

# Contents

List of Maps	page xi
List of Photographs	xiii
Preface	xv
Abbreviations	xxiii
A Note on Place and Personal Names	xxvii

## PART ONE: FROM EMPIRES TO NEW STATES

1	Prologue: The Congress of Berlin	3
	Curbing Russian Imperialism	3
	The Danubian Principalities, the Jews, and the Great Powers	5
	“A Test Case for Jewish Power”	15
	Article 44	22
	Aftermath	30
2	Bucharest, August 1913	39
	The Balkan Wars	39
	The Minority Question in the Age of European Imperialism	44
	The Jewish Struggle for Minority Rights	49
	Salonika	57
	The Treaty of Bucharest	61
3	The Great War	67
	A Revolutionary War	68
	Poland as a Combat Zone for National and Minority Rights	69
	Minorities Beleaguered	77
	Poland Reborn	80

	The Tide Turns: The Collapse of Russia, the Triumph of Zionism	83
	German Victory in the East	90
	The Allies, the Poles, and the Jews	96
4	Lemberg	101
	A Chaotic Rebirth	102
	Pogrom	110
	The Response	115
	Enter Paderewski	121
	The Jews Mobilize	125
PART TWO: THE MINORITY TREATIES		
5	Paris	133
	Reshaping Eastern Europe	134
	Poland and the Peacemakers	135
	The Supreme Council	140
	Jewish Diplomacy	148
	The League of Nations and Minority Rights	151
	Palestine	160
6	Pinsk	171
	The Shootings in Pinsk	173
	Paderewski in Paris	186
	The Jewish Delegations	193
	Seeking a Solution	202
7	May	209
	The Committee on New States	211
	“ <i>We are Raising a Row</i> ”	217
	Warsaw/Paris	226
	“ <i>The Revolt</i> ”	232
8	The “ <i>Little Versailles</i> ”	237
	Germany and the Minority Treaty	238
	The League Guarantee	243
	Answering Poland’s Challenge	247
	The Treaty	257
	After All	260

PART THREE: A NEW ERA OF MINORITY RIGHTS?

9	Geneva	267
	The “Minority States”	268
	Creating the “League System,” 1920–1925	274
	Defending Jewish Rights in Eastern Europe	283
10	Berlin	295
	Enter the Minorities Champion	296
	Reform?	309
	Excursus: Jewish Diplomacy under Threat	316
	Germany versus the League	322
	Exit from Geneva	328
11	Epilogue: The Road to Munich	337
	The Beck Declaration	338
	The League, the Great Powers, and the Threat to European Jewry	343
	The Destruction of the League’s Minorities System	353
	Postmortem	357
	Conclusions	359
	Bibliography	367
	Index	407