

The Making of Modern Israel and Palestine

MW 10:15 – 11:44

McNeil Building 285

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This course analyzes the making of a modern Jewish state in the land of Israel/Palestine and the role of Zionism, Palestinian nationalism, and global politics in that process. Beginning in 19th-century Europe and the Middle East, we will study the ideas, movements, and people that shaped what has come to be known as the Arab-Israeli conflict. Students will explore the impact of international factors on the struggles that resulted from the Zionist project in Israel/Palestine and Arab reactions to it across three periods: imperialism and world wars (1860s-1940s), cold war (late 1940s-1990), and multi-polarity (1990s-present).

REQUIREMENTS:

Each week students will attend two lectures. If you cannot attend a lecture, it is your responsibility to find out what you missed. Please complete the assigned readings as early in the week as possible – you will get more out of the lectures that way. This means allowing yourself sufficient time not just to read but to think about what you've read. We are happy to take questions during lectures.

Students will submit one short paper (Week 5), take an in-class midterm (Week 8), submit a longer paper (Week 16), and take an in-class final exam during finals period. Paper advisories, with guidance for what is expected, will be distributed after the course is underway.

Students are expected to abide by the [University of Pennsylvania Code of Academic Integrity](#).

GRADING:

Short paper: 10%
 Midterm exam: 30%
 Long paper: 30%
 Final exam: 30%

REQUIRED TEXTS:

Sandy Tolan, *The Lemon Tree: An Arab, a Jew, and the Heart of the Middle East*
 (paperback available at the Penn Bookstore, or purchase on your own)

Mark Levine and Gershon Shafir, *Struggle and Survival in Palestine/Israel*
 (paperback available at the Penn Bookstore, or purchase on your own)

Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents* (now in its 10th edition; feel free to purchase earlier editions online for steep savings)

Ghassan Kanafani, *Men in the Sun and other Palestinian Stories* (paperback available at the Penn Bookstore, or purchase on your own)

HELPFUL REFERENCE WORKS:

Martin Gilbert, *The Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (2012) - available online via Franklin

Fabrice Balanche, *Atlas of the Near East: State Formation and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1918-2010* (2017)

Martin Gilbert, *The Routledge Atlas of Jewish History* (2010) - available online via Franklin

Ilan Pappé and Johnny Mansour, eds., *Historical Dictionary of Palestine* (2022 [based on 1997 edition by Nafez Nazza]) - available online via Franklin

Bernard Reich, ed., *Historical Dictionary of Israel* (2016 [3rd edition]) - available online via Franklin

Claude Faure, ed., *Dictionary of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Culture, History, and Politics* (2005) - available online via Franklin

Salman H. Abu-Sitta, ed., *The Return Journey: A Guide to the Depopulated and Present Palestinian Towns and Villages and Holy Sites* (2007)

USEFUL WEBSITES:

<https://www.progressispossible.org/newsletter/> (Daniel S. Abraham Center for Middle East Peace)

<https://www.ochaopt.org/content/protection-civilians-report-10-23-april-2018>

<https://israeled.org/resources/maps/>

<https://www.ngo-monitor.org/reports/>

<https://www.btselem.org/>

<https://electronicintifada.net/>

<https://www.adalah.org/en>

<http://jiss.org.il/en/>

<http://www.israel-academia->

[monitor.com/index.php?type=get_page&page_data\[id\]=7825&page_type=4&cookie_lang=en&the_session_id=faabb1d3b3f3bea0b7d4953fb3aff6d14&BLUEWEBSESSIONSID=fad00b334e4b91701164d1c8e0ff5cae](http://www.israel-academia-monitor.com/index.php?type=get_page&page_data[id]=7825&page_type=4&cookie_lang=en&the_session_id=faabb1d3b3f3bea0b7d4953fb3aff6d14&BLUEWEBSESSIONSID=fad00b334e4b91701164d1c8e0ff5cae)

LECTURES: It is expected that assigned readings and film clips associated with each lecture will be read or viewed prior to class.

