potato; too risky for the British to ship back during the height of Hilter's Uboat offensive, but perceived as too "threatening" for Australians to have at large. In the end, the refugees were left in the camps.

But, though isolated, the refugees did not despair. First, they demanded to be separated from the Nazis, then they established a religious pattern and organized synagogues for each of the three Jewish movements. There was no shortage of rabbis, nor of ritual slaughterers for the 400 amongst them who were Orthodox. They established a camp university, a trade school and yeshivot (religious academies). They also instituted musical and theatrical performances. All these activities helped to make the days go by a little auicker.

The daily routine included a morning and evening walk on the inside parameter of the barbed wire. Many survivors recall the irony of their being on the inside of the fence while the kangaroos and other wildlife were on the outside, running free. But the animals were used to the heat: the men were not. About 200 of them came down with rheumatic fever.

Both Jewish and non-Jewish relief organizations were extremely slow to recognize them as victims of Nazi oppression; help was very slow in

Eventually, the Australian Jewish authorities woke up to the fact that the refugees were "friendly" aliens and proceeded to furnish them with books. prayer books, Bibles, talleisim (prayer shawls) and tefillin (philacteries).

Japan's entry into the War following her attack on Pearl Harbor had a marked effect on the refugees' situation. All of a sudden someone "discovered" the willing workforce of some 2000 men safely tucked away in the Australian wilderness. Gradually the refugees' status changed. No longer were they considered "friendly enemy aliens"; now they were "friendly aliens." By the middle of 1942, almost 1000 men were returned to England, some 150 others were allowed to go to other countries (the Land of Israel in particular), and the remainder were allowed to join the Australian war effort, picking fruit and doing other la-

bor, eventually to become integrated into Australian life and society. By the fall of 1945, the last internees were released.

September 4-8, 1990, marks the 50th anniversary of this all but forgotten chapter of the Holocaust and World War II. Commemorative events are being planned in Sydney. Hay and Melbourne, Australia in cooperation with the Australian government. The survivors, in general, have mixed feelings about the occasion: Happy to have survived and glad to be reunited with old friends; bitter over their fate during those years. Many of the original 1950 have passed on, their lives having been shortened by the tremendous strain on their physical and emotional resources. Those still alive will never be able to erase from their memories the fellow-

Benefactor

Jews who went down on the Arandora Star, or their almost impossible survival on the hellship Dunera, or their years behind barbed wire in Australia.

At first, after the War, the survivors of the Dunera were reluctant to tell of their experiences. After all, these paled in comparison to the experience of Hitler's genocide in Europe, But now. after 50 years, they also are not ashamed to say that they too had suffered and that their suffering also holds an important lesson for humankind. People need to learn from what happened to them at the hands of the British. After all, Britain was a democratic country, their place of refuge from the Nazis. How they were treated during the crisis of the war years shows how fragile human rights can be, even in democratic states.

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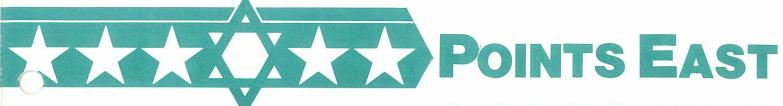
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AUGUST, 1990

### JAPANESE-JEWISH RELATIONS

By Bruce M. Ramer & Neil C. Sandberg Reprinted from Japan Times January 21, 1990

Strain resulting from the large-scale publication of anti-Semitic books in Japan has masked the historic friendship of the Japanese and Jewish peoples.

It was an American Jewish financier, Jacob Schiff, who aided Japan by arranging major foreign loans during the Russo-Japanese War. And Japanese officials facilitated the flow of Jewish refugees from Europe in both World Wars I & II.

In order to finance its war effort against czarist Russia, the Imperial Japanese government sent Baron Korekiyo Takahashi to the U.S. in 1904. Unable to negotiate a loan, he enlisted the help of Jacob Schiff and his banking firm, Kuhn, Loeb and Co. Their support in securing a loan was followed by additional loans in 1905 and 1912.

Japan considered Schiff a true friend as he encouraged negotiations with the Russians leading to the Portsmouth Peace Treaty. Emperor Meiji gave Mr. and Mrs. Schiff a private audience and conferred high honors upon them. This warm friendship continued as Baron Takahashi's daughter, Wakiko. spent nearly three years at the home of the Schiffs while she was educated in New York.

Schiff and other leading American Jews created the American Jewish Committee in 1906 as a vehicle through which protests could be lodged against czarist persecution of Russian Jews. In 1917 and thereafter, the close association of Schiff and other prominent Jews with the Japanese government and financial circles proved most valuable as large numbers of Jewish refugees from the Russian revolution arrived in Japan.

