

**University of Southern California**  
**Zionism, Israel and the Modern World**

**Dr. David Mendelsson**

**JS 214**

Mondays and Wednesdays: 3:30 – 4:50 p.m.

Room:

Office Hours: Wednesdays 2. 15 – 3.15 p.m.

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<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Jewish-Studies-at-USC/153674587980302?ref=sgm>

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### **Course Description**

This course will begin with an examination of the Zionist idea; its common denominators and variegated factions. Due consideration will be given to the late-nineteenth century European context in order to appreciate the socio-economic, political and cultural factors that impacted upon the Zionist movement. The course will explore how competing visions for the Jewish state responded to the realities of Palestine; its local Arab population, Ottoman rulers and existing Jewish population. Following the First World War a new set of circumstances emerged for the Arab and Jewish populations particularly as European powers discussed their respective desiderata for the area. The class will discuss the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, the Sykes-Picot agreement and the Balfour Declaration in order to appreciate whether Palestine was "a twice promised land." Following further Jewish migration to Palestine, land purchase and other nation-building activities, the Arabs of Palestine rebelled first in 1920-1, again in 1929 and later initiated a Revolt that spanned three years from 1936-9. The class will examine the various British attempts to restore law and order and placate the ambitions of the Arab national movement whilst at the same time not giving the appearance of abandoning its commitments to the Zionist movement. The course will study the Peel Commission partition plan (1937) and the reactions of the Zionists, Palestinian Arabs and emerging Arab states. Why in 1939 did Britain withdraw from partition and recommend serious limitations on Jewish immigration and land purchase as well as the establishment of a single Palestine state? The course will discuss Arab and Zionist approaches towards the Allied war effort as well as their respective attitudes towards the future of the territory in a post-war settlement. Following the end of hostilities, the Zionist endeavor for statehood reached a zenith initially by diplomacy and thereafter combined with violence against the Mandate authority. The course explains the various claims as to why the British left Palestine, the recommendations of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine and its majority proposal for the partition of the territory. Students will learn of the first Arab-Israeli war, the refugee crisis and the Rhodes armistice agreements. Students will be introduced to the writings of the New Historians and their critics.

At this half way point the course will turn its attention to internal and external dilemmas that faced and indeed continue to face the Israeli state. The schism

surrounding religious – secular relations will be studied both in its manifestation in the early years of statehood as well in ensuing years. The claim that Israel adopted a position of consociational politics in this arena will be examined. A further field of study will be the approach of the hegemonic Labor movement towards the Mizrachi-Oriental immigrations of the 1950s and early 1960s. Expressions of alienation and discrimination will be explored as will the claim that the ethnic gap remains "real" and not only symbolic in contemporary Israel. The course will proceed to examine other competing voices in Israeli society including those of its Arab citizens. It will ask whether existing tensions can be accommodated by a reaffirmation of the Jewish-democratic characterization of the state or whether alternative paradigms might be considered.

The various expressions of the Israel-Arab conflict will be given due consideration as well as the efforts at peace making, particularly those with Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinians. The failure of the negotiations at Camp David in 2000 will be addressed as well as the second intifada. It is hoped that there will be sufficient time to ponder the outcomes of the war in Gaza and the Israeli national elections of February 2009.

#### **Required Course books:**

Students should purchase:

Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict 1881-2001* (New York, Vintage, 2001)

Itamar Rabinovich, and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *Israel in the Middle East* (Brandeis, Hanover: 2008).

Danna Rosenthal, *The Israelis: Ordinary People in an Extraordinary Land* (Free Press, NY 2003)

#### **Class Requirements:**

**Attendance and Participation:** Much of our time will be devoted to class discussion. In order to achieve thoughtful and meaningful conversations it will be incumbent on all of us to undertake the necessary preparation by completing the readings as indicated in the syllabus. Please note that participation is an important factor in your final grade; more than two unexcused absences will result in a lowering of that portion of your grade.