WEEK ONE

Aug. 30 Introduction to the Course and the Disciplines of History and Political Science; Courtesies and Norms in Class

Tolan, "Introduction" and Chapter 1

WEEK TWO

Sept. 4 - no class (Labor Day)

Sept. 6 Archeology, Myths, Narratives, and Frames of Reference

Ze'ev Herzog, "Deconstructing the Walls of Jericho," From *Ha'aretz Magazine*, Friday, October 29, 1999

Hershel Shanks, "Herzog's attack Unjustified " (an interview with Israel Finkelstein)

WEEK THREE

Sept. 11 The Crumbling Ottoman Empire and the Rise of Arab Nationalism

Salim Tamari, "A Musician's Lot: Wasif Jawhariyyeh's Old Jerusalem," in LeVine and Shafir, 51-62.

C. Ernest Dawn, "Neville Mandel, "Attempts at an Arab-Zionist Entente: 1913-1914"

"Beware the Zionist Danger"

Film Clip: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=777zvUQPqeU>

Sept. 13 The Jewish Predicament in Europe and the Origins of Zionism

Amos Elon, *The Israelis: Founders and Sons*, pp. 41-81.

Leon Pinsker, *Autoemancipation!* (1882)

Theodor Herzl, *Der Judenstaat* (1896), in Smith, doc. 1.2

WEEK FOUR

Sept. 18 Early Encounters

Ahad Ha-am [Asher Ginzburg], *Truth from Eretz Yisrael* (1891), in Kaplan and Penslar, *The Origins of Israel, 1882-1948: A Documentary History*, 27-38

Mahmoud Yazbak, "Left Naked on the Beach": The Villagers of Aylut in the Grip of the New Templars," in LeVine and Shafir, 27-38.

Raya Adler, "The Tenants of Wadi Hawarith: Another View of the Land Question in Palestine," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 20 (1988), 197-220.

Leonard Mosely, "Dayan and Wingate" (Chapter 4, from *Gideon Goes to War*, reprinted in Walid Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, pp. 375-382.

Sept. 20 European Imperialism in the Middle East, League of Nations' Mandate System

Smith: Chapter 3 "World War I, Great Britain, and the Peace Settlements"

The Balfour Declaration (1917), in Smith, doc. 2.2

WEEK FIVE

Sept. 25 no class (Yom Kippur)

Sept. 27 The Era of the British Mandate, part 1

Tolan, Chapters 2 and 3

Smith: Chapter 4: "Palestine between the Wars: Zionism, the Palestinian Arabs, and the British Mandate"

The Mandate for Palestine (1922), in Smith, doc. 2.6

Palestine Royal (Peel) Commission Report (1937), in Smith, doc. 3.2

Arlosoroff, Chaim. "Reflections on Zionist Policy." 1931, reprinted in *Jewish Frontier* (1948).

De Vries and Pfeffermann, "The Ordeal of Henya Pekelman, a Female Construction Worker," in LeVine and Shafir, 125-140.

Sonia Nimr, "A Nation in a Hero': Abdul Rahim Hajj Mohammad and the Arab Revolt," in LeVine and Shafir, 141-156.

Paper due: max 1000 words

WEEK SIX

Oct. 2 The Era of the British Mandate, part 2

Tolan: Chapter 4

Ann Mosely Lesch, "The Palestine Arab Nationalist Movement Under the Mandate," in William B. Quandt, Fuad Jabber, and Ann Mosely Lesch, *The Politics of Palestinian Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) pp. 7-42.

Matthew Hughes, "Palestinian Collaboration with the British: The Peace Bands and the Arab Revolt in Palestine, 1936-39," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 51, 2 (April 2016) pp. 291-315.

Katz, Shlomo. "Understanding Jewish Resistance in Palestine: The Aims and Methods of the Hagana." *Commentary*.2 (1946).

Film Clip: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5OhdZcz44U8> (War in Palestine)

Oct. 4 1948: Triumph and Catastrophe

Tolan: Chapters 5 and 6

Ben-Gurion, David, "Freedom and Independence" in *Rebirth and Destiny*, 274-280.

Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel (1948), in Smith, Doc. 4.5

Film Clip: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PKLucDqEeKA> Arguments in Washington over America's Palestine Policy

Ramzy Baroud, "The Trees Die Standing: A Story of a Palestinian Refugee," in LeVine and Shafir, **just read: 221-225**.

