

XX Knesset Elections: What Do These Parties Really Stand for?

Short review of leading Israeli parties' positions on key issues

The present paper provides a short review of leading Israeli parties' positions on key issues. The list of issues was compiled based on the authors' choice and understanding of the political and social conditions prevalent in the country today. The list includes items such as judicial (legal system) reform, the status of Judea and Samaria, the 2nd amendment right to self-defense, questions of taxation and spending, and others.

The paper provides a formal classification of leftist and rightist parties to test the following hypotheses. Rightist parties' positions are less stable and less consistent than those of the Left. A study of these positions yields evidence of greater consistency in Leftist party positions in Israel, along with rightist parties' extremely limited ability to keep their promises. This state of affairs can be explained by considerations of a general nature (e.g., universal suffrage makes voters gradually swing toward the Left) and by factors of local origin. The real power of elected, accountable bodies in Israel is significantly more restricted – while the authority enjoyed by a self-perpetuating court system, public media, and governmental bureaucracy is noticeably greater – than in most old democracies.

A brief reference item list on the procedure for conducting primaries in Israel is provided.

Keywords: political platform, consistent position, Right-Left cleavages, pure public goods

JEL codes: D72, D73

In the last few decades, political practice in Israel has seen a decline in public interest in parties' electoral platforms.¹ We believe that the reason stems from the deplorable tradition of breaking electoral promises. Voters have grown used to promise breaking as a routine practice

¹ Some parties break the tradition to publish their platforms. Platforms published become pretty short - about 3-5-10 pages documents – compare with 44-45 pages Republican platform 2012, for example <https://cdn.gop.com/docs/2012GOPPlatform.pdf> .

among right-wing and centrist parties – groups strong enough to win elections but obviously too weak to bear full-scale responsibility for key decision making.²

The present paper focuses on parties' actual actions record (bills proposed, sponsored, supported, and so on), rather than on electoral platforms (which are resorted to only as supplementary sources)³.

Below we cite the essentials of the positions espoused by those political parties which stand a real chance of obtaining seats in Israel's 20th Knesset. Following this survey, we present a summary of the results, including an approximate evaluation of how correct the hypothesis is about the greater “flexibility” observable in the actions and platforms of Israel's rightist parties in particular. In other words, this is an evaluation of the hypothesis to the effect that general regularities pushing the balance “leftward” in an era of universal suffrage are typical of Israel no less than – for instance – they are of England or the US, to say nothing of Western Europe.

Few people today can recall that actually neither Margaret Thatcher nor Ronald Reagan was an embodiment of the typical – mainstream – image of the conservative. Typical or mainstream were rather “pragmatic” individuals like that mastermind behind deescalating tension with the USSR, the Chinese Communists' friend, Richard Nixon, or the British Prime Minister of 1970-74, Edward Heath. The latter promised voters a “conservative revolution,” but then, after doing his famous “U-Turn,”⁴ opted to leave things as they were. Margaret Thatcher provoked a shock in the party establishment – as well as jubilation among party activists – simply by avoiding any gross violation of pre-election promises.⁵ The same was true of Ronald Reagan, who fulfilled the promises first made by Great old party during Dwight Eisenhower's election campaign of 1952 (back when Reagan himself was still a Democrat). Both leaders

² It is the special feature of the System of Government in Israel after Labor's epoch-making defeat in the 1977 elections. Since 1977 Knesset majority and Government formally represented right wing and centrist parties more often, than Leftists parties. This advantage is overweighed by leftists' domination in the court system, prosecutors/attorneys / legal counsels of governmental bodies, governmental bureaucracy, public mass media, publicly funded Academia. This unusual “division of power”—into the public authority, responsible to the voters, and the unelected bodies, boards and centers of power —undermined the mechanisms and the motivation for responsible decision-making among both the Left and the Right. The Rightist parties being formally responsible for the policy making more often than their counterparts, more often fails to meet their supporters' expectations and more often violate their promises. See for details (Yanovskiy, Rotenberg, Zatzovetsky, 2015 <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2550494> and Zatzovetsky, Yanovskiy, et al 2014, <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2425418>)

³ The hardest problem for us turned to be the Moshe Kahlon's Koolyanu list and Yishay, Chetboun, Marzel coalition positions' identification.

⁴ See the favorable response to this on the extremely leftist BBC site at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/heath_edward.shtml

⁵ See, for instance, S. P. Peregudov, *Techer i techerizm [Thatcher and Thatcherism]* (Moscow: Nauka, 1996).

implemented certain deregulation measures in the economy, stopping the advance of trade unions against free entrepreneurship, and tried to lessen the burden imposed by the state on the economy. Margaret Thatcher was in part able to do this last, having balanced the budget. The same project proved impossible for Reagan, whose term in office was marked by increased defense spending in the US; the change came in the wake of the US triumph over the USSR in the arms race and the Cold War. This victory did eventually make it possible to balance the budget, but only as a development which became a reality in the 1990s. And that was all.

The leading parties' positions on what seem to the present authors to be the key issues are outlined below. By "leading parties" we mean the parties having real chances to form a faction in the XX Knesset. To assess a party's chances in this regard, and to estimate the number of seats it should expect to have, we used figures collected through the polls.⁶

Likud 22-27; Labor ("Zionist camp") – 23-26; Jewish Home (Bayt Yehudi, BY) – 11-16; Arab parties 10-12; Yesh Atid 9-12; Moshe Kahlon's led "Koolyanu" (All of Us) list –8-10; United Torah Judaism (UTJ) – 6-8; Shas 4-9; Our Home Israel, Israel Beytenu (IB) 4-9; Meretz 5-6; Yahad (Together) / Otzma le Israel (Power for Israel) coalition (Yishay, Chetboun, Marzel) 0-5 (see also Figure 1 below).