**Writing Assignments:** During the course of the semester there will be four written assignments, 3 pages each, on topics that emerge from class discussions on the reading. The dates when these are due are listed below. A full description of the assignments will be handed out in class.

**Examination:** There will be a mid-term and final examination. These will be based upon material found in the readings, discussions, and lectures. Each exam will be divided into two parts; section A will involve long essay answers and section B will involve single paragraph answers dealing with key concepts.

Final grades will be determined along the following guidelines:

Participation: 10%

Short papers (four): 10% x 4 = 40 %

Mid-term test 25%

Final test. (Students who prefer to write a paper should consult with the professor):  
25%

### **What Do Grades Mean?**

An **A** requires innovation, inspiration, and a superior execution of all the requirements of an assignment.

A **B** meets all the requirements of an assignment very well.

A **C** fulfils the requirements of an assignment satisfactorily.

A **D** meets the bare minimum requirements of an assignment.

An **F** indicates that one has not met the bare minimum requirements of an assignment.

Plagiarism will result in an F.

**A** = 90%-100%    **B+** = 86%-89%    **B** = 80%-85%    **C+** = 76%-70%    **C** = 70-75%  
**D** = 60%-69%

**Please Note:** All assignments are due at the *beginning* of class. Please do not send email attachments. Please remember that you must complete all course requirements in order to pass this class; failure to finish any of the required assignments or examinations will result in a failing grade.

A note about plagiarism: intentional plagiarism of any source is a violation of intellectual property rights and constitutes a break with the USC academic honor code. Please read and be familiar with the University of Southern California's definition of and policy regarding plagiarism and cheating as described in the University Student Conduct Code. The first of many pages that outline students' responsibilities and obligations can be found at <http://web-app.usc.edu/scampus/1100-behavior-violating-university-standards-and-appropriate-sanctions/>. A *very* helpful guide for how to avoid plagiarism is available at [http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/student-conduct/ug\\_plag.htm](http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/student-conduct/ug_plag.htm). Intentional plagiarism of any source and cheating of any variety will result in a failing grade for the course. If you do not understand exactly what kind of writing, quoting, citing, or researching constitutes plagiarism, I am happy to explain both how to recognize and how to avoid it. Please ask.

If you have a disability that requires special arrangements (e.g., note- and/or test-taking), please register with USC's Office of Disabilities Services and Programs contact me **within the first two weeks of class**. Every effort will be made to accommodate those with registered disabilities.

Please turn off all pagers, cell phones, wireless PDAs and other electronic communication devices *before* class. When any of your electronic devices (including your cell phone) rings or buzzes or lights up or vibrates, you disturb the class, your classmates, your instructor and the environment of mutually beneficial learning. In addition, you take valuable time away from our class discussion and community. Accordingly, in order to foster a positive environment for learning, please limit your computer activity to note taking or the reading of documents. As you know, it is a privilege to use laptops in the classroom setting; please do not abuse Wi-Fi access.

## Course Outline

(\* denotes required reading)

1. Monday 10<sup>th</sup> January

### **Introduction: Zionism in its Historical Context and the Common Denominators of the Zionist Idea.**

\*Shlomo Avineri, *The Making of Modern Zionism* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982). Introduction.

Gideon Shimoni, "Ideological Perspectives," in Moshe Davis, ed., *Zionism in Transition* (New York: 1980): 3-42

Arthur Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea* (Atheneum, New York 1973) pp. 15-100

2. Wednesday 12<sup>th</sup> January

### **Old Yishuv and New Yishuv/Herzl and the Rise of Political Zionism**

\*Sachar I, pp. 18-64.

\*Hertzberg, pp. 204-226 (Herzl).

Yehoshua Kaniel, "The Terms Old Yishuv and New Yishuv," *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 1 (1981): 232-245.

3. Wednesday 19<sup>th</sup> January

### **Zionism as a Secular Jewish Identity**

\*Hertzberg, pp. 262-269 (Ahad Ha'am), 293-295 (Berdyczewski), 390-395, (Katznelson) 411-414 (Pines).

\*Anita Shapira, 'The Image of the New Jew in Yishuv Society,' in (ed.) Israel Gutman, *Major Changes within the Jewish People in the Wake of the Holocaust* (Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, 1996) pp. 427-442.

Shimoni, pp. 269-305.

Distribution of **First** Assignment: Herzl, Ahad Ha'am and the Integrationists to be submitted by Wednesday 2<sup>nd</sup> February

4. & 5 Monday 24<sup>th</sup> and Wednesday 26<sup>th</sup> January

### **The Second Aliyah, the Yishuv during World War I and the Balfour Declaration**

Morris, Righteous, 83-97

\*Letter from Sir Henry McMahon to the Sharif Hussain, 24.10.1915 in Laqueur and Rubin, pp. 11-12, Sykes Picot Agreement, Laqueur and Rubin, p. 13-16,

\*Map of Sykes-Picot Agreement in M. Cohen, *Origins* p. 21, 43.

\*Balfour Declaration in Laqueur and Rubin, pp. 16.

Meir Verete, "The Balfour Declaration and its Makers," *Middle Eastern Studies* 6 (1970): 48-76.

6. Monday 31<sup>st</sup> January

### **The Mandate for Palestine and the Churchill Memorandum**

\*Morris, Righteous, pp. 98-111.

\*The Mandate for Palestine in Laqueur and Rubin, pp. 30-36.

\*Churchill Memorandum in Laqueur and Rubin, pp. 25-29.

Evyatar Friesel, "Herbert Samuel's Reassessment of Zionism in 1921," *Studies in Zionism* 10 (autumn 1984): 213-235.

7. Wednesday 2<sup>nd</sup> February

### **Developments 1929-1931 and the Arab Question in Zionism**

\*Morris, Righteous, pp. 111-120.

\*Passfield White Paper in Friesel, pp. 104-115.

\*MacDonald Letter in Laqueur and Rubin, pp. 36-41

\*Kaplan I, pp. 319-322 (Jabotinsky), 327-333 (Ben Gurion), 333-340 (Buber).

Gabriel Sheffer, "Intentions and Results of British Policy in Palestine: Passfield's White Paper," *Middle Eastern Studies* 9 (1973): 43-60.

Joseph Gorni, *Zionism and the Arabs* (Clarendon, Oxford 1987)

Distribution of **Second** Assignment: Compare and contrast two Zionist thinkers and their approach towards the Arabs of Palestine. To be submitted by Wednesday 16<sup>th</sup> February.

8 & 9. Monday 7<sup>th</sup> and Wednesday 9<sup>th</sup> February

### **The Partition Plan and the MacDonald White Paper**

\*Morris, *Righteous*, pp.138-160

Sachar I, pp. 195-226.

\*Selection from the Peel Commission Report in Laqueur and Rubin, pp. 41-43.

\*The MacDonald White Paper in Laqueur, pp. 44-50,

Cohen, *Retreat*, pp. 10-49, 66-87.

10 & 11. Monday 14<sup>th</sup> and Wednesday 16<sup>th</sup> February

### **Developments during World War II/The Struggle for the State**

\*Cohen, *Origins* Map, 1937 Partition Plan, p. 94, 1947 UN Partition Plan p. 128, Cease- Fire lines p. 129.

Biltmore Program in Laqueur, pp. 77-79.

\*Selections from UN General Assembly Resolution 181 in Laqueur, 65-77, Rabinovich and Reinharz, pp. 61-63.

Morris, *Righteous*, pp.161-191.

\*Evyatar Friesel, 'On the Myth of the Connection Between the Holocaust and the Creation of Israel,' *Israel Affairs* 14: 3, 446-466.

\*Michael J. Cohen, "Why Britain Left: the end of the Mandate," *The Wiener Library Bulletin* 31 (45/46) (1978): 74-86. [FB]

12. Wednesday 23<sup>rd</sup> February

### **The 1948 War and its Aftermath**

\*UN General Assembly Resolution 194, Rabinovich and Reinharz, pp. 89-92.

