

HISTORY 155  
HISTORY OF MODERN ISRAEL  
UCSC, SPRING 2012

The state of Israel, now just over sixty years old, represents in many ways an extraordinary success story: a revival of Jewish political sovereignty after nearly two millennia of statelessness; a dynamic economy with more startups per capita than any other country in the world, attracting as much venture capital as France and Germany combined; a vibrant, multicultural society with an astonishingly diverse population. But it's no secret that Israel is also the subject of increasingly bitter controversies—perhaps the only state in the world today whose very legitimacy is contested, and whose final borders have yet to be drawn. The long conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, which seemed to be on a track toward resolution only a decade ago, now seems to be insoluble within the foreseeable future. Meanwhile, there are stubborn internal conflicts as well: unresolved problems in defining the relationships between Judaism and the state, between its religious and secular inhabitants, and between the Jewish majority and non-Jewish minorities.

Our course aims to illuminate both sides of this story: the amazing achievements of this new state, and its frustrating failures to resolve basic conflicts with its neighbors and persistent tensions within Israeli society. The course begins with an analysis of the Zionist movement and its founders, examines the origins and development of the conflict between Zionist settlers and a nascent Palestinian nationalist movement, traces the causes and consequences of each of the wars Israel has fought, and explores the major political realignments that have occurred since the state's founding in 1948. The course also examines the nation-building process and the distinctive features of Israeli democracy; the transition from the visionary socialism of the founders to the high-tech capitalism of today; and—from a variety of perspectives—the failure of the peace negotiations that began in the 1970s, peaked in the 1990s, and failed so disastrously in 2000.

For students in search of answers to what is possibly the world's most intractable conflict, we cannot hope to offer a definitive account in ten weeks. But we can explore the conflicting "narratives" of the two sides, drawing on a variety of sources and, in particular, memoirs, essays, and fiction by some of the most gifted Israeli and Palestinian writers. (For an example of how polarized the conflicting narratives have become, please see: James Fallows, "Who Shot Mohammed al-Dura?," *Atlantic Magazine* (June 2003) <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2003/06/who-shot-mohammed-al-dura/2735/> )

Requirements: two papers of approximately six pages each, due April 30 and May 30), a final examination (Monday, June 11, 8:00-11:00 A.M.), and regular participation in discussion sections. Please note: papers may be based entirely on the course readings, with parenthetical references (e.g., *Oz*, *Tale of Love and Darkness*, p. 14). The use of any additional sources, including internet-based

sources, requires proper attribution. See <http://nettrail.ucsc.edu/ethics/index.html> for more information on proper citation of sources.

## TOPICS AND READINGS:

### 1. INTRODUCTION: ISRAEL AMONG THE NATIONS (April 2-6)

TOPICS: "Too Much History, Not Enough Geography"—The Nineteenth-Century Background—Origins of Zionism

READING: Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, chapter 1

David. S. Landes, "Palestine Before the Zionists," *Commentary* (February 1976), available via Periodicals Archive On-line and in course reader

Dan Senor and Saul Singer, *Start-Up Nation: The Story of Israel's Economic Miracle*

RECOMMENDED: Ruth Gavison, "The Jewish State: A Justification," in *New Essays on Zionism*, ed. David Hazony, Yoram Hazony, and Michael Oren, pp. 3-36  
Jacob Talmon, "Israel Among the Nations," *Commentary* (June, 1968), available via Periodicals On-line

### 2. VARIETIES OF ZIONISM (April 9-13)

TOPICS: Herzl vs. Ahad Ha'am—David Ben-Gurion and the Second *Aliyah*—Chaim Weizmann and the Balfour Declaration

READING: Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, chapter 2

David Ben-Gurion, *Memoirs*, chapters 1-3 (reader)

Amos Oz, *A Tale of Love and Darkness*, chapters 1-11

Robert Alter, "Past Imperfect," *The New Republic* (December 27, 2004-January 10, 2005), in course reader

RECOMMENDED: Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State*, available on-line:

<http://www.mideastweb.org/jewishstate.pdf>

### 3. PALESTINIAN PERSPECTIVES (April 16-20)

TOPICS: Origins of Palestinian Nationalism—Palestine and the British Mandate—The Arab Revolt

READING: Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, chapter 3

Sari Nusseibeh, *Once Upon a Country: A Palestinian Life*, Prologue, chapters 1-9

