


Touro Institute  מכון טורו

*In Conjunction with*

**RUTGERS**  
NEWARK

## **History of Zionism and the State of Israel**

**Instructor:** Dr. Avi Picard



Dr. Avi Picard is a visiting scholar from Israel. His specialty is Israeli society with an emphasis on ethnicity and the mass immigration in the 1950's. Dr. Avi Picard received his B.A. and M.A. from Ben-Gurion University. His Ph.D. dissertation (written in the History department at Ben Gurion University of the Negev) is about the immigration from North Africa to Israel in the 1950's and the way it was absorbed into Israeli society. He has published academic articles on immigration, development towns in Israel and about the Shas political movement (Sephardic ultra-orthodox party).

During the 2005-2006 academic year, he was a Fulbright fellow at the Taub Center for Israel Studies at New York University. During 2007 he was a Schusterman visiting professor for Israel studies at Rutgers University.

## Course description

Israel is the outcome of an ideological movement that creates a community, which became a state. The movement, the community and the state will be the aims of this course.

The course will offer a historical introduction accompanied by a sociological analysis of the Zionist movement, the early settlement or 'Yishuv' and the first 50 years of the State of Israel. The first part of the course will be devoted to the emergence of Zionism, the ideologies of its early leaders, and the relationship of the Yishuv to internal Zionist debates and external powers. In the second part of the course, we will discuss The creation of the State; the Arab-Israeli conflict; the political system; the mass immigration and the ethnic gap; and relations with the Arab minority and the question of Identity.

### Requirements:

The final exam will consist of short-answer questions (multiple choice, true/false, explain the terms, etc.) based upon all the semester's topics.

The purpose of the exam is to check student's reading, knowledge and understanding of the course materials.

### Required Bibliography

Alan Dowty, *The Jewish State – A century later*, California UP, Berkeley

Martin Gilbert, *Israel – A History*, Morrow, New York

Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, Schocken Books, New York

Howard Sachar, *A History of Israel*, Knopf, New York

## Topics and reading

### **Part 1 - Zionism**

#### **1. Why did the National Jewish movement emerge?**

The state of the Jews by the 1800's: Emancipation, Enlightenment and Anti-Semitism

Laquer, Pp. 3-39; Pp. 56-70.

#### **2. Non-national solutions and first attempts for Nationalism**

Assimilation, Integration, Immigration, Revolutionism, Nationalism; The movement of Lover of Zion (Hibat Zion) and the first Aliyah.

Sachar, Pp. 13-35

#### **3. "At Basel I founded the Jewish state"**

Hertzel and his opponents; Socialist Zionism and the Second Aliyah

Sachar, Pp.36-64; Laqueur, Pp. 270-295.

Background: Shlomo Avineri, *The making of modern Zionism*, Ch. 9 Pp. 88-100;

#### **4. the land which was promised three times.**

World War 1 and the Balfur Declaration and other agreements.

Sachar, Pp. 89-115

## 5. The triangle

British – Arabs – Jews between the world wars.

Sachar, Pp. 163-178; Pp. 193-226.

## 6. Hyper political society

The national home and it's internal developments.

Laqueur, Pp.295-383.

Background: Dan Horowitz and Moshe Lissak, Origins of the Israeli polity: Palestine under the mandate,  
: University of Chicago Press, Chicago

## 7. The seventh Million

The Zionist movement and the Yeshuv during War World II and the Holocaust. The struggle for independence: 1945-1948.

Laqueur, Pp.564-586; Sachar, Pp.225-248.

### ***Part 2 – Israel***

## 8. The war of independence.

Sachar, Pp. 315-347.

## 9. A nation in uniform

Israeli security problems: 1949-1977.

Gilbert, Pp. 306-328; 384-461

## 10. From dominant party to a two system party

Israeli political arena: 1949-2006

Dan Horowitz and Moshe Lissak, Trouble in Utopia, State university of New York press,  
Albany, New

York 1988, Ch. 5.

Background: Arian Asher, The Second Republic: Politics in Israel, Chatman, New Jersey, 1998.

## 11. War and peace

Israel and it's neighbors: 1977-2006. The Palestinian problem.

Gilbert, Pp. 496-619.

## 12. A Jewish state or a state of all its citizen

Israel and it's Arab minority; Post Zionism and Israel identity.

Dowty, Pp. 184-215.

## 13. A tribal society

Immigration and ethnicity; Israel and the Jewish diaspora

Sachar, Pp. 395-428; Pp. 714-739

## 14. Religion versus secularity

Church and State in Israel

Dowty, Pp. 159-183.

