The Course of MODERN JEWISH HISTORY

New Revised Edition

Howard M. Sachar



Vintage Books

A DIVISION OF RANDOM HOUSE, INC., NEW YORK

CONTENTS

PREFACE to The Vintage Edition

JEWISH SELF-GOVERNMENT IN WESTERN EUROPE

1: The Jew as Non-European

7		THE PRICE OF JEWISH EXISTENCE IN THE WEST 6
		JEWISH SELF-GOVERNMENT IN EASTERN EUROPE II
		THE DECLINING WORLD OF THE EAST 13
		CONCLUSION 16
)	:	The Glimmering of Dawn in the West
		THE AGE OF MERCANTILISM 17
		THE JEWS AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM 20
		THE COURT JEWS 22
		THE ERA OF ENLIGHTENMENT 27
		MOSES MENDELSSOHN AND JEWISH ENLIGHTENMENT 30
		MENDELSSOHN'S DISCIPLES AND JEWISH SECULARISM 34
		CONCLUSION 37 -
è		Emancipation in the West
,	•	Emancipation in the vvest
		THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE BACKGROUND OF JEWISH

vi / Contents

JEWISH EMANCIPATION, 1789—1791 41

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE AND THE JEWS 4.

THE SANHEDRIN—AND ITS PRICE 49

THE GHETTOS FALL IN EUROPE 53

CONCLUSION 60

4: Incarceration: The Jews of Eastern Europe

THE LAST DAYS OF POLAND 62

HASIDISM: POLISH JEWRY'S SPIRITUAL ANCHOR 64

THE DECLINE OF HASIDISM 69

THE RUSSIAN CAPTOR—AND ITS SCHIZOID MONARCHS 73

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE JEWS 76

NICHOLAS I: GOVERNMENT BY BARRACKS MASTER 80

NICHOLAS CHANGES HIS TACTICS 84

UVAROV ESTABLISHES A SCHOOL SYSTEM 86

CONCLUSION 92

5: The Triumph of Liberalism

THE CONSERVATIVES RETURN 94

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA AND GERMANY 98

LIBERALISM AND THE JEWS 102

1848: THE WATERSHED 107

EMANCIPATION IS COMPLETED: 1848—1871 113

CONCLUSION 118

6: Jewish Economic Life and the Frankfurt Tradition

THE IMPACT OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION 120 (
THE JEWS AND THE RISE OF INVESTMENT CAPITALISM 126'
THE HOUSE OF ROTHSCHILD 130
THE FRANKFURT TRADITION: INTERNATIONALIZATION 133
THE FRANKFURT TRADITION: ADDICTION TO AUTHORITY 138
THE FRANKFURT TRADITION: INTERCESSION FROM ABOVE 140
THE DECLINE OF THE FRANKFURT TRADITION 144
CONCLUSION 146

7: The Impact of Western Culture on Jewish Life

COPING WITH JEWISHNESS 14

PRELIMINARY EFFORTS AT REFORM 159

THE RETURN TO HISTORY 161

THE RISE OF "HISTORICAL JUDAISM" 166

CONCLUSION 172

8: The Rise of Jewish Life in the New World

THE STRUGGLE FOR RIGHTS IN COLONIAL AMERICA 175

THE EARLY AMERICAN-JEWISH COMMUNITY 179

IMMIGRATION FROM CENTRAL EUROPE 181

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF

THE GERMAN-JEWISH COMMUNITY IN AMERICA 186

GERMANISM AND AMERICANIZATION 189

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN THE "GERMAN" PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION 191

RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN THE AMERICAN-JEWISH COMMUNITY 194

EFFORTS TO UNITE 198

CONCLUSION 200

9: False Dawn in the East

THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER II 202

ALEXANDER II AND THE JEWS: FIRST PHASE 204

REACTION UNDER ALEXANDER II 209

LIFE IN THE PALE: THE ECONOMICS OF LIVING 211

A HOLY LIFE 216

A PROCESS OF LEARNING 219

LIFE IS WITH PEOPLE 221

CONCLUSION 224

10 : Jewish Humanism in Eastern Europe

CONTACT WITH THE WEST 225

THE SCIENCE OF JUDAISM 229

viii / Contents

PROSE AND POETRY: THE EARLY YEARS 231

THE AGE OF REFORMS 236

SMOLENSKIN: THE PENDULUM SWINGS BACK 241

THE RISE OF YIDDISH LITERATURE 243

CONCLUSION 251

11: The Emergence of Anti-Semitism

GERMANY: CONSERVATISM TRIUMPHANT -253

FRANCE: THE REVOLUTION CONTINUES 261

WHY THE JEWS? 255

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM: THE REVOLT OF THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASS 257

THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASS 257

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR 264

THE RISE OF RACISM 268

THE RISE OF RACIST SPLINTER GROUPS 272

CONCLUSION 275

12: Beginning of the End for Russian Jewry

THE PERVERSION OF SLAVOPHILISM 277

THE MAY LAWS 281

NICHOLAS II: THE REVOLUTION LURKS BENEATH . 284

THE REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH 288

ROMANIA: "LATIN ISLAND" 296

STOLYPIN'S NECKTIE 292

CONCLUSION 302

13: The Rise of Zionism

THE IDEA OF NATIONALISM 303

THE IDEA OF PALESTINE 308

THE RISE OF ZIONISM 311

THEODOR HERZL 313

DIPLOMATIC AND PARLIAMENTARY MANEUVERS 317

THE GREAT CRISIS 320

PALESTINE BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR 326

CONCLUSION 331

14: The Growth of Jewish Socialism

THE JEWS AND SOCIALISM IN WESTERN EUROPE 332

THE BEGINNINGS OF RUSSIAN-JEWISH SOCIALISM 336

THE FORMATION OF THE BUND 338

THE ZENITH OF THE BUND 343

THE WAR BREAKS 348

THE RISE OF BOLSHEVISM 351

THE LAST PHASE OF JEWISH PAUPERIZATION 355

CONCLUSION 357

15: The Great Migration and Settlement in America

EMIGRATION FROM THE PALE BEGINS 359

THE DIKES BREAK 365

TO "GOLDEN AMERICA" 367

THE MEANING OF THE GREAT MIGRATION 371

THE IMMIGRANTS SETTLE 373

AMERICA'S JEWISH PROLETARIAT 377

CONCLUSION 380

16: Russian Jewry's "Liberal" Tradition in America THE BEGINNING OF THE JEWISH LABOR MOVEMENT 382 THE TRIUMPH OF JEWISH TRADE UNIONISM 386 THE COMMUNIST CRISIS AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE NEW DEAL 392 ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA 402 JEWISH LIFE AT MID-CENTURY 407

17: The Jews of Eastern Europe Between the Wars RUSSIA: THE TRAUMA OF "COLLECTIVIZATION" 414 THE DISSOLUTION OF IEWISH COMMUNITY LIFE 418

CONCLUSION 412

x / Contents

THE STRUGGLE FOR MINORITY RIGHTS IN EASTERN EUROPE 421
POLAND: SUCCESSOR-STATE NATIONALISM 424
THE RISE OF POLISH FASCISM 428
ROMANIA AND HER JEWS 431
HUNGARY AND REVISIONIST NATIONALISM 436
CONCLUSION 439

18: The Palestine Mandate

THE WAR AND THE NEAR EAST 440

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION 444

THE STRUCTURE OF THE MANDATE 449

BUILDING THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME 453

THE RISE OF PALESTINE ARAB NATIONALISM 460

THE ARABS STEP UP THE ATTACK 464

CONCLUSION 470

19: The Impact of the Jews on Western Culture THE PHENOMENON OF IEWISH INTELLECTUALISM 472

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF JEWISH
INTELLECTUALISM: INNOVATION 475
RESPECT AND COMPASSION FOR LIFE 478
ALIENATION 481
JEWISH INTELLECTUALS AND JUDAISM 486
THE INTELLECTUAL REFORMULATION OF JUDAISM 493

20: The Onslaught of Nazism

CONCLUSION 502

CONCLUSION 528

THE HERITAGE OF DEFEAT 504

ADOLF HITLER AND THE RISE OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM 507

