

"Spirits" – Daniel Kiczales

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Sound Installation, 16:10 min

[Transcript of portions of an interview with Yitzhak Rabin conducted in 1994 by Charlie Rose]

Conflict, Terrible Conflict

I didn't believe there would be a chance
to solve the one hundred years long
conflict, terrible, terrible conflict
between Palestinians and Jews at the beginning
Palestinian and Israel in what used to be
under the British mandated Palestine
I remember it vividly
when I was a kid the struggle
I remember the riots
of '27, '29, '36, '39
and of course
the War of Independence
I felt that
we have to do it

**What do you say to Chairman Arafat? You had phone conversations
with him**

When we met in the White House before the ceremony on the lawn

we didn't exchange words
till we remain only the three of us
and we looked at the ceremony
I turned to him
told Mr. Arafat
I said it's going to be very difficult
he says I know it's going to be very difficult
I knew that there would be
ups and downs
I knew that among the Palestinians
there are
those who oppose it and will use indiscriminate terror
the Islamic extremists like the Hamas the Islamic Jihad
the ten rejectionist Palestinian organizations
that their headquarters are in Syria
but I expected
opposition on the part of Israelis

I'm not saying that it was pleasant
but I didn't mind

Our War of Independence

And it happened
that I as an Israeli
as a Jew

was born to the most unique historic period
In the life of the Jewish people
In the last two thousand years
I belong to the generation
that even though I lived in Palestine
where I was born
during the period of the Holocaust
during the Second World War
It was the most tragic event
In the two-thousand years of Jewish history
after the destruction of the second temple
I belong to the generation
that as a result of the tragedy
and what was done by the Jewish people in a limited way
In the land of Israel then
British mandated Palestine
had the opportunity to have the faith of the Jewish people
In its hands
and therefor I was a part of the struggle
against the British
for the creation of the Jewish state
and participated
in the longest and the bloodiest
war that Israel has ever experienced till this moment
our War of Independence

Norms of Behavior

Norms of behavior

of morality

of what should be done and should not be done

for us

even in fighting

few years ago

terrorists crossed the border in Lebanon

paratroopers patrol went there

they opened fire they killed two soldiers

the soldiers opened fire

and one of the terrorists

I believe it was the one that killed the two soldiers

raised his hands

the paratroopers didn't fire at him

once he raised his hands

gave in

it's not a fighting

it's murder

this is the line that we taught, educated our people to realize

A Real Terrible Story

I was at my official residence in Jerusalem

the Prime Minister residence

I believe it was about six o'clock in the morning

then the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces General Barak

phoned me and told me the story

at the beginning it was not very clear

he said that an Israeli armed person opened fire on innocent

Muslims praying on Friday

the holy months of Ramadan

in a holy place to Muslims and Jews alike

the first information was that ten Palestinians were killed

and I understood immediately that we would face

a real terrible story

What did you think you had to do?

First to find out the facts, second

to make sure

that the inflammation

of such a

tragic event

will not really

bring about

total

collapse

of whatever we have tried to build

also

and might be
with great
concern or deep concern
I feared
about the disruption
of the delicate fabric of relations
between Israeli Arabs Palestinians
and the Israeli Jews
today the population of Israel is over 5.3 million Israeli citizens
out of which almost
a million are non-Jews
they are fully fledged Israeli's with all the civilian and political rights
I'm not talking about the Palestinians
who are residents of the West Bank and the Gaza strip

This Fabric of Relations

and I believe that
whoever wants really to change realities
will face antagonism
on the most conservative
way of thinking
approaching to the problem
and no doubt
with those false messianic
religious

conceptions
that everything was given to God only God decides
there is no problem
to believe in God
but to assume
that since you believe in God
you have no responsibility
in a democracy
to the laws of the democracy
and to except
the fact that the government in a democracy
is elected by the people

Calculated Risks

We took risks at war
I'll never forget
what happened prior to the Six Day War
when we presented to the cabinet
I was there the Chief Staff the Armed Forces
how we'll finish
the Air Force of Egypt
out of two hundred fighters
we sent one hundred eighty-eight
in three waves
to destroy once forever the Egyptian Air Force

we left twelve planes
to protect all the skies of Israel
against the Syrian
the Jordanian
and the Iraqi air forces
we said It's a calculated risk
without taking then this risk
the war that is called the Six Day War
would not be ended in six days
and would not achieve
the kind of achievements that
we succeeded

**And so you say to the Israeli people in 1994 we have to take the same
kind of risks now**

I say to the Israelis
we have
great opportunities
but
at the same time
many dangers
we have to take
calculated risk for peace
not only risks at war
I believe that without
trying to change the realities

and realities between the Arab countries the Arab people and Israel
cannot be changed without putting them into a test
no one can say for sure that everything is in the pocket
that whenever an Arab leader signs a paper he will keep
or
his regime might be undermined
and a new regime can come to what extent
can be assure
that
agreement with an Arab country regime
will be kept
by another regime

that will get rid of the former one

Enemies of Peace

I believe
the only way
and I said it on the phone when I talked a week ago
or something of this kind
I said you have got enemies of peace
I have got enemies of peace
if we'll hold negotiation
as a result of atrocity
by the enemies of peace on both sides

they will achieve their goal
this will be a prize
for atrocity
on both sides
those who oppose peace
will realize that as a result of a real terror
terrible event
they can bring about to hold to the peace
it will serve an incentive to them
to increase their efforts
and to bring it apart
because their main purpose
the Hamas and the Islamic Jihad
believe me this lunatic murderer from Kiryat Arba
the Jewish one
he was a Jewish Hamas

He was a Jewish Hamas, he was an extremist just way the Hamas is

These kind of people
will see
if he carried this kind of atrocities
it holds the negotiations
if it holds the negotiations this is our political goal
that's to increase our activities
the best answer to them

is to prove
that on both sides the leadership
is determined
knowing the difficulties
to accelerate the negotiation
to reach an agreement
to implement

If I May Add...

I would like Israel
to be
a country living
in its armed forces with its own population
by the kind of
norms of behavior
in fighting and not in fighting but especially in fighting
to distinguish between fighting
and murdering

And you had to draw that line

No doubt