*In Conjunction with*



## The Emergence of Zionist Thought


**Instructor:** Professor Monty N. Penkower

### About the Instructor

[Professor Monty N. Penkower](#) is Professor of History and chairman of the History department at Touro College. He graduated *magna cum laude* from Yeshiva College and received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in American History from Columbia University. He also taught at City College and Bard College, and gave the first course on the Holocaust offered by New York University's graduate History program. His books include [The Jews Were Expendable: Essays on the Diplomacy of the Holocaust](#), and he is currently working on a volume on Anglo-American foreign relations regarding Palestine during World War II. His writings on American and contemporary Jewish history, particularly on the Holocaust and Zionism, have appeared in numerous journals.

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### The Zionist Revolution

Lecture 1 [Listen](#) 

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- Defining Zionism.
  - A distinct movement of national renaissance.
  - Eastern traditionalism.
  - The 18th-century Enlightenment.
  - The Emancipation of Jewry.
  - Religious Reform and ethical Judaism.
  - The rise of 19th-century European nationalism.
  - The Jews as "spiritual nation": Frankel; Krochmal; Smolenskin; Graetz.
  - Zionism as radical "normalization" process.
  - "Hep! Hep!" riots: the Jew an absolute stranger. Re-entering history.

## ***Suggested Reading***

[Avineri, S. \*The Making of Modern Zionism\*. pp. 3-35.](#)

[Bein, A. "The Origin of The Term and Concept 'Zionism'." \*Herzl Yearbook\*. 2: 1-27.](#)

[Halpern, B. \*The Idea of the Jewish State\*. pp. 3-12, 55-60, 95-114.](#)

[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*. pp. 15-32.](#)

[Katz, J. \*From Prejudice to Destruction\*. pp. 34-47, 74-104.](#)

[Laqueur, W. \*A History of Zionism\*. pp. 3-39.](#)

[Meyer, M. \*The Origins of the Modern Jew\*.](#)

[Polish, D. \*Renew Our Days\*. pp. 17-47.](#)

[Vital, D. \*The Origins of Zionism\*. pp. 3-48.](#)

Most of the seminal Zionist writings discussed in this course have appeared in Hebrew editions. The intellectual study of Eliezer Schweid, *Toldot he-Hagut ha-Yehudit ba-Et ha-Hadashah, ha-Meah ha-Tesha-Esre* (1977), is especially recommended.

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## **Topics for Discussion**

### ***Required Reading***


[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*. pp. 15-32.](#)

[Vital, D. \*The Origins of Zionism\*. pp. 3-48.](#)

1. How is Zionism a distinctive movement of national renaissance?
2. What difficulties confronted modern Zionism at the outset?
3. Discuss the perspective of "Eastern Traditionalism" on the concepts "Exile" and "Redemption."
4. How did the European Enlightenment directly challenge Jewish modes of life and thought?
5. Discuss the ambivalent promise implied in Clermont-Tonnere's declaration, "The Jews should be denied everything as a nation, but granted everything as individuals."
6. Explain the position shared by the French-inspired Sanhedrin and Rabbi Samson R. Hirsch regarding civic duty and religious chosenness.
7. Discuss the Reform movement's new formulation of Jewish identity and Messianism.
8. How did Frankel, Krochmal, Smolenskin, and Graetz all view Jewish nationality in strictly religious terms?
9. Why is Zionism a revolutionary movement in Jewish history?

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## Religious Forerunners of Zionism

Lecture 2 [Listen](#) 

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- The religious roots of Zionism.
- Ben Zion Dinur's conception of Zionist history.
- Judah Alkalai (1798-1878) and his national self-redemption.
- Chaim Lorje (1821-1878) and his society for settlement in Eretz Yisrael.
- Zvi Hirsch Kalischer (1795-1874), Derishat Zion and agricultural rejuvenation. Elias Guttmacher (1796-1874) and Azriel Hildesheimer (1820-1899).
- Yechiel Michael Pines (1843-1913). Jewry's limited response: East and West. The religious proto-Zionists' contribution. A traditionalist complement to Emancipation.

### ***Suggested Reading***

[Avineri, S. \*The Making of Modern Zionism\*](#). pp. 47-55.

[Bick, A. \*Exponents and Philosophy of Religious Zionism\*](#). pp. 5-13.

[Greenberg, I. \*The Jews in Russia\*](#). vol 1 pp. 48-52, 74-75, 119-129.