Sachar I, pp. 315-353.

Israel-Egypt Armistice in Hurewitz, pp. 299-304.

\*Benny Morris, "The Origins of the Palestinian Refugee Problem," in Laurence J. Silberstein, ed., *New Perspectives on Israeli History* (New York: 1991): 42-56 [E 320.17/S 582].

Morris, *Righteous*, pp. 191-249.

Efraim Karsh, *Palestine Betrayed* (New Haven, Yale, 2010)

13 & 14. Monday 28<sup>th</sup> February and Wednesday 2<sup>nd</sup> March

### **Mass Migration**

\*The Development Town, pp. 158-164, Social and Ethnic Tensions in Wadi Salib pp. 164-167, The Black Panthers pp. 234-237, Rabinovich and Reinharz.

View Film: The Homecoming (Episode of *Tkuma* TV series)

\*Rosenthal, *The Israelis*, pp. 113-129.

\*Sammy Smootha, 'Jewish Ethnicity in Israel: Symbolic or Real?' in Rebhun and Waxman, *Jews in Israel: Contemporary Social and Cultural Patterns* (Brandeis University Press, Hanover, 2004) pp. 118-150.

Distribution of **third** Assignment: Compare and Contrast the Smootha article on the Ethnic gap in Israel with the documentary film, *The Ingathering*. To be submitted by Monday 21<sup>st</sup> March

15 & 16. Monday 7<sup>th</sup> and Wednesday 9<sup>th</sup> March

### **The Haredim in Israel**

Either:

\*Menachem Friedman, "The Ultra-Orthodox in Israeli Society," in Kyle, Keith and Peters, Joel, eds., *Whither Israel? The Domestic Challenges* (London and New York: 1993). [E 320.9/K 99]. pp. 177-201.

Or:

Samuel Heilman, *Defenders of the Faith: Inside Ultra-Orthodox Jewry* (Shocken, New York, 1992) pp. 11-39.

\*Donna Rosenthal, *The Israelis* pp. 173-194.

## **Shas**

\*Arye Deri's Speech of April 23, 1997 Rabinovich and Reinharz pp. 459-462.

Peter Hirschberg, *The World of Shas* (New York, 1999).

Lilly Weissbrod, "Shas: An Ethnic Religious Party," *Israel Affairs* vol. 9, no. 4, summer 2003, 79-104.

Tolde Rosmer, "The *Sephardi Torah*: Shas' new Jewish Israeli," *Israel Studies Forum* vol. 19, 3 (2004), 58-82.

17. Monday 21<sup>st</sup> March

### **Religion and State**

\*The Status-Quo Agreement, pp. 58-59, The Proclamation of the State of Israel p. 72-74. The Law of Return, p. 102-3, The Debate on a Constitution pp. 96-102, Jewish Religion and Israeli Nationality: The Brother Daniel Case, pp. 172-174. Ne'eman Commission, Report on the Conversion Law, pp. 463-468, Rabinovich and Reinharz. Charles S. Liebman and Eliezer Don-Yehiya, *Religion and Politics in Israel* (Bloomington: 1984): 15-40

Eliezer Don-Yehiya, 'Orthodox Jewry in Israel and North America,' *Israel Studies*, vol. 10 no. 1, spring 2005, 157-187.

18. Wednesday 23<sup>rd</sup> March

### **The Six Day War and its Aftermath**

Sachar I, pp. 615-666.

Gilbert, pp. 67-69, 73-74, 77-78, 81.

\*The Khartoum Resolutions in Rabinovich and Reinharz, p.241-2.

UN Security Council Resolution 242 in Rabinovich and Reinharz, pp. 242-243; Laqueur and Rubin, pp. 365-366.

\*The Palestinian National Covenant in Laqueur and Rubin, pp.366-371; Rabinovich and Reinharz, pp. 243-246.

