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02:05 Arab League chief: We will not change Arab peace initiative

01:11 Abbas, Haniyeh meet in Gaza, fail to make progress on unity gov't

21:52 Egypt summons Israel envoy to Cairo over alleged 1967 killings

20:20 Police: Most rockets in Gaza made from parts acquired in Israel

23:01 U.S. official: EU, China reluctant to impose sanctions on Iran

02:37 Abbas accuses EU discriminating against PA, being pro-Israel

20:39 Judge says body of evidence exists to indict billionaire Gaydamak



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Redefining the right-left divide

By Yoav Sivan

How can one criticize MK Esterina Tartman, who was hoping to be appointed minister of tourism, for her extremist views? After all, Avigdor Lieberman, the leader of her party Yisrael Beitenu and the minister for strategic threats, is already notorious for questioning the loyalty and determining conditions for citizenship of the non-Jewish citizens of Israel.

Yet Tartman - even without considering her involvement in recent scandals - succeeds in raising the bar of radicalism even higher. Her remarks concerning now-minister Raleb Majadele (Labor), to the effect that appointing an Arab minister amounts to "assimilation" and is a "lethal blow to Zionism," made even Lieberman look like a symbol of political correctness.

Lieberman and Tartman cultivate a purist ideology, which encourages making Israel as ethnically Jewish as possible, not as large as possible, and increasing the percentage of Jews among the overall Israeli population, even if this results in loss of territory. Unlike the "traditional" extreme right-wing parties in Israel, most notably the National Union, that attempt to push the border as far to the east of the Green Line as possible, Yisrael Beitenu in some cases promotes instead the drawing of the borderline west of the '67 border as part of its effort to denaturalize Arab Israelis. While Yisrael Beitenu's hawkish sentiments make it still reject territorial compromises with the Palestinians, this opposition is not its raison d'etre, as it recognizes, if only half-heartedly, what most Israelis have already acknowledged: that a two-state solution is essential for maintaining a Jewish majority in a democratic Jewish state. Moreover, the focus on demographic purity rather than land size enables Yisrael Beitenu to collaborate effectively in a government that does not disapprove peace negotiations, yet is not actively seeking them.

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The ideology of Yisrael Beitenu is not innovative and its electoral success is hardly surprising; rather these elements correspond well with the emergence of xenophobic right-wing parties that have gained public support and visibility in almost every European country, and which regard

ethnic minorities as threats to the dominant majority. This actually indicates how normal Israel has become: We too have our own European-like extreme right-wing party. But if Israel loses its claim to moral superiority, it loses its claim to protest when extremists gain victory in other countries.

Should Jean-Marie Le Pen make it again in April to the second round of the presidential election in France, Israeli leaders will face difficulties in expressing their concern over the rise of the xenophobic right in Europe. If right-wing extremists are called to form coalitions in a European country, how can Israel summon its ambassador to Jerusalem in protest, as it did when Jörg Haider's Freedom Party joined the coalition in Austria in 2000?

The rise of a European-like extreme right-wing in Israel becomes a political burden for Jewish leaders in America and Europe, too. It might even compromise their ability to represent Jewish interests. What will David Harris, the executive director of the American Jewish Committee, do when the new tourism minister makes her first official visit to America to promote Israeli tourist interests? If he and his colleagues meet with her, how can they decline meeting any senior right-wing extremists from Europe?

Israel is yet to develop European-like consensus politics to confront the rise of our extremists. In the French example, when Jean-Marie Le Pen made it to the second round in 2002, the left in France stood by the rightist candidate Jacques Chirac to prove that besides the legitimate right-wing, there is extremism whose claim to power should not be tolerated. Nobody waited for Le Pen to show whether his political platform was mere lip service to charm his electorate or whether he was serious in executing it. His views were enough to push him out of the consensus.

In recent years the concept of Greater Israel has lost its appeal, since almost all key political players now accept the principle of a two-state solution and the necessity of establishing a Palestinian state. Consequently, the traditional left-right divide in Israel has considerably blurred, and Kadima emerged as a strange mixture of former politicians from the Labor and the Likud parties.

With the new right in Israel now after the Purest Israel rather than the Greater Israel, we need to make a new distinction between the country's left and right: a left that encourages the integration of the non-Jewish population in the life of Israel, with its Jewish majority; and a right that looks for ways to limit non-Jewish participation in society and politics. Moreover, Yisrael Beitenu makes it clear that the importance of the leftist Zionist parties may lie in convincing the public that Zionist and Jewish values exclude purity and racism, and favor a political integration of the country's minorities.

