The Ascendance of Israel's Radical Right

EHUD SPRINZAK

New York Oxford OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS 1991

Contents

Chronological Table, xiii

Introduction, 3

- What Is the Radical Right? A Poltical and Cultural Profile, 9 The Radical Right: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives, 9 The Radical Right as an Israeli Paradox, 11 The Radical Right as a Political Camp, 13 The Radical Right as a Sociocultural Phenomenon, 15
- The Zionist Roots of the Radical Right, 23
 The Ultranationalist Legacy, 23
 The Radical Legacy of Jabotinsky and Betar, 25
 The "Activist" Tradition of the Labor Movement, 27
 The Maximalist Messianism of Rav Kook, 30
 The Political and Historical Marginality of the Old Radical Right, 32
- 3. The Revival of Territorial Maximalism in Israel, 35 The Longest Month, 35 The Land of Israel Movement, 38

Between Messianism and Fundamentalism: The Roots of Gush Emunim, 43

Rabbi Meir Kahane and the Birth of the Israeli Jewish Defense League, 51

Livneh's Israel and the Crisis of Western Civilization, 56 The Politics and Practices of the Territorial Maximalists, 61

4. The Rise of the Radical Right, 1978–1984, 71 The Crisis of Camp David, 71 From Banai to the Tehiya, 73 The Further Radicalization of Rabbi Meir Kahane and the Rise of Kach, 80 Settler Vigilantism and Violence in Judea and Samaria, 87 The Jewish Underground of Gush Emunim, 94 The Movement to Halt the Retreat in Sinai, 99

- 5. The Politics, Institutions, and Culture of Gush Emunim, 107 Gush Emunim: Twenty Years After, 107
 The Political Theology of Gush Emunim, 109
- The Invisible Realm of Gush Emunim, 124 Leadership and the Conduct of Politics, 137 Crises and Internal Conflicts, 151 Gush Emunim, the Settler Community, and the Intifada, 160
- 6. The Radical Right in Parliament: The Tehiya and Its Political Offspring, 167 Making It to the Knesset, 167 Transferring the Arabs, 172 The Ideological World of the Tehiya and Its Satellites, 176 Leadership and Political Style, 191
- * The Parliamentary Radical Right and the Likud, 206
- 7. Religious Fundamentalism and Political Quasi-Fascism: Kach and the Legacy of Rabbi Meir Kahane, 211
 A One-Man Show, 211

Catastrophic Messianism and Fundamentalist Determinism: The Ideo-Theology of Rabbi Kahane, 215 Political Style: The Dynamics of Quasi-Fascism, 233 From Disqualification to Assassination, 245

8. Beyond Routine Politics: The Cultural Radicals and the Struggle for the Temple Mount, 251 Neither the Gush Nor Kahane, 251 The "Redemption Movement": Yehuda Etzion and the Theology of Active Redemption, 252 The Tzfia Association and the Radicalism of Rabbi Israel Ariel, 261 Former Kahane Associates: The Case of Yoel Lerner, 274 The Struggle Over the Temple Mount, 279

9. The Radical Right, Democracy, and Zionism Past, Present, and the Future, 289
The Radical Right and Israeli Democracy, 289
The Radical Right and Classical Zionism, 296
The Radical Right Returns to History, 300
The Radical Right and the *Intifada:* From Shock to Recovery, 305
The Future of the Radical Right, 311

> Glossary, 315 Notes, 319 Bibliography, 366 Index, 379