\*Allon Plan in Rabinovich and Reinharz, p. 257.

Michael Oren, 'Did Israel Want the Six Day War,' *Azure* Spring 1999, no. 7, 47-86.



19. Monday 28<sup>th</sup> March

**The Yom Kippur War**

\*The Turning Point in the Yom Kippur, pp. 265-269, The Yom Kippur War, pp. 269-276, Agranat Commission pp. 278-284. UN Security Council 338, p.331, Egyptian-Israeli Disengagement, pp. 337-340, Rabinovich and Reinhartz  
Sachar I, pp. 740-787.

Distribution of **fourth** assignment on the issue of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. To be submitted Monday 11<sup>th</sup> April.

20. Wednesday 30<sup>th</sup> March

**Gush Emunim (The Faithful Ones)**

\*Gush Emunim, Opinion Paper, January 1978, Rabinovich and Reinhartz, pp. 305-307.

Aviezer Ravitzky, *Messianism, Zionism and Jewish Religious Radicalism* (Chicago, 1997): 79-144

\*Donna Rosenthal, *The Israelis* pp. 195-220.

\*David Newman, 'From *Hitnachlut* to *Hitnatkut*: The Impact of *Gush Emunim* and the Settlement Movement on Israeli Politics and Society,' *Israel Studies* vol. 10, 3, fall 2005, 192-224.

Disengaging: *Eretz Acheret: A Different Place*, autumn 2005. (See articles by Yigal Ariel, pp. 10-15, Yair Sheleg pp. 18-25, Yoel Bin-Nun, pp. 50-55,

Gershon Gorenberg, 'A Very Long Disengagement,' *Jerusalem Report* September 5, 2005 p. 23.

Shaul Magid, 'The Settle Secession,' *Jerusalem Report* September 20, 2004.

Michael Feige, *Settling in the Hearts: Jewish fundamentalism in the Occupied Territories* (Wayne State Univ. Press, Detroit 2009) pp. 1-86.

21. Monday 4<sup>th</sup> April

### **Arabs in Israel**

Orr Commission; Report on Clashes between the Security Forces and Israeli Citizens in October 2000, pp. 479-484, Rabinovich and Reinharz

Elie Rekhes, 'The Arabs of Israel after Oslo: Localization of the National Struggle,' *Israel Studies* vol. 7, 3 fall 2002, 1-44.

The National Committee for the Heads of the Arab Local Authorities in Israel, *The Future Vision of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel* (2006)

\*Donna Rosenthal, *The Israelis* pp. 247-277.

\*Sammy Smoocha, 'Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel: A Deeply Divided Society,' Anita Shapira, *Israeli Identity in Transition* (Praeger, Westport 2004) pp. 31-67.

\*Ahmed Tibi, "My Independence Day" *The Jerusalem Report* (Israel at 50), May 1998, p. 17.

22. Wednesday 6<sup>th</sup> April

### **The (First) Lebanon War**

View Film Waltz with Bashir

23 & 24. Monday 11<sup>th</sup> and Wednesday 13<sup>th</sup> April

### **Peace Process and Current Crisis**

\*Laqueur and Rubin, 6th ed., pp. 404-409 (Camp David Frameworks for Peace), 413-425 (Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles) 443-455, (Israel-PLO: Cairo Agreement - "Oslo I"). 502-522 Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip ("Oslo II"). Rabinovich and Reinharz, pp. 502-505.

Israel and Palestinian Authority: Hebron Accords (January 15, 1997), pp. 522-523.

Israel and Palestinian Authority: The Wye River Memorandum (October 23, 1998) pp. 529-534. Rabinovich and Reinharz, pp. 507-513

US President Bill Clinton: Statement after the Camp David Peace Talks (July 25, 2000) pp. 551-554.

US President Bill Clinton: The Clinton Plan (December 23, 2000), pp. 562-564.

Rabinovich and Reinharz, pp. 518-521

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, pp. 611-675.