⁶ See the polls collection at <http://knessetjeremy.com/>

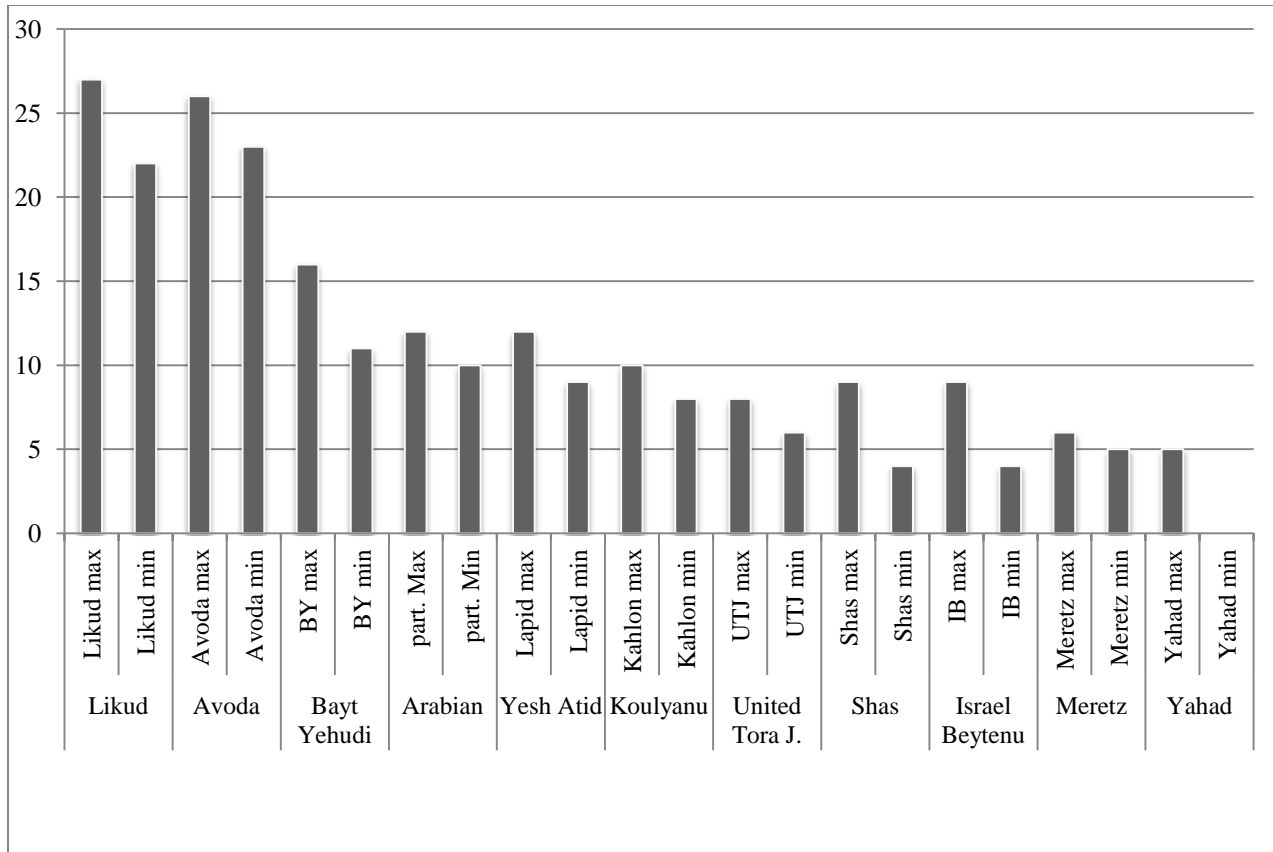


Figure 1. The number of seats projected (Source – polls collection)

The parties are grouped as "right", "left" and "Centrists and Sectoral"⁷

The Right-Left cleavages and classification criterions

The classification proposed, is based on pretty simple distinction. There are the parties or/and leaders, which prioritize "happiness promotion" vs. "simply to prevent evil"⁸. Since F. Lassal, "Leftist" have promoted governmental "cradle to grave" care and mocked "night watchman state". So they require more and more budget spending. "Rightist" doesn't need huge spending, as defense, security and justice, we need "to prevent evil" never exceed 5-10% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) during peacetime. Even in Israel, defense normally costs 7-10% GDP yearly. So Leftists claim unlimited (and, therefore, irresponsible) Government. The Rightists stand for Limited and accountable Government.

⁷ Like haredi communities interests, Russian-speaking repatriates' interest etc.

⁸ The formula coined by W. von Humboldt (1792).

Projecting these two approaches onto the complex of issues dubbed the Arab-Israeli conflict, for the former (which we, like most other writers, will refer to as “leftist”) we get generous concessions and generous aid programs to enable the solution of the problem (also bearing in mind that the generosity and the sweep of the programs in themselves possess a value in the eyes of the programs’ authors). The latter approach (the one conditionally labeled “rightist”) spells out the precondition of making no concessions capable of leading to pressure and or causing the security problem to escalate. The "ideal" Rightist politician avoids any manifestations of weakness or any move which could be interpreted as a sign of weakness. So they naturally chose military action to support threat credibility and deterrence ability as a solution to problems bound up with aggression from the without or with terrorism (where this remains by far the cheaper way of going about doing things, to save the citizens' lives and taxpayer's money).

Projecting the two approaches onto the confrontation between religious (Judeo-Christian⁹) citizens and anti-religious radicals, we also get a thoroughly consistent and clear picture. The proponents of an all-embracing state strive to replace the Supreme authority with the government. The proponents of a state which only defends its subjects from violence and injustice (in court), while not necessarily religious themselves, have no real problems with either the tradition of Sinaitic revelation or the idea of the existence of a supreme power whose authority extends beyond that of the government of Israel or even that of the government of the US¹⁰.

Our choice of key issues for Israel in the XX Knesset Elections¹¹:

⁹ with well codified ethics, supreme sanction on division of Power, independent court etc

¹⁰ "Rightist", conservative, classical liberal politicians and writers often pleaded natural law and universal moral values, while leftists mock very ideas of such laws and moral values as based on religious prejudice and / or like White man domination instruments. Sinai Revelation rooted tradition bans huge non-military spending ("neither shall he (the King) greatly multiply (accumulate) to himself silver and gold..." – (Deuteronomy 17:16)) only enough to pay his soldiers' wages" (Talmud, Tractate "Sanhedrin", 21b).

¹¹ The authors' vision is clear: free market economy means success; the Land of Israel concessions means failure.

1. **Judicial / court system reforms**
2. **Private property, including Real Estate safeguards**
3. **Taxation / new Governmental spending (mandatory), budget balance / deficit**
4. **Business climate / business regulations**
5. **Arabs, Arab autonomy, Judea, Samaria and Jerusalem statute solution,**
6. **Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the media market**
7. **Education**
8. **The IDF statute, tasks, functions and responsibilities, "new military justice" and politicized prosecutions problem;**
9. **Self-defense and 2nd amendment (right to bear Arms)**
10. **Family, Government intervention "to protect" wives against husbands and children against parents**
11. **Illegal immigration**

1. The Judicial / Court System Reform

Right

Likud

The position observable is inconsistent. Some members of Knesset (MK) – Yariv Levin, Z.Elkin, in XIX Knesset – M. Feiglin sponsored and promoted bills targeted to curtail all-mighty Supreme Court power to change (nullify) Legislation and to break machine of the Judges self-appointment, making the Court system independent as a corporation (only) and most of the judges depended on Judges elite. On a wake of the electoral campaign MK Y.Shtainitz – ckjse confident of B. Netanyahu, sharply criticized Supreme Court, not providing the solution of the problem. At the same time Netanyahu appointed Beni Begin (staunch defender of the Supreme court's super power) on 11th slot in the Likud list.

Jewish Home (BY)

BY supports reform of Judiciary. The BY faction chair Ayelet Shaked promoted respective bills in XIX Knesset. Dr Ronen Shoal building his reputation fighting self-appointment, irresponsibility and unaccountability of Israel Judiciary joined the party list for XX Knesset.

"Shaked plan"¹² is prepared for XX Knesset contains requirements to divide functions of the Government judicial counsel and State's prosecutor (in the original - התובע הראשי), the judges appointment system reform, procedure of overriding of Supreme court bans (currently Supreme Court could easily nullify any bill, passed the Knesset, shaping Israel legislation instead of abiding and enforcing thereof). N. Bennett claims minister of justice portfolio for his party, to promote the plan¹³. Electoral platform contains corresponding proposals.

Yahad

Yishai – Chetboun approach not indicated. Otzma le Israel representatives criticize Israel Judiciary and Legal system on regular basis.

Left

Labor, Meretz, Arab parties

Leftist and Arab parties object vociferously against reforms (voting against all bills, clearly designated Court system, judicial counsels and prosecutors power and responsibility and amending current system of cooptation of judges by acting senior judges).

Centrists and Sectorial parties

"Yesh Atid "

Yair Lapid criticized bills designed to reform court system under US pattern (executive power appoints the judge after public hearing and approval in the parliament) many times. He also opposed reforms designed to balance branches of power. So entire consentaneity of Yair Lapid's and Leftist parties approaches in the issue is clearly observable¹⁴.

Yisrael Beytenu (YB, Liberman)

YB leader Avigdor Liberman required constitutional reforms and proposed new body – the Constitutional Court establishment. The reforms was designed to separate the function of Knesset approved legislation constitutionality check from the rest of functions of the court system and to run the check procedures AFTER the Constitution's approval and not INSTEAD¹⁵

¹² See some fragments of the plan at <http://www.kipa.co.il/now/61006.html> .

¹³ <http://www.inn.co.il/News/News.aspx/292660>

¹⁴ See for example Lapid's reaction on Yair Levin's bills supported by N. Bennett <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/tr/originals/2013/10/netanyahu-coalition-bills-reforms-supreme-court.html>

¹⁵ Actual concept of the Israeli Supreme Court is the Constitution's formations through and by the Court precedents' decisions. The approach of constitution – making – by Judges was proposed, advocated and promoted by ex-chief-justice (Supreme Court chair) Aharon Barak. See his books Aharon Barak "The Judge in a Democracy" Princeton

it. The party 2015 manifest reiterated the point. The party's bills proposals, bills sponsorship, support (voting for the bills) not observed at least since 2006 (XVII, XVIII, XIX Knesset terms).

