100 Years of the Zionist Right: What Have We Learned So Far and Where is Research Headed?

International researcher workshop, Sde-Boker Campus September 16–18, 2024

The Azrieli Center for Israel Studies
The Ben-Gurion Research Institute for the Study of Israel & Zionism
Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Tel-Hai College

Tulane University

הקרן הלאומית למדע
المؤسَّسة الإسرائيلية للعلوم
Israel Science Foundation

Monday, September 16, 2024 (Day 1)

10:00 Opening remarks and greetings

10:30 **First Session:** The Revisionist Movement and the Roots of the Zionist Right

Chair: **Uri Appenzeller** (University of Haifa)
Eran Kaplan (San Francisco State University) - Between Leader and Party: Revisionism and the Crisis of Liberalism
Brian Horowitz (Tulane University) - Liberal Zionism, Russia, and the Helsingfors Conference of 1906
Jan Zouplna (Czech Academy of Sciences) - The Birth of the Union of Zionist Revisionists: the Founders, the Issues, and the Specifics of the "Zionist Right" in the 1920s

13:30 **Second Session:** Liberal Nationalism

Chair: **Daniel Gutwein** (Haifa University)
Arye Naor (Jabotinsky Institute and Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) - A Liberal Portrait of Jabotinsky
Maya Mark (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) - Liberal Nationalism in Theory and Practice: The Difficult Case of the Zionist Right
Arie Dubnov (George Washington University) - Eclecticism and Ideology: Revisionist Zionism between Revolutionism, Liberalism, Fascism, and Anti-Colonial Struggle

15:00 Break

15:30 **Round Table:** Liberal Nationalism

Eran Kaplan, Dmitry Shumsky, (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem) **Nir Kedar** (Sapir Academic College), **Dror Bar-Yosef** (Menachem Begin Heritage Center)

16:30 Break

16:45 **Third Session:** Orientalism and Traditionalism on the Right

Chair: **Naama Teitlbaum-Karrie** (Open University of Israel)
Sammy Smooha (University of Haifa), Mizrahim's Rational Choice of the Political Right
Uri Cohen (Tel Aviv University) - Interrelations between the Likud and the Growth of the Mizrahi Middle Class
Elad Nahshon (Bar-Ilan University) - Towards a history of traditionalism in the Israeli right

18:30 A tour at the exhibition hall of the Ben-Gurion Archive

Tuesday, September 17, 2024 (Day 2)

09:30 **Fourth Session:** A View from the Left - Reflection of the Right in the Works of Labor Movement Scholars

Chair: **Amir Goldstein** (Tel Hai Academic College)
Aviva Halamish (Open University of Israel) - "Yes, Break It": The Revisionists' opposition to the Institutions of the Zionist Organization and the Histadrut
Avi Bareli (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) - Betar Proletarians, Mizrahi Proletarians: The Social Challenge from the Right to the Zionist Labor Movement
Meir Chazan (Tel Aviv University) - "One Truth, Not Two": "Only Thus" Educates the Youth
Tal Elmaliach (Haifa University) - The Israeli Right as Viewed by Progressive Jews in the United States

11:30 Break

11:45 **Fifth Session:** Economics, Society, Class

Chair: **Hila Dayan** (Amsterdam University College)
Amir Goldstein (Tel Hai Academic College) -Gahal during the Recession: The Onset of Its Transformation into a Mediating Party
Daniel Gutwein (Haifa University) - The Denied Economic Policy of Begin and Shamir
Arie Krampf (Haifa University) - On the Internal Tensions between the Political Hawkishness and the Economic Liberalism of the Israeli Right: Contradiction or Complementarity?
Nissim Leon (Bar-Ilan University) - The Haredim and the Right: Is It Really a Historic Alliance?

14:15 **Round Table -** Economics, Society, Class

Sammy Smooha, Avi Bareli, Tal Elmaliach, Moshe Fuksman-Sha'al

15:30 Break

16:00 **Sixth Session:** The Israeli Right from a Global Perspective

Chair: **Maya Mark** (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)
Noam Gordon (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem) - Center-Right Parties and Their Role in Shaping (and Stabilizing) Western Politics (Zoom)
Yonatan Berman (King's College London) - The Dynamics of Inequality, Political Identity, and Schisms in Israel and Abroad
Ami Pedahzur (Haifa University) - The Far Right in Israel: Between Territorial Nationalism and Nationalist Ethnocentrism

17:30 Break

17:45 **Round Table -** The Israeli Right from a Global Perspective -

Maya Mark, Amir Goldstein, Arie Dubnov

18:45 An evening walk on the new Ben-Gurion Promenade

Wednesday, September 18, 2024 (Day 3)

09:30 **Seventh Session:** Personalities and Changes in the History of the Right

Chair: **Shoham Wechsler** (Tel Aviv University)
Yechiam Weitz (Haifa University) - The Historical Significance of the Establishment of Gahal in 1965, Success and Failure
Ofira Gruweis Kovalsky (Zefat Academic College) - The Incorporation of Jabotinsky into the Israeli Canon
Avi Shilon (Tel Hai Academic College) - From a National Hero to a "Traitor": The Mystery Surrounding Natan Yellin-Mor
Moshe Fuksman-Sha'al (Hadassah Academic College, Director of the Knesset Museum) - Between Exclusion and Recognition: The Parliamentary Struggle of the Harut Movement in the First Decade of the Knesset

11:00 Break

11:30 **Eighth Session:** The New Right between Radicalism and Populism

Chair: **Avi Shilon** (Tel Hai Academic College)
Michel Gherman (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) - The Imagined Israel in the Political Language of the New Far Right: The Cases of Brazil and Argentina
Hila Dayan (Amsterdam University College) - The Fascist Center and the Crisis of the Dual State
Gayil Talshir (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem) - Jewish Supremacy and Judicial Overhaul: Deep Currents and Waves of Crises
Daniel Filc (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) - A Full-Bore Rightist Government: Between Radical Right-Wing Populism, Clerical Fascism, and Conservative Nationalism

14:00 **Round Table -** A Historical Perspective on the New Right

Arye Naor, Ami Pedahzur, Uri Cohen, Arie Krampf, Daniel Gutwein

15:00 **Concluding Discussion -** Research into the Right: Where Is It Heading?

16:00 End of research workshop