The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, of which Schiff was an important member, was helped in its refugee assistance work by T. Miyaoku, one of Japan's most distinguished lawyers, along with Baron Goto of the Ministry for Home Affairs and the weathy Baron Shibusawa. Japan showed its continuing interest when Count Uchida, Japan's foreign minister, instructed Japanese troops in Siberia not to permit any outrages against the Jews.

The flow of Jewish refugees resumed as a consequence of the Nazi conquest of Europe in World War II. European ports were shut tight, but the Trans-Siberian Railroad offered some Jews access to Japan and other parts of the world. Hitler's plan to exterminate the Jewish people led to the deaths of six million Jews in the Nazi Holocaust, but some escaped through the intervention of sympathetic Japanese who provided assistance at some personal risk.

One of these was Sugihara, the Japanese consul in Kovno, Lithuania, who was able to secure visas from Curacao, a Dutch possession, which did not require entry visas. This compassionate person issued thousands of such visas in 1940 in a brief period of time. The visa holders were authorized to remain in Japan for only seven to 10 days but, at the recommendation of the local Jewish community, Japanese officials extended the stay from two to eight months. All told, nearly 5,000 Jewish refugees were aided in this process.

Friendship with the Jews was also evidenced earlier when Japan became one of the first nations to endorse the Balfour Declaration which called for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. This relationship was strengthened when an Israeli legation opened in Tokyo in 1953, fol-(continued on page 10)

### THE INFLUENCE OF **JEWISH REFUGEES ON** THE MUSICAL AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF SHANGHAI

By Bu-zeng Xu Professor, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (SASS) & Member, Shanghai Judaic Studies Association (SJSA) (Excerpted from an article in SHANGHAI ARCHIVES, Number 1, 1989) (Translated and edited by Wen Tan, Shanghai Symphony Orchestra, and Tess Johnston, American Consulate General, Shanghai)

Among the Jewish refugees who fled to Shanghai from Nazism between 1933-39, in addition to technicians and artisans there were doctors - more than 200 - pharmacists, lawyers, teachers, architects, engineers, accountants, editors, reporters, movie directors, actors and actresses, and artists.

There were also fifteen orchestra conductors and many superb musicians. Ten of them were accepted at once into the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra (which later became the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra), at that time considered the best in the Far East. It was conducted by Italian Maestro Mario Paci and the Concertmaster was Arrigo Foa (also a Jew who had come to Shanghai in 1922). In 1942, upon the resignation of Maestro Paci, Foa became the Orchestra's conductgor. Among the refugees who joined the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra was the violinist Ferdinand Adler, who had won the Ibach Prize in Germany some years earlier. He quite often performed solos with the Orchestra. After WWII he returned to Vienna and became first violinist with the symphony there.

Violinist Otto Joachim and his brother, Walter, a cellist, were also outstanding musicians. Otto organized a Jew-

(continued on page 10)

#### From the editor:

With this issue, we would like to institute a new section devoted to the Jewish immigrant experience in China. By "immigrant" we refer to those Jews, or their families, who came to China's cities from Europe and Asia for commerce or asylum. We would like to receive and publish both first hand accounts and family histories regarding life in China. With your help, we can add to the ever growing store of oral histories of Jewish life in the Far East, and of Jewish refugee life in China's cities during the Holocaust.

**Anson Laytner** 

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#### IN THE FIELD

A BAT MITZVAH IN KAIFENG
 A rare bat mitzvah took place on July
 14 in Kaifeng. Yiling Livia Chen-Jo sephson, a young New Yorker who
 is the daughter of a Chinese mother
 and a Jewish father, read from the
 Torah in a Kaifeng museum and
 completed the ritual with a few words
 of recently learned Chinese.

The idea for the ceremony was SJI member Marvin Josephson's, who also happens to be Yiling's father & an SJI member/benefactor. Together with Yiling's mother, Tina Chen, and two dozen guests, including a rabbi and cantor, they journeyed to Kaifeng to celebrate a unique ceremony which Mr. Josephson hopes will bring his daughter closer to her mixed ethnic roots.

 NOT JUST STEPPING STONES A source in China reports that the stone stelae in Kaifeng have been placed inside a warehouse where people going in and out just step on them. When he asked why they were not receiving better care, he was told that they have not been included on the list of the Important Cultural Relics. Dennis Leventhal said he was going to be in Kaifeng and asked what he might do for the Institute. We have asked him to emphasize to the authorities there that visits by Jewish tourists will depend upon the kind of attention which is given to these matters.