Koolanu, SHAS, and United Torah Judaism (UTJ)

Have no clearly stated position and have not indicated their attitude to the problem (supposedly, they prefer not bind themselves and not to create obstacles for various options of coalition agreements)..

2. Private property, including Real Estate safeguards

Right

Likud

Likud under Netanyahu leadership is formally supportive to the private land ownership idea and to reliable private property's safeguards. The Land reform, including privatization start was scheduled on currently completing (XIX Knesset) term, but in fact nothing was done to advance the case¹⁶.

Jewish Home (BY)

The party not presented its position and not active in the issue. Parties approaches not clarified even in the contexts of issue of dwelling / house prices unbearable for majority of Israelis – see BY platform¹⁷.

Yahad

The parties and leaders of the coalition not determined positions on the issue, their activities in the past not provide the cases for analysis.

The Left

Labor

Left parties historically shaped actual system of the state's land management based on government domination on the market as a holder (owner) of majority valuable lands. Labor

University Press, 2006 (for example, at p. 9 – the case in the US Supreme Court description pictures Judges' almost full discretion in shaping the constitution). See also critics of Barak activism by (US) judge Richard Posner and further discussion: pro-Barak Barak Medina (Hebrew University) <http://ssrn.com/abstract=992972> and contra Barak – "Barak's rule" by famous conservative US judge Robert H. Bork <http://azure.org.il/article.php?id=34>

¹⁶ In the Likud party framework some activists and groups are promoting free market economy's ideas and values. As the most prominent supporter of the idea M. Feiglin left the Likud, the prospects and real capacity of this groups stay unclear. During XIX Knesset term Feiglin required rapid state-owned land privatization to increase Real estate market efficiency, to lower costs of new projects in the Dwelling Building and, therefore, to decrease house prices.

¹⁷ <http://www.baityehudi.org.il/main/future> (Hebrew).

never supported private property institutions development in Israel. Their promise to provide young families by land plots not mention the legal statute of thereof. The Arab- hold lands are treated pretty differently. Labor and Meretz claim special defense for Arab rights (easily ignored in 1950-1960s). This is rather bizarre, seeing as "private property" as a term is hardly appropriate as a designation for this type of asset holding.¹⁸

Meretz

See above, the Avoda position description.

Arabian parties

They join the Leftists' claim for Arab holders rights safeguards as described above. They claim legalization of every Arab squatters' seizures – both state owned or Jewish private owned real estate too.

Centrists and Sectorial parties

" Yesh Atid "

Have no clearly stated position. Yair Lapid promises "affordable dwelling" which is unrealizable without state owned lands privatization and without removal of the restrictions on building in Judea and Samaria (which restriction Yair Lapid reveres and actively upholds on a wake of coalition break).

Koolanu

Moshe Kahlon requires deregulation of lands management system and privatization of lends, he proposes to abolish State's Land Authority¹⁹.

Shas, Unity of Torah Judaism (UTJ)

Have no clearly stated position and have not indicated their attitude to the problem.

¹⁸ Arab tradition upholds the land holding and never upholds private property as it defined in Rule of Law Democracies or in Jewish Tradition. Modern (or Jewish Traditional – see the case of Abraham purchase the land from Ephron the Heth – Genesis 23:4 – 23:17) requires deeply rooted respect to private property, privacy, human life and liberty values which shapes due guaranties of private property (see for example Pipes R. "Property and Freedom" Vintage Books 1999). The absence of these guaranties in Arab society and in the Ottoman state caused pretty affordable prices for land during early Zionist epoch. Arab sold poor specified and not respected (not defended, safeguarded) rights on poor specified land plots (actually changed nothing for something). So, modern "liberal" courts in Israel together with leftists require granting Arabs a hold on real "property" and even for disputed plots statute and guaranties unimaginable without Jewish majority in the Land of Israel and without the existence of a Jewish state.

¹⁹ <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/189829#.VLO-0cIcTcs> Kahlon Vows to Disband 'Cuba-like' Israel Land Authority

3. Taxation / new Governmental spending (mandatory), budget balance / deficit

Rights

Likud

Taxation – Netanyahu's old promises to lower tax rates gradually had been broken in 2011. This breach of promise undermined trust in the Government credibility and will harm our economy in the long run. The new position not presented publicly; factually tax burden increased for high-tech senior personnel since 2009 and. Even since January, 2013.

Budget – In the current campaign Likud behaves the most cautiously, avoiding new costly promises. Unfortunately, previous Likud led government succumbed pressure many times, executing opposition's requirements (more spending on education without any improvement of the latter, free kindergartens since 3 years old etc).

Jewish Home (BY)

Taxation – BY not defined and published clear lines and policies regarding the problem.

Budget – In the XIXth Knesset Naphtali Bennett supported balanced budget but never insisted on this point. Hebrew version of the party platform contains promises to spend more on education on one hand and points out necessity to limit Government pension obligations to civil servants.

Yahad

Current electoral campaign contains promises to spend more to benefit peripheral, economically stagnant towns and denies "capitalistic approach"²⁰

Lefts

Labor

Taxation – Labor avoids declaring clear policy intentions regarding taxation. Their push taxes up is predetermined by quite clear and broadly advertized plans to boost governmental spending (therefore they need or increase budget deficit drastically or impose higher tax rates). The party potential finance ministry Manuel Trajtenberg requires more progressive taxation²¹.

²⁰ <http://www.kipa.co.il/now/61052.html>

²¹ <http://www.haaretz.com/news/israel-election-2015/1.640479> See also Trajtenberg chaired commission's proposals (2011, as a result of Summer leftists' "Tent protest") <http://hidavrut.gov.il/>. Jerusalem Institute for Market Studies sharply criticized the proposals: <http://www.jims-israel.org/pdf/trachtenbergPR2english.pdf> (valid link: <http://instecontransit.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/trachtenbergPR2english.pdf>); Actual Trajtenberg's proposals at Avoda campaign web-site (so called "Zionist Camp"): http://hamahanehazioni.co.il/money_back_program/.

Budget – The Avoda issued a number costly promises addressed to numerous groups of voters and to potential coalition partners; the main restriction on this "generosity" is reservation to realize the promised not earlier 2017.

Meretz

Taxation – The party supports progressive taxation²².

Budget – The party requires large scale increase of the budget mandatory obligations (at least few dozens bln. NIS). For example the party presented program to "save" 1500 NIS for average household in the country at the expense of budget. The party leader Zahava Gal'on honestly define her program as socialist, anti-liberal²³.

Arab parties

These parties contribute growth of the budget spending by successful lobbying for their group's benefit. The taxation standing is not important matter for these parties.

Centrists and Sectorial parties

Yesh Atid

Yair Lapid as a Finance Minister supported increase the tax burden for the most successful businesses and professionals; simultaneously Lapid supported spending increase for the ministries headed by his party members (Education ministry, Science and Technology ministry).

Jewish Sectorialparties (YB including) support budget spending for theirs group's, sector's benefit, providing various reasoning and justifications for their demands.

Yisrael Beytenu (YB, Liberman)

YB justification of spending could be reduced to the claim that repatriates' contribution in the budget revenues much higher than their Arab and orthodox competitors' clients.

Some leftists express their concern over "generous" promises and neo-Marxism as the party economic Program basis: <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.641038>

²² See for example: <http://www.jpost.com/Israel-Elections/Meretz-unveils-NIS-265b-economic-plan-390506>

²³ See the party program (Hebrew only): <http://meretz.org.il/> and the article in Jerusalem Post containing brief review of economic (actually – spending) plans and intentions of Meretz Party: <http://www.jpost.com/Israel-Elections/Meretz-unveils-NIS-265b-economic-plan-390506>

YB demands for generous spending, supporting (Trajtenberg's commission). Why hard-working repatriates need higher taxes and higher budget transfers (minus bureaucracy costs, dead weight losses) instead of lower transfers/ benefits and lower tax rates stays unclear.