Amos Elon, "Hard Truth About Palestine," *The New York Review of Books* (April 26, 2007)

RECOMMENDED: Yigal Eyal, "The Arab Revolt, 1936-1939: A Turning Point in the Struggle over Palestine," in *Never-Ending Conflict: Israeli Military History*, ed. Mordecai Bar-On, pp. 21-42

### 4. NATIONALISM AND URBANISM (April 23-27)

TOPICS: Jabotinsky's Iron Wall—Tales of Two Cities: Jerusalem and Tel Aviv—White Papers: Britain's Impossible Mandate

READING: Amos Oz, *A Tale of Love and Darkness*, chapters 18, 25-41

Hillel Halkin, "The First Hebrew City," *Commentary* (February 2007), in course reader

Amos Elon, "In Abraham's Vineyard," *The New York Review of Books* (December 16,

2004), in course reader

RECOMMENDED: Shlomo Avineri, "Jabotinsky: Integralist Nationalism and the Illusion of Power," *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*, pp. 159-186, in course reader

#### 5. 1948 AND AFTER (April 30-May 4)

TOPICS: Partition and War—*Nakba*: The Palestinian Refugees—Conflicting Narratives

READING: Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, chapter 4

Yoav Gelber, "The Israeli-Arab War of 1948: History versus Narratives," in *Never-Ending Conflict: Israeli Military History*, ed. Mordecai Bar-On, pp. 43-68

Amos Oz, *A Tale of Love and Darkness*, chapters 42-47

Efraim Karsh, "1948, Israel, and the Palestinians—The True Story," *Commentary* (May 2008), in course reader

Mahmoud Darwish, "The Appeal of the Palestinian People on the Fiftieth

Anniversary of al-Naqba," [http://books.google.com/books?id=iVJR9UZnTVAC&pg=PA514&lpg=PA514&dq=darwish+appeal&source=bl&ots=5E6VttjUmo&sig=uA1W3iFrjplOrbses-](http://books.google.com/books?id=iVJR9UZnTVAC&pg=PA514&lpg=PA514&dq=darwish+appeal&source=bl&ots=5E6VttjUmo&sig=uA1W3iFrjplOrbses-Dqporu2z0&hl=en&sa=X&ei=hdtsT_z2C8abiALRoYCCBO&ved=0CFcO6AEwBw#v=onepage&q=darwish%20appeal&f=false)

[Dqporu2z0&hl=en&sa=X&ei=hdtsT\\_z2C8abiALRoYCCBO&ved=0CFcO6AEwBw#v=onepage&q=darwish%20appeal&f=false](http://books.google.com/books?id=iVJR9UZnTVAC&pg=PA514&lpg=PA514&dq=darwish+appeal&source=bl&ots=5E6VttjUmo&sig=uA1W3iFrjplOrbses-Dqporu2z0&hl=en&sa=X&ei=hdtsT_z2C8abiALRoYCCBO&ved=0CFcO6AEwBw#v=onepage&q=darwish%20appeal&f=false)

#### 6. THE NEW STATE (May 7-11)

TOPICS: Immigration and Insecurity—Ben-Gurion as State-Builder—Eichmann in Jerusalem

READING: Amos Oz, *A Tale of Love and Darkness*, chapter 51

Michael Oren, "Ben-Gurion and the Return to Jewish Power," *New Essays on Zionism*, ed. David Hazony, Yoram Hazony, and Michael Oren, pp. 405-415, in course reader

Deborah E. Lipstadt, *The Eichmann Trial*

Recommended: Shlomo Avineri, "The Limits of Power" [Ben-Gurion and Begin], *The New Republic*, June 8, 1987, in course reader

#### 7. THE SIX-DAY WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH (May 14-18)

TOPICS: Origins of the Six-Day War—Victory Without Peace—Hubris and Nemesis

READING: Michael Oren, "The Six-Day War," in *Never-Ending Conflict: Israeli Military History*, ed. Mordecai Bar-On, pp. 133-146

Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, chapter 5

Sari Nusseibeh, *Once Upon a Country*, chapters 10-20

#### 8. WAR AND PEACE (May 21-25)

The Yom Kippur War—Begin and Sadat—From the War in Lebanon to the Intifada

READING: Shimon Golan, "The Yom Kippur War," in *Never-Ending Conflict: Israeli Military History*, ed. Mordecai Bar-On, pp. 159-178

Ilan Avisar, "Dancing Solo in the Lebanese Mud," *Azure* (Spring, 2009), pp. 107-115, in course reader