[Halpern, B. \*The Idea of the Jewish State\*](#). pp. 114-119.

[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*](#). pp. 15-22, 112-36, 101-114, 406-415.

[Katz, J. \*Shivat Zion\*](#). 1: 91-105; 2/3: 26-41; 4: 9-41.

[Vital, D. \*The Origins of Zionism\*](#). pp. 12-15.

[Waxman, M. \*A History of Jewish Literature\*](#). vol. 4, pp. 874-880.

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## Topics for Discussion

### ***Required Reading***


[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*](#). pp. 101-116. 406-415.

[Salmon, A. "Tradition and Modernity in Early Religious Zionist Thought." \*Tradition\*](#). 18 (Summer 1979): 79-98.

1. Upon which traditional roots could Zionism naturally draw?
2. Give examples of Jewish return to Eretz Yisrael prior to the 19th century.

3. Discuss Ben Zion Dinnur's conception of Zionism and Jewish modernity.
  4. By what radical formulation did Alkalai integrate Kabbala with European nationalist trends?
  5. How can Kalischer be considered an example of "Practical Messianism"?
  6. Describe the pre-Zionist activities of Guttmacher, Hildesheimer, and Pines.
  7. Why did Alkalai and like-minded pietists have little contemporary impact on Jewish circles?
  8. In what special ways did such religious figures contribute to the rise of Zionism?
  9. Were these proto-Zionists correct in viewing Emancipation as an instrument for attaining their religious goals?
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## Moses Hess (1812-1875)

Lecture 3 [Listen](#) 

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- The early life of Hess.
- Pioneer ideologue of ethical Socialism.
- The Damascus blood libel affair of 1840.
- Natural sciences and folk-type identity.
- France as savior.
- Nationalism: racist and liberal.
- *Rome and Jerusalem*.
- Antisemitism and assimilation.
- The Messianic "Sabbath of History".
- Jewry's mission and the return to Zion.
- Hess's impact.
- The secular proto-Zionist.

### ***Suggested Reading***

[Avineri, S. \*The Making of Modern Zionism\*. pp. 36-46.](#)

[Berlin, I. \*The Life and Opinions of Moses Hess\*.](#)

[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*. pp. 36-40.](#)

[Hess, M. \*Rome and Jerusalem\*. Trans. M. Waxman.](#)

[Volkov, S. "Moses Hess: Problems of Religion and Faith." \*Zionism\*. 3: 1-15.](#)

[Winer, G. \*The Founding Fathers of Israel\*. pp. 47-60.](#)

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# Topics for Discussion

## *Required Reading*


[Hess, Moses. \*Rome and Jerusalem\*.](#)

[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*.](#) pp. 34-40.

[Winer, G. \*The Founding Fathers of Israel\*.](#) pp. 47-60.

1. Discuss the amalgam of Christian eschatology and Socialism which marked Hess's early philosophy.
  2. What circumstances first shook Hess's faith in humanistic Communism as the solution for the ills of humanity, Jewry included?
  3. How did study of the natural sciences encourage Hess to appreciate the significance of folk types in history?
  4. Why did Hess place great faith in France as Jewry's champion?
  5. Does the title *Rome and Jerusalem* accurately suggest Hess's central thesis in that volume?
  6. According to Hess, what is the special mission of the Jewish people, and how can this be accomplished?
  7. How does Hess pioneer in his analysis of anti-semitism and assimilation?
  8. Why are not the pressing physical needs of Jewry at the center of *Rome and Jerusalem*?
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## **Leo Pinsker (1821-1891)**

Lecture 4 [Listen](#) 

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- 1881: "The Storms in the South."
- Emigration from the Pale to the United States.
- BILU and Hibbat Zion.
- *Maskilim* react: Ben Yehuda; Smolenskin; Lilienblum; Lavanda.
- Pinsker and the *Haskala*.
- *Auto-Emancipation! A Warning to His Kinfolk by a Russian Jew*.
- "Judeophobia."
- The "problem of the Jews."
- The 1884 Kattowitz convention.
- Pinsker's last years.
- The limitations of Hovevei Zion.
- Zionists in disarray.

## *Suggested Reading*

[Avineri, S. \*The Making of Modern Zionism\*.](#) pp. 56-87.

[Greenberg, I. \*The Jews in Russia\*](#). vol. 2, pp, 19-75.

[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*](#). pp. 40-45. 146-177.

[Laqueur, W. \*A History of Zionism\*](#). pp. 56-61 68-83.