Shas

The party is campaigning now (as well as in 2013) aggressively pushing redistributive messages and slogans, fuelling "class hatred" – opposing rich vs. poor, Sephardic vs. Ashkenazi origin Jews²⁴.

4. Business climate / business regulations

Rights

Likud

Likud leaders mention need of deregulation from time to time. One couldn't observe respective practices but Moshe Kahlon's reforms (lowering entry barriers for communications market). Likud throws support behind questionable "anti-monopolist" practices (gas extraction contracts/licenses manipulations justified by needs of competition promotion).

Jewish Home (BY)

One could observe conflicting approaches in the BY leaders' and faction's activities in the XIX Knesset. On one hand they promoted and pushed the programs of easing some markets new actors (producers) entry (foods, cement). They supported lowering custom duties on milk production import²⁵. On other hand some actions indicated opposite approach preference: start-ups assisting officials appointment idea²⁶, minimal wages increase support²⁷, demand of quotas for disable people among hired by large business (100 employed and more)²⁸. Naphtali Bennet declared his intention to prioritize new regulative burden imposition on business. To support his claim Bennett reported the faction's activity to prevent number of bills during 2013-2015 (XIX

²⁴ See for instance <http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4624366,00.html> (Hebrew). The Shas party Knesset faction stands for the same values definitely (may me not so radically).

²⁵ <http://www.baityehudi.org.il/main/record>

²⁶ N.Bennett himself initiated one of the most successful start-up projects without any "start-up tsar" assistance. Bennett a number of times invited businessmen to address their needs directly to his office passing over bureaucratic procedures (instead of the elimination of these procedures).

²⁷ Minimal wage requirement is ignored or poorly enforced actually regarding illegal workers and undermines chances to enter labor market for law abiding young Jewish workers and for other law abiding but poorly skilled (inexperienced) workers.

²⁸ New Law Requires 3% Disabled Workers in All Large Businesses http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/185357?fb_action_ids=10204228490025923&fb_action_type=s=og.comments#.VNNa2MIcTcs

Knesset) which caused more business regulations (he not named Regulative impact analysis but definitely meant it)²⁹.

Lefts

Labor, Meretz

Both parties avoid focusing on the issue. They disclose where they are really stand, in their active support of "antitrust", "anti-discriminatory" and environmental regulations. They are adamant in their support of rigid labor regulations (Histadrut leaders and old members are among the both parties' core supporters and labor regulations beneficiaries).

Arab parties

The parties not focusing on the regulations issues really. On one hand the regulations are poorly enforced inside the sector, so their businesses are among the less regulated actually so they needn't to deregulate their competitors. On other hand, people hired by Jewish businesses could benefit from deregulation.

Centrists and Sectorial parties

Koolanu – Moshe Kahlon

Moshe Kahlon should be credited for the above mentioned reform of the cellular communications market liberalization.

Yisrael Beytenu (YB, Liberman)

The party had supported deregulations in the past practices.

Yesh Atid, Shas, UTJ

The parties are almost not interested in the issue (but the disputes on the Kashrut and Shabbat commandments observance and respective businesses regulations).

5. Arabs, Arab autonomy, Judea, Samaria and Jerusalem statute solution

Rights

Likud

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https://www.facebook.com/ajax/sharer/?s=11&appid=2392950137&id=889399371081732&p%5B0%5D=889399371081732&share_source_type=unknown

Netanyahu officially admitted "two-state solution" (causing sharp increase in pressure on Israel instead of prevention of thereof), but not make special efforts to realize the "solution". In Netanyahu's "credit" mass liberations of terrorists – in exchange on Gilad Shalit and simply as a "goodwill gestures". Some of Likud MK stands for annexation of the liberated in 1967 lands. Formally, Likud statute requires Jewish settlement and populating of both sides of Jordan river.

Jewish Home (BY)

BY program requires one-state solution with annexation of so-called "zone C" as a 1st stage of the solution. N.Bennett made reservation about the terms of realization (during pretty long period). BY decided not wage the conflict with Netanyahu and not supported M.Feiglin (then Likud MK) move to vote against the Budget till prime-minister would clearly surrender the "goodwill gestures".

Yahad

All participants of the coalition sharply criticize and oppose the Oslo process. All participants throw their support behind the Judea and Samaria Jewish settlement and peopling. Otzma – Marzel stand for unconditional annexation of the all lands liberated in 1967.

The Left

Labor, Meretz

The Left demands that Israel withdraw from the territories liberated in 1967; this is supposed to be part of the "peace for and" solution, clearly a failure. They try to avoid compensation for deported Jews³⁰; the idea is thus to "encourage" Jewish "voluntary departure" from Judea and Samaria and abandon settlers without protection (and actually also without arms) if they should decline the offer. Amos Yadlin (retired IDF general, potential candidate for Defense ministry) and his Institute for National Security Studies takes it as an axiomatic truth that Judea and Samaria must be cleansed of Jews Judea and Samaria. They accept the fact that strategic position of Israel among collapsing Arab regimes strengthened drastically, but continue to

³⁰ Gush Katif experience proved, just and prior compensation for few hundred thousand people exceeds best opportunities of Israel budget

require territorial concessions for the sake of "preserving the Jewish and Democratic character of Israel" (see pp. 205-226 of Annual review of the Institute for 2013-2014)³¹.

Arab parties

Arab parties skillfully exploit the strengths and weaknesses of the Jewish state. On the one hand, they are not about to give up their Israeli citizenship and respective benefits. On the other hand, they challenge the very right of the Jewish state to exist, and commit their strongest support to terrorist organizations aiming for the total destruction of Israel.

Centrists and Sectorial parties

“Yesh Atid”

“Yesh Atid” wisely avoided the discussion during 2013 electoral campaign. Being in the Government Lapid and his fellow ministers voted for terrorists liberation supporting Netanyahu against BY. The break of the coalition was caused, among other reasons, the gap in the resolution of Likud and Yesh Atid to make more concessions to terrorists' organizations.

Koolanu

Kahlon prefers not clarify his position before ruling coalition formation. So one could hear contradictory statements: on terrorists' state in Judea recognition and on preservation and development of Jewish settlements in the same region.

Yisrael Beytenu (YB - Liberman)

Liberman's – YB requirement "no citizenship without loyalty" formally preserved in the party publicized position. No bills or another moves in support the position detected at least since 2006.

Liberman declared significantly new point since start of 2015 electoral campaign. He reasoned and defends need in territorial concessions (in addition to previously discussed idea of territorial

³¹ http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/Strategic%20Survey%202013-2014_full%20text.pdf The report actually references on so called "Demographic threat" proven to be poor supported by demographic history and by current dynamics: see, for example : Y.Faitelson "Demographic Trends in the Land of Israel (1800-2007), 2011 Update" at Academia.edu: https://www.academia.edu/3330335/Demographic_Trends_in_the_Land_of_Israel_1800-2007_2011_Update Yadlin's point "to preserve Jewish character" – the idea openly challenged by ultras among the Labor and by Meretz looks pretty questionable.

swaps – concession of Galil to so called Palestine authority³²). The reason for concession Liberman promotes – need to built national unity with Leftists. BY considers this kind of unity more important than unity with Rightist (formally written – more important than unity of Land of Israel)³³.

Shas, UTJ

These parties position on the issue is pretty flexible and easily movable from definitely rightist to radically leftist (numerous declaration on readiness to surrender land of Israel in revenge for Jewish Home – BY positions on the budget and on the conscription).

One could reliably project these parties readiness to follow leader of future coalition, and, their unwillingness to share direct responsibility for territorial concessions. Они, как и остальные секторальные партии будут подстраиваться под позицию лидера коалиции при том, что сами не будут готовы взять на себя значимую долю ответственности за сдачу территорий (case of 2008 governmental coalition break by Shas and YB after prime-minister declaration about possible large scale concessions).