David Grossman, *The Yellow Wind*

Leon Wieseltier, "The Politics of Pathos" [review / critique of Grossman], *The New*

*Republic* (June 20, 1988), in course reader  
RECOMMENDED: Avishai Margalit, "Understanding the Uprising," *The New York Review of Books* (June 2, 1988), in course reader  
Eyal Zisser, "The 1982 'Peace for Galilee' War," in *Never-Ending Conflict: Israeli Military History*, ed. Mordecai Bar-On, pp. 133-146  
FILM: Ari Folman, *Waltz with Bashir* (2008)

#### 9. THE EIGHTIES AND THE NINETIES (May 30-June 1)

Ethiopian and Russian Immigrants—Rabin—The Decline of Labor

READING: Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, chapter 6

Amos Elon, "Israel's Demons," *The New York Review of Books* (December 21, 1995), in course reader

Hillel Halkin, "Israel and the Assassination: A Reckoning," *Commentary* (January 1996), in course reader

Amos Oz, *In the Land of Israel*, pp. 1-180

RECOMMENDED: Reuven Aharoni, "The Palestinian Intifada, 1987-1991," *Never-Ending Conflict: Israeli Military History*, ed. Mordecai Bar-On, pp. 211-230

#### 10. June 5-9 OSLO: ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK (June 6-10)

What Went Wrong?—Sharon vs. Arafat: Destructive Charisma—The Conflict Continues

READING: Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, chapters 7-8

Sari Nusseibeh, *Once Upon a Country*, chapters 21-33 and Epilogue

Amos Elon, "Jerusalem Blues," *The New York Review of Books* (March 27, 1997). *Review of Books* (December 21, 1995). in course reader

Uri Savir, "Why Oslo Still Matters," *Inside Israel: The Faiths, the People, and the Modern Conflicts of the World's Holiest Land*, ed. John Miller and Aaron Kenedi, in course reader

Amos Elon, "Israelis & Palestinians: What Went Wrong?," *The New York Review of Books* (December 19, 2002), in course reader

Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors," *The New York Review of Books* (August 9, 2001), in course reader

Gidi Grinstein and Dennis Ross, with reply by Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, "Camp David: An Exchange," *The New York Review of Books* (September 20, 2001), in course reader

Ehud Barak and Benny Morris, with reply by Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, "Camp David and After—Continued," *The New York Review of Books* (June 27, 2002), in course reader

RECOMMENDED: Robert Malley, "Israel and the Arafat Question," *The New York Review of Books*, in course reader

Hillel Halkin, "What the Settlements Have Achieved," *Commentary* (December 2007), in course reader

Benny Morris, "The Rejection: Bleak Conclusions from the History of a People," *The New Republic* (April 21 & 28, 2003), in course reader

Benny Morris, "Why Israel Feels Threatened," *New York Times*, December 30, 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/30/opinion/30morris.html>

## SUGGESTION FOR THE FIRST PAPER:

(six pages, due April 30)

1. We are reading two wonderful memoirs this quarter, Amos Oz's *A Tale of Love and Darkness*, and Sari Nusseibeh's *Once Upon a Country*. The two men are friends, and each admires the other's work. The challenge of the first essay is to compare their accounts of their childhoods. How does each writer map the connections between the history of his people and that of his family? Which portraits of family members are especially memorable, and why?
2. Every great autobiography is among other things an account of an education. What kinds of educational experiences do Amos Oz and Sari Nusseibeh describe? What are the similarities and differences between them?
3. As Sari Nusseibeh reminds us, he and Amos Oz lived within a mile of each other in Jerusalem, but their experiences of the city were bound to be very different. Compare Oz's Jerusalem with Nusseibeh's, and illuminate some of the reasons for those differences.
4. Both memoirs deal with the theme of loss. What are the principal losses for each writer, and how do those losses illuminate larger historical themes?
5. How does each writer describe and respond to his first encounters with the other side? How does each deploy humor, irony, and/or empathy in his descriptions of early encounters with Arabs (in Oz's case) or Jews (in Nusseibeh's)?
6. One of the pleasures of reading Oz and Nusseibeh is that they have cosmopolitan imaginations: even as they are intensely involved in their own cultures, they have powerful ties to the legacy of Western (European) culture as well. How does their cosmopolitanism enrich their experiences of Israel/Palestine?