Yoav Sivan is the LGBT coordinator of Young Meretz and the International Union of Socialist Youth ([www.yoavsivan.org](http://www.yoavsivan.org)).

18:54 Shas leader asks UTJ to reverse its decision to join opposition

21:43 Actor Rami Heuberger denies sexual harassment allegations

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Talkback

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1.	<b>Sivan lies- Yisrael Beiteinu DOESN'T question non-Jews' loyalty</b>	12:02   Dani	02/03/07
2.	<b>GREATER ISRAEL LOST ITS APPEAL=REBELLION AGAINST G-D ??</b>	12:41   Bill.	02/03/07
3.	<b>A Young (Middle class) Socialist</b>	12:47   FOX	02/03/07
4.	<b>Why do you print this communist tripe?</b>	13:00   Labor Supporter	02/03/07
5.	<b>AND THE COW JUMPED OVER THE MOON AGAIN</b>	13:29   paul harris	02/03/07
6.	<b>Hipocrisy of the Left</b>	13:57   Binyamin Dissen	02/03/07
7.	<b>This Argument Has Been Chatted About For Years</b>	14:44   Yaakov Sullivan	02/03/07
8.	<b>Why do you care, Y. Sullivan, who is not even willing to</b>	14:53   Leah Yavin	02/03/07
9.	<b>insighful</b>	15:09   JJ	02/03/07
10.	<b>yoav sivan</b>	15:13   baruch	02/03/07
11.	<b>leftist right-think</b>	15:19   good soldier schmidt	02/03/07
12.	<b>by far the worst and most dangerous extremists are on the left !</b>	15:24   redmike	02/03/07
13.	<b>The real extremists are the Meretz degenerates</b>	15:27   Ronny	02/03/07
14.	<b>Integration is the Key</b>	15:29   Rustam	02/03/07
15.	<b>Yaakov, you cranked today</b>	15:30   FOX	02/03/07
16.	<b>Leah Yavin, why dont you just say it? #7</b>	15:35   Yaakov Sullivan	02/03/07
17.	<b>Hypocritical leftists</b>	15:39   Matthias Roth	02/03/07
18.	<b>If Leiberman Defines the Right Then I Just Became a Lefty</b>	15:53   Jane	02/03/07
19.	<b>FOX</b>	15:59   Danite	02/03/07
20.	<b>"YES YES Yaakov"</b>	16:06   Danite	02/03/07
21.	<b>propaganda</b>	16:10   Gene	02/03/07
22.	<b>ms yaakov sullivan wb?</b>	16:16   ariel schachtman	02/03/07
23.	<b>ms yaakov sullivan to another female interlocutor</b>	16:19   ariel schachtman	02/03/07
24.	<b>Yoav, wake up the world is changing rapidly and...</b>	16:20   common sense	02/03/07
25.	<b>6honest questions for jack sullivan.</b>	16:24   shades of a charade	02/03/07
26.	<b>Hi Danitye, my socialist past</b>	16:24   FOX	02/03/07
27.	<b>Tell me Fox</b>	16:29   Danite	02/03/07
28.	<b>15Matthias Ross. I was going to respond to this article but...</b>	16:31   bat yam	02/03/07
29.	<b>How about confronting the Foreign Agent Traitors in Peace Groups</b>	16:48   Sam Weinstein	02/03/07
30.	<b>Y.Sullivan, you wrote 11 full lines (the makimum we are can)</b>	16:56   Leah Yavin	02/03/07
31.	<b>Fox</b>	16:56   Danite	02/03/07
32.	<b>FOX#2</b>	17:01   Danite	02/03/07
33.	<b>Look "Danite" try and focus #20</b>	17:39   Yaakov Sullivan	02/03/07
34.	<b>Sam Weinstein, the zionists are doing that already #29</b>	18:55   Yaakov Sullivan	02/03/07
35.	<b>#32, Danite</b>	18:57   JB	02/03/07
36.	<b>Sivan strangely out of date</b>	19:08   Tosefta	02/03/07
37.	<b>talkback writers- can you read?</b>	19:35   Boaz	02/03/07
38.	<b>Yes Yes Yaakov</b>	19:38   Danite	02/03/07
39.	<b>JB</b>	19:43   Danite	02/03/07
40.	<b>HAHAHA! Integration my foot!</b>	19:44   Psalm	02/03/07