NAZI ANTI-SEMITISM 511

THE ANTI-SEMITIC PROGRAM IN ACTION 516

THE LAST DAYS OF AUSTRIAN AND CZECH JEWRY 522

21: Europe Judenrein

HITLER GOES TO WAR 530

THE FORMULATION OF THE "FINAL SOLUTION" 531

"ANTIPARTISAN" WARFARE IN RUSSIA 534

THE LAST DAYS OF POLISH JEWRY 537

THE DESTRUCTION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN JEWRY 542

WHERE JEWS FOUGHT BACK 546

THE SS MAKES OVERTURES 551

CONCLUSION 554

22: The Birth of Israel

THE WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES \$57

THE BRITISH HOLD FIRM \$60

JEWISH "ILLEGALISM" \$65

THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES \$70

THE UNITED NATIONS TAKES OVER: PARTITION \$73

BEN-GURION CREATES A STATE \$77

THE WAR OF LIBERATION \$82

CONCLUSION \$91

23: Eastern Europe in the Postwar

EXODUS AND ATROPHY IN THE SATELLITES 594
HUNGARY AND ROMANIA: ACCOMMODATION
AND GERONTOCRACY 602
THE SOVIET UNION: FAILED UTOPIA 612
THE CALL OF ZION 618
A BYPASSED ZION 626
CONCLUSION 630

24 : A Precarious Revival in Democratic Europe

RETURN TO THE EYE OF THE HURRICANE 632
A LOSS OF CRITICAL MASS 637
A FLICKERING SEPHARDIC HERITAGE 643
FRANCE: A VISION OF GALLICISM REAPPRAISED 647

xii / Contents

A DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSFUSION 652

GREAT BRITAIN: THE JOYS OF BLANDNESS 657

CONCLUSION 662

25 : An Antipodal Jewish "Third World"

THE LEGACY OF EMPIRE: CANADA 664

TOWARD IDENTITY AND SELF-ASSERTION 670

AUSTRALIA: THE COMFORTS OF "MULTICULTURALISM" 674

SOUTH AFRICA: FLAWED EL DORADO 676

A LATIN ISRAEL IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE 681

ARGENTINA: "WHITENER" OF THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE 688

A RENEWED VULNERABILITY IN THE "EUROPE" OF THE SOUTH 692

BRAZIL: THE JEWS OF COMPLACENCE 695

CONCLUSION 701

26: The Growth of the American-Jewish Community

GERMAN JEWRY MAINTAINS ITS DOMINATION 705

CONFUSION AND WEAKNESS IN THE IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY 709

AMERICAN SECULARISM REDIRECTS JEWISH CREATIVITY: THE RISE OF AMERICAN-JEWISH PHILANTHROPY 713

RUSSIAN JEWS TAKE OVER: THE RISE OF COMMUNITY DEMOCRACY 715

THE RESURGENCE OF DEEPER JEWISH LOYALTIES 721

VARIETIES OF RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION IN AMERICA 725

CONCLUSION 731

27: The State of Israel

CREATING A GOVERNMENT FOR ISRAEL 733

THE GATES ARE OPENED: THE JEWS IN COMMUNIST AND ARAB LANDS 736

THE BATTLE FOR ECONOMIC SURVIVAL 740

CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS 743

ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBORS 751

ISRAEL AND NASSERISM 755

CONCLUSION 760

28: The Growth of the Israeli Nation

YEARS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS 763

A DECADE OF POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC ACHIEVEMENT 767

NASSER PROVOKES A RENEWED CRISIS 771

THE SIX-DAY WAR 774

A RECONSTRUCTION OF FRONTIERS 776

CONCLUSION 770

29 : Greater Israel

A REGIME OF IMPROVISATION 779

THE WAR OF ATTRITION AND A MUTATION OF ARAB VIOLENCE 783*

OVERTURE TO AN EARTHQUAKE 786

THE YOM KIPPUR WAR 788

A REVERSAL OF MILITARY FORTUNES 790

AFTERMATH OF AN EARTHQUAKE 793

POLITICAL UPHEAVAL, DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION 795

POLITICAL UPHEAVAL, DIPLOMATIC REVOLUTION 798

"OPERATION PEACE FOR THE GALILEE" 810

AN ERA OF POLITICAL BICEPHALISM 812

CONCLUSION 814

BIBLIOGRAPHY 819

INDEX 867

MAPS

THE PALE OF SETTLEMENT IN WESTERN RUSSIA 213

THE STATE OF ISRAEL BEFORE AND AFTER THE WAR OF 1948-49 584

WORLD JEWISH POPULATION IN THE 1980'S 702-703

"OPERATION PEACE FOR THE GALILEE" 810