[Pinsker, Leo. \*Road to Freedom\*](#). Ed. B. Netanyahu.

[Vital, D. \*The Origins of Zionism\*](#). pp. 49-186. 201-229.

[Winer, G. \*The Founding Fathers of Zionism\*](#). pp. 77-88.

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## Topics for Discussion

### ***Required Reading***


[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*](#). pp. 146-177.

[Pinsker, Leo. \*Road to Freedom\*](#).

1. How were the pogroms of 1881 in Russia a turning point in Jewish history?
2. In what ways did "the storms in the South" affect *maskilim*?
3. Describe Pinsker's years as a classic proponent of Russification.
4. Why is *Auto-Emancipation* deservedly the first book in the Zionist canon?
5. What distinguishes Pinsker's analysis of anti-semitism?
6. How did Pinsker view Palestine in terms of the answer to the plight of the Jewish masses?
7. Describe the impact of *Auto-Emancipation* on Jewish communities in Western and Eastern Europe.
8. What record did *Hibat Zion* and the Zionist movement at large attain by the time of Pinsker's death?

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## Theodor (Binyamin Ze'ev) Herzl (1860-1904)

Lecture 5 [Listen](#) 

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- Years of youth.
- *The New Ghetto*.
- The Dreyfus Case.
- *The Jews' State: An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question*.
- A model state: international sanction and Jewish will.
- The rational treatment of Jew-hatred.
- Jewry's response to Political Zionism.
- The First Zionist Congress and the Basle Program.
- Limited Successes.
- *Old New Land*
- Great Britain's East Africa proposal.
- Herzl's seminal importance as thinker and activist.

### ***Suggested Reading***

[Avineri, S. \*The Making of Modern Zionism\*. pp. 88-111.](#)

[Bein, Alexander. \*Theodore Herzl\*.](#)

[Elon, A. \*Herzl\*.](#)

[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*. pp. 45-51, 226-245.](#)

[Herzl, T. \*The Jews' State\*.](#)

[--. \*Old-New Land\*.](#)

[--. \*The Diaries\*. Ed. M. Lowenthal.](#)

[--. \*The New Ghetto\*.](#)

[Laqueur, W. \*A History of Zionism\*. pp. 84-135.](#)

[Schorske, C. \*Fin-de-Siecle Vienna\*. pp. 116-180.](#)

[Vital, D. \*The Origins of Zionism\*. pp. 223-375.](#)

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# Topics for Discussion

## *Required Reading*


[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*](#). pp. 45-51, 226-245.

[Herzl, Theodore. \*The Jewish State\*](#).

1. Describe Herzl's career until his involvement in Zionism.
2. What combination of factors brought about Herzl's obsession with the "Jewish question"?
3. Analyze those assumptions which inform Herzl's thesis in *The Jewish State*.
4. How does Herzl mirror his intellectual age?
5. What accounts for Herzl's limited successes in the diplomatic arena?
6. Why is the Basle Program so significant in Zionist history?
7. Are there similarities in approach between *The Jewish State* and *Old-New Land*?
8. His limitations notwithstanding, why can Herzl be considered the father of modern Zionism?
9. Are Herzl's ideological postulates valid today?

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## Ahad Ha'am (1856-1927)

Lecture 6 [Listen](#) 

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- The "Problem of Judaism" and Cultural Zionism.
  - Early years.
  - "*Lo Zeh HaDerech*."
  - The prophetic ideal: truth and righteousness.
  - Eretz Yisrael as "spiritual center."
  - B'nei Moshe.
  - Contribution to modern Hebrew letters.
  - *Al Parashat Derachim*.
  - Inconsistencies in Ahad Ha'am's thought.
  - The Arab-Jewish dilemma.
  - "Synthetic Zionism" and *Gegenwartsarbeit*.
  - Ahad Ha'am's legacy.

## *Suggested Reading*

[Ahad Ha'am. \*Nationalism and the Jewish Ethic\*](#). Ed. H. Kohn.

[--. \*Selected Essays\*](#). Ed. L. Simon.

