THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO Political Science Department

Political Science 28500 Seminar on Zionism and Palestine Spring 2015 Instructor: John Mearsheimer

Teaching Assistant: Davi Strauss Bernstein

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 the 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 a substantial 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 10. However, for graduating students, papers will be due no later than 5:00 pm on Wednesday, June 3. 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:

Norman Finkelstein, *This Time We Went Too Far* (OR Books) Arthur Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea* (Jewish Publication Society) Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State* (Dover) Ilan Pappe, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (Oneworld) Shlomo Sand, *The Invention of the Jewish People* (Verso) Ari Shavit, *My Promised Land* (Spiegel & Grau) Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall*, updated and expanded edition (Norton)

All articles and book chapters are on Chalk.

Course Outline:

- 1. March 30, 2015 (Mon): Organizational Meeting
- 2. April 6 (Mon): The Rise of Nationalism & The Demise of the Ghetto
- -- Jacob Katz, *Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770-1870* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1998), chaps. 1-3, 12.
- -- "Nationalism" entry in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, available on the Internet
- -- Ernst Renan, "What Is a Nation?" available on the Internet.
- -- Sand, *Invention of the Jewish People*, chap. 1.
- 3. April 13 (Mon): Early Zionist Thinking
- --Herzl, *The Jewish State*, pp. 67-157.
- --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).
- 4. April 20 (Mon): The Origins of Zionism
- -- Sand, *Invention of the Jewish People*, chaps. 2-5.
- -- Anita Shapira, "The Jewish-People Deniers," The Journal of Israeli History," Vol. 28, No. 1 (March 2009), pp. 63-72.

5. April 27 (Mon): Creating and Building Up the Yishuv (1900-1947)

- --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), chaps. 1-2.
- -- Shavit, My Promised Land, chaps. 1-4.

6. May 4 (Mon): The Creation of Israel (1947-1949)

- --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
- --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.
- --Ilan Pappe, "The Vicissitudes of the 1948 Historiography of Israel," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Autumn 2009), skim pp. 6-23.
- --Shavit, My Promised Land, chap. 5.
- --Shlaim, *Iron Wall*, chap. 1.

7. May 11 (Mon): The First Thirty Years (1948-1978)

- --Shavit, My Promised Land, chaps. 6-7.
- --Shlaim, Iron Wall, chaps, 2-8,
- --Michael Oren, "Did Israel Want the Six-Day War?" Azure, 5759, No. 7 (Spring 1999).
- --Roland Popp, "Stumbling Decidedly into the Six-Day War, *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 60, No. 2 (Spring 2006), pp. 281-309.

8. May 18 (Mon): The Past Thirty-Five Years (1979-2015)

- --Shavit, My Promised Land, chaps. 8-17.
- --Shlaim, Iron Wall, chaps. 9-19.

9. May 27 (Wed): Settlements and the Iron Wall

- --Finkelstein, This Time We Went Too Far, read all.
- --Edward Said, The Question of Palestine (New York: Vintage, 1992), chap. 2.
- --Ari Shavit, "The Big Freeze," Ha'aretz, October 8, 2004.
- -- Idith Zertal and Akiva Eldar, Lords of the Land (New York: Nation Books, 2007), Introduction, chaps. 1, 8.

10. June 1 (Mon): 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.