Walid Khalidi, "Plan Dalet: Master Plan for the Conquest of Palestine," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1, (Autumn, 1988), pp. 4-33.

WEEK SEVEN

Oct. 9 Exile, Humiliation, and the Trauma of the *Nakba*

Kanafani, *Men in the Sun*

Rochelle Davis, "Matar 'Abdelrahim: From a Palestinian Village to a Syrian Refugee Camp," in LeVine and Shafir, 179-184.

Oct. 11 Eichmann and Holocaust Memory

Tolan, Chapter 7

Lustick, "The Holocaust in Israeli Political Culture: Four Constructions and Their Consequences," *Contemporary Jewry*. (2017) 37:125–170

Gershon Shafir, "Joseph Spronz: From the Holocaust to a Safe Shore," in Levine and Shafir, *Struggle and Survival in Palestine/Israel*, pp. 196-220.

WEEK EIGHT

Oct. 16 **In-class midterm**

Oct. 18 **Consolidating Jewish Statehood in the Middle East: Refugees and Reprisals**

Benny Morris, *Israel's Border Wars: 1949-1956* (1993) pp. 117-133, 134-153.

Yaron Tsur, "The Brief Career of Prosper Cohen: A Would-Be Leader of Moroccan Immigrants," in LeVine and Shafir, pp. 239-255.

Film Clip: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ilBvrXOCEZ0> Revolution in Egypt after the Palestine War; Stymied Peacemaking

Alina Korn, "Military government, political control and crime: The case of Israeli Arabs," *Crime, Law and Social Change*, Vol. 34 (2000) pp. 159-182.

Ramzy Baroud, "The Trees Die Standing: A Story of a Palestinian Refugee," in LeVine and Shafir, pp. 225-232.

WEEK NINE

Oct. 23 **The Suez War: Who – Whom?**

Film Clip: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z3rXQQ0PgCU> (The "Mishap," Israeli Security Fears, Israel-French-British Collusion)

Moshe Dayan, *Diary of the Sinai Campaign*, pp. 58-65, 71-76.

Daniel C. Williamson. *Anatomy of a Tragedy*, Review of Pearson, Jonathan, *Sir Anthony Eden and the Suez Crisis: Reluctant Gamble*.

Avi Shlaim, "Conflicting Approaches to Israel's Relations with the Arabs: Ben-Gurion and Sharett, 1953-1956," *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 37, no. 2 (Spring 1983) pp. 180-201.

Oct. 25 The Kibbutz: Israeli Socialism?

Readings TBA

WEEK TEN

Oct. 30 June 1967: The Six-Day War

Tolan, Chapters 8

Film Clip: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E63AKJpa1Tk>

Moshe Dayan, "Soldier Reflects on Peace Hopes," in *The Jerusalem Post*, September 27, 1968.

Nov. 1 Ask Your Professors! Open Q&A session

Tolan, Chapter 9

Excerpt from film *Censored Voices* to be shown in class

Haykal, Muhammad Hassanain, "The Strategy of the War of Attrition" (March-April 1969)

WEEK ELEVEN

Nov. 6 The Cold War and the Middle East, part 1

Kermit Roosevelt, "The Partition of Palestine: A Lesson in Pressure Politics," *Middle East Journal*, 2 (1948) pp. 1-16.

Arnold Krammer, "Soviet Motives in the Partition of Palestine, 1947-1948," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 2 (1973) pp. 102-119.

Nov. 8 **The Cold War and the Middle East, part 2**

Film Clip: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hWLGaoVunH8> Israel, Egypt, and the Superpowers: 1967-1973

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BumWLG_v1b4 Nasser's Death and Meir's refusal to negotiate: History the way Henry Kissinger wants it to be remembered

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rax-YKer-qE> (The Earthquake of the 1973 War)

Bartov, Hanoch. 1974. "Israel after the War: 2: Back to Abnormal." *Commentary*, 57: 41-45

Smith: Chapter 8 "Lebanon, The West Bank, and the Camp David Accords,"

Rashid Khalidi, "The Superpowers and the Cold War in the Middle East," *The Middle East and the United States*, David Lesch, ed. (Routledge) 2016. Superpowers

WEEK TWELVE

Nov. 13 **Facts on the Ground: Occupation Dynamics and Debates**

Smith, Chapter 8: "War and the Search for Peace in the Middle East, 1967-1976"

Smith, Document, "UN Security Council Resolution 242" p. 337

Tolan, Chapter 10

Nov. 15 **Labor to Likud: 1977 as Turning Point**

Levi Eshkol, "Reply to Nasser, Interview" in *Newsweek*, February 17, 1969

Yehosuha Arieli, "Annexation and Democracy," pp. 445-452.