[Amir, Yehoshua. "The National Idea in Martin Buber's Thought." \*Sources of Contemporary Jewish Thought\*. Ed. D. Hardan. vol. 4, pp. 15-41.](#)

[Avineri, S. \*The Making of Modern Zionism\*. pp. 112-124.](#)

[Bergman, S. \*Faith and Reason\*. pp. 81-97, 142-151.](#)

[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*. pp. 51-72, 440-465.](#)

[Noveck, S. "Ahad Ha'am." \*Great Jewish Thinkers in the Twentieth Century\*. Ed. S. Noveck. pp. 11-44.](#)

[Simon, L. \*Ahad Ha'am, a Biography\*.](#)

[Vital, D. \*The Origins of Zionism\*. pp. 187-200.](#)

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## Topics for Discussion

### ***Required Reading***


[Ahad Ha'am. \*Selected Essays\*.](#)

[Noveck, S. "Ahad Ha'am." \*Great Jewish Thinkers in the Twentieth Century\*. Ed. S. Noveck. pp. 111-144.](#)

1. Why was Ahad Ha'am the principal intellectual opponent of Herzl's "political" Zionism?
2. What constituted "the problem of Judaism" in Ahad Ha'am's view?
3. Is it correct to categorize Ahad Ha'am's philosophy as "cultural" or "spiritual" Zionism?
4. Did "*Lo Zeh HaDerech*" encompass a consistent theme which its author would expand upon in subsequent years?
5. Explain Ahad Ha'am's reservations about Zionist fortunes in his lifetime.
6. Why is Palestine vital to Ahad Ha'am's schema?
7. Who in Jewish history were Ahad Ha'am's heroes?
8. Amidst which circles did Ahad Ha'am's philosophy strike fertile ground?
9. What are the limitations and the strengths inherent in Ahad Ha'am's message?

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## The Negation of the Diaspora

Lecture 7 [Listen](#) 

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- The evils of tradition and exile.
- Micha Yosef Berdichevski *Bin Gorion* (1865-1921):
  - Ambivalent advocate of individual freedom and creative passion.
- Yosef Chaim Brenner (1881-1921):
  - Voice of the Second Aliya.
- Jacob Klatzkin (1882-1948):
  - The undermining of the *Galut* ethos.
  - Secular nationalism as new Jewish identity.
  - Zionist "normality" or Diaspora assimilation.
- Hebrew vs. Jew.
- The "Zionism of Catastrophe" in historical perspective.

### ***Suggested Reading***

[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*.](#)

[Kaufman, Y. "The National Will to Survive." \*Sources of Contemporary Jewish Thought\*.](#) Ed. D. Hardan. vol 2, pp. 71-121.

[Meged, M. "The Nationalist Thought of Yosef Haim Brenner." \*Sources of Contemporary Jewish Thought\*.](#) Ed. D. Hardan. vol. 4, pp. 81-138.

[Spiegel, S. \*Hebrew Reborn\*.](#) pp. 329-385.

[Waxman, M. \*A History of Jewish Literature\*.](#) vol. 1, pp. 92-105, 113-124, 387-392; vol. 2, pp. 1222-1235.

[Winer, G. \*The Founding Fathers of Israel\*.](#) pp. 141-172.

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## Topics for Discussion

## ***Required Reading***

[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*](#). pp. 289-327.

1. What did Berdichevski want in calling for a "transvaluation" of Jewish history and Judaism?
  2. Does Berdichevski's distinction between "Jew" and "Hebrew" ring true today?
  3. How did Brenner's pessimistic outlook reflect itself in his novels and his philosophy?
  4. What developments in Palestine sparked a qualified admiration in Brenner?
  5. Why would Brenner's stance make him the most influential writer among the *chalutsim* of the Second Aliya?
  6. In what way is Klatzkin the arch spokesman for the "negation of the Diaspora"?
  7. Is Klatzkin's equation of modern Judaism and nationalism a valid one?
  8. Is the Diaspora fated to disappear?
  9. Where else in Jewish circles did this "Zionism of catastrophe" find a welcome echo?
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## **Aharon David Gordon (1856-1922)**

Lecture 8 [Listen](#) 

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- His life in Russia Chalutz in Eretz Yisrael.
- Cosmic unity.
- Man's alienation from nature.
- The individualist "religion of labor."
- Nationalism vs. Socialism.
- The mission of the Jewish people.
- Judaism and Christianity.
- The Arab-Jewish encounter.
- Gordon as Utopian.
- Gordon's significance.

## ***Suggested Reading***

[Avineri, A. \*The Making of Modern Zionism\*](#). pp. 151-158.

[Bergman, S. \*Faith and Reason\*](#). pp. 98-120.

[Cohen, J., and S. Noveck "Aharon David Gordon." \*Great Jewish Thinkers of the Twentieth Century\*](#). Ed. S. Noveck. pp. 45-71.