FINAL EXAMINATION: MONDAY, JUNE 11, 8:00-11:00 A.M.

Instructors:

Bruce Thompson ([brucet@ucsc.edu](mailto:brucet@ucsc.edu))

276 Stevenson, 459-3467; office hours: MW, 3:30-4:55; F 1:00-1:55

Jessica Barbata ([jbarbata@ucsc.edu](mailto:jbarbata@ucsc.edu))

## RECOMMENDED READING:

Among the indispensable surveys and studies of Israel's history, Zionism, and aspects of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are the following:

- Howard Sachar, *A History of Israel from the Rise of Zionism to Our Times*  
Amos Elon, *Israelis: Founders and Sons*  
Alan Dowty, *The Jewish State: A Century Later*  
Barry Rubin, *Israel: An Introduction*  
Colin Shindler, *A History of Modern Israel*  
Jacob Lassner and S. Ilan Troen, *Jews and Muslims in the Arab World: Haunted by Pasts Real and Imagined*  
Adam Chalom (ed.), *Jews and the Muslim World: Solving the Puzzle*  
S. Ilan Troen, *Imagining Zion: Dreams, Designs, and Realities in a Century of Jewish Settlement*  
Steven J. Zipperstein, *Elusive Prophet: Ahad Ha'am and the Origins of Zionism*  
J.L. Talmon, *Israel Among the Nations*  
Michael Stanislawski, *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism from Nordau to Jabotinsky*  
Jonathan Schneer, *The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*  
David Biale, *Not in the Heavens: The Tradition of Jewish Secular Thought*  
Michael Oren, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East*  
Conor Cruise O'Brien, *The Siege: The Saga of Israel and Zionism*  
Ben Halpern and Jehuda Reinharz, *Zionism and the Creation of a New Society*  
Michael Brenner, *Zionism: A Brief History*  
David Vital, *The Origins of Zionism*  
Eran Kaplan and Derek Penslar (ed.), *The Origins of Israel, 1882-1948: A Documentary Reader*  
Gideon Shimoni, *The Zionist Ideology*  
Bernard Avishai, *The Tragedy of Zionism*  
Isaiah Friedman, *The Question of Palestine 1914-1918: British-Jewish-Arab Relations*  
Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate*  
Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-2001*  
Shlomo Avineri, *The Making of Modern Zionism: Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*  
Zeev Sternhell, *The Founding Myths of Israel*  
Bernard Wasserstein, *Israelis and Palestinians: Why Do They Fight? Can They Stop?*  
Shlomo Ben-Ami, *Scars of War: Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy*  
Anita Shapira, *Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force, 1881-1948*  
Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*  
Edward Said, *The Politics of Dispossession: The Struggle for Palestinian Self-Determination, 1969-1994*  
Gershom Gorenberg, *The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 1967-1977*  
Walter Laqueur, *Dying for Jerusalem: The Past, Present, and Future of the Holiest City*

Amos Elon, *Jerusalem: City of Mirrors*  
 Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Jerusalem: The Biography*  
 Oz Almog, *The Sabra: The Creation of the New Jew*  
 Uzi Rebhun and Chaim I. Waxman (eds.), *Jews in Israel: Contemporary Social and Cultural Patterns*  
 Robert Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession: Anti-Semitism from Antiquity to the Global Jihad*  
 Fouad Ajami, *Dream Palace of the Arabs: A Generation's Odyssey*  
 Derek Penslar, *Israel in History: The Jewish State in Comparative Perspective*  
 Benny Morris (ed.), *Making Israel*  
 Gershom Gorenberg, *The Unmaking of Israel*  
 Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace*  
 Aaron Miller, *The Much Too Promised Land: America's Elusive Search for Arab-Israeli Peace*

The following essays and articles offer additional perspectives on aspects of the history of Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict:

