

# Revolution: Likud and Revisionist Zionism

# Ideological competition

Non-religious 'right' in Israel

Chief ideological competitor to socialist Labor Zionism.

Developed by Ze'ev Jabotinsky advocating a 'revision' of "practical Zionism" focusing not on independent individuals settling Eretz Yisrael, but establishment of a Jewish State.

Vision of political Zionism that Jabotinsky regarded followed legacy of Theodor Herzl.



**World Executive Herut-Hatzohar (Revisionist Zionists) 1925**

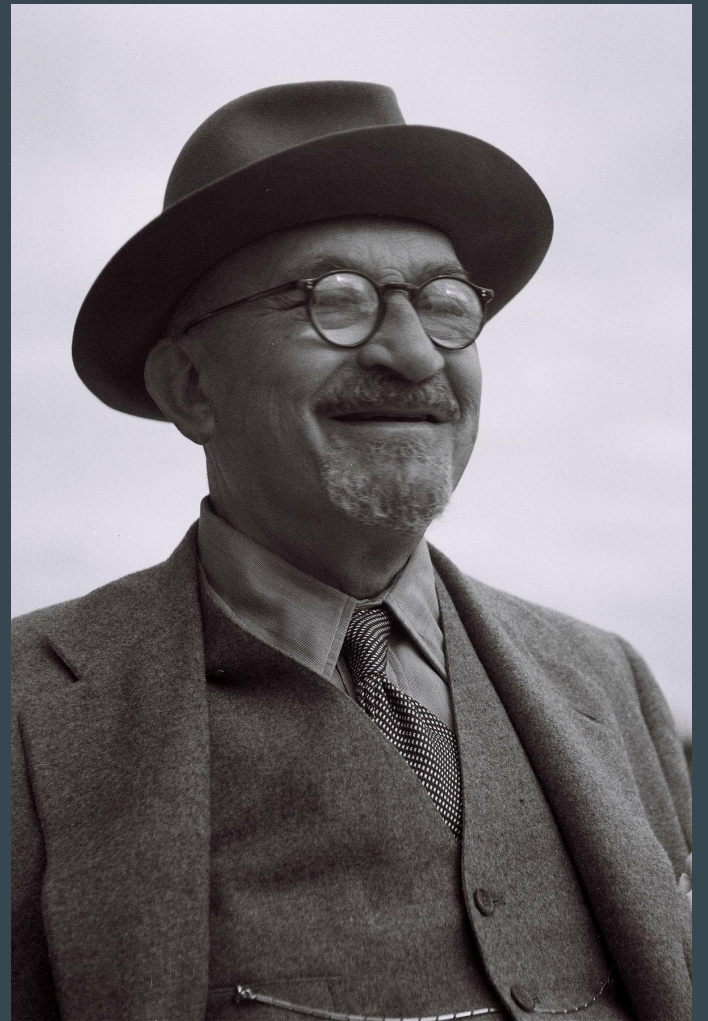
# Beginnings

Under Jabotinsky, Revisionist Zionism focused on getting British aid and power for settlement. Later, Revisionist groups conducted campaigns of violence during British Mandate with intent to force the British out and establish a Jewish state.

Regardless of method, Revisionist Zionism is distinguished by its aim of *territorial maximalism*

So, political objective was to establish and maintain the territorial integrity of the historical land of Israel on both sides of the River Jordan

Opposed to partition



# Ideological Opposition and Ideological Abandonment

Jabotinsky and Begin (successor) opposed the 1947 UN partition plan

Revisionists viewed subsequent partition of Palestine following 1949 Armistice Agreements to be illegitimate.

Revisionist Party in Israel, known as Herut, remained in opposition until 1966.

Ideological abandonment of maxim territory began after Herut merged with the Liberal Party in 1965 and by the 1970s the legitimacy of Jordan no longer questioned. By 1994, complete and practical abandonment of the 'both banks' principle when Likud MPs voted in favor of peace treaty with Jordan.

# Credibility

June 1967, Revisionists as part of the Gahal faction (right-wing political alliance) joined a national unity government of PM Eshkol.

The Six-Day War stopped Labor's (DBG) efforts to undercut Revisionism.

