

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
Political Science Department

Political Science 28500
Seminar on Zionism and Palestine
Spring 2011
Instructor: John Mearsheimer
Teaching Assistant: Jenna Jordan

Course Description: This course has three broad aims, the first of which is to explore the various strands of early Zionist thinking in Europe during the late 19th and early 20th century. The second aim is to analyze how the European Zionists who came to Palestine created the Jewish state in the first half of the 20th century. The third aim is to examine some key developments in Israel's history since it gained its independence in 1948. While the main focus will be on Zionism and the state of Israel, considerable attention will be paid to the plight of the Palestinians over the past century.

Course Requirements: Every student is expected to do all the reading, attend all the seminars, and participate in the discussion. The grade will be based on classroom participation (25%) and one 15-page paper (75%).

As should be clear from the syllabus, there is an extraordinary amount of reading for this course. Students who might not be committed to doing all the reading each week should not take the class.

A list of paper topics will be provided, from which students will choose one. Papers will be due in my office (Pick 416A) no later than 5:00 pm on Wednesday of exam week -- June 8. Papers received after that time will be dropped one letter grade for each day past the due date. The paper must be: no longer than 15 pages of text, double-spaced, have at least 1-inch margins on all four sides, and have a standard-sized font.

Readings and Books: The following books have been ordered through the Seminary Coop Bookstore:

Chaim Gans, *A Just Zionism* (Oxford)
Arthur Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea* (Jewish Publication Society)
Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State* (Dover)
Adam Horowitz et al, *The Goldstone Report* (Nation Books)
Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims* (Vintage)
Ilan Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (Oneworld)
Jacqueline Rose, *The Question of Zion* (Princeton)
Idith Zertal and Akiva Eldar, *Lords of the Land* (Nation Books)

All articles and book chapters are on Chalk.

Course Outline:

1. March 28, 2011 (Mon): **Organizational Meeting**
2. April 4 (Mon): **Out of the Ghetto**

--Herzl, *The Jewish State*, pp. 67-157.

--Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism: From the French Revolution to the Establishment of the State of Israel* (New York: MJF Books, 1972), chapter 3.

--Howard M. Sachar, *A History of the Jews in the Modern World* (New York: Vintage Books, 2006), chapters 1-4.

--David Vital, *A People Apart: The Jews in Europe, 1789-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 1-98.

3. April 11 (Mon): **Early Zionist Thinking**

--Hertzberg, *Zionist Idea*, Introductory Essay (pp. 15-100) and the writings of: Moses Hess (115-139), Leo Pinsker (178-198), Max Nordau ((232-245), Ahad Ha-Am (248-277), Jacob Klatzkin (314-327), Rabbi Abraham Kook (416-431), Judah Magnes (440-449), Martin Buber (450-465).

--Yacov M. Rabkin, *A Threat from Within: A History of Jewish Opposition to Zionism* (London: Zed Books, 2006), chapter 1-2.

4. April 18 (Mon): **The “Iron Wall” and “Transfer”**

--Ze'ev Jabotinsky, “The Ethics of the Iron Wall,” November 11, 1923.

--Ze'ev Jabotinsky, “Full Betar Ideology,” 1929

--Ian Lustick, “To Build and to Be Built By: Israel and the Hidden Logic of the Iron Wall,” *Israel Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring 1996), pp. 196-223.

--Nur Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of ‘Transfer’ in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992), chapters 1-2.

--Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* (New York: Cambridge, 2004), chapters 1-2.

--Morris, *Righteous Victims*, pp. 138-144.

--Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (New York: Norton, 2000), “Prologue: The Zionist Foundations.”

5. April 25 (Mon): **The Creation of Israel, 1947-1949**

--Simha Flapan, *The Birth of Israel: Myths and Realities* (New York: Pantheon, 1987), pp. 81-118.

--Rashid Khalidi, “The Palestinians and 1948: The Underlying Causes of Failure,” in *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, ed. Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 12-36

--Morris, *Righteous Victims*, chapter 5.

--Benny Morris, “Revisiting the Palestinian Exodus of 1948,” in *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, ed. Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 37-59.

--Pappe, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, preface and chapters 1-5.

--Pappe, “The Vicissitudes of the 1948 Historiography of Israel,” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Autumn 2009), skim pp. 6-23.

--Ari Shavit, “Survival of the Fittest,” *Ha'aretz*, January 9, 2004.

--Avi Shlaim, “Israel and the Arab Coalition in 1948,” in *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, ed. Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 79-103.

6. May 2 (Mon): **1967 War**

--Shlomo Ben-Ami, *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy* (New York: Oxford, 2006), chapter 5.

--Norman G. Finkelstein, “Abba Eban with Footnotes,” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Spring 2003), pp. 74-89.

--Morris, *Righteous Victims*, chapter 7.

--Michael Oren, "Did Israel Want the Six-Day War?" *Azure*, 5759, No. 7 (Spring 1999).
--Michael Oren, "Making Sense of the Six-Day War," Briefing at Middle East Forum, May 6, 2002.
--Roland Popp, "Stumbling Decidedly into the Six-Day War," *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 60, No. 2 (Spring 2006), pp. 281-309.

7. May 9 (Mon): **The Settlement Enterprise**

--Zertal and Eldar, *Lords of the Land*, read all.
--Human Rights Watch, *Separate and Unequal: Israel's Discriminatory Treatment of Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territories*, December 2010, read "Summary."

8. May 16 (Mon): **The Iron Wall Continued**

--Horowitz, et al., *The Goldstone Report*, pp. vii-xxii, 21-224, 261-325, 346-368.
--Edward Said, *The Question of Palestine* (New York: Vintage, 1992), chapter 2.
--Ari Shavit, "The Big Freeze," *Ha'aretz*, October 8, 2004.

9. May 23 (Mon): **Two Contemporary Zionist Perspectives**

--Gans, *A Just Zionism*, read all.
--Rose, *The Question of Zion*, read all.

10. May 31 (Tues): **The Future of Israel**

--Peter Beinart, "The Failure of the American Jewish Establishment," *New York Review of Books*, June 10, 2010.
--Jeffrey Goldberg, "Unforgiven," *The Atlantic*, May 2008.
--Efraim Inbar, "The Rise and Demise of the Two-State Paradigm," *Orbis*, Spring 2009, pp. 265-283.
--Tony Judt, "Israel: The Alternative," *New York Review of Books*, October 23, 2003.
--Ian Lustick, "Abandoning the Iron Wall: Israel and 'The Middle East Muck'," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Fall 2008), pp-30-56.