

# Ideological Paradox

Bureaucracy and Political Parties







# U.S. and Israeli governments

- From 1981 to 1984 Likud (Begin)
- From 1984 to 1988 unity government of Alignment and Likud (Peres and Shamir)
- From 1988-1992 Likud (Shamir)
  - The Twelfth Knesset saw the rise of the ultra-orthodox religious parties as a significant force in Israeli politics, and as a crucial "swing" element which could determine which of the large 2 secular parties (Likud, Alignment) would get to form the coalition government.





# Secular right-wing

- The Likud was formed as a secular party as an alliance of several right-wing parties prior to the 1973 elections: Herut, Liberal Party, Free Centre, National List, Movement for Greater Israel. (5)
- Herut had been the largest right-wing party.
- It had been in coalition with the Liberals since 1965 (Gahal) with Herut as the senior partner.
- Herut remained the senior partner in the new grouping, named Likud, or "Consolidation", since it was the consolidation of the Israeli right.





# Ideology

- Likud emphasizes national security policy based on a strong military force when threatened with continued enmity against Israel.
- It has shown reluctance to negotiate with its neighbors whom it believes continue to seek the destruction of the Jewish state. [\[1\]](#)
- As of 2014, the party remains divided between moderates and hard-liners





# Ideology

- Historically, Likud advocated free enterprise and nationalism, but it has compromised these ideals in practice, as its constituency has changed.
- Its support for populist economic programs are at odds with its free enterprise tradition but are meant to serve its largely nationalistic, lower-income voters in small towns and urban neighborhoods.
- While the party has played into the traditional sympathies of its voter base, the origins and ideology of Likud are very secular.
- Religious parties have come to view it as a more comfortable coalition partner than Labor.



# Policies

- The Likud party platform since mid-1990s claims to support free market capitalist and liberal agenda. Practically speaking it is a mixed economic policy.
- VAT, income and corporate taxes reduced.
- Free trade with the EU and USA, dismantled 'monopoly' operating in Israel.
- Additionally, privatized several government-owned companies, e.g., El Al and Bank Leumi and has tried to privatize land in Israel, (symbolically owned by the state in the name of the Jewish people).



# Labor-Alignment

- Labor party
- From 1977-1991 Alignment between centre-left parties
- Labor's original socialist ideology evolved into a program that supports both a market economy and social welfare programs.
- Since 1992 the party's foreign policy retains a strong orientation toward the US with its security policy maintaining a permanent peace with the Palestinians only based on agreements that are enforceable.
  - “land for peace”





# Reagan Revolution

- 1981-1989 Ronald Reagan (Republican) U.S. president.
- Conservative ideology
  - political
  - economic





# Paradox?

- Conservative vs. secular conservative?
  - religious conservatives in Israel have own parties
  - tension between U.S. secular conservatives and market conservatives
- Peace Process
  - Schultz Plan (1988)
- Economy (1987-88)





# Restriction

- Departments
  - personality (Baker)
  - inter-office/departmental rivalry
    - famous Weinberger vs. Schultz
- Interest Groups
  - AIPAC vs. J-street
  - AAI (Arab-American Institute)



# Paradox

- AWAC sale
- Iraq nuclear reactor (pre-emptive doctrine)
- 1982 Lebanon invasion
  - Israel as aggressor
- Foreign Military Aid
- Sudan-Soviet refugees
  - “global” Jewry
- Settlements (rainbow over an ancient land)







# MOU's

- October 23, 1975: Memorandum of Agreement regarding joint political, security and economic cooperation.
- December 10, 1982: [General security of information agreement](#).
- April 21, 1988: [Memorandum of Agreement on Security Cooperation](#)
- April 30, 1996: Counterterrorism cooperation accord to enhance capabilities to deter, prevent, respond to and investigate international terrorist acts or threats of international terrorist acts against Israel or the United States.
- October 31, 1998: [Memorandum of Agreement on Security Cooperation](#)
- February 8, 2007: [Memorandum of Mutual Understanding on Homeland Security](#)
- Jewish Virtual Library: <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/US-Israel/MOUs.html> <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/US-Israel/MOUs.html>



# Mixed & Missed Signals

- 1988 (Alignment to Likud)
  - settlements
- 1991 Gulf War
- 1996 (Labor to Likud)
  - Oslo II
- 1999-2001 (Labor to Likud)
  - Camp David with Clinton, Barak and Arafat







# Misunderstood?

- “F\_K, the jews, they don’t vote for us anyway”
  - James Baker III, Secretary of State
- “Punishing us, like a child”
  - M. Begin
- After 1979 and especially after 1994 different approaches: legal vs. diplomatic



# Internal-External Variables

- Coalition and Unity Israeli governments
  - religious parties in Israel as “kingmakers”
  - smaller parties and personalities
- Divided government in the U.S.
  - Democratic president and Republican Congress or vice versa.
- Israeli-Palestinian peace process
  - extremists and militant extremists hinder progress



# Promise Denied

- 1991 Madrid
- 1993 Oslo Peace Accords
- 1997 Hebron
  - West Bank withdrawal of Israeli troops
- 2000 Camp David



# Readings

- George P. Schultz *Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State*, New York: Scribner, 1993.
- Josef Federman (2014-12-02). ["Israeli government crumbles; new election planned"](#). Associated Press. "Netanyahu's own Likud party is divided between more-centrist old timers and a young guard of hard-line ideologues."
- Dennis Ross (books and articles)