#### ZIONISM

Arthur Hertzberg (ed.), *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*  
 Ran Aaronsohn, "Settlement in Eretz Israel—A Colonialist Enterprise?," *Israel Studies* 1.2 (Fall 1996)  
 Avi Barelli, "Forgetting Europe: Perspectives on the Debate About Zionism and Colonialism," *The Journal of Israeli History* 20.2 & 3 (2001)  
 Derek J. Penslar, "Is Zionism a Colonial Movement?," in *Israel in History: The Jewish State in Comparative Perspective*  
 Gershon Shafir, "Zionism and Colonialism: A Comparative Approach," in *Israel in Comparative Perspective: Challenging the Conventional Wisdom*, ed. Michael N. Barnett (Albany: SUNY Press, 1996)  
 Adam M. Garfinkle, "On the Origin, Meaning, Use and Abuse of a Phrase," *Middle East Studies* 27:4 (October 1991)  
 Dan Segre, "Colonization and Decolonization: The Case of Zionist and African Elites," in *Comparing Jewish Societies*, ed. Todd Endelman (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994)  
 Alan Dowty, "'A Question that Outweighs All Others': Yitzhak Epstein and Zionist Recognition of the Arab Issue," *Israel Studies* 6.2 (Spring 2001)  
 Alan Dowty, "Much Ado About Little: Ahad Ha-am's 'Truth from Eretz Israel,'" *Israel Studies* 5.2 (Fall 2000)  
 Robert Wistrich, "Theodor Herzl: Artist, Politician, and Social Utopian," in *Laboratory for World Destruction: Germans and Jews in Central Europe*  
 Derek J. Penslar, "Historians, Herzl, and the Palestinian Arabs: Myth and Counter-myth," in *Israel in History: The Jewish State in Comparative Perspective*  
 S. Ilan Troen, "Frontier Myths and Their Applications in America and Israel: A Transnational Perspective," *Journal of American History* 86.3 (December 1999)  
 Eliezer Be'eri, "The Jewish-Arab Conflict during the Herzl Years," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 41 (1987)  
 Israel Kolatt, "The Zionist Movement and the Arabs," in *Essential Papers on Zionism*, ed. Jehuda Reinharz and Anita Shapira (New York: NYU Press, 1995)  
 Anita Shapira, "Zionism in the Age of Revolution," *Modern Judaism* 18.3 (October 1998)

Anita Shapira, "Anti-Semitism and Zionism: The Emergence of a Jewish National Movement in Europe," *Modern Judaism* 15.3 (October 1995)

Anita Shapira, "Ahad Ha'am: The Politics of Sublimation," *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* 11 (1995)

Anita Shapira, "The Zionist Labor Movement and the Hebrew University," *Judaism* 45.2 (Spring 1996)

Anita Shapira "Native Sons," in *Essential Papers on Zionism*, ed. Jehuda Reinharz and Anita Shapira

Anita Shapira, "Political Messianism in Martin Buber's Conception of Redemption," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 42.1 (Spring 1991)

Anita Shapira, "Ben-Gurion and the Bible: The Forging of an Historical Narrative?," *Middle Eastern Studies* 33.4 (October 1997)

Anita Shapira, "The Bible and Israeli Identity," *AJS Review* 28:1 (2004)

Anita Shapira, "The Debate in Mapai on the Use of Violence," *Zionism* 3 (April 1981)

Anita Shapira, "The Dynamics of Zionist Leftist Trends," in *Jewish History*, ed. Ada Rapoport-Albert and Steven Zipperstein

Anita Shapira, "Labour Zionism and the October Revolution," *Journal of Contemporary History* 24 (1989)

Anita Shapira, "Reality and Ethos: Attitudes Toward Power in Zionism," in *Vision Confronts Reality: Historical Perspectives on the Contemporary Jewish Agenda*, ed. Ruth Kozodoy et al.

Anita Shapira, "Whatever Became of 'Negating Exile?'" in *Israeli Identity in Transition*, ed. Anita Shapira

Robert Alter, "Enemies: A Love Story: What the Jews, Even Under Siege, Owe Liberalism," *The New Republic*, November 30, 1992 (review of books on Zionism by Ruth Wisse and Anita Shapira)

Isaiah Berlin, "Realism in Politics" and "Chaim Weizmann's Leadership," in *The Power of Ideas*

Jehuda Reinharz, "Chaim Weizmann: Statesman Without a State," *Modern Judaism* 12.3 (October 1992)

Jehuda Reinharz, "Herzl's 'Loyal Opposition'—Chaim Weizmann," in *Vision Confronts Reality: Historical Perspectives on the Contemporary Jewish Agenda*, ed. Ruth Kozodoy et al.