6. Media Market, Freedom of Speech

Rights

Likud

The party supports free speech and media competition traditionally. Zero initiatives (bills) detected targeting lowering entry barriers into the media market. The only source of radical proposals on media-market liberalization – Moshe Feiglin left the party. The faction voted against "Israel Hayom" bill³⁴.

Jewish Home (BY)

³² See Yakov Faitelson comments: <https://www.academia.edu/9908481> "Demography, territory and Security of Israel" (Hebrew)

³³ The texts uploaded on the Party official web-sites: <http://www.beytenu.org/the-vision-of-yisrael-beytenu-israel-our-home-2/> (English); <http://www.ndi.org.il/manifest-libermana/#more-81> (Russian); in Hebrew see **חזון <=> אהדות העם**

³⁴ The bill proclaimed need in honest competition and, actually, targets sweeping out of the market the "Israel Hayom" newspaper, loyal to Netanyahu. Irrespectively to political loyalty the newspaper circulation caused rise in the competition on the market. The newspaper is disbursed for free and collects revenues from advertisements. The bills' authors and sponsors claim "to defend competition" is absolutely baseless. The bill objectively targeted the rescue of leftist newspapers which heavily suffered from competition. The bill, therefore undermines both media competition and free speech opportunities in Israel.

BY advances poorly specified requirement to increase media diversity and balanced coverage in the country without clear program of the media market liberalization. All members of the faction attended the respective Knesset sitting (7 of 12), voted against "Israel Hayom" bill, means in support of free speech opportunities.

Yahad

All members of the coalition support free speech and media competition because suffered a lot from leftists' media domination. At the same time they never advanced specific initiatives to lower entry barriers into the media market.

Lefts

Labor, Meretz

Leftist parties traditionally form coalition with Judiciary to prevent media competition, to preserve governmental control on TV and Radio. The Lefts and the left leaning judges advance censorship through selective enforcement of "hate speech" including archaic British mandate period legislation on sedition. The huge majority of Labor, Meretz and Tnuva (Tzipi Livni) parties factions voted for "Israel Hayom" bill (means against Free Speech). At the same time, Meretz leader Zahava Gal'on should be credited for her voting against the bill.

Arab parties

The parties support the Left on this issue. They voted (with one abstention) for the "Israel Hayom" bill (against free speech).

Centrists and Sectorial parties

“Yesh Atid”

Yair Lapid and his faction support Lefts. But Pnina Tamano-Shata all Yesh Atid MKs (9 of 10 attended of 19 members of the faction) voted for the "Israel Hayom" bill (against free speech).

Yisrael Beytenu (Lieberman)

The party suffered in the past from leftists; media domination. All faction voted for the "Israel Hayom" bill (against free speech).

Koolanu, Shas, UTJ

Have no clearly stated position. Shas and UTJ MKs abstained or not participated the voting on "Israel Hayom" bill.

7. Education

Rights

Likud

The Likud has no clearly stated position. Gid'on Saar being minister of education vowed to advance "Zionist" component of historical studies. He initiated program of school tours in Hebron. No other activities in this direction or in any other reasonable advancement were detected. Saar followed a way of his Avoda predecessor extorting more and more money for his ministry without improvements of education quality. As a result, the next education minister (from Yesh Atid party) "succeeds" to surpass Defense ministry in the budget size.

Jewish Home (BY)

BY requires "Zionist education" and more spending for specially elaborated programs for pre-school education and for elementary schooling (see BY platform Hebrew version for details³⁵). Yachad / Otzma leaders delivered numerous speeches on the issue. We not found any specific legislations, bills authored / sponsored by Ben Ari and current coalition leaders.

Lefts

Labor, Meretz

Yael Tamir – the latest education minister from Avoda party by March,17, 2015 had came into prominence making exotic statements and advocating various radical ideas (co-founded "Peace now" organization, approved a history textbook for Arab children, wherein Israel's War of Independence is interpreted as "Nakba" – the disaster, advocated Clitoridectomy³⁶ and more).

Current composition of Avoda ("Zionist Camp") including and number of public figures openly post-zionist (anti-zionist) orientation prove basic coincidence of views (in spite of tactical conflicts for overlapping electorate) with Meretz party. The Meretz promotes cause of teacher's trade-union, pushes lowering the teacher responsibility for discipline in the class and for exams outcomes. The party is advancing cutting of time budget for fundamental studies (Math, languages, History etc) for more "diversity in teaching". The diversity requirement not cover Jewish Tradition studies³⁷.

³⁵ <http://www.baityehudi.org.il/main/future> (Hebrew).

³⁶ Tamir Y. "Hands off Clitoridectomy: What our revulsion reveals about ourselves" // Boston Review. Summer 1996 issue. <http://new.bostonreview.net/BR21.3/Tamir.html>

³⁷ The position are pretty stable since Meretz control over Education ministry in Y.Rabin government. In the 2015 manifesto the party reaffirms the position and claims: the School for socialization, for civic skills (in specific leftist

Centrists and Sectorial parties

“Yesh Atid”

Yesh Atid approach is determined by ex-education minister (2013-2014) Shai Piron. Being in the office he proved his will to reform the system, but his actions not indicated any logically consistent path of changes (some of them were quite reasonable: encouraging vocational learning by use schools facilities; some – a little bit questionable – "...fewer exams"³⁸, - 1). So the party principal policy in education stay unclear in spite of significant activities of Piron.

Yisrael Beytenu (Liberman)

YB requirements and proposals are pretty close to above mentioned BY program w/o strong accent on ideology.

Shas, Unity of Torah Judaism (UTJ)

These parties concerned first and foremost to retain their school system and their systems / institutions for Torah studies³⁹.

8. IDF. Army tasks, functions, responsibility

Rightist

Likud

Likud hasn't any measures for legal defense of soldiers against politicized judicial reprisals in his credit since 2009. Likud supported Defense minister M.Yalon (Likud) in his budget claims in conflict against finance minister Y.Lapid (Yesh Atid).

Jewish Home (BY)

BY platform (Russian version section 8) rises the problem of politicized judicial reprisals against IDF soldiers and officers⁴⁰. Naphtali Bennett personally expressed his solidarity with persecuted soldiers numerous times.

interpretation), environmentalism, egalitarianism promotion and more. The new activities naturally overcrowd the Math, Languages, History - see <http://meretz.org.il> (Hebrew). Some position even not updated since 2013 and contains critics of G.Saar for his Hebron tours initiative, for instance.

³⁸ <http://www.jpost.com/Diplomacy-and-Politics/Pirons-education-plan-More-education-fewer-exams>

³⁹ The gap between the latter and secular studies exaggerated by both sides – by Rabbis and by secular activists demanding "unified", uniformed schooling in the state. Definitely, Math and languages not harm Torah studies. Torah Studies proven to be much better brain training than numerous unfocused courses of Fine Art, tolerance, environmentalism, to say nothing of "civic skills" promoted by Meretz.

⁴⁰ The BY leaders and allied organizations (like Students' Im Tirzu union <http://en.imti.org.il/>) threw their support behind the soldiers in number of cases. The allied organizations are lobbying legislation to coerce NGO funded by foreign governments to sue IDF make their donations transparent for public.

The same or close statement placed at another sections of the party platform (Russian version #5 Hebrew version #6 and as a component #9 (need to reform Judiciary to defend soldiers)). The main instrument for soldiers' defense proposed – the Judiciary reform (accented on the judges election system)⁴¹.

BY leader proposed to increase budget spending for defense efficiency by redistribution of money inside the ministerial budget share.

Yahad

The leaders of parties of the coalition made statements on cases of politicized judicial reprisals against IDF soldiers and officers similar to BY leaders, but not brought their bills to the floor of Knesset to legislate the decisions of problem⁴².

Leftist

Labor

De facto Labor supports politicized judicial reprisals against IDF soldiers and officers⁴³ under few manifestations of solidarity in separate cases.