Sachar, pp. 977-2001

[Dennis Ross, Gidi Grinstein, Hussein Agha, Robert Malley. "Camp David: An Exchange." \*New York Review of Books\*, 20 September 2001](#)

[Camp David and After: An Exchange \(1. An Interview with Ehud Barak](#), by Benny Morris, in response to "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors") *New York Review of Books* [13 June 2002](#)

[Camp David and After: An Exchange \(2. A Reply to Ehud Barak\)](#) By Hussein Agha, Robert Malley, *New York Review of Books* [13 June 2002](#)

[Camp David and After—Continued](#), Benny Morris, Ehud Barak, Reply by Hussein Agha, Robert Malley, *New York Review of Books*

Benny Morris, *One State, Two States; Resolving the Israel/Palestine Conflict* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 2009).

25. Monday 18<sup>th</sup> April

### **A Changing Israel**

\*Baruch Kimmerling. 'Between Hegemony and Dormant *Kulturkampf* in Israel,' in Eds. Dan Urian and Ephraim Karsh, *In Search of Identity: Jewish Aspects in Israeli Culture* (Cass, London 1999), pp.49-72. (E320.5/U76).

\*Yagil Levy, Military-Society Relations: The Demise of the "People's Army," in Guy Ben-Porat et al., *Israel since 1980* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008) pp. 117-144.

Oz Almog, 'The Sabra Genome in the Israeli Mentality,' *Tikkun* May 2008

26. Wednesday 20<sup>th</sup> April

### **Current Debate: Jewish State, Democratic State**

\*Tony Judt, 'Israel: the Alternative,' *New York Review of Books*, 50: 16 (October 23, 2003)

\*Leon Wieseltier, 'Israel, Palestine and the Return of the Bi-National Fantasy,' *The*

*New Republic* 27 October 2003

\*Alexander Yakobson and Amnon Rubinstein, *Israel and the Family of Nations* (Routledge, London and NY 2009) (See Appendix: Selected Constitutions of Democratic States) pp. 124-191.

Benny Morris, *One State, Two States; Resolving the Israel/Palestine Conflict* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 2009).

Sammy Smooha, 'Ethnic Democracy: Israel as an Archetype,' *Israel Studies* 2, 2 Fall 1997 198-241.

27. Wednesday 27<sup>th</sup> April

## **Review**

## **Final Exam – Date to be determined**

## **Bibliography**

Cohen, Michael J., *The Origins and Evolution of the Arab-Zionist Conflict* (Berkeley: 1987). (Hereafter, Cohen, Origins)

Cohen, Michael J., *Palestine: Retreat from the Mandate* (London: 1978). (Hereafter, Cohen, Retreat)

Gilbert, Martin, *The Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* 8th ed. (Jerusalem: 2006).

Hertzberg, Arthur, ed., *The Zionist Idea* (Philadelphia: 1959). (Hereafter Hertzberg)

Hurewitz, J.C., ed., *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: A Documentary Record*, vol. 2, 1914-1956 (New York: 1956). (Hereafter Hurewitz)

Kaplan, Jonathan, ed., *The Zionist Movement*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: 1983). (Hereafter Kaplan I and II)

Laqueur, Walter and Rubin, Barry, eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader*, 6th rev. and updated ed. (Penguin, New York: 2001). (Hereafter Laqueur and Rubin)

Morris, Benny, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict 1881-2001* (New York, Knopf, 2001)

Rabinovich, Itamar and Reinhartz, Jehuda, eds., *Israel in the Middle East* (Brandeis, Hanover: 2008). (Hereafter Rabinovich and Reinhartz)

Rosenthal, Donna *The Israelis: Ordinary People in an Extraordinary Land* (Free Press, NY 2003)

Sachar, Howard M., *A History of Israel*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: 1976), vol. 2 (Oxford: 1987). (Hereafter Sachar I and II)

Shimoni, Gideon, *The Zionist Ideology* (Hanover and London: 1995). (hereafter Shimoni)