

**THE PALESTINE MANDATE, 1920-1948**  
**HIST489SWR-00P/HIST 585-01P/JS490SWR/JS730**  
**Spring 2007**

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Office hours: By appointment

(Carlos 211)  
Wednesday 9am-Noon

**Content:**

This junior/senior colloquium will review the thirty-year history prior to the creation of Israel in 1948. We shall try to answer the questions: why and how did the Zionists succeed in building a national home? Using primary and secondary sources, it will review social, economic, and political issues which influenced the development of Zionism, affected the creation of Israel, and saw the emergence of Palestinian national identity, the creation of Israel and Palestinian refugees, and the unfolding of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Students will concentrate on understanding the internal workings of Arab, British, and Zionist communities and their relationships with one another. Students will use a variety of historical sources, including unpublished dissertations, period newspapers, memoirs, monographs, biographies, and novels of the era.

**Particulars:**

Students will write two papers and be responsible for two oral presentations. Students may satisfy all college and history writing requirements. Using secondary source materials, the ten-page short paper will be written about a personality or institution of the period. The research paper will be no longer than 30 pages for undergraduates, or 40 pages for graduate students, including endnotes. Graduate students are expected to do additional readings and meet with the professor from 11-12 on class day during the semester for a 'tutorial.' See below for more details about both paper requirements.

**Grading:**

Short paper (25%), research paper (50%), and in class participation (25%)

**Readings and Texts:**

Silberstein, Laurence J. (ed.) *New Perspectives on Israeli History: The Early Years of the State* (New York University Press, 1991), ISBN 0814779298 (paperback)  
Stein, Kenneth W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2003), ISBN 080784178 (paperback)

Special note: books to be borrowed from professor: In addition, each student will read either John Marlowe's *The Seat of Pilate* (Cresset, 1959) or Christopher Sykes' *Crossroads to*

*Israel*, (Indiana University Press: 1973). And each student will read Issa Khalaf's *Politics in Palestine Arab Factionalism and Social Disintegration, 1939-1948*. These books are out of print and can not be purchased. Each student will borrow a copy of one of these books for two weeks and return them to the professor.

An extensive core of required articles and books will be available through the Woodruff Library EUCLID Reserves Direct System.

### **General Format/Accepted Rules for Writing Both Papers:**

Students are expected to submit a bibliography and use endnotes for both papers. Students may not use an abbreviated or scientific notation format for citations in either of the submitted papers. (This means no references in the text, but only as endnotes, **not footnotes**; they must be Arabic, **not Roman** numerals. All papers must be typed and double-spaced, with no more than 250 words per page, using a 12 or 14 font. For an indication on how to organize your bibliography or endnotes, use my book, *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939*. This is a modified form presented in the *Chicago Manual of Style*. The manual is the standard for professional/scholarly writing.

### **Short Paper: (25%)**

The short paper will be written about a personality of the period. The paper should be no longer than 10-pages in length, including endnotes. For this short paper, each student should read a memoir and/or biography and short articles of one actor who influenced the history of Zionism, the Arab community in Palestine, British policy in Palestine or the evolution of the Palestine Mandate in general. You are expected to use secondary source materials, such as scholarly articles from journals and periodicals, to supplement the biographies and/or memoirs you read. **These short papers are due in class on Wednesday, March 7, 2007.**

### **Research Paper: (50%)**

The research paper will be a topic of the student's choosing in consultation with the professor. For undergraduates, the paper must be no less than 20 pages, but no more than 30 pages, including endnotes and bibliography; length for graduate student research papers will be between 30 and 40 pages total. Each student will be expected to use primary source research materials, including the Colonial Office 733 series, which is on microfilm in Woodruff Library. You are also expected to use secondary source materials, such as scholarly articles from journals, periodicals, and contemporaneous newspapers, to supplement the primary source materials you use. A list of possible research paper topics appears at the end of the syllabus. **The research paper will be due the last day of classes at 6pm on Wednesday, April 25, 2007.**

### **Oral Presentations: (25%)**

All oral presentations and class participation will count for 25% of the grade. For the presentation that summarizes your research paper, you are asked to prepare a one-page synopsis of your findings, with sufficient copies to be distributed to your peers the day of the presentation. Please make 10 copies.