Meretz

Meretz consistently stays for the IDF through "new military Justice" (see comments above). The job is made by the net of allied organizations, funded by foreign governments (some of them

⁴¹ Близкие ЕД (отчасти и Likud) организации (Мой Израиль <http://www.myisrael.org.il/action/> , Юридический Форум за страну Израиля <http://haforum.org/>) ведут кампанию за реформу назначений судей и на иврите более или менее регулярно.

⁴² Rightist parties stay idle to provide due legal defense for Soldiers. Respective legislation adoption (establishing tough requirements to process of law, durable safeguards for presumption of innocence etc) looks pretty obvious as provisional decision, taking in consideration on one hand, Israel official Rejection to ratify 1977 Protocol to Geneva 1948 convention and to join International criminal court (ICC). Both institutions – the protocol and ICC are the main instruments for politicized judicial reprisals against military of civilized countries. On other hand, the protocol norms are de facto accepted by Israel prosecutors and Judiciary (see for instance, Israel's Law of War Booklet (1997) repeats the requirement of the worst of unratified norms, like "... the military gain expected from the attack is proportional to the expected damage that would be caused to civilians as a result of the offensive") since 1979. The precedents created by courts could and should be overturned by legislation, codified the original approach of Geneva Convention, to say nothing of Jewish tradition. (See for details Zatzovetsky, Yanovskiy, 2014 <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2425418>).

⁴³ Amos Yadlin (retired IDF general, potential candidate for Defense ministry) and his Institute for National Security Studies proposal is to react on terrorists' suits against IDF by national (see comments above) in depth investigations against IDF soldiers i.e. Yadlin approves approach of illegal prosecutions on the basis of ungratified norms (see section 4. p. 3): <http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/No.%20657%20-%20Pnina%20for%20web784040490.pdf>

- under mediation of New Israel Fund⁴⁴; the most prominent are specialized NGO "Yesh Din"⁴⁵).

Centrists and Sectorial parties

Koolanu

Kahlon' list #2 retired general Yoav Galant (one of the commanders during Cast Lead operation 2008-2009) have brought the issue in his party campaign blaming prime-minister for politically reasoned attack in Lebanon⁴⁶ only, so his (the party) position on significant issues stays undisclosed.

Yisrael Beytenu (Lieberman)

One could guess the Lieberman's position on IDF is much closer to the Bennett's position than to the Labors' position. It is hard to define what the party stands for, because lack of statements on the issue, to say nothing of bills sponsorship.

Shas, United Torah Judaism (UTJ)

UTJ leaders tries to escape any responsibility (both personal and sectoral) for Defense issues. Shas party is leaning to the same position currently. So IDF problems is very far from these parties' issues and interests.

9. Self-defense and 2nd amendment Right

(Self-defense right is protected by article 4 of Basic Law on the Rights and Dignity, formally)

Rightist

Likud

In XIX Knesset few rightist MKs (but MK Miri Regev) defended this right (Moshe Feiglin first and foremost). Official party position never been presented. No bills initiated or sponsored by Likud leaders or with Likud leaders' support were detected since 2009 at least.

Jewish Home (BY)

BY leaders have not presented the party attitude to the problem.

Yahad

⁴⁴ See NGO Monitor reports (English, Hebrew): <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/> ; Naomi Chazan – NIF president is former Meretz MK <http://www.yesh-din.org/geninfo.asp?gencatid=14>; See also <http://partners4israel.org/meretz-mk-yossi-beilin-convenes-emergency-meeting-peace-organizations-and-human-rights-groups-worsen>

⁴⁵ http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/yesh_din_volunteers_for_human_rights

⁴⁶ Later he disavowed his statements partly: <http://www.timesofisrael.com/galant-retracts-comment-implying-lebanon-strike-political/>

The leaders are pretty supportive for the self-defense and made numerous statements, but never initiated or sponsored the bills in defense the right.

Leftist

Labor

The party denies self-defense right for Jewish law-abiding people (just less energetically than "Meretz").

Meretz, Arab parties

These parties are consistently campaigning against the right for Jews. For example, they voted against more than moderate "Shay Dromi bill" (November 2008) which made position of the person defending his life, family, dignity and property just a little bit easier.

Centrists and Sectorial parties

“Yesh Atid”

Some MKs denied the right; the official position stays not clarified.

Yisrael Beytenu (Lieberman)

Official position not indicated. Internal security minister Y.Aharonovich contributed since 2009 in further restricting of law abiding citizens' access to arms and denied this right boldly until latest wave of terror (namely, until massacre in Har Nof synagogue November, 18, 2014). Aharonovich reduced number of offices for applying for licenses, complicated the procedure. His ministry supported judges and prosecutors pro-criminal bias in the cases of use of right for self-defense, treating this right as "obsolete".

Koolanu, Shas, United Torah Judaism (UTJ)

Have not indicated their attitude to the problem

10. Family, Government intervention "to protect" wives against husbands and children against parents

Rightist

Likud

In the framework of the Likud party there is a number of groups which are lobbying limitation on governmental intervention in the Family Affairs.

Jewish Home (BY), Yahad

In XIX Knesset Кнeccece BY consistently opposed legislation, undermining family values (against surrogate mothers bill, against approval of same-sex marriages).

Yahad coalition members deny the "state-dominated family" approach, but never indicated and never accented the issue.

Leftist

Labor, Meretz

Leftists actively support governmental intervention in Family Affairs (under pretexts of women and children protections needs). As the civil servants enjoying tenure in the respective ministries belong to the leftists' core electorate, this position looks quite natural and it is well compatible to the principles of coercive care about people.

Arab parties

The parties not indicate the position. Actually they disapprove any power for Jewish servants intervene in any Arab "internal affairs" on behalf of Jewish State.

Centrists and Sectorial parties

"Yesh Atid"

The party supports leftist in the issue. In the XIX Knesset the faction promoted and sponsored same-sex marriage approval legislation. Feminist MKs – the faction members (Yael German, Yifat Kariv⁴⁷, Aliza Lavie - head the Knesset's Committee for Advancement of Status of Women and Gender equality) - supported governmental intervention in family affairs consistently.

Yisrael Beytenu (Liberman), Koolanu (Kahlon)

Have no clearly stated position

Shas, United Torah Judaism (UTJ)

Haredim ("ultraorthodoxes") are under attack of leftist media on regular basis. They are blamed for "women-hostile" and "children – irresponsible" behavior. The substitution of parents by governmental social workers challenges Torah laws directly and boldly. In spite of these grave problems the parties prefer not indicate their position on the issue.

11. Illegal immigration

Rightist

Likud, Jewish Home (BY), "Yahad"

⁴⁷She has an unconventional vision of women's rights protection: not for Jewish girls against Arab boys - <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/175424#.VPLqGsIcTcs>

Rightist parties fights illegal Immigration vigorously, adopting the legislation and challenging the leftists on the issue.

Leftists

Labor, Meretz

Leftists parties avoid to declare officially their support to illegal immigration. Real politics provided through allied NGOs and Judiciary. The leftists politician still interested in guided voters influx as since 1977 historical defeat they couldn't trust Jewish voter exclusively⁴⁸. Leftists-allied NGOs activists promote idea, majority of illegal aliens are refugees and should be sheltered in Israel and, some day be granted citizenship.

Centrists and Sectorial parties

Yisrael Beytenu (Liberman)

The party traditionally vigorously fought illegal immigration opportunities

Shas

Shas position was pretty anti-illegal-immigrant mainly because of clear and accented position of Eli Yishai (left Shas for yahad).

Shas, United Torah Judaism (UTJ), Koolanu, "Yesh Atid"

Have no clearly stated position and have not indicated their attitude to the problem. Shimon Solomon (Yesh Atid MK) proposed to bring the illegal migrants into the seat of government during illegal's' riots⁴⁹.

Conclusions

Thus, certain isolated rightist stances manifest themselves in the activism and in the pronouncements made by parties such as the Likud, the Jewish Home, Moshe Kachlon's party, and Israel Our Home (*Yisrael Beiteinu*). But no sufficient grounds obtain for describing them and the technical Yachad bloc of Yishai and Marzel as "rightist" in any classical sense of the term (see also the table in Appendix 1 below).

