Zionism and Israel- An Annotated Bibliography of Books

Thousands of books exist in English which cover aspects of modern Israel and its origins. Admittedly, choosing a small number of them for any interested reader is a difficult task. This list was shaped by four decades of teaching history at the college level. Obviously some of the best books written on the subjects of Jewish history, Zionist origins and modern Israel were omitted. Those that are suggested were chosen because each did not contain polemics, touched a topic in a comprehensive manner, and possessed a rich bibliography for possible further reading. Not included in this short list of 18 books are memoirs, biographies, autobiographies, edited volumes, or titles that deal with a particular event. More contemporary topics of interest are partially covered in the short list of on-line articles in the Curated Readings section or in the more lengthy Research Bibliographies section.

Ken Stein, September 2015

Shlomo Avineri. The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State, New York: Basic Books, 1981, 244 pp., with index. Written by one of Israel’s great scholars of the late 20th century, Avineri provides an introduction and epilogue, “Zionism as a Revolution,” and sixteen self-authored essays, each one focusing on a leading thinker or philosopher of modern Zionism. This is an excellent place to start and understand the varieties of Zionist thinking that evolved from the early 1800s forward. Having its own set of endnotes, it is easy to use each of Avineri’s chapters to dig deeper into the minds, preferences, and methods of Zionism’s intellectual origins. This is highly recommended for those interested in intellectual history and how each thinker contributed to the rich variety of Zionist philosophies.

H.H.Ben-Sasson. (ed.) A History of the Jewish People, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976, 1170 pp. Composed of seventy chapters, beginning with the origins of Judaism and ending with the aftermath of the 1973 War, this is a magisterial book to read and own. It is easily the best overview of Jewish history in one volume; its contents can be dense, but certainly encompassing. Divided into six historical sections, each is written by a world-class scholar. This book will probably not be read from beginning to end, but by chapter, topic and time period determined by the reader’s interest at the moment. Most useful for the reader that wants to probe further, each of the seventy chapters has a basic bibliography that directs future readings on a particular topic. With its extensive index, the book has value for readers, learners, and educators of all ages.

Ian Bickerton and Carla Klausner. A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Kansas City, MO: University of Missouri, Pearson College Division, Seventh Edition, 2014, 560 pp. with charts, graphs, documents, maps, chronology, pictures, and guiding questions. For almost two decades I have assigned this book to all undergraduates who take my Arab-Israeli Conflict introductory course. It is readable and not polemical. Words are carefully chosen in describing events and personalities. If you need a primer to the conflict, this is as good as any place to begin.

Hillel Cohen. Army of Shadows: Palestinian Collaboration with Zionism, 1917-1948, University of California Press, 2008, 314 pp. Using primarily Arabic sources, the author focuses on how Jewish nation-building was aided by Arabs living in Palestine. The scope of voluntary Arab assistance to Jewish state building is quite remarkable. Cohen is careful to make distinctions between those who helped the Zionists strictly out of financial motivation and those who were interested in sustaining relations with Jews as they slowly built the nucleus for a state. Highly readable, and contains a bibliography well worth investigating.
Alan Dowty. *The Jewish State: A Century Later*, University of California Press, 1998, 337 pp., with index. Comprising ten chapters and an epilogue, this readable book places the ultimate success of Zionism and Israel in Jewish history, particularly an evolution of Jewish peoplehood. Jewish survival required establishing self-governing mechanisms where reliance upon one another was necessary in order to survive as persecuted minorities wherever they lived previously. He concentrates on how Zionists and Israelis built a civil and civic society and practiced democratic means that threaded together the varieties of Zionism. His chapters on societal divisions, religion, Arabs in Israel, and Israel between the 1967 War and Israel’s century celebration in 1997 are indeed worthy. The bibliography he presents is encompassing and provides a particularly useful beginning for a deeper glimpse into Israel, its people, and the issues that shaped it.

David Fromkin. *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*, New York: Avon Books, 1989, 635 pp., with index and superb bibliography. Writing diplomatic history from multiple viewpoints is more complex than writing about one event, individual, or concept. In this case, writing a history of the Middle East during the World War I period, when the Ottoman Empire dissolved and a new Middle East was born, is uniquely challenging. Modern Middle Eastern states were formed and relationships with Arab and Zionist leaders were forged, while Britain and France divided the area into mandates or trusteeships. Dozens of books have tried to cover parts of the period, but none has covered it as well as Fromkin has accomplished here.

Calvin Goldscheider and Alan S. Zuckerman. *The Transformation of the Jew*. University of Chicago Press, 1984, 279 pp., with index including a 23-page bibliography of general Jewish political sociology across the world. The core thesis in this wonderfully written book is how 80% or more Jews lived in non-democratic settings in the 1880s, and a century later 70% of them were living in democratic settings. Industrialization, modernization, demographic growth, urbanization and options to move to economically better and more physically secure settings prompted this massive change in Jewish identity. This is a little known book that should be read in order to understand how Jews went from relative powerlessness to power, including the creation of a nation-state.

