53:21 02:24:56:11

I carried out acts of terrorism.

02:25:08:16 02:25:11:23

I understood the

severity of this process

02:25:13:00 02:25:14:05

as soon as I was arrested.

02:25:14:07 02:25:17:16

When I got up and said

it was a big mistake,

02:25:17:18 02:25:20:01

lots of people were angry at me,

02:25:20:12 02:25:22:23

because in our society

02:25:23:05 02:25:25:20

it seemed very

acceptable and justified.

02:25:26:19 02:25:29:09

Also, the illusion

that you can solve problems

02:25:29:12 02:25:35:01

by blowing something up

is hard to part with.

02:25:35:10 02:25:38:10

The idea the Arabs

will disappear from here,

02:25:38:12 02:25:43:04

or the idea that we'll disappear

while they remain here

02:25:43:06 02:25:44:23

is the exact same idea.

02:25:45:21 02:25:47:21

What about the Divine right?

02:25:48:06 02:25:50:09

The Divine right...

That's the best.

02:25:50:11 02:25:57:05

Usually, people claiming a Divine right

never bought a piece of land in their life,

02:25:57:07 02:26:00:21

so they use their Divine right

to take your land too.

02:26:01:14 02:26:05:23

Tell me where you live, and I'll explain

how God gave me your land.

02:26:06:02 02:26:07:10

It's all very nice.

02:26:08:09 02:26:10:19

I never thought of that.

02:26:48:19 02:26:53:05

I'm honored to open

the 10th Seekers of Zion Convention

02:26:53:08 02:26:56:23

in collaboration with the Joint Staff

of Temple Organizations.

02:26:57:01 02:27:01:16

We're very happy to host you all

at the Israeli Knesset.

02:27:02:04 02:27:03:18

Let's welcome

02:27:03:22 02:27:06:23

His Honor, the Speaker of the Knesset,

02:27:07:01 02:27:10:16

Member of Knesset

Yuli Yoel Edelstein.

02:27:19:01 02:27:23:09

I'm honored to invite our friend,

Minister Uri Ariel.

02:27:27:20 02:27:32:16

I am saying loud and clear

to the Prime Minister:

02:27:34:13 02:27:37:09

Open the gates of the Temple Mount.

02:27:43:12 02:27:44:21

We must tell the world

02:27:45:00 02:27:47:04

that in 1967,

02:27:47:18 02:27:52:11

the occupation of Judea, Samaria,

and East Jerusalem

02:27:52:22 02:27:53:21

did not start.

02:27:54:02 02:27:55:09

It ended.

02:27:58:07 02:28:02:11

We'll build settlements and occupy not

only the Temple Mount and build the Temple.

02:28:02:12 02:28:07:20

It'll be just us, with no mosques.

The Temple will be a Jewish site only.

02:28:07:22 02:28:10:01

Then we'll occupy Jordan and Syria

02:28:10:04 02:28:13:06

and establish a real

Jewish state here.

02:28:17:07 02:28:20:13

I'm honored to welcome the

Minister of Internal Security

02:28:21:19 02:28:23:05

Gilad Erdan.

02:28:24:15 02:28:26:06

When Minister Erdan

entered office,

02:28:27:03 02:28:29:14

my friend Yehuda Etzion and I

02:28:29:17 02:28:34:10

asked to meet him. We expected it

to take months to schedule.

02:28:34:12 02:28:36:10

We got a meeting pretty quickly,

02:28:36:12 02:28:38:06

and he told us:

02:28:38:09 02:28:44:11

"Listen, they're there, but they shouldn't be.

We'll act to move them

02:28:44:12 02:28:46:21

"and outlaw the Islamic Movement."

02:28:47:00 02:28:48:05

Honored Minister,

02:28:48:08 02:28:53:08

thank you for enabling so many groups

to go up to the Temple Mount during Sukkot.

02:28:53:10 02:28:55:16

Then he replied.

02:28:55:21 02:28:58:03

He sent me this message:

02:28:58:05 02:29:00:01

"Yehuda, there's lots more to be done."

02:29:02:21 02:29:06:03

Our public is growing.

Interest is growing.

02:29:06:09 02:29:09:23

Just like we filled the room, perhaps

one day we'll fill the Temple Mount.

02:29:10:01 02:29:15:23

Senior government officials no longer

consider us lepers. On the contrary,

02:29:16:12 02:29:18:06

they are honored, and so are we,

02:29:18:12 02:29:21:14

to be together in the same room,

on the same stage.

02:29:21:16 02:29:26:14

We were once seen as enemies they wanted

to get rid of quickly, but today,

02:29:26:17 02:29:27:11

it's already better.

02:29:27:15 02:29:29:16

It's like climbing a mountain,

02:29:29:19 02:29:31:04

terrace by terrace.

02:29:51:18 02:29:55:20

Right here, on this wall,

02:29:58:09 02:30:00:03

someone wrote:

02:30:00:05 02:30:03:04

"Carmi Gillon is a leftist,"

and signed it, "Kach,"

02:30:03:08 02:30:05:01

the ultranationalist militant group.