## **Class Assignments:**

### **January 17:**

- Introduction to the Course
- Distribution of Syllabus and Selection of Topics
- Distribution of Marlowe or Sykes and Khalaf (complete reading Marlowe or Sykes by Jan 31 and return that day)
- Organization of two four person teams
- "Origins of Zionism and Arab Nationalism--The Late Ottoman Period and World War I: The Social, Economic, and Political Legacy of Ottoman Palestine." (Stein Lecture)

### **January 24:**

- "World War I and its Aftermath: Zionism and Arab Nationalism after WWI- Promises, Diplomacy, and the Mandate; Why the British Issued the Balfour Declaration; Zionism, Non-Zionism, and Anti-Zionism- America, Europe, and Palestine" (Stein Lecture)

### **Readings:**

\*Avineri, Shlomo. "Zionism as a National Liberation Movement," Jerusalem Quarterly, Vol. 10, Winter 1979, pp. 133-144.

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\*Kolatt, Israel. "The Zionist Movement and the Arabs," Studies in Zionism, No. 3, April 1982, pp. 129-157.

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\*Caplan, Neil. "Arab-Jewish Contracts in Palestine After the First World War," Journal of Contemporary History, Vol.12, 1977, pp. 635-668.

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\*Verete, Mayir. "The Balfour Declaration and Its Makers," Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1970, pp. 48-76.

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### **January 31:**

- "Herbert Samuel's Tenure and Legacy as High Commissioner; The Mandate and its Administration- What Was the Dual Obligation? How Was it Unequal?" (Stein Lecture)

### **Readings:**

\*Kedourie, Elie. "Sir Herbert Samuel and the Government of Palestine," Middle East Studies, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1969, pp. 44-68.

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\*Joseph, Bernard. "Palestine Legislation Under the British," in Harry Viteles and Khalil Totah (eds.) The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 164, Philadelphia, November 1932, pp. 39-46.

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\*Sheffer, Gabriel. "The Images of Arabs and Jews as a Factor in British Policy Towards Palestine," Zionism, Vol. 1, Spring 1980, pp. 105-128.

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\*Wasserstein, Bernard. "Herbert Samuel and the Palestine Problem," English Historical Review, Vol. XCI, No. CCCLXI, October 1976, pp. 753-775.

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**February 7:**

- "Economic, Fiscal, and Social Issues" (Stein Lecture)
- *Return Marlowe and Sykes books*

**Readings:**

Stein, pp. 1-211.

\*Graham-Brown, Sarah. "The Political Economy of Jabal Nablus, 1920-1948," Studies in Economic and Sociological History of Palestine in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, pp. 88-176. (entire class)

\*Stein, Kenneth W. "Palestine's Rural Economy, 1917-1939," Studies in Zionism, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1987, pp. 25-49. (entire class)

**February 14:**

- "The Arab and Jewish Communities: Organizations, Institutions, and Leadership" (Stein Lecture)

**Readings:**

\*Chizik, I. "The Political Parties of Palestine: Arabs and Jews," Royal Central Asian Society Journal, Vol. 21, 1934, pp. 94-129

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\*Horowitz, Dan and Moshe Lissak. "Ideology and Politics in the Yishuv," The Jerusalem Quarterly, Vol. 2, Winter 1977, pp. 12-26.

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\*Matter, Philip. "The Mufti of Jerusalem and the Politics of Palestine," Middle East Journal, Vol. 42, No. 2, Spring 1988, pp. 227-240.

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\*Nashif, Taysir. "Palestinian Arab and Jewish Leadership in the Mandate Period," Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 6, 1977, pp. 113-121.

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\*Porath, Yehoshua. "The Palestinian-Arab Nationalist Movement," Palestinian Arab Nationalism, (London: Cass, 1975), pp. 121-127.