Dan Horowitz and Moshe Lissak. *Origins of the Israeli Polity: Palestine Under the Mandate*, Chicago University Press, 1978, 292 pp., with index bibliography and glossary. This is a classic and masterpiece in its analysis of how immigrating Zionists created a political center from diverse political and economic origins. Though Arabs and Jews lived side by side, the Zionists welded together their diversities to create a political center capable of mobilizing for the needs of a state-in-the-making. The authors argue that the Zionist leadership willingly accepted elite formation not at the political center, and those at the periphery found common interest with the central elites. Whether commitment to an ideal or physical fear, and at times certainly both, the Israeli polity emerged because of its core commitment to see a Jewish state created in their time. If one wants to have an explanation about how the Zionists succeeded, this is an important book to read.

Ben Halpern. *The Idea of the Jewish State*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969, 483 pp. Authored by a world class historian of Jewish history, this is one of the best books written covering the history and context of modern Zionism, evolution of Israel, and Israel in world politics. The book is worth owning only for access to one of the richest bibliographies on Zionism and Israel during that time.

Issa Khalaf. *Politics in Palestine: Arab Factionalism and Social Disintegration, 1939-1948*, Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1991, 318 pp. The author provides a first-rate background to Palestinian Arab society during the 1940s and the Mandate, and then delves into the issues and personalities that dominated Arab elite factionalism. It is an honest and vivid account of how Palestinian Arab society fragmented and broke down, making it a bit easier for Zionists to succeed in establishing Israel. The book
may be out of print, but it is definitely worth the effort in securing and reading it; its bibliography is an excellent beginning for understanding the Arabs in Palestine during the Mandate.

Gregory Mahler. *Politics and Government in Israel: Maturation of a Modern State*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2011, 387 pp., with notes. This is a first-rate basic textbook on the Israeli political system. Mahler sets Israel’s political system into the historical context of Zionism’s roots, the Mandate Period, religion, and Israel’s diverse sociological make-up. The Parliament (Knesset), the Prime Minister, political parties and interest groups, the electoral process and the function of government are each clearly and concisely defined and analyzed. A third of the book touches on Israeli foreign policy, how it is made, the Palestinians, the West Bank, and the peace process.

Jacob Metzer. *The Divided Economy of Mandatory Palestine*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, 275 pp. This book is unrivaled in providing an understanding of how the early Jewish immigrants established a nascent economy based on small industries, light manufacturing, and service industries. Marrying immigrants to a new land was a key to Zionist success. Metzer provides background on Palestine’s economy before the Zionists, shows how Zionist capital fueled economic enterprises, and reviews the impact of new immigrants on the evolving Yishuv. The charts, graphs, and bibliography show how extensive Jewish nation building was by 1939, outlining its economic infrastructure before the state was declared.


Paul Rivlin. *The Israeli Economy from the Foundation of the State through the 21st Century*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, 288 pp., with index and references. Written by an economic historian, this book is unique in its depiction of how Jews established an economy in Palestine, linking an educated labor force with ingenuity and capital. He traces the philosophical distance travelled by the predominant socialist ethos initially held dear by Zionist founders to the capitalist technological force that has become Israel’s export economy of the 21st century.

Dennis Ross. *Doomed to Succeed, The U.S. – Israel Relationship from Truman to Obama*, New York, Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2015. Assembled by a veteran of a quarter-century in policy-making, Ross carefully enumerates the wrong assumptions made by every administration about the Middle East. With ample examples, he shows how each president had particular differences and growing affinities with Israeli leaders. Dotted with telling quotes and colorful vignettes throughout, the book’s final chapter summarizes past continuities and future implications for the relationship.

Anita Shapira. *Israel: A History*. Waltham, MA: Brandeis, 2012, 502 pp. This is one of the most comprehensive scholarly books on Zionism and Israel ever written. The book is divided into five parts, all chronological from 1881 to 2000. Each of the twenty chapters has a bibliography of books and articles enumerating the best scholarship available in multiple languages. Shapira’s prose is substantively erudite and analytical. This is not the first book you should read about the history of Zionism and Israel, but it is one that if you have not read, you will have denied yourself an historical feast.

Kenneth W. Stein. *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace*, Routledge, 1999, 324 pp., with index, bibliography. Using interviews with 84 participants in Arab-Israeli diplomacy, memoirs and recently opened archival materials, dispatches and memoranda of conversations,
this book is a detailed diplomatic account of the 1970s. There are personal recollections by the participants that are verified through documentary sources. The book contains a lengthy introduction from 1948 to the 1970s, featuring a review of each personality who participated in the diplomacy that unfolded during that intense period of successful American mediation. An epilogue to the post-1993 Oslo period is the book’s final chapter.

Kenneth W. Stein.  *History Politics and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict A Source Document Reader for College Courses*, 2nd edition, June 2015, 1642 pp. This compilation includes 425 items covering the period from 1893 to present. These include accords, agreements, declarations, memoranda of understandings, original archival materials, proposed initiatives and plans, press conferences, primary source documents, political statements, speeches, secret understandings, summit conference protocols, treaties, UN Resolutions, and more. Many of the items are translated from Arabic, German, and Hebrew and appear here in print for the first time. There are thirteen maps covering the Ottoman period to the present, and a population chart of Eretz Yisrael/Palestine/Israel covering 1517-2014. This e-book is divided into six sections, each with a short introduction of the history of that period. It is updated every other year. [https://israeled.org/history-politics-diplomacy-arab-israeli-conflict/](https://israeled.org/history-politics-diplomacy-arab-israeli-conflict/) This book is also available in a kindle edition from [www.amazon.com](http://www.amazon.com).