Jehuda Reinharz, "The Balfour Declaration in Historical Perspective," in *Essential Papers on Zionism*, ed. Jehuda Reinharz and Anita Shapira

Dina Porat, "Forging Zionist Identity Prior to 1948—Against Which Counter-Identity?," in *Israeli and Palestinian Narratives of Conflict: History's Double Helix*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg

Mitchell Cohen, "A Preface to the Study of Jewish Nationalism," *Jewish Social Studies* 1.1 (1994)

George Mosse, "Can Nationalism Be Saved? About Zionism, Rightful and Unjust Nationalism," *Israel Studies* 2:1 (Spring 1997)

Yehoshua Porath, "Anti-Zionist and Anti-Jewish Ideology in the Arab Nationalist Movement in Palestine," in *Antisemitism Through the Ages*, ed. Shmuel Almog

Yehoshua Porath, "The Land Problem in Mandatory Palestine," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 1 (1976)

J. L. Talmon, "The Irresistible Force and the Immovable Wall," in *The Unique and the Universal*



Conor Cruise O'Brien, "Three Zionists: Weizmann, Ben-Gurion, Katznelson," in *Passion and Cunning: Essays on Nationalism, Terrorism and Revolution*  
Michael Walzer, "Search for Zion: On Buber," *Tikkun*, 3.3 (May/June 1988)  
Michael Walzer, "Zionism and Judaism: The Paradox of National Liberation," *The Journal of Israeli History* 26.2 (2007)  
Michael Walzer, "History and National Liberation," *The Journal of Israeli History* 20.2 & 3 (2001)  
Zeev Sternhill, "In Defense of Liberal Zionism," *New Left Review* 62 (March/April 2010)

#### THE BRITISH MANDATE IN PALESTINE

Sir Vivian Gabriel, "The Troubles of the Holy Land," *Edinburgh Review* (January 1922)  
George Antonius, "The Machinery of Government in Palestine," *American Academy of Political and Social Science Annals* 164 (1932)  
Philip Mattar, "The Role of the Mufti of Jerusalem in the Political Struggle over the Western Wall, 1928-1929," *Middle Eastern Studies* 19 (January 1983)  
Elie Kedourie, "Sir Herbert Samuel and the Government of Palestine," in *The Chatham House Version*  
George Lichtheim, "Winston Churchill and Zionism," *Midstream* (Spring 1959)  
Jehuda Reinharz, "Chaim Weizmann as Political Strategist: The Initial Years, 1918-1920," in *Essays in Modern Jewish History: A Tribute to Ben Halpern*, ed. Frances Malino and Phyllis Cohen Albert  
Gabriel Sheffer, "Intentions and Results of British Policy in Palestine: Passfield's White Paper," *Middle Eastern Studies* 9 (1973)  
Gabriel Sheffer, "The Images of Arabs and Jews as a Factor in British Policy Towards Palestine," *The Journal of Israeli History* 1.1 (1980)  
Gabriel Sheffer, "Political Considerations in British Policy-making on Immigration to Palestine," *The Journal of Israeli History* 2.2 (1981)  
Gabriel Sheffer, "Appeasement and the Problem of Palestine," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2 (1980)  
Charles Townshend, "The First Intifada: Rebellion in Palestine, 1936-39," *History Today* (July 1989)  
Anita Shapira, "The Concept of Time in the Partition Controversy of 1937," *Journal of Israeli History* 6.2 (1985)  
Derek Penslar, "The Continuity of Subversion: Hebrew Satire in Mandate Palestine," in *Israel in History: The Jewish State in Comparative Perspective*  
Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Performing the State: The Jewish Palestine Pavilion at the New York World's Fair, 1939," in *The Art of Being Jewish in Modern Times*, ed. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Jonathan Karp  
Simon Schama, "The Moral Squalor of the Official Mind," *New Society*, June 7, 1979  
Jeffrey Herf, "Convergence: The Classic Case of Nazi Germany, Anti-Semitism, and Anti-Zionism during World War II," *The Journal of Israeli History* 25.1 (2006)  
Sasson Sofer, "The Concept of Revolt in Menachem Begin's Thought," *Journal of Israeli History* 7.1 (1986)  
Ronald Zweig, "The Political Uses of Military Intelligence: Evaluating the Threat of a Jewish Revolt against Britain during the Second World War," in *Diplomacy and Intelligence during the Second World War: Essays in Honor of F.H. Hinsley*, ed.