[Gordon, A. D. \*Selected Essays\*](#). Ed. F. Burnce.

[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*](#). pp. 368-387.

[Rotenstreich, N. \*Jewish Philosophy in Modern Times\*](#). pp. 239-252.

[Schweid, E. "A. D. Gordon on Nationalism: The Individual and Mankind." \*Sources of Contemporary Jewish Thought\*. Ed. D. Hardan. vol. 4 pp. 45-78.](#)

[Winer, G. \*The Founding Fathers of Israel\*. pp. 175-192.](#)

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# Topics for Discussion


## *Required Reading*

[Bergman, S. \*Faith and Reason\*. pp. 98-120.](#)

[Gordon, A. D. \*Selected Essays\*.](#)

1. How did the 1881 pogroms dramatically alter Gordon's life?
  2. What difficulties in Palestine confronted Gordon and other idealists at the beginning of the 20th century?
  3. Describe the singular ethical standard which guided Gordon's actions.
  4. How, in Gordon's opinion, can man most successfully relate to nature?
  5. Why, for Gordon, does the nation best create the individual?
  6. What is the unique mission of the Jewish people, according to Gordon's philosophy?
  7. Have Jews specific obligations upon their return to Eretz Yisrael?
  8. Is Gordon's particular "religion of labor" Utopian?
  9. Wherein lies the import of Gordon's message today?
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## **Nachman Syrkin (1868-1924)**

Lecture 9 [Listen](#) 

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- Humanist ideologue of Socialist Zionism.
- Early years.
- *Reflections on the Philosophy of History*.
- *Sensation and Idea*.
- *The Jewish Question and the Socialist State of the Jews*.
- Disciple of Moses Hess.
- Zionist exodus and Russian revolution.
- *Manifesto to Jewish Youth*.
- The switch to Socialist-Territorialism.
- American realities.
- Syrkin's influence.

## ***Suggested Reading***

[Avineri, S. \*The Making of Modern Zionism\*](#). pp. 125-138.

[Frankel, J. "Nachman Syrkin: The Populist and Prophetic Strands in Socialist Zionism." \*Zionism\*](#). 2: 173-212.

[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*](#). pp. 72-95, 329-350, 388-395, 478-485, 494-533.

[Laqueur, W. \*A History of Zionism\*](#). pp. 270-337.

[Shapira, A. \*Berl\*](#). 2 vols.

[Syrkin, M. \*Nachman Syrkin\*](#).

[Syrkin, N. \*Essays on Socialist Zionism\*](#).

[Winer, G. \*The Founding Fathers of Israel\*](#). pp. 195-207.

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## **Topics for Discussion**

### ***Required Reading***

[Syrkin, M. \*Nachman Syrkin\*](#).


[Syrkin, N. \*Essays on Socialist Zionism\*](#).

[Winer, G. \*Founding Fathers of Israel\*](#). pp. 195-207.

1. Describe Syrkin's novel fusion of the "populist" and "prophetic" strands in Socialist Zionism.
2. How would his emphasis on individual faith and will color Syrkin's analysis of general historical development and, in particular Zionism?
3. Why, according to *Die Judenfrage*, could only the combination of a classless society and national sovereignty solve the Jewish problem?
4. What form should the new Jewish commonwealth take, according to Syrkin?
5. How does Syrkin's secular Messianism radically differ from Herzl's liberal vision?
6. Why did the Zionist movement adamantly oppose Syrkin's views in his own day?
7. In what respect did Syrkin's idealism lead to erroneous conclusions?
8. How did Syrkin fare in American Zionist circles?
9. How has Syrkin's humanitarian Socialism closely mirrored the later course of Zionism in Eretz Yisrael?

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## Dov Ber Borochov (1881-1917)

Lecture 10 [Listen](#) 

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- The European revolutionary cause opposes Zionism.
- The Bund.
- Borochov's youth.
- *The National Question and the Class Struggle*.
- *Conditions of Production* and the proletariat's progressive nationalism.
- Poalei Zion.
- *Our Platform*: Marxist Zionism.
- The Jewish economic structure and the "inverted pyramid."
- The "stychic progress" and Palestine.
- Borochov's immediate impact.
- His shift to "Eretz Yisrael – a Jewish home." Borochov's significance.