By contrast, the positions espoused by the Labor (*Avodah*) and Meretz Parties are in almost perfect accord with the classic leftist model. Another party positioning itself in great proximity to

⁴⁸"If the People's will to vote Likud, it is necessary to change the People" (Yitzhak Ben-Aharon).

<http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3252701,00.html>

⁴⁹<http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/176071#.VPLU2MlcTcs>

them is the party of Yair Lapid (with the exception of certain isolated elements in the activism of some of the ministers, primarily the Minister of Education).

Apart from the question of the origins of law and morality, SHAS and United Torah Judaism also maintain leftist positions. Prima facie, such an extremely “leftist” allegiance should seem rather surprising on these parties’ part. But let us take into account the vision that the leadership of these parties has of itself as leaders operating in extreme circumstances and in hostile surroundings, in the face of the threat of a complete loss of the Jewish heritage (which is quite adequate in exile; this lifestyle they attempt to preserve). In these conditions, the temptation to take charge of all elements in the life of one’s community “from the cradle to the grave” becomes insurmountable, even though this is hardly compatible with the Jewish tradition⁵⁰.

Historically (the long-term trend), the core of Israel’s voters has been tending increasingly to the right. However, it seems this is a tendency dictated exclusively by demographic factors. In conditions of universal suffrage, the presence of a genuine worldwide trend causing a shift “leftward” in the agenda, if not in the position assumed by the voters themselves, concerning the dominant themes of the elections is confirmed in Israel’s case by the impressive difference in consistency and integrity between the rightist and leftist parties.

In keeping their promises, leftist parties rely on the coercively financed “public” mass media, state-financed universities, trade unions, and – most importantly – officialdom interested in extensive budget spending and extensive authorization and empowerment; that is, those interested in implementing leftist programs (as per our formal definition).

The rightists, by contrast, in order to implement a consistently rightist program, would need to overcome the resistance of trade unions, hostile mass media,⁵¹ and so on; in Israel, the

⁵⁰ See Eliezer Melamed, rosh yeshiva Har Bracha article "Welfare state from the point of view of Torah" (Hebrew – B'Sheva January 8, 2015p. 54 or at Arutz Sheva web-site (Hebrew): <http://www.inn.co.il/News/News.aspx/290784> Rav Melamed shows incompatibility of Tora and socialist approaches. The latter is spoiling poor people incentives to work hard. Tora requires first and foremost poor person's hard work, than if it is impossible, his family, his relatives and friends, local community's efforts to manage the problems and just in exclusive cases all society's efforts (society is not the same as Government even in latter case).

⁵¹ Margaret Thatcher fought off the trade unions’ attempt to force R. Murdoch, the legal buyer of a number of newspapers, into exile; she thus ensured a counterweight to the BBC and other leftist mass media. She also conducted a series of successful campaigns aimed at subduing officials and bringing them to heel. She managed to break the resistance of the most aggressive and powerful of the trade unions: the miners. Reagan did away with the so called Fairness Doctrine, a bureaucratic set of instructions (later upheld by the courts) which had been in wide use in the interests of the left; he also obtained a Federal broadcasting license for the non-leftist Fox channel. Besides, he conducted a demonstrative campaign of sacking the air traffic control trade union; and all this merely for the sake of

list of their targets required for successful implementation of rightist agenda also includes the judiciary system and the public prosecution service.⁵²

A party faithful to its principles and even toughening its position from one election year to the next looks both more honest and more powerful, and obtains additional support from the voters.

It follows that the first rightist leader in Israel to assume responsibility for introducing radical reforms – and hence, for dismantling the resistance of the state apparatus and interest groups – will, in case the endeavor meets with success, be the winner of a considerable electoral advantage. But the risks involved are also quite evident; they really are enormous. This explains why, up until the present time, not a single rightist leader in Israel – beginning with Menachem Begin – has had the resolve to implement a consistently rightist program

Annex 1. Ideological consistency of Israeli parties – Summary Table

"+" – means presence of indication, well defined position; "-" means obvious absence of the indication; "0" no data OR no clearly stated position, party have not indicated their attitude to the problem

introducing a few reforms rather modest in depth and extent some time down the road! It is clear that, having a view to a conflict of much greater magnitude, Israel's rightist politicians tend to put off reforms which are "unpopular" among interest groups; occasionally they go so far as to assume a "pragmatic stance," which means shifting to the left, along the lines of what happened to Israel Our Home, which moved from the "rightist camp" into the "center."

⁵² Twenty years after the introduction of universal suffrage in the US, F. D. Roosevelt, the first radically leftist – by the standards of the land – President, ran into the unwillingness of the Supreme Court to ignore the unconstitutionality of his law bills. He thereupon initiated a campaign of a few years' duration aimed at intimidating the judges; finally, accusing them of "activism" (!), he got the Supreme Court to capitulate (the so called switch of "Switch in time saves nine"; see, for instance, Burt Solomon, *FDR v. the Constitution* (Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2009)). That is, the problem has a solution, but even Roosevelt needed more than five years to reach it; the solution required great efforts on his and his administration's part, and involved the risk of impeachment.

Party	Issue	Consistent, integral Right position	Some indications of right position	Consistent, integral Left position	Some indications of Left position
Likud	Judiciary reform etc	-	+	-	+
	Property (lands including) safeguards	-	+	-	0
	Taxation / Budget new obligations (mandates)	-	+	-	+
	Business climate and regulations	-	+	-	+
	Arabs, Autonomy, Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria statute	-	+	-	+
	Free speech & media-market	-	+	-	-
	Education	-	+	-	+
	Army, IDF (tasks, legal framework, functions, responsibility)	-	+	-	0
	Self-defense, 2 nd Amendment rights	-	+	-	0
	Family, Government intervention and regulations	-	+	-	0
	Illegal immigration	+	+	-	-
Labor	Judiciary reform etc	-	-	+	+
	Property (lands including) safeguards	-	-	+	+
	Taxation / Budget new obligations (mandates)	-	-	0	+
	Business climate and regulations	-	-	0	+
	Arabs, Autonomy, Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria statute	-	-	+	+
	Free speech & media-market	-	-	+	+
	Education	-	-	+	+
	Army, IDF (tasks, legal framework, functions, responsibility)	-	-	+	+

Party	Issue	Consistent, integral Right position	Some indications of right position	Consistent, integral Left position	Some indications of Left position
	Self-defense, 2 nd Amendment rights	-	-	+	+
	Family, Government intervention and regulations	-	-	+	+
Labor	Illegal immigration	-	-	+	+
Jewish Home	Judiciary reform etc	+	+	-	-
	Property (lands including) safeguards	-	0	-	-
	Taxation / Budget new obligations (mandates)	-	+	-	+
	Business climate and regulations	-	+	-	+
	Arabs, Autonomy, Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria statute	+	+	-	-
	Free speech & media-market	-	+	-	-
	Education	-	+	-	+
	Army, IDF (tasks, legal framework, functions, responsibility)	+	+	-	-
	Self-defense, 2 nd Amendment rights	0	+	-	-
	Family, Government intervention and regulations	0	+	-	-
	Illegal immigration	+	+	-	-
Arab parties	Judiciary reform etc	-	-	+	+
	Property (lands including) safeguards	-	-	+	+
	Taxation / Budget new obligations (mandates)	-	-	0	+
	Business climate and regulations	-	-	0	+
	Arabs, Autonomy, Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria statute	-	-	+	+
Arab	Free speech & media-market	-	-	+	+