Richard Langhorne

1948

Isaiah Berlin, "Yitzhak Sadeh," in *Personal Impressions*

Yigal Allon, "Israel's War of Independence," *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire* 42 (1979)

Musa al-Alami, "The Lesson of Palestine," *The Middle East Journal* 3.4 (October 1949)

David Tal, "The Historiography of the 1948 War in Palestine: The Missing Dimension," *The Journal of Israeli History* 24.2 (2005)

Mordechai Bar-On, "Remembering 1948: Personal Recollections, Collective Memory, and the Search for 'What Really Happened,'" in *Making Israel*, ed. Benny Morris

Mordechai Bar-On, "Conflicting Narratives of a Conflict: Can the Zionist and Palestinian Narratives of the 1948 War Be Bridged?," in *Israeli and Palestinian Narratives of Conflict: History's Double Helix*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg

Mordechai Bar-On, "'Conquering the Wasteland': Zionist Perceptions of the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *Palestine-Israel Journal* 3:2 (1996)

Avi Shlaim, "The Debate About 1948," in *Making Israel*, ed. Benny Morris

Yehoshua Porath, "War and Remembrance: A Review of Rogan and Shlaim's *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*," *Azure* (Summer 2002)

Anita Shapira, "Myth and Identity: The Case of Latrun, 1948," in G. Abramson (ed.), *Modern Jewish Mythologies*

Anita Shapira, "Politics and Collective Memory," *History and Memory* 7:1 (1995)

Anita Shapira, "*Hirbet Hizah*: Between Remembrance and Forgetting," *Jewish Social Studies* 7:1 (2000)

Anita Shapira, "History, Memory, and Identity," *Israel: Culture, Religion, and Society*, ed. Stuart A. Cohen and Milton Shain

Anita Shapira, "The Strategies of Historical Revisionism," *Journal of Israeli History* 20 (2001)

Motti Golani, "Zionism without Zion: The Jerusalem Question, 1947-1949," *Journal of Israeli History* 16:1 (1995)

Gershom Gorenberg, "The War to Begin All Wars," *The New York Review of Books*, May 28, 2009

Kenneth Stein, "One Hundred Years of Social Change: The Creation of the Palestinian Refugee Problem," in *New Perspectives on Israeli History: The Early Years of the State*, ed. Lawrence J. Silberstein

Moshe Shemesh, "Did Shuqayri Call for 'Throwing the Jews into the Sea'?", *Israel Studies* 8.2 (Spring 2003)

Benny Morris, "The Causes and Character of the Arab Exodus from Palestine," in *The Israel/Palestine Question: Rewriting Histories*, ed. Ilan Pappé

Benny Morris, "The Historiography of Deir Yassin," *The Journal of Israeli History* 24.1 (2005)

Shabtai Teveth, "Charging Israel with Original Sin," *Commentary* (September 1989)

Shabtai Teveth, "The Palestinian Arab Refugee Problem and Its Origins," *Middle Eastern Studies* 26.2 (April 1990)

Rashid Khalidi, "The Palestinians and 1948: The Underlying Causes of Failure," in *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, ed. Eugene Rogan and Avi

Shlaim

Ahmad H. Sa'di, "Catastrophe, Memory and Identity: *Al-Nakbah* as a Component of Palestinian Identity," *Israel Studies* 7.2 (Summer 2002)

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### **Addendum: News Sources**

Israel is about the size of New Jersey, but as we know very well it receives more media attention than New Jersey does. The best way to get news on a particular event is to sample several sources. The following list of sources is anything but comprehensive:

*Haaretz*: Israel's newspaper of record. Has a left-of-center orientation. The op-ed articles are first-rate. English version can be read on-line:  
[www.haaretzdaily.com/](http://www.haaretzdaily.com/)

*The Forward*: descended from the great Yiddish newspaper, the weekly English edition has first-rate news and excellent cultural coverage.

*Tikkun*: edited by Rabbi Michael Lerner, who leans to the left, this lively magazine has become increasingly critical of Israeli policies in recent years. Compare with *Commentary*, the distinguished American monthly that has been leaning to the right for several decades now.

*Debka*: a "behind-the-scenes" website written by former Israeli security officials. Analysis tends to be "hawkish." <http://debka.com>

*Jerusalem Post*: English-language Israeli newspaper, formerly right-of-center, edited now by a liberal, David Horovitz (the author of *Still Life with Bombers*).  
<http://www.jpost.com>

*Israel National News (Arutz 7)*: the voice of the religious settler movement.  
<http://www.israelnationalnews.com/>

*Palestine News Agency*: news and analysis from the Palestinian perspective.  
[www.wafa.pna.net](http://www.wafa.pna.net)