02:30:05:04 02:30:08:16

Beneath it they they wrote:

"Pulsa DiNura" (a mystical curse).

02:30:09:05 02:30:12:10

Pulsa DiNura effectively means,

"Sentenced to death."

02:30:12:12 02:30:15:23

They could've written it

in simpler language,

02:30:16:02 02:30:18:15

"Death to Carmi Gillon,"

but this is a sacred place,

02:30:18:18 02:30:22:04

so if they're already writing it,

they prefer to use sacred terms.

02:30:27:21 02:30:33:03

In the 1980s, only a few dozen Jews

went up to the Temple Mount.

02:30:33:05 02:30:38:04

Yehuda Etzion was alone

in his cause.

02:30:38:08 02:30:40:19

Today, thousands go up there.

02:30:44:14 02:30:47:14

People don't think.

They don't realize

02:30:47:16 02:30:49:19

what kind of explosives

they're playing with.

02:30:49:22 02:30:53:19

If they bothered

to read the history,

02:30:53:23 02:30:56:15

they'd know what kind

of disasters it could cause.

02:30:56:18 02:31:00:08

Let me remind you that

the Second Intifada,

02:31:00:12 02:31:03:04

which cost over 1,000 lives,

02:31:03:13 02:31:06:18

started when Arik Sharon

went up to the Temple Mount.

02:31:20:12 02:31:22:18

The goal hasn't changed.

02:31:22:20 02:31:25:11

We must seek it

much more maturely and sensibly,

02:31:25:15 02:31:28:04

like a military leader

managing his troops.

02:31:28:12 02:31:31:06

We get closer every day.

02:31:48:03 02:31:49:06

Who won?

02:31:50:18 02:31:54:21

I don't like the term "winner," because

it means someone is defeated.

02:31:55:00 02:31:57:01

I don't like defeating people.

02:31:57:04 02:32:00:05

But if I try to understand

02:32:00:08 02:32:04:08

what God wants from the

Jewish people in His land,

02:32:04:19 02:32:07:20

we've come a long way.

God is pleased with us.

02:32:08:06 02:32:10:09

We are pioneers,

02:32:10:17 02:32:13:18

advancing an important

national process,

02:32:14:07 02:32:19:08

and as partners, they are

either good or less good.

02:32:19:10 02:32:21:01

But they'e not doing us

any favors.

02:32:21:04 02:32:22:09

They understand that.

02:32:28:07 02:32:29:06

Who won?

02:32:29:17 02:32:30:20

They did.

02:32:31:04 02:32:33:16

They're more devoted to the idea.

02:32:34:12 02:32:39:06

It's exactly what you see

with Hamas or Hezbollah.

02:32:39:18 02:32:41:13

A religious person,

02:32:41:16 02:32:44:06

who believes that he is

commanded from on High,

02:32:44:15 02:32:47:11

can't compromise on that command.

02:32:48:09 02:32:51:18

A secular person is more pragmatic

to begin with.

02:32:51:20 02:32:58:06

They have one objective:

to turn Israel into a Jewish state

02:32:58:09 02:33:01:14

governed by Jewish religous law,

02:33:01:19 02:33:04:11

to perpetuate the occupation,

02:33:05:03 02:33:09:18

to rescind liberal laws.

02:33:11:02 02:33:14:11

It's a lot like a couple dancing.

02:33:14:13 02:33:18:13

One partner retreats, and

the other occupies that space.

02:33:18:15 02:33:21:04

One advances with determination,

and the other steps back.

02:33:21:12 02:33:23:20

It depends on what the

people of Israel want.

02:33:24:02 02:33:27:18

If they don't want

a democratic state,

02:33:27:21 02:33:29:06

I would consider it a disaster.

02:33:29:10 02:33:33:01

But if they only take

their orders from God,

02:33:33:03 02:33:34:16

it gets a bit complicated.

02:33:39:06 02:33:41:11

God is pleased with them.

02:33:42:05 02:33:44:01

I don't know how pleased

He is with us.

02:33:44:12 02:33:47:01

So yes, they've made progress,

02:33:47:08 02:33:51:01

and ultimately,

there could be a civil war here.

02:33:51:14 02:33:53:14

There could be bloodshed.

02:33:54:02 02:33:55:05

Absolutely.

02:33:56:01 02:33:58:23

Do you want a Temple?

-Yes!

02:33:59:02 02:34:01:06

Do you want the Messiah?

-Yes!

02:34:01:10 02:34:03:10

Do you want Redemption?

-Yes!

02:34:03:13 02:34:07:01

Then let's all say it.

We want a Temple!

02:34:07:04 02:34:09:13

We want a Temple!

02:34:09:22 02:34:13:05

Before conquering the Temple Mount,

we must conquer the government.

02:34:13:08 02:34:15:09

We want a Temple!

02:34:15:17 02:34:16:21

I aim for revolution.

02:34:17:00 02:34:22:06

I pray that the revolution will be

as gentle as possible,

02:34:22:10 02:34:24:20

but I have to admit:

02:34:25:12 02:34:29:11

it's naive to assume that

everything will be so nice.

02:34:30:12 02:34:32:06

I have to admit that.

<end subtitles>