

**Jewish Studies/Middle Eastern Studies M144, Winter 2020**  
*Zionism: Ideology and Practice in the Making of a Jewish State*

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**Summary:** This course tells the biography of Zionism. Uniting social, intellectual, cultural, and political history, it exhibits its subject in panoramic view, presenting Zionism as a national sentiment, a political movement, a state-building enterprise, and a multifocal program for the renaissance of a people, a land, and a language. Comprehensive in chronology as well as in scope, the course traces the progress of Zionism through its entire career: from its first stirrings in the nineteenth century, amid great changes in Europe and the Jewish world, to its fulfillment in 1948, when the state of Israel was proclaimed. Our concentration throughout, as reflected in the course title, is shared between the study of Zionism in conception and in application. For the former, primary sources direct our inquiry, bringing us into unmediated contact with the texts of Zionism's most influential theoreticians. From there we follow Zionism's passage from the minds of its conceptualizers into the hands of its implementers, analyzing Zionism as it was enacted on the ground and profiling the prime movers behind its advance. The sum of these many separate inquiries into Zionism is a thorough exposition of the historical forces, personalities, events, and contingencies that combined to convert Jewish nationalism into a Jewish nation-state.

**The end of the course will find the attentive student able...**

- to understand Zionism as an artifact of its time and place and to explain the circumstances and developments that introduced Zionism into its nineteenth-century European context.
- to explain how Zionism was carried into execution by way of Jewish settlement, agricultural labor, organizational activity, institution-building, and international diplomacy.
- to profile Zionism's main theoreticians and describe their different conceptions.
- to identify Zionism's postulates (i.e., its diagnoses of the ills of the Jewish condition) and its pretensions (i.e., its claims to be the antidote to these ills)

- to sketch in broad outline the political history of Palestine and Jewish and Arab associations with the land.
- to describe the reception Zionism found among Palestine's Arabs and their objections to Zionism
- to understand the origin and early evolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict
- to understand the structure, operation, and leadership of Jewish society in Palestine
- to summarize the major events in Palestine in the interwar period and on the eve of Jewish statehood
- to recall the most consequential political documents (e.g., charters, agreements, white papers) in Zionist history.
- to understand Arab dissatisfaction and Jewish disillusionment with the British and two communities' uprisings in the 1930s and 1940s, respectively
- to understand the relevance of the Holocaust to Zionism and Jewish statehood
- to understand the dynamics between Zionism and the powers that maintained or decided control of Palestine
- to identify the major personalities in the struggle for and against Jewish statehood
- to explain the centrality of 1948 to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

\*One distinctive pedagogical feature of the course is its use of cultural history. Each class introduces one cultural artifact, intangible or material, that illustrates the day's lesson. In considering these works of art, architecture, poetry, literature, and music, we may concretize abstractions, refresh familiar subjects, and reinforce content, impressing it on the memory and deepening our understanding.

***Class and Office Hours:***

Class meetings: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 12:30-1:45 (Physics and Astronomy Building 1749)

Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 2-3 or by appointment (Lu Valle Commons)

\*Office is Bunche 11362

### ***Grade Disaggregation:***

- I. Preparation, attendance, and participation (10%)
- II. Midterm exam (20%), February 6
- III. Paper (30%), February 18
- IV. Take-home final exam (40%), March 20

### ***Texts:***

All reading assignments are available on the course website, each posted under its corresponding week.

### **Class Schedule and Reading Assignments**

#### **Week 1: Zion before Zionism, Jewish Nationhood before Jewish Nationalism**

Tuesday, January 7

- Introduction and preliminaries

Thursday, January 9

- David Vital, "Exile, Return, and Redemption," in *The Origins of Zionism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 3-20.
- Jean-Christophe Attias and Esther Benbassa, "The Holy Land," in *Israel, the Impossible Land* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 34-59.
- Cultural artifact: Arch of Titus (monument); Moshe ibn Ezra, "Children of Exile;" Yehuda Halevi, "My Heart is in the East" (poems)

#### **Week 2: Zionism's Nineteenth-Century Context**

Tuesday, January 14

- Howard M. Sacher, "The Jew as Non-European," in *The Course of Modern Jewish History: The Classic History of the Jewish People, from the Eighteenth Century to the Present Day* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 3-16.