### \* GABOW'S ARTICLE TO BE TRANSLATED

Professor Gong Fang-Zhan, of the Institute of Religions, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, has written to Leo Gabow as follows:

"I have the honor to inform you that your article (THE ASSIMILATION OF THE CHINESE JEWS, Points East, November, 1987, Vol. 2, No. 3) has been translated and is in printing. That translation is included in a Symposium on the Judaic Culture. Accordingly, this book should be finished last year, but on technical reasons was delayed. The publisher assures us that the book is in printing

and will be published this year." \*EXHIBIT IN NANJING

Excerpt from letter of Prof. Xu Xin, dated May 21: "I am happy to inform

you that JUDAIC STUDIES IN CHINA, an exhibit on Chinese scholarship on Judaic studies, has opened today. For the details, please read news release enclosed in this letter (see page 4 -- ed.). If you want it to be published in the U.S., please do so. We would appreciate it very much if you could make copies of it and send them to other American newspapers, such as New York Times, Chicago Tribune. We believe that to have an exhibit of such kind in China now is a unique event, worth spreading out all over the world. We have been extremely busy preparing the exhibit recently. It will keep us busy for quite some time to answer some of the questions from the visitors after its opening. But we are very happy about it because this is something we wanted to see in China."

• COUNCIL MEMBER PROF. GLASS HONORED

Prof. Irvine Glass, a member of our Advisory Council, has been named as an Einstein Fellow by the Israel Academy of Science. Prof. Glass, University Professor at the Institute of Aerospace Studies, University of Toronto, is a renowed expert on shock waves. Prof. Glass will spend six months next year at Beersheba where he will teach a graduate class at Ben-Gurion University.

 RABBI TOKAYER'S TRIP TO CHINA Rabbi Tokayer is leading a group of observing Jews to China this summer, and he has spoken with Wendy Abrams, Arthur Rosen, Andy Plaks and Al Dien about what he might accomplish for the Institute while he is there. Rabbi Tokaver will report back concerning the situation of the Jewish exhibit at the museum in Kaifeng. He has also met a Dr. James Winkelman of the Harvard Medical School, and who in the past spent some time in China where he found some cases of the Tay-Sachs disease, and who wishes to be put into contact with Dr. Zhang Sui.

NEW BOOKS ON SHANGHAI JEWS
 Tess Johnston reports that there are
 two books in progress on the refu gees of Shanghai, one by Ms. Cath erine Baber of Oxford University Press
 in Hong Kong, and the other by Mr.
 McCabe of the International Herald
 Tribune in Paris.

developed and the monies that had been sent over by the American Joint Distribution Committee to sustain the refugee community, stopped at that time also. The contributions resumed again approximately two years later. However, by that time, unfortunately, many of the refugees had died of starvation (as well as of diseases).

In February 1943 the Japanese Imperial authorities governing Shanghai, ordered us to move into a ghetto where the conditions were deplorable. The house that my mother and I moved into, with three other families, had one toilet for 10 of us and cold running water about 4 hours a day. We cooked the little food we had on Chinese stoves that we had to fan constantly to keep the flame going, making our own coal by mixing coal dust with water. We purchased our hot water from the Chinese hot water store.

In order for us to leave the ghetto, a "T'ung" (Special Pass) was issued by the Japanese authorities, under the supervision of Messrs. Goya and Okura. We were eligible to receive such a pass if we could successfully prove to the Japanese authorities that we had to leave the ghetto in order to make a living. Curfew was 6:00 p.m. for return into the ghetto, which was situated in the section known as Hongkew. We had no curfew in the ghetto itself. I continued going to school outside the ghetto and my mother too received a pass to try to make a living outside the ghetto.

We were constantly strafed by American planes, and the favorite pasttime of us children was to watch the Japanese and American fighter planes up in the sky and betting with marbles as to who would shoot down whom. The Japanese had instituted a fantastic air raid warning system so that we always knew when we would be under attack.

When the war ended in Europe, we perhaps, felt the impact more than anyone else because only then, did we realize what we had really escaped from, literally by a hair!

In Shanghai, the war ended for us in September 1945, one month after the Americans had bombed the ghetto, with many casualties. Then we had another shock—the American liberation forces discovered that the Nazis had had a long arm indeed and had

tried to operate their "final solution" even in Shanghai. Gas chambers, with the gas supplied by the German gas company Siemens, were found in the suburb of Yangtze!

Thus ended another chapter of Holocaust survival. When the world closed their doors to the Jews, Emperor Hirohito left one door open, that of Shanghia, where 18,000 found refuge. Again, when their allies, the Nazis, tried to apply their "final solution", the Japanese compromised—they placed us in a ghetto.

Yes, politics do make strange bedfellows indeed. I am alive and well and living in Jericho, due to the combined forces of the American Joint Distribution Committee and the Emperor of Japan!