Inclusion in government legitimized the views of Herut and also as “the opposition”

Begin ‘observes’ how Cabinet government works

Additionally, Labor felt it could no longer monopolize power.

# In Government and Out

Gave needed ministerial experience to Begin and other Herut members.

Unity government existed until August 1970 when Begin and Gahal left government over disagreements on Rogers Plan, UN242 'peace for withdrawal'.

Resignation reasons are disputed.

Begin himself offers best explanation and it is linked again to Ideology in Knesset speech on 5 August, 1970. 'Withdrawal...by Israel...means [Judea and Samaria]”

William B. Quandt, *Peace Process, American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967*, pp.194ff.



# Wilderness, Again: 1970-1977

Election 1973 (postponed due to Yom Kippur War).

In 1973 formation of Likud (Herut, Liberal Party, Free Centre, the National List and the Movement for Greater Israel).

Consolidation of the Israeli right.

Performed well in the elections reducing Alignment to 12 seat margin of victory.

Support amongst working-class (Sephardim) and religious form bloc of votes for Likud that shows success in May 1977.

# From Many to ONE

In 1988, all parties merged as one party, Likud.

Still, Likud remains a loose alliance of politicians committed to different and often opposing policy preferences and ideologies.

1999 Benny Begin re-forming Herut

Post 2010 with Lieberman (Yisrael Beiteinu)

Post 2012 with Jewish Home and Hatnuah

# After Begin...

Yitzhak Shamir, hard-liner and ideologically committed to both settlements in West Bank and Gaza Strip that he encouraged also fostered and endorsed the idea of aliyah.

Mass immigration of Jews to Israel from Ethiopia and former Soviet Union

Lost 1984 election to Alignment, unable to form govt., Likud and Alignment formed national unity government with S.Peres and Shamir switching roles of PM and FM.

Likud remained in power from 1990 until defeat in 1992.

# Revisionism OLD vs. LITE

Revisionist Zionism (RZ) once distinguished by its aim of *territorial maximalism* saw that tested both domestic unrest (Intifada) and the historic Oslo Accords.

Abandoned by agreement to Oslo and commitment to road map in 2002

Abandoned by unilateral disengagement of Gaza in 2005

The political objective was to establish and maintain the territorial integrity of the historical land of Israel on both sides of the River Jordan.

Abandoned by historic peace treaty with Jordan in 1994

RZ nowadays, outside of the most hardline parties within Likud, is political objectives as seen in 1967 green lines and over Gaza.

# Compromised Ideals in practice

Constituency has changed since opposition days (pre-1977) and in power on and off since 1977-1984, 1986-1992, 1996-1999, 2009-present.

Populist economic programs/free enterprise

Religion and state (moderate)/enjoys support of Haredim.

Nationalistic, lower-income. Small towns and urban neighborhoods.

Secular party though enjoys the support of religious parties.

Promotes Jewish culture, tradition and religious jews.

# The Rise of Bibi

Elected as MK in 1983.

Leads Likud to victory in 1996; opposed to Oslo Accords

1998 Wye River Agreement causes Likud defections

Netanyahu's coalition collapsed in 1999 and subsequent election of Labor and Ehud Barak

In 2001, it was Ariel Sharon, NOT Netanyahu that lead Likud to victory.

In 2006, Netanyahu became chairman of Likud and in 2009 Prime Minister again.

# @therealNetanyahu

He has proven to be less hard-line in practice than how he is rhetorically.

Settlements

Negotiations

Netanyahu switches between moderates and hardliners

Dynamics of post-Oslo and US-Israel relationship often drives him to central positions and policy implementation despite hawkish stance in comparison to Labor and recently Zionist Union.

# Future of Likud

Will remain one of the primary electoral parties in Israel regardless of actual election success or defeat in 2 or 4 years.

Young Likud members

Diversity of members (central voting) and MK's

Gila Gamliel (43) Minister for Social Equality (Yemenite-Libyan)

Tzipi Hotovely (38) deputy Foreign Minister. She is youngest Likud MP.

Orthodox

Anat Berko (57) Lt.Col.rt. (immigrated from Iraq)