Zionism and Palestinian Nationalism

Michael L. Miller

Nationalism Studies Program / Department of History / Jewish Studies Program

Central European University

Fall 2023

Monday, 15:40 – 17:20

2 credits (4 ECE credits)

Course Description:

This MA course examines and juxtaposes the intimately intertwined histories of two modern national ideologies that emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Zionism, a political ideology that defined Jews as a national group, viewed settlement in the Land of Israel/Palestine not only as a key to Jewish spiritual and political “rebirth,” but also as a solution to the twin scourges of assimilation and antisemitism. Its early leaders, largely European in origin, were more attuned to the conditions of the Jewish Diaspora than to the realities in Ottoman Palestine, which they often characterized as “a land without a people for a people without a land.” Palestinian nationalism emerged within the broader context of Arab nationalism, but it developed and flourished in the first decades of the twentieth century, primarily as a reaction to Zionist-inspired Jewish immigration to the Land of Israel/Palestine. This course explores the development of Zionism and Palestinian nationalism, paying special attention to the encounters, both peaceful and belligerent, between these two competing ideologies. After examining the Zionist “revolution” and the rise of Arab and Palestinian nationalisms, the course shifts to the role of the Great Powers and the international community in shaping the contours and setting the expectations of two national movements, beginning with the First World War and culminating in U.N. Resolution 181 (1947), which partitioned the contested land. The course ends in 1948, the year that marks the birth of the State of Israel and the birth of the Palestinian refugee problem.

Requirements:

Regular Attendance and Participation 15% of final grade

Class Presentation (20 minutes) 25% of final grade

Research Paper (3,000 words, due **December 22, 2023**) 60% of final grade

**September 18, 2023**

Class 1: Introduction

**September 25, 2023 – No Class**

**October 2, 2023**

Class 2: Zionism as a Revolution

Shlomo Avineri, “Introduction: Zionism as a Revolution,” in *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State* (New York: Basic Books, 1981),

Ezra Mendelsohn, “Varieties,” in *On Modern Jewish Politics* (Oxford: OUP, 1993), 3-36.

Jacob Katz, "The Forerunners of Zionism," *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, No. 7 (Spring 1978), 10-21.

The Bilu, “Manifesto” (1882), in Paul R. Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World*

**October 9, 2023**

Class 3: Political Zionism: Theodor Herzl

Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism* (New York: Schocken, 1989), 84-135.

Theodor Herzl, *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, Vol. 1, Harry Zohn, trans., Raphael Patai, ed., (New York and London: Herzl Press and Thomas Yoseloff, 1960), 3-14

Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State* (1896), selections

The First Zionist Congress, “The Basle Program” (1897), in Paul R. Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World*

**October 16, 2023**

Class 4: Cultural Zionism: Ahad Ha’am (Asher Ginsberg)

Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism* (New York: Schocken, 1989), 136-170

Ahad Ha’am, “This is Not the Way” (1889)

Ahad Ha’am, "Truth from the Land of Israel" (1891)

Ahad Ha’am, "The Jewish State and the Jewish Problem” (1897)

**October 23, 2023**

Class 5: The Origins of Arab Nationalism

Rashid Khalidi, “Arab Nationalism: Historical Problems in the Literature,” *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 96, No. 5 (Dec. 1991), 1363-1373.

C. Ernest Dawn, “The Origins of Arab Nationalism,” in Rashid Khalidi, et al., eds, *The Origins of Arab Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 4-30.

Joseph G. Rahme, “‘Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi’s Reformist Ideology, Arab Pan-Islamism, and the Internal Other,” *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (May 1999), 159-177.

**October 30, 2023**

Class 6: The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism

Muhammed Muslih, “Arab Politics and the Rise of Palestinian Nationalism,” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (Summer 1987), 77-94.

Rashid Khaladi, “Elements of Identity I: Peasant Resistance to Zionist Settlement,” in *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 89-118.

Rashid Khaladi, “Elements of Identity II: The Debate on Zionism in the Arabic Press,” in in *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 119-144.

**November 6, 2023**

Class 7: Arab-Jewish Encounters before the First World War

Jonathan Gribetz, “Arab-Zionist Conversations in Late Ottoman Jerusalem: Sa'id al-Husayni, Ruhi al-Khalidi, and Eliezer Ben-Yehuda,” in Angelos Dalachanis and Vincent Lemire, eds., *Ordinary Jerusalem 1840-1940: Opening New Archives, Revisiting a Global City* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 305-329.

Michael Talbot, “Jews, Be Ottomans! Zionism, Ottomanism, and Ottomanisation in the Hebrew-Language Press, 1890-1940),” *Die Welt des Islams,* Vol. 56, No. 3-4 (2016), 359-387.

Nissim Ya’acov Malul, “Our Status in the Country, or the Question of Learning Arabic,” in Moshe Behar and Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, eds., *Modern Middle Eastern Jewish Thought: Writings on Identity, Politics & Culture, 1893-1953* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press), 64-70.

**November 13, 2023**

Class 8: A Twice Promised Land? Palestine and the Great Powers, 1914-1923

Jonathan Schneer, *The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (New York: Random House, 2012), 64-106, 303-376.

Hussein-McMahon Correspondence (1915-16)

Sykes-Picot Treaty (1916)

Balfour Declaration (1917)

Agreement between Emir Faisal and Chaim Weizmann (1919)

British Mandate (1922)

**November 20, 2023**

Class 9: Arab-Jewish Violence in British Mandatory Palestine

Hillel Cohen, *Year Zero of the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1929* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press), xi-xvi, 255-260.

Philip Mattar, “The Mufti of Jerusalem and the Politics of Palestine,” *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Spring 1988), 227-240.

David Avisar, “A Proposal Concerning the Question of Understanding and Reaching an Agreement with the Arabs of the Land of Israel,” in Moshe Behar and Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, eds., *Modern Middle Eastern Jewish Thought: Writings on Identity, Politics & Culture, 1893-1953* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press), 115-118.

Peel Report (1937)

White Paper (1939)

**November 27, 2023 [15:40 -17:20]**

Class 10: Beyond the Nation-State: Autonism, Binationalism, Multinationalism

Zohar Maor, “Moderation from Right to Left: The Hidden Roots of Brit Shalom,” *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Winter 2013), 79-108.

Dmitry Shumsky, “Vladimir Jabotinsky: A Jewish State of Nationalities,” in *Beyond the Nation-State: The Zionist Political Imagination from Pinsker to Ben-Gurion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 124-171.

**November 27, 2023 [17:40 – 19:20]**

Class 11: Partition, 1947

Arie Dubnov and Laura Robson, “Drawing the Line, Writing Beyond It: Toward a Transnational History of Partitions,” Partitions: A Transnational History of Twentieth-century Territorial Separatism (Stanford: SUP, 2019)

U.N. Resolution 181 (November 29, 1947)

Declaration of Independence (May 14, 1948)

**December 4**

Class 12: 1948

Anita Shapira, “Conclusion: The Birth of a State,” in *Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force, 1881-1948* (Stanford: SUP, 1992), 353-370.

Rashid Khalidi, “The Palestinians and 1948: The Underlying Causes of Failure,” in Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, eds., *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), 12-36.

Benny Morris, “Revisiting the Palestinian Exodus of 1948,” in Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, eds., *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), 37-59.

Shabtai Teveth, “The Palestine Arab Refugee Problem and Its Origins,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (April 1990), 214-249.