### ***Suggested Reading***

[Avineri, S. \*The Making of Modern Zionism\*. pp. 139-150.](#)

[Borochov, B. \*Nationalism and the Class Struggle\*.](#)

[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*. pp. 72-80, 353-366.](#)

[Kolatt, I. "Zionist Marxism." \*Varieties of Marxism\*. Ed. S. Avineri. pp. 227-270.](#)

[Mendelsohn, E. \*Class Struggle in the Pale\*.](#)

[Mendes-Flohr, P., and J. Reinharz, eds. \*The Jew in the Modern World\*. pp. 441-445, 472-474.](#)

[Tobias, H. \*The Jewish Bund in Russia\*.](#)

[Winer, G. \*The Founding Fathers of Israel\*. pp. 209-223.](#)

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## Topics for Discussion

### ***Required Reading***


[Borochov, B. \*Nationalism and the Class Struggle\*.](#)

[Frankel, J. \*Prophecy and Politics\*](#). pp. 329-363.

1. Why was modern Zionism anathema to revolutionary circles in pre-World War I Europe?
2. Describe the Bund's ideological position.
3. What circumstances influenced Borochov's original formulations in *The National Question and the Class Struggle*?
4. Why, for Borochov, is the nationalism of the proletariat most commendable?
5. What links *The National Question* and Borochov's subsequent essay, *Our Platform*?
6. Was Borochov correct in assuming the inevitability of mass migration to, and the Jewish conquest of, Palestine?
7. How did his thought undergo a radical metamorphosis while Borochov lived in the United States?
8. Wherein lies Borochov's achievement for the development of Zionism?

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## Religious Zionism

Lecture 11 [Listen](#) 

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- Shmuel Mohliver, pioneer (1824-1898).
  - Yitschak Yaakov Reines (1839-1915):
    - Traditional Judaism enters the modern age.
    - Founder of Mizrachi.
    - The Lida Yeshiva.
    - Eretz Yisrael and Jewish destiny.
    - Nationalism enhanced by religious principles.
  - Avraham Yitschak HaCohen Kook: (1865-1935), Orthodox mystic.
    - Zionism as a Divine phenomenon.
    - "High Priest of Rebirth."
    - Kabbala and the return to harmony.
    - Jewry's uniqueness and universal redemption.
  - Subsequent legacies.

## ***Suggested Reading***

[Agus, J. \*High Priest of Rebirth\*](#). orig. Banner of Jerusalem

[Avineri, S. \*The Making of Modern Zionism\*](#). pp. 187-197.

[Bergman, S. \*Faith and Reason\*](#). pp. 121-141.

[Bick, A. \*Exponents and Philosophy of Religious Zionism\*](#). pp. 14-57.

[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*](#). pp. 398-405, 416-439, 546-555.

[Kook, A. \*The Lights of Penitence\*](#). Trans. Ben-Zion Bokser.

[Rotenstreich, N. \*Jewish Philosophy in Modern Times\*](#). pp. 219-238.

[Wanefsky, J. \*Rabbi Jacob Reines\*](#).

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## Topics for Discussion

### *Required Reading*

[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*](#). pp. 398-405, 416-439, 546-555.

1. Why did religious Zionists refuse to countenance a Jewish nationality in Eretz Yisrael "like all the nations"?
  2. How did Mohliver inspire the later Mizrachi organization ?
  3. Can it be argued that with the advent of Reines, Orthodox Judaism truly entered the modern age?
  4. Why did the majority of traditional Jewry's leadership reject Zionism?
  5. For Reines, what purpose has the Jewish people in returning of its own initiative to Eretz Yisrael?
  6. How did Kook's mystical approach add a special ingredient to the Zionist cause?
  7. Why did Reines and Kook appreciate the colonizing efforts of secular Zionists?
  8. Describe Kook's activities as first Ashkenazic Chief Rabbi of Palestine.
  9. What legacy did such religious personalities leave for the future of Zionism?
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### **Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky (1880-1940)**

Lecture 12 [Listen](#) 

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- The Balfour Declaration and the definition of Zionist goals.
- Organic, "practical" Zionism. Jabotinsky's pre-Zionist years.
- The Italian influence.
- The Jewish Legion in World War I.
- On the Zionist Executive.
- Revisionist Zionism.
- The New Zionist Organization.
- "Evacuation" and international diplomacy.
- Betar, "Aliya Bet," and the Irgun Tsva'i Leumi.
- The tragic finale.
- Jabotinsky's significance.