- Anthony Smith, “Are Nations Modern?” in *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1986), 6-18.
- Shmuel Avineri, “Introduction: Zionism as a Revolution,” in *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 3-13.
- Cultural artifact: Moritz Oppenheim, *The Return of the Jewish Volunteer from the Wars of Liberation* (painting)

Thursday, January 16

- Leon Pinsker, “Auto-Emancipation: An Appeal to His People by a Russian Jew,” in *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*, ed. Arthur Hertzberg (Philadelphia: JPS, 1997), 181-198.
- Theodor Herzl, “The Jewish State,” in *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*, ed. Arthur Hertzberg (Philadelphia: JPS, 1997), 204-222.
- Cultural artifact: Emily Pauline Johnson, “Give Us Barabbas” (poem)

### **Week 3: Zionism’s Theoreticians and Their Ideas: Renewing the Land, the People, the Language**

Tuesday, January 21

- Max Nordau, “Jewry of Muscle,” in *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*, ed. Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 547-548.
- Micah Joseph Berdichevski, “The Question of Our Past,” in *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*, ed. Arthur Hertzberg (Philadelphia: JPS, 1997), 299-301.
- Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, *A Dream Come True* (Boulder: Westview, 1993), 1-27.
- Anita Shapira, “Introduction,” in *Essential Papers on Zionism*, eds. Jehuda Reinharz and Anita Shapira (New York: New York University Press), 1-29.
- Cultural artifact: Yitzhak Danziger, “Nimrod” (sculpture); Reuven Rubin, “First Fruits” (painting)

. Thursday, January 23

- “The Bilu Manifesto” in *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*, ed. Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 532.
- Oz Almog, “Introduction” in *The Sabra: The Creation of the New Jew* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 1-22.
- Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 13-36.
- Shmuel Ettinger and Israel Bartel, “The First Aliyah: Ideological Roots and Practical Accomplishments” in *Essential Papers on Zionism* (New York: New York University, 1996), 63-93.
- Kenneth Stein, “Forming the Nucleus for a Jewish State: 1882-1947” (Atlanta: Center for Israel Education, 2019), 3-8.
- Cultural artifact: Chaim Nachman Bialik, “HaMatmid,” “In the City of Slaughter” (poems)

#### **Week 4: Zionist Settlement and the Arabs of Palestine**

Tuesday, January 28

- Ahad Ha’am, “Truth from Eretz Israel,” in *Wrestling with Zion: Progressive Jewish-American Responses to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, ed. Tony Kushner and Alisa Solomon (New York: Grove Press, 2003), 14-16.
- Yitzhak Epstein, “A Hidden Question,” in *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*, ed. Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 558-562.
- Najib Azouri, “The Awakening of the Arab Nation,” in *The Israel/Palestine Reader*, ed. Alan Dowty (Cambridge: Polity, 2019), 56-58
- Khalil Sakakini, “My View of Zionism,” in *The Israel/Palestine Reader*, ed. Alan Dowty (Cambridge: Polity, 2019), 59-62.
- Alan Dowty, “The Arab-Israeli Conflict,” in *The Essential Israel: Essays for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Ilan Troen and Rachel Fish (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 88-93.
- Cultural artifact: Ibrahim Tuqan, “Dead Hearts” (poem)

Thursday, January 30

- Edward Said, "Zionism from the Standpoint of Its Victims," *Social Text*, no. 1 (Winter, 1979), 7-58
- Cultural artifact: Mahmoud Darwish, "I Belong There" (poem)

### **Week 5: Zionist Institutions and Enterprise in Late Ottoman Palestine**

Tuesday, February 4

- Anita Shapira, *Israel: A History* (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2012), 27-64.
- Ilan Troen, "The Zionist Village" in *Imagining Zion: Dreams, Designs, and Realities in a Century of Jewish Settlement* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 3-14.
- Cultural Artifact: Yehuda Amichai, "From the Songs of the Land of Zion and Jerusalem" (poem)

Thursday, February 6

- Amos Elon, *The Israelis, Founders and Sons* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971), 111-152.
- Derek Penslar, "The Meeting of Minds," in *Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1870-1918* (Bloomington: Indiana, 1991), 128-149.
- Cultural artifact: Ephraim Moses Lilien, "Allegorical Wedding" (painting)
- **Midterm**

### **Week 6: The Jewish-Arab-British Triangle**

Tuesday, February 11

- "The Balfour Declaration" in *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*, ed. Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 582.
- "League of Nations Mandate for Palestine" in *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*, ed. Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 593.