Party	Issue	Consistent, integral Right position	Some indications of right position	Consistent, integral Left position	Some indications of Left position
parties	Education	-	-	0	+
	Army, IDF (tasks, legal framework, functions, responsibility)	-	-	+	+
	Self-defense, 2 nd Amendment rights	-	-	+	+
	Family, Government intervention and regulations	-	+	-	+
	Illegal immigration	-	-	0	0
Yesh Atid-Lapid	Judiciary reform etc	-	-	+	+
	Property (lands including) safeguards	-	0	0	+
	Taxation / Budget new obligations (mandates)	-	-	0	+
	Business climate and regulations	-	-	0	0
	Arabs, Autonomy, Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria statut	-	0	+	+
	Free speech & media-market	-	-	+	+
	Education	-	+	-	+
	Army, IDF (tasks, legal framework, functions, responsibility)	-	-	0	0
	Self-defense, 2 nd Amendment rights	-	-	0	+
	Family, Government intervention and regulations	-	-	+	+
	Illegal immigration	-	-	0	+
Koolanu – M.Kahlon	Judiciary reform etc	-	-	-	0
	Property (lands including) safeguards	+	+	-	-
Koulanu -	Taxation / Budget new obligations (mandates)	-	0	-	+

Party	Issue	Consistent, integral Right position	Some indications of right position	Consistent, integral Left position	Some indications of Left position
Kahlon	Business climate and regulations	-	+	-	0
	Arabs, Autonomy, Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria statute	-	+	-	+
	Free speech & media-market	-	0	-	0
	Education	-	0	-	0
	Army, IDF (tasks, legal framework, functions, responsibility)	-	0	-	0
	Self-defense, 2 nd Amendment rights	-	0	-	0
	Family, Government intervention and regulations	-	0	-	0
	Illegal immigration	-	0	-	0
United Torah Judaism	Judiciary reform etc	-	0	-	0
	Property (lands including) safeguards	-	0	-	0
	Taxation / Budget new obligations (mandates)	-	0	-	+
	Business climate and regulations	-	0	-	+
	Arabs, Autonomy, Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria statute	-	0	0	+
	Free speech & media-market	-	0	0	0
	Education	-	+	-	+
	Army, IDF (tasks, legal framework, functions, responsibility)	-	-	-	+
United Tora Judaism	Self-defense, 2 nd Amendment rights	-	-	-	0
	Family, Government intervention and regulations	-	-	-	0
	Illegal immigration	-	0	-	0

Party	Issue	Consistent, integral Right position	Some indications of right position	Consistent, integral Left position	Some indications of Left position
Shas	Judiciary reform etc	-	0	-	0
	Property (lands including) safeguards	-	0	-	0
	Taxation / Budget new obligations (mandates)	-	-	+	+
	Business climate and regulations	-	0	-	+
	Arabs, Autonomy, Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria statut	-	+	-	+
	Free speech & media-market	-	0	-	0
	Education	-	+	-	+
	Army, IDF (tasks, legal framework, functions, responsibility)	-	0	-	0
	Self-defense, 2 nd Amendment rights	-	-	-	0
	Family, Government intervention and regulations	-	0	-	0
	Illegal immigration	-	+	-	-
Yisrael Beytenu	Judiciary reform etc	+	+	-	-
	Property (lands including) safeguards	-	0	-	-
	Taxation / Budget new obligations (mandates)	-	+	-	+
	Business climate and regulations	-	+	-	-
	Arabs, Autonomy, Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria statut	-	+	-	+
	Free speech & media-market	-	-	+	+
	Education	-	+	-	+
Liberman	Army, IDF (tasks, legal framework, functions, responsibility)	-	+	-	-

Party	Issue	Consistent, integral Right position	Some indications of right position	Consistent, integral Left position	Some indications of Left position
	Self-defense, 2 nd Amendment rights	-	0	-	-
	Family, Government intervention and regulations	-	0	-	-
	Illegal immigration	-	+	-	-
Meretz	Judiciary reform etc	-	-	+	+
	Property (lands including) safeguards	-	-	+	+
	Taxation / Budget new obligations (mandates)	-	-	+	+
	Business climate and regulations	-	-	+	+
	Arabs, Autonomy, Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria statut	-	-	+	+
	Free speech & media-market	-	-	+	+
	Education	-	-	+	+
	Army, IDF (tasks, legal framework, functions, responsibility)	-	-	+	+
	Self-defense, 2 nd Amendment rights	-	-	+	+
	Family, Government intervention and regulations	-	-	+	+
Yahad coalition (Yishai - Marzel)	Judiciary reform etc	0	+	-	-
	Property (lands including) safeguards	-	+	-	-
	Taxation / Budget new obligations (mandates)	-	-	-	+
	Business climate and regulations	-	-	-	+
	Arabs, Autonomy, Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria statut	+	+	-	-
	Free speech & media-market	-	+	-	-

Party	Issue	Consistent, integral Right position	Some indications of right position	Consistent, integral Left position	Some indications of Left position
	Education	-	+	-	+
	Army, IDF (tasks, legal framework, functions, responsibility)	0	+	-	-
	Self-defense, 2 nd Amendment rights	0	+	-	-
	Family, Government intervention and regulations	0	+	-	-
	Illegal immigration	+	+	-	-

Annex 2. The short Reference on the Primaries procedures in Israel

Unofficial sources were used for this short review, because official parties' web sites created for to display information for primaries ceased to provide information / stopped working.

The key difference between primaries procedure in Israel and its American –prototype consists in the number of votes granted to every voting participant. Classical US primaries case target is pretty simple – to select the most popular, most, the most trusted candidate to represent party at General elections for Congress constituency, for Senate, for Governor or for the President.

Israel primaries target to shape the party's list (its' top slots) and every voter has a number of votes (instead of one vote) to select his own subset of preferred candidates. The problem is, for huge majority of the voters it is a pretty hard task. They get more votes than the number of candidates they prefer or, even they are reasonably informed about.

So every member of Likud party has 11 votes (but additional vote for regional quote, there rule of the game close to American).

Bayt Yehudi (Jewish Home, BY) granted to every member 7 votes, including two "doubled" (the candidate voted by doubled vote got two votes instead of one)⁵³.

Leading leftist's party Avoda gave her voters opportunity to chose 8-10 candidates from the long list⁵⁴.

This is a principal difference from USA primaries' rules. The only vote for every voter leave the candidate the only opportunity to succeed: to impress, to convince undecided and to encourage his supporters to cast their votes.

The rules of Israeli primaries create alternative opportunity for candidates: to negotiate deals to exchange "supplementary votes".

It means, the candidate relying on 5000 core voters could surpass competitor getting 15000 making more deals.

The deals opportunity and significance make crucial supporters loyalty, implicit obedience of leaders' recommendations, the leaders' (candidates') reputation as reliable partner in previous primaries' deals implementation.

So, in theory, acting MK, avoiding conflicts and building reputation in his deals record with his "own" electoral support at 10-15% level could reach 90-100% outcome because of successfully implemented deals.

The party's leader as acting minister, or prime minister or opposition leader has special advantages under above mentioned primaries' rules. His (her) connections in the party bureaucracy, in governmental offices and in the municipalities create strong influence on the party activists hired by these entities so He (she) could pretty often to promote, to encourage "useful" deals and to destroy the undesirable ones. That is true at least for Likud and for Avoda.

Relatively new party's members, in average, are informed about primaries' candidates even worse than members of old parties. So party's leader public support threw behind the candidate could become crucial factor at primaries.

⁵³ For example, BY primaries site - <http://www.go2vote.co.il/> doesn't work; commercial delivering primaries voting short guide accessible at Naftali Bennett's Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/ajax/sharer/?s=11&appid=2392950137&id=587534724711163&p%5B0%5D=587534724711163&share_source_type=unknown

⁵⁴ See reporting from Avoda primaries <http://elections.walla.co.il/item/2819261> ... and Avoda activist's notes on his primaries' preferences: <https://observpost.wordpress.com/2015/01/07/primary-election-15/>

All three parties' leaders are authorized by the parties' statutes to appoint few candidates in the lists on their own choice.

As a result, the Israeli party leader's opportunities to shape own faction composition are incomparably higher than opportunity of acting President of the USA to influence his own party's faction in the Representative Chamber composition.