## ***Suggested Reading***

[Avineri, S. \*The Making of Modern Zionism\*. pp. 159-186.](#)

[Halpern, B. \*The Idea of the Jewish State\*. pp. 30-39.](#)

[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*. pp. 556-570.](#)

[Jabotinsky, V. \*Samson the Nazirite\*.](#)

[--. \*The Jewish War Front\*. reprinted as \*The War and the Jews\*](#)

[Laqueur, W. \*A History of Zionism\*. pp. 338-383.](#)

[Mendes-Flohr, P., and J. Reinharz, eds. \*The Jew in the Modern World\*. pp. 462-465.](#)

[Penkower, Monty N. "In Dramatic Dissent: The Bergson Boys." \*American Jewish History\*. vol. 70, pp. 281-309.](#)

[Sachar, H. \*A History of Modern Israel\*. pp. 183-188.](#)

[Schechtman, J. \*The Jabotinsky Story\*.](#)

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## **Topics for Discussion**


### ***Required Reading***

[Shavit, Y. "Fire and Water Ze'ev Jabotinsky and the Revisionist Movement." \*Studies in Zionism\*. 4 \(Autumn 1981\): 215-236.](#)

1. Distinguish between "practical" and "political" Zionism, using Weizman and Jabotinsky as their respective spokesmen.
2. What does the term "Revisionist Zionism" connote?
3. What different elements fashioned Jabotinsky's political views?
4. Why did Jabotinsky make such efforts during World War I for a Jewish Legion ?
5. Why did Jabotinsky feel compelled to break with the World Zionist Organization and establish a separate political entity?
6. Analyze the program of the New Zionist Organization in thought and deed under Jabotinsky's tutelage.
7. Was Jabotinsky Herzl's legitimate successor?
8. How realistic, then and later, was Jabotinsky's philosophy?

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## Zionism Today

Lecture 13 [Listen](#) 

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- David Ben-Gurion (1886-1973)
  - "From class to nation".
  - The establishment of the State.
  - Conception of Jewish destiny.
  - The emergence of etatism.
- Zionism and the Jewish people's re-entry into history. From the Holocaust to the creation of a commonwealth, The achievement of the State of Israel. A new focus for Jewish identity. Limitations of "normalization." The seismic impact of the Six-Day War. Mounting harsh realities. The unfulfilled Zionist revolution. Jewish peculiarity in Israel and the Diaspora.

### ***Suggested Reading***

[Avineri, S. \*The Making of Modern Zionism\*. pp. 198-227.](#)

[Bauer, Y. \*The Jewish Emergence from Powerlessness\*. pp. 41-78.](#)

[Ben Ezer, E. \*Unease in Zion\*.](#)

[Friedman, G. \*The End of the Jewish People?\*](#)

[Frisch, H. \*The Zionist Revolution\*.](#)

[Halkin, H. \*Letters to an American Jewish Friend\*.](#)

[Hertzberg, A. \*Being Jewish In America\*.](#)

[--. \*The Zionist Idea\*. pp. 95-100, 535-544.](#)

[Herzog, Y. \*A People That Dwells Alone\*.](#)

[Penkower, Monty N. "Believe the Unbelievable!" \*Midstream\*. 27: pp. 31-37.](#)

[Sachar, H. \*A History of Modern Israel\*. Chapters 10-24.](#)

[Schweid, E. "The Value of Nationalism." \*Sources of Contemporary Jewish Thought\*. Ed. D. Hardan. vol 3, pp. 93-164.](#)

[Schweid, E., ed. \*Sources of Contemporary Jewish Thought\*. vol. 6.](#)

[Talmon, J. \*Israel Among the Nations\*.](#)

[Shapira, A., ed. \*The Seventh Day\*.](#)

[David, M., ed. \*Zionism in Transition\*.](#)

# Topics for Discussion

## ***Required Reading***

[Katz, J. "Israel and the Messiah." \*Commentary\*. 73 \(Jan. 1982\): 34-41.](#)

[Hertzberg, A. \*The Zionist Idea\*. pp. 95-100, 535-544.](#)

1. How did Ben Gurion especially reflect the national will of the Jewish Yishuv?
2. What difficulties are raised by Ben Gurion's emphasis on the primacy of statehood?
3. Which principles are commonly shared by adherents of Zionism?
4. What role did its ideologues play in the ultimate triumphs of the Zionist movement?
5. Explain the relationship which exists between the Holocaust and the rebirth of the State of Israel.
6. What significant achievements can be ascribed to the State of Israel?
7. How has the State of Israel affected world Jewry?
8. Discuss those areas where the Zionist revolution still remains incomplete.
9. How might Zionism better reflect the specific Jewish experience?