- A.J. Sherman, *Mandate Days: British Lives in Palestine, 1918-1948* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1998), 1-12.
- Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The People of the Book: Philosemitism in England from Cromwell to Churchill* (New York: Encounter Books), 119-149
- Cultural artifact: Excerpt from George Eliot, *Daniel Deronda* (novel)

Thursday, February 13

- Kenneth Stein, *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 129-154.
- Naomi Shepherd, *Ploughing Sand: British Rule in Palestine, 1917-1948* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 178-195.
- Kenneth Stein, "Forming the Nucleus for a Jewish State: 1882-1947" (Atlanta: Center for Israel Education, 2019), 9-14.
- Cultural artifact: Winston Churchill, "View of Jerusalem" (painting)

## **Week 7: Differences Among Jews and Between Jews and Arabs**

Tuesday, February 18

- Hanan Hever, "Yitzhak Shami: Ethnicity as an Unresolved Conflict and the Cultural and Historical Stabilities and Instabilities of Jewish Orientalism," *Shofar* 24, no. 2 (Winter 2006), 124-139.
- Norman Stillman, "Zionism and the Jews of Arab Lands," in *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times* (Philadelphia-New York, 1991, 65-91.
- Cultural artifact: Excerpts from Yitzhak Shami, *Hebron Stories* (novella); Avraham Shlonsky, "Facing the Desert" (poem)
- **Paper due**

Thursday, February 20

- Hillel Cohen, *Year Zero of the Arab-Israel Conflict 1929* (Brandeis University Press, 2015), xi-xix, 122-165.
- Zachary Lockman, "Arab Workers and Arab Nationalism in Palestine: A View from Below," in *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, ed. James Jankowski and Israel Gershoni (New York, 1997), 249-272.

- Cultural artifact: Excerpts from Uri Zvi Greenberg, “The Book of Denunciation and Faith” (poems)

## **Week 8: Zionism and Its Discontents: Arab and British Responses to Zionism in the 1930s**

Tuesday, February 25

- Rashid Khalidi, “Arab Society in Mandatory Palestine,” in *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006), 1-31.
- Baruch Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal, "The Arab Revolt 1936-1939" in *The Palestinian People: A History* (Cambridge: Harvard, 2003), 102-131, 484-489.
- Muhammad Mahdi al-Jawahiri, “Bleeding Palestine” (poem)

Thursday, February 27

- Vladimir Jabotinsky, "Evidence Submitted to the Palestine Royal Palestine Commission," in *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*, ed. Arthur Hertzberg (Philadelphia: JPS, 1997), 557-570.
- Kenneth Stein, “Forming the Nucleus for a Jewish State: 1882-1947” (Atlanta: Center for Israel Education, 2019), 15-22.
- Malcolm MacDonald, “White Paper of 1939,” in *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*, ed. Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 613-615.
- “Jewish Agency Reaction to the White Paper” in *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*, ed. Barry Rubin and Walter Laquer (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), 45-51
- al-Akhtal as-Saghir, “A Salute to Palestine” (poem)

## **Week 9: The Road to Statehood and the First Arab-Israeli War**

Tuesday, March 3

- Anita Shapira, "Consolidation, 1939-1947," in *Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force, 1881-1948* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 277-352.



- “The Problem of Palestine: Arab Testimony Presented to the Anglo-American Commission,” *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*, ed. Barry Rubin and Walter Laquer (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), 165-173.
- Cultural artifact: Natan Alterman, “Poems of the Plagues of Egypt” (poem)

Thursday, March 5

- T. G. Fraser, "The Partition of Palestine and the Creation of Israel," in *The Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Palgrave, 2008), 23-49.
- Kenneth Stein, “Forming the Nucleus for a Jewish State: 1882-1947” (Atlanta: Center for Israel Education, 2019), 23-34.
- Cultural artifact: Natan Alterman, “The Silver Platter” (poem)

### **Week 10: Zionism after Its Realization**

Tuesday, March 10

- Ezra Mendelsohn, *On Modern Jewish Politics* (Oxford University Press, 1993), 3-36, 147-150.
- Noam Pianko, "Breaking the Sovereign Mold: Nation beyond State in Modern Jewish Thought," in *Zionism & The Roads Not Taken*: Rawidowicz, Kaplan, Kohn (Indiana University Press, 2010), 1-26.
- Cultural artifact: Excerpts from S. Yizhar “Khirbet Khizeh” (novel)

Thursday, March 12

- Derek Penslar, "Zionism, Colonialism, and Postcolonialism," *Journal of Israeli History* 20, no. 2 (2001), 84-98.
- Issa Khalaf, "The Effect of Socioeconomic Change on Arab Societal Collapse in Mandate Palestine," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29, no. 1 (February 1997), 93-112.
- Cultural artifacts: State of Israel’s emblem, flag, and anthem

**\*\*Final exam due via e-mail on March 20 by 5 PM**