# THE VOYAGE OF THE "HELLSHIP" DUNERA, 50 YEARS LATER

By Anson Laytner

For a small number of Jews now scattered around the world, this September marks a bitter anniversary. Refugees from Nazi Germany to Britain, they survived two months as virtual prisoners on a British ship bound for Australia and then years in an internment camp in the harsh Australian outback. This is their story, an unknown event of the Holocaust years.

When Hitler marched into Paris June 4, 1940, the whole of Europe came under Nazi domination. Only Britain and the Soviet Union remained unconquered. Every country overrun by the Nazis had governments-in-exile in England who were willing and anxious to join the fight against Nazi Germany. They were supported in this desire by the thousands of German refugees, particularly Jewish and political refugees, only recently out of Dachau, Buchenwald and other concentration camps.

But these refugees were not given the chance to fight the forces which had imprisoned them and deprived them of their rights. Instead, as soon as the war broke out, every "German" alien in Britain was taken to a collection point, interrogated and checked. It was a Jaborious process necessitating, even as the war raged, the transportation of thousands of refugees to the Isle of Man.

Eventually this process became too burdensome and, under pressure of the panicky situation, some 1500 aliens were shipped out on the Arandora Star bound for internment camps in Canada. But the Arandora Star was torpedoed on July 2, 1940, two days out of Liverpool; many people lost their lives.

Returned to England, the surviving 443 men were immediately placed aboard another prison ship, the Dunera, and packed off to Australia. The Dunera was built in 1937 as a troopship, with a capacity for 1600 including crew. However, on this particular trip from Liverpool to Sydney on July 10, 1940, the Dunera carried 200 Italian Fascists, 250 Nazi prisoners-of-war, and some 1950 Jewish and other refugees from Germany, most recently from Nazi concentration camps -2543 men in total. The men did not know until the fifth week of their vovage where their destination was.

But overcrowding was the least of the refugees' problems on board the Dunera. During the long voyage, the British soldiers, acting with the connivance of their officers, manhandled the refugees, robbed them of whatever valuables remained to them, and willfully destroyed their identification papers. This "surprise" attack", combined with the lack of basic hygenic facilities, the meager food, the poor ventilation in the hold, all took a severe toll. Some died from the conditions on board. Others, in shock still from the Nazis, now reeled under their treatment at British hands, and chose to take their own lives. The survivors of the voyage dubbed the Dunera "the Hellship."

Dressed in rags and skinny from the long voyage, they arrived in Sydney harbor on Sept. 6, 1940 and were immediately transferred to trains for a 20 hour ride through the hot desert to Hay, New South Wales, where the internment camps lay ready.

Having been put safely far away from civilization, it was Winston Churchill who admitted that Britain had committed a very serious blunder. An inquiry followed, then a jurisdictional dispute between Britain and Australia. The refugees were a hot

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Ezekiel Landau and Rabbi Akiba Eger, both of whom are listed in the Jewish Encyclopedia. As so many German Jews of my generation, I am an only child.

My parents owned and operated a wholesale paper and twine business which had been founded by my mother during World War I, and it was a flourishing business at the time that Adolf Hitler came into power. My parents were vacillating between leaving Germany immediately or "waiting it out" as Jews had been doing during the 2,000 years of the diaspora. Under Kaiser Wilhelm, the German Jews had lived under a comparative "laissez faire" attitude, anti-Semitism being covert rather than overt.

The German Jews of the twenties and thirties lived as well, if in many cases not better than the American Jew does today in the 80's. They were the professionals—doctors, lawyers, bankers, businessmen, professors, the intelligentsia of Germany. They also had, to a very great degree, a strong Jewish identity. My family belonged to the B'nai Brith, contributed regularly to the Keren Kayemet, Jewish National Fund, and supported Herzl's dream of a Jewish State.

My father had fought in the German Army in World War I, was wounded in the battle of Verdun and made a Prisoner of War of the French. For his efforts he was awarded the Iron Cross Second Class by Kaiser Wilhelm before his abdication. He was a member of the Social Democratic Party and the day Hitler came into power, he hung the Kaiser's Red-Gold-and-Black flag out of the apartment window. He was only persuaded to take it down when the Gestapo threatened to burn the building down for only Nazi flags were allowed to be displayed.

By 1935, when our travel outside of Germany was restricted and other restrictions (a la the Nuremberg Laws) went into effect, my parents realized that Hitler was going to stay after all and that, as usual, the Jews were made the convenient scapegoat for the ills that had befallen Germany after the Kaiser's defeat and the fall of the Weimar Republic. They tried to emigrate—wherever. Contrary to popular belief, there was no problem getting out of Germany, the problem was

finding a place that would take Jews. America had a quota system; Brazil became a possibility and my parents studied Portuguese; Cuba became another possibility and they studied Spanish. Palestine was under the British Mandate, yet my parents studied English. Oