

HISTORY 34/RELIGION 60  
VARIETIES OF ZIONIST THOUGHT: JUDAISM, NATIONALISM,  
ANTISEMITISM, AND THE JEWISH QUESTION  
FALL 2021

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Office Hours: T 1:30-4  
Beit Midrash (Lodge 5)  
By Appointment

Office Hours: MTW 2-4  
By Appointment

This course focuses on the ways Jewish thinkers in the nineteenth and twentieth century dreamt about Jews becoming a modern nation. We explore the various political expressions of Jewish identity through an exploration of the central texts of Zionist thought in the context of broader trends in European and Jewish history such as emancipation, antisemitism, and the rise of the nation state. It also integrates biblical, rabbinic, and medieval Jewish texts about the idea of Zion and the centrality of the Land of Israel to provide essential historical context and background. We ask what are the ways Jewish sources from antiquity to the modern era have grappled with varied attitudes toward land, political sovereignty, religion, and national identity in the Diaspora.

**Course Requirements**

Two Seven-Page Papers (60 Percent)  
Five Journal Entries (25 Percent)  
Attendance and Active Class Participation (15 Percent)

**Required Books (Available at the Bookstore and on Reserve in McCabe)**

Theodor Herzl, *Old New Land*  
Michael Stanislawski, *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle* (Available Online via Tripod)  
All other readings are available on Moodle

All students are expected to read the College's policy on academic integrity and honesty that appears in the Swarthmore College Bulletin. We also have posted a statement on the subject on Moodle. The work you submit must be your own, and plagiarism will be penalized. We will submit papers suspected of containing plagiarized content to the College Judiciary Committee for adjudication.

Please note that unexcused absences will result in a lower final grade.

Information on accommodations for a disability or chronic medical condition, can be found on Moodle.

The courses' learning goals and objectives can be found here:

[https://drive.google.com/file/d/1TPz\\_J6fciUhLn70Us5Dmha-Wk7tWNwGM/view](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1TPz_J6fciUhLn70Us5Dmha-Wk7tWNwGM/view)

## **September 2: What This Course is About and What It is Not About; What is a Nation?; Who is a Jew?; Terminology**

### **Read for Class**

Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?" (1882)

Giuseppe Mazzini, "Young Italy" (1831)

Giuseppe Mazzini, "The Duties of Man" (1848-1858)

## **September 9: Judaism and the Return to Zion: The In-Gathering of Jews**

### **Read for Class**

"Centrality of the Land of Israel"

"Liturgical References to Zion"

Arthur Hertzberg, "Land"

Aryeh Newman, "The Centrality of Eretz Yisrael in Nachmanides"

## **September 16: No Class**

## **September 23: Precursors of Zionism: Language, Land, and Labor**

### **Read for Class**

Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai, "The Third Redemption"

Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, "A Natural Beginning of the Redemption" and "The Holiness of Labor on the Land"

Moses Hess, Excerpts from *Rome and Jerusalem*

Peretz Smolenskin, "It is Time to Plant," "Let Us Search Our Ways," and "The Haskalah of Berlin"

Moses Leib Lilienblum, "The Way of Return," "Let Us Not Confuse the Issues," and "The Future of Our People"

Eliezer Ben-Yehudah, "A Letter of Ben-Yehudah"

Leo Pinsker, "Auto-Emancipation: An Appeal to His People by a Russian Jew"

## **September 30: Political Zionism**

### **Read for Class**

Theodor Herzl, "The Jewish State" and "First Congress Address"

Max Nordau, "Speech to the First Zionist Congress" and "The New Zionism"

## **October 7: Zionist Dreaming**

### **Read for Class**

Theodor Herzl, *Old New Land*

## **October 21: The Spiritual Critique of Herzl**

### **Read for Class**

Ahad Ha'am, "The Law of the Heart," "Flesh and Spirit," "On Nationalism and Religion," "The Jewish State and the Jewish Problem," and "The Negation of the Diaspora"

## **October 28: Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism**

### **Read for Class**

Michael Stanislawski, *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle*

## **November 4: What Did the Rabbis Say?**

### **Read for Class**

“Statement by the Lubavitcher Rebbe on Zionism”

“Statement by the Holy Gerer Rebbe on Zionism”

Isaac Reines, “A New Light on Zion”

The Mizrahi Manifesto

Rabbi Samuel Mohilever, “Message to the First Zionist Congress”

Yehiel Michael Pines, “On Religious Reforms,” “Jewish Nationalism Cannot Be Secular,”

“Religion is the Source of Jewish Nationalism,” and “Jews Will Accept Hardship Only in the Holy Land”

Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook, “The Land of Israel,” “The War,” “The Rebirth of Israel,” and “Lights for Rebirth”

Jacob Klatzkin, “Boundaries”

## **November 11: Zionism Meets Marxism and Living the American Dream**

### **Read for Class**

Ber Borochov, “The National Question and the Class Struggle” and “Our Platform”

Aaron David Gordon, “Logic for the Future,” “People and Labor,” “Our Tasks Ahead,”

“Yom Kippur,” and “Final Reflections”

David Ben-Gurion, “The Imperatives of the Jewish Revolution”

Louis Brandeis, “The Jewish Problem and How to Solve It”

Horace Kallen, “Jewish Life is National and Secular,” “Zionism and Liberalism,” and

“Jewish Unity”

Judah Magnes, “Like All the Nations”

Mordechai Kaplan, “The Future of the American Jew”

Solomon Schechter, “Zionism: A Statement”

## **November 18: The Bi-National Solution, *Realpolitik*, and the Post-Colonial Critique**

### **Read for Class**

Martin Buber, Excerpts from *A Land of Two Peoples*

Ella Shoat, “Sephardim in Israel: Zionism from the Standpoint of Its Jewish Victims”

Lord Balfour, “The Balfour Declaration”

Zionist Manifesto after the Balfour Declaration

The Mandate for Palestine

Peel Commission Report (1937)

White Paper of 1939

Vladimir Jabotinsky, “Evidence Submitted to the Palestine Royal Commission” and

“What the Zionist-Revisionists Want”

## **November 25: No Class**

**December 2: Who is a Jew Now that the State of Israel Exists?**

**Read for Class**

The Law of Return

The Strange Case of Brother Daniel

The Even Stranger Case of the Jewish Autonomous Region:

<http://www.swarthmore.edu/Home/News/hiro/>

**December 7: TBD**

**SECOND PAPER DUE ON DECEMBER 9**

**ALL JOURNAL ENTRIES DUE ON DECEMBER 17**