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**February 21:**

● "The Tenure of High Commissioner Chancellor to the Arab Revolt, 1928-1936" (Stein Lecture)

**Readings:**

\*Ofer, Pinhas. "The Commission on the Palestine Disturbances of August 1929: Appointment, Terms of Reference, Procedure and Report," Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 21, No. 3, (July 1985), pp. 347-361.

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\*Sheffer, Gabriel. "Intentions and Results of British Policy in Palestine: Passfield White Paper," Middle East Studies, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1973, pp. 43-60.

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**February 28:**

● "Turning Point in the Mandate, 1936-1939: The Arab Revolt, Peel Report, Woodhead Report, and the 1939 White Paper" (Stein Lecture)

**Readings:**

Stein, pp. 212-221.

\*Abboushi, W.F. "Road to Rebellion: Arab Palestine in 1930s," Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 6, No. 3, Spring 1977, pp. 23-46.

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\*Arnon-Ohanna, Yuval. "The Bands in the Palestinian Arab Revolt, 1936-1939: Structure and Organization," Asian and African Studies, Vol. 15, 1981, pp. 229-247.

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\*Bowden, Tom. "Politics of Arab Rebellion in Palestine, 1936-39," Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 11, No. 2, May 1975, pp. 147-174.

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\*Cohen, Michael J. "Appeasement in the Middle East: The British White Paper on Palestine, May 1939," Historical Journal, Vol.16, September 1973, pp. 571-596.

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**March 7:**

- "The Dual Obligation- How (un)equal Was It? Was the Die Cast by 1939?" (Class Discussion)
- *Short papers are due at the end of class today*

**March 14: Spring break**

**No Class**

**March 21:**

- "1940-1947: Palestine During the War; Disintegration and Revitalization of the Arab Community; the Holocaust's Impact; Illegal immigration; and Post-war Diplomacy" (Stein Lecture)

**Readings:**

Silberstein, pp. 57-81.

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\*Bickerton, Ian J. "President Truman's Recognition of Israel," American Jewish Historical Quarterly, Vol. 58, December 1968, pp. 173-240.

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\*Cohen, Michael J. "The British White Paper on Palestine, May 1939, Part II: The Testing of a Policy, 1942-1945," The Historical Journal, Vol. 19, No. 3, 1976, pp. 727-758.

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\*Khalaf, Issa. "The Reasons for the Disintegration of Palestinian Society with an Emphasis on the Persistence of Factionalism," in Politics in Palestine, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), pp. 231-248.

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\*Kochavi, Arie J. "The Struggle Against Jewish Immigration to Palestine," Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 34, No. 3, July 1998, pp. 146-167.

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**March 28:**

●"Israel's War of Independence, the Arab World, and the Palestinian Refugees" (Stein Lecture)

**Readings:**

Silberstein, pp. 27-41, 42-56, 124-154, and 242-257 (entire class)

Heller, pp. 282-308 (entire class)

\*Alami, Musa. "The Lesson of Palestine," Middle East Journal, Vol. 3, No. 4, October 1949, pp. 373-405.

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\*Caplan, Neil. "A Tale of Two Cities: The Rhodes and Lausanne Conferences, 1949," Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 21, No. 3, Spring 1992, pp. 5-34.

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\*Nevo, Joseph. "Abdallah and the Arabs of Palestine," The Wiener Library Bulletin, Vol. XXXI, No. 45/46, 1978, pp. 51-62.

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\*Shapira, Anita. "Conclusion: The Birth of the State," Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force, 1881-1948, (Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 353-370 and 414-415.

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\*Tal, David. "The Forgotten War: Jewish-Palestinian Strife in Mandatory Palestine, December 1947-May 1948," Israel Affairs, 6:3-4, Spring/Summer 2000.

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\*Teveh, Shabtai. "The Palestine Arab Refugee Problem and its Origin," Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 26, No. 2, April 1990, pp. 214-249.

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\*Zureik, Elia T. "Transformation of Class Structure Among the Arabs in Israel: From Peasantry to Proletariat," Journal of Palestine Studies, 6, 1976, pp. 39-66.

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**April 4:**

- Summary Discussion of Research Papers

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**April 11:**

- Summary Discussion of Research Papers

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**April 18:**

- Summary Discussion of Research Papers

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**April 25: Where did the Mandate leave the Arab-Zionist dispute in Palestine?**

- *Research Papers are due at the end of class today*



### **Suggested Topics (Personalities) for Short Paper Due March 7, 2007:**

Musa Alami  
David Ben-Gurion to 1936  
Count Bernadotte  
Norman Bentwich  
John Chancellor  
Lloyd George  
Hajj Amin al-Husseini  
Berl Kaznelson  
Golda Meir  
Herbert Samuel  
Harry Truman  
Chaim Weizmann to 1930-1951

Menachem Begin  
David Ben-Gurion, 1936-1951  
Ernest Bevin  
Ralph Bunche  
Winston Churchill  
Abdullah ibn-Hussein  
Vladimir Jabotinsky  
Fredrick Kisch  
Arthur Ruppin  
Ronald Storrs  
Chaim Weizmann to 1929  
Stephen S. Wise

Please use the information and questions below for this short paper. In some cases, these questions and criteria will not apply. You may have more criteria or more important things to say about that person than what I have suggested here. Please remember that the paper should be in prose not outline fashion, with endnotes, and no longer than ten pages total in length.

We are interested in knowing what made this person a leader, how they emerged as a leader, and what characteristics they portrayed as a leader. How did each understand or manage the difference between short-term tactics and long-term strategies? How was this person driven or directed by ideology? Did their ideology change as they became older and more familiar with what they were accomplishing?

Each paper should provide a biographical sketch in order to place the person in an historical context. How did this person get along with peers and rivals? Give examples of adaptability to crises or to local, regional, or international changes in the political environment that required shifts one way or another. What obstacles were in the way of accomplishing particular goals? How were those obstacles overcome? How did this person win or obtain respectability from peers and followers? How did they manage the difference between process and substance? What means did they use to convince peers, competitors, or enemies of the righteousness or correctness of their cause? How well or poorly did your personality delegate authority? Why? Why not? Remember this is only a guideline to define leadership. **And most essential is the tie that the individual had to the emerging Arab-Jewish conflict in Palestine.**

**Suggested Topics for the Research Paper Due April 25, 2007 (6pm):**

The Economy or Economies of Palestine, 1921-1949

British Rule in Palestine: The Impact of Changing Objectives for Arabs and Jews, 1921-1947

Organization and Development of the Jewish Community

Arab and Jewish Education During the Mandate: A Comparison in National Development

The Land Question in Palestine's Politics, 1918-1945

Changing British Attitudes/Zionist Responses Toward Jewish Immigration to Palestine, 1921-45

Origins and Development of Palestinian Nationalism

The Arab Revolt, 1936-1939: Cause and Effects

The Partition Controversy, 1937-1939

The 1940 Land Transfer Regulations: Motives and Effectiveness

Changing Objectives: The British and the Palestinian Arab Community, 1921-1947

The Last Years of the Mandate, 1945-1948: Arab, Jewish, and British Politics in Palestine

Intervention of Arab States in the Palestine Question, 1936-1949

The Politics of the Palestinian Arab Refugees: Who, Why, and When?

Illegal Jewish Immigration to Palestine, 1936-1949

Evolution of Zionist Ideology and Politics in Palestine, 1921-1949 (this can be a comparison of Labor Zionism, Revisionism, or Religious Zionism, compare two, or do one, or all three)

Conferences for Policy Formulation: A Comparison of the St. James Palace Conference (February 1939), London Conference (1946-1947), Rhodes and Lausanne Negotiations (1948-1950)

Palestine in Post-WWII Diplomacy: England, U.S., and USSR (chose one or compare two)

The Palestine Question at the United Nations, 1945-1949

American Foreign Policy toward the Palestine Question/Israel, 1945-1949

**THE PARADIGM FOR THE DUAL OBLIGATION:  
HOW EQUAL WERE ARABS AND JEWS?**

**SOCIOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES**

	<b>Arabs of Palestine</b>	<b>Jews of the Yishuv</b>
<b>Structure</b>		
<b>Demographic background</b>		
<b>Education/literacy</b>		
<b>Outlook</b>		
<b>Problem Solving</b>		
<b>Mortality Rates- Infant/Death</b>		

**POLITICAL DIFFERENCES**

	<b>Arabs of Palestine</b>	<b>Jews of the Yishuv</b>
<b>Organizations</b>		
<b>Nature of Organizations</b>		
<b>Leadership</b>		
<b>Interaction with the British</b>		
<b>Ideology</b>		
<b>Other</b>		

**ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES**

	<b>Arabs of Palestine</b>	<b>Jews of the Yishuv</b>
<b>Per Capita Income (dates) Wages</b>		
<b>Monetary availability Capital inflow-investment</b>		
<b>Employment Distribution</b>		
<b>Indebtedness (dates)</b>		
<b>Tax Contribution % of population</b>		
<b>Other</b>		

**Select bibliography of monographs/books focusing on the Arab community of Palestine, the Arab viewpoints, and the evolution of the Palestinian Arab national movement, prior to and during the Mandate:**

Abacarius, M. F. Palestine Through the Fog of Propaganda (London: Hutchinson & Co.), no date.

Abu-Lughod, Ibrahim. The Transformation of Palestine (Evanston: Northwestern University Press), 1971.

Antonius, George. The Arab Awakening (New York: Capricorn Books), 1965.

Erskine, Mrs. Stuart. Palestine of the Arabs (London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd.), 1935.

Furlonge, Geoffrey. Palestine is My Country (The Story of Musa Alami) (New York: Praeger Publishers), 1969.

Jeffries, J. M. N. Palestine: The Reality (London: Longmans Green, & Co.), 1939.

Khalaf, Issa. Politics In Palestine: Arab Factionalist and Social Disintegration, 1939-1948 (Albany: SUNY), 1991.

Khalidi, Rashid. Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness (NY: Columbia University Press), 1997.

Mattar, Philip. The Mufti of Jerusalem: al-Hajj Amin Al-Husayni and the Palestinian National Movement (New York: Columbia University Press), 1988.

Mogannam, Matiel. The Arab Woman and the Palestine Problem (London: Herbert Joseph Ltd.), 1936.

Morris, Benny. 1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 1990.

Morris, Benny. The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem (Cambridge University Press), 1987.

Muslih, Muhammad Y. The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism (New York: Columbia University Press), 1988.

Polk, William R. David Stampler and Edmund Asfour. The Struggle for Palestine: Backdrop to Tragedy (Boston: Beacon Press), 1957.

Porath, Y. The Emergence of the Palestinian Arab National Movement, 1918-1929 (London: Cass), 1974.

Porath, Y. The Palestinian Arab National Movement, 1929-1939 (London: Frank Cass), 1977.

The Economy or Economies of Palestine, 1921-1949 -(Cohen)

Organization and Development of the Jewish Community- (Ari)

The Jewish Community and the 1929 - 1931 Threats to the JNH (Jon)

Origins and Development of Palestinian Nationalism-(Heather)

1937 Partition Controversy- (Leslie)

The Arab Revolt, 1936-1939: Cause and Effects-(Ana)

Intervention of Arab States in the Palestine Question, 1936-1949-(Kelly)

The Politics of the Palestinian Arab Refugees: Who, Why, and When?  
(Samar)

American Foreign Policy Toward the Palestine Question/Israel, 1945-1949  
(Nora and Eric)

Political Influence of American Jews on the Palestine Question Before 1948  
(Miles)

Zionist Influence on American Politics in the 1930s-(Lyle)

Jewish Paramilitary Organizations in Palestine-Irgun, Stern Gang -(Leffel)

Palestinian Arab Attitudes Toward the Zionists and Zionism, 1940-1949  
(David)