41.	JB PS	19:47   Danite	02/03/07
42.	Sivan strangely out of date - correction	20:23   Tosefta	02/03/07
43.	No Man Is an Island	20:24   Chick Corea	02/03/07
44.	Extreme	20:39   C McCoy	02/03/07
45.	#39, Danite	20:49   JB	02/03/07
46.	Tosefta patronistic racism #42	21:06   FOX	02/03/07
47.	Sullivan, the only thing clear but your position is...	21:10   McQueen	02/03/07
48.	Extreme right in Israel	21:18   Detlef	02/03/07
49.	To Tosefta	21:31   Gene	02/03/07
50.	McQueen, this is a tired message#47	22:15   Yaakov Sullivan	02/03/07
51.	History ended with the Holocaust (Gene #49)	22:36   Tosefta	02/03/07
52.	To detlef	23:02   Gene	02/03/07
53.	#7 Yaakov #14 Rustam	23:47   KT	02/03/07
54.	#48 Detlef	23:49   KT	02/03/07
55.	A question	00:09   Gene	03/03/07
56.	JB	00:46   Danite	03/03/07
57.	FOX re the Russians	00:55   Danite	03/03/07
58.	Sullivan and the right of Israelis to live	01:00   Geulah	03/03/07
59.	# 54 KT. #48 Detlef. SORRY,BUT YOU ARE CONFUSING	01:56   Kath`	03/03/07
60.	# 54 KT. re:Detlef. CORRECTION,AND SORRY...	02:02   Kath`	03/03/07
61.	Yaakov- what happened today ?	03:08   Avrum	03/03/07
62.	Tosefta (#51)	06:17   Gene	03/03/07
63.	Tosefta (#51)	06:53   Gene	03/03/07
64.	Sullivan Re Danite	10:23   TT	03/03/07
65.	No Political Correctness From Me.	10:43   Terry	03/03/07
66.	TOSEFTA,	12:51   DR. FOX	03/03/07
67.	To Geulah/McQueen/Leah re: O`Sullivan	12:53   Ari ben Yisrael	03/03/07
68.	Right wing	13:04   Mitch Cohen	03/03/07
69.	#30 Leah Yavin	13:44   Racon-tour	03/03/07
70.	#67 Ari Ben Israel	13:49   Racon-tour	03/03/07
71.	Good mOrning Mitch Cohen #68	14:08   FOX	03/03/07
72.	Israel should confront..	14:39   Mazal Benaim	03/03/07
73.	Racon-tour # 69 No one has the right to commit	14:47   Leah Yavin	03/03/07
74.	Danite, Unfortunately, you are right.	14:53   Mazal Benaim	03/03/07
75.	Bravo Leah Yavin	14:58   Soly	03/03/07
76.	Gene #62-3	15:48   Tosefta	03/03/07
77.	To Mazal (#74)	16:18   Gene	03/03/07
78.	I WISH MORE JEWS LOVED ISRAEL!	16:30   Psalm	03/03/07
79.	Congratulations Haaretz	17:08   Federico Glez	03/03/07
80.	So are Nations, Gene	17:09   Mazal Benaim	03/03/07
81.	I WISH MORE CHRISTIANS WEREN`T CLOSET ANTISEMITES	18:06   Maccabee	03/03/07
82.	Psalm #40	18:10   CHGODMK	03/03/07
83.	Thank you TT	19:16   Danite	03/03/07
84.	Shalom Mazal	19:20   Danite	03/03/07
85.	FOX	19:20   Danite	03/03/07
86.	CHGODMK #78	19:22   Psalm	03/03/07
87.	Hi Soly. Bravo to you also. When Anat used to	19:30   Leah Yavin	03/03/07
88.	#81 Maccabee; read your post	20:19   ballistic	03/03/07
89.	#78 Psalm	20:24   ballistic	03/03/07
90.	Israel should face up to its Left!	20:27   Denton	03/03/07
91.	Kath #60	20:46   KT	03/03/07
92.	#82 Psalm	20:55   KT	03/03/07
93.	minority everywhere is a threat	21:16   Anubhav	03/03/07