Document 8.1, pp. 386-387 (Likud Platform)

Ian S. Lustick, "The Evolution of Gush Emunim," pp. 42-57, in *For the Land and the Lord* (1994)

World Zionist Organization, *New Dimensions: Aliyah to Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza* (1984) pp. 1-9.

WEEK THIRTEEN

Nov. 20 **The Intifadas**

Smith, Chapter 9: "From Pariah to Partner: The PLO and the Quest for Peace in Global and Regional Contexts" (8th)

Smith Documents, "Communique No. 1 of the Intifada Issued by the Unified National Leadership," January 8, 1988, pp. 430-31; "Leaflet No. 1 of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas)," January 1988, pp. 431-433.

Tolan Chapter 11

Ari Shavit, "On Gaza Beach" *The New York Review*, July 18, 1991

Efraim Inbar, "Israel's Small War: The Military Response to the Intifada" *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 18, no. 1 (Fall 1991) pp. 29-50.

Ramzy Baroud, "The Trees Die Standing: A Story of a Palestinian Refugee," in LeVine and Shafir, pp. 232-238

Bader Araj, "From Religion to Revenge: Becoming a Hamas Suicide Bomber," in LeVine and Shafir, pp. 370-383.

Realities of the Intifada—Contemporaneous Israeli Press Clippings

Nov. 22 - no class (Friday classes switched to Wednesday)

WEEK FOURTEEN

Nov. 27 **Oslo and its Aftermath**

Smith: Chapters 10 and 11 (8th)

Laetitia Bucaille, "Majed al-Masri in Two Intifadas in Nablus," LeVine and Shafir, 337-49

Document: The Arab Peace Plan, 11.4 p. 541-43
Tolan, Chapter 12

Shaul Arieli, "[Israel Eyes a New Kind of Regime in the West Bank, but the World Sees Apartheid](#)," *Haaretz*, February 22, 2022.

Ari Shavit, "Weisglass: Disengagement is formaldehyde for peace process," *Ha'aretz Magazine*, 8 October 2004

Nov. 29 Jerusalem/Yerushalayim/al-Quds

Film: Times of Israel: [State of Jerusalem: The Maqdasyin](#) (The Status and political future of Palestinians in East Jerusalem)

Ala Alazzeh, "Abu Ahmad and His Handalas," in LeVine and Shafir, pp. 427-443.

WEEK FIFTEEN

Dec. 4 Citizenship and Nationhood

[Israel's Declaration of Independence](#)

Dov Waxman, "[Israel's other Palestinian problem: the Future Vision Documents and the demands of the Palestinian minority in Israel](#)," *Israel Affairs*, 2015, 19/1 pp. 214–229.

[Basic Law: Israel as the Nation-State of the Jewish People](#)

Dec. 6 One-State Reality and the Problem of Solutionism

Tolan, Chapter 13

Examine this site: [The Two-State Index](#)

Scan through several (short) articles of your choice from the list you can find [here](#)

Beshara Doumani, "Palestine Versus the Palestinians? The Iron Laws and Ironies of a People Denied," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 36, no. 4 (Summer 2007), pp. 49-64.

Ian S. Lustick, "The Vision Thing is Not the Thing," *Palestine-Israel Journal* (2023)

Bernard Avishai and Sam Bahour, "[Want Israeli-Palestinian Peace? Try Confederation](#)," *New York Times*, February 12, 2021.

[The Federation Plan](#)

WEEK SIXTEEN

Dec. 11 **Patterns, Reflections, Conclusions**

Paper due: max 2500 words

Final exam during finals period