<b>94.</b>	<b>General comment re Russian Immigrants - Part I</b>	21:33   dana	03/03/07
<b>95.</b>	<b>General Comments on Russians - Part II</b>	21:46   Dana	03/03/07
<b>96.</b>	<b>Final comments on Russians</b>	22:02   dana	03/03/07
<b>97.</b>	<b>Many Supporters LOst Ballistic</b>	22:04   Tobia	03/03/07
<b>98.</b>	<b>jewish majority</b>	22:09   shira	03/03/07
<b>99.</b>	<b>KT</b>	22:14   Psalm	03/03/07
<b>100.</b>	<b>Ballistic and the writing on the wall</b>	22:27   Psalm	03/03/07
<b>101.</b>	<b>To Leah Yavin #87</b>	22:28   Ari ben Yisrael	03/03/07
<b>102.</b>	<b>Gene</b>	22:39   Danite	03/03/07
<b>103.</b>	<b>To compare Israel's Right to Europe's fascists is insulting</b>	22:45   Tess	03/03/07
<b>104.</b>	<b>the new left</b>	23:15   j10	03/03/07
<b>105.</b>	<b># 9 J.J. YOUR INSIGHT IS SOMEWHAT ASKEW .....</b>	23:54   Kath`	03/03/07
<b>106.</b>	<b>Danite (#94)</b>	23:56   Gene	03/03/07
<b>107.</b>	<b>#88 ITS TIME BALLISTIC LEARNT ABOUT THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIANITY</b>	23:58   paul harris	03/03/07
<b>108.</b>	<b>Haaretz. MY POSTS:ONE TO #31 DANITE &amp; TO YOAV...</b>	00:01   Kath`	04/03/07
<b>109.</b>	<b>The Jewish Left - Always Corrosive, Sick, and Anti- Democratic</b>	00:23   Tod Zuckerman	04/03/07
<b>110.</b>	<b>kath #100 do not blame yoav but the slowman</b>	00:27   dana	04/03/07
<b>111.</b>	<b># 96 Tess.re:To compare Israel's Right to Europe's fascists is ..</b>	01:00   Kath`	04/03/07
<b>112.</b>	<b>#100 Hey Paul Harris; what do you</b>	01:20   ballistic	04/03/07
<b>113.</b>	<b>To Danite re Sullivan</b>	01:37   TT	04/03/07
<b>114.</b>	<b>#73 Leah Yavin</b>	01:42   Racon-tour	04/03/07
<b>115.</b>	<b>left and extreme left must be confronted.</b>	02:01   ralph	04/03/07
<b>116.</b>	<b># 76 Tosefta.re:Gene ETC,ETC.IT IS UNCANNY...</b>	02:04   Kath`	04/03/07
<b>117.</b>	<b>No Gene</b>	02:11   danite	04/03/07
<b>118.</b>	<b>More on slowposts</b>	02:20   dana	04/03/07
<b>119.</b>	<b>Ballistic on his `Christian knowledge`</b>	02:51   Psalm	04/03/07
<b>120.</b>	<b>TT</b>	03:36   Danite	04/03/07
<b>121.</b>	<b>to n109 - are you anti-zionist?</b>	03:45   Boaz	04/03/07
<b>122.</b>	<b>Glad we agree on something (Kathy #116)</b>	04:11   Tosefta	04/03/07
<b>123.</b>	<b>A pure Israel or Greater Israel?</b>	04:57   sandra chitayat	04/03/07
<b>124.</b>	<b>Integration is the key.</b>	05:02   sandra chitayat.	04/03/07
<b>125.</b>	<b>Yoav Sivan and the Right</b>	05:13   Dwido	04/03/07
<b>126.</b>	<b>Two-state solution.</b>	05:28   sandra chitayat.	04/03/07
<b>127.</b>	<b>on Leah Yavin #8</b>	05:46   zeev	04/03/07
<b>128.</b>	<b>Hi Danite #57</b>	06:04   FOX	04/03/07
<b>129.</b>	<b>Glad we agree on something (Kathy #116) - 2nd try</b>	06:10   Tosefta	04/03/07
<b>130.</b>	<b>Dana #96 - 2nd try</b>	06:11   Tosefta	04/03/07
<b>131.</b>	<b>on Leah Yavin #73</b>	06:21   zeev	04/03/07
<b>132.</b>	<b>Psalm #99</b>	08:09   KT	04/03/07
<b>133.</b>	<b>dana #118</b>	08:23   KT	04/03/07
<b>134.</b>	<b>Redefining the right left divide</b>	08:32   Garry	04/03/07
<b>135.</b>	<b>Racon-tour # 114 Well, what is it, does Israel</b>	08:37   Leah Yavin	04/03/07
<b>136.</b>	<b>Racon-tour If my existance is in threat yes otherwise no</b>	09:34   Aby	04/03/07
<b>137.</b>	<b>Tosefta #130 late to answer but worth it?</b>	13:56   dana	04/03/07
<b>138.</b>	<b>Tosefta #130 continued - one more item (or two)</b>	14:11   dana	04/03/07
<b>139.</b>	<b>to Aby #136 - 2nd try</b>	14:58   zeev	04/03/07
<b>140.</b>	<b>#134</b>	19:20   Nisan Ze`ev	04/03/07

**141. The Bible is not left or Right,only 4  
Israel;arab have 22 states**

23:43 | sam

04/03/07

**142. a european point of view**

00:30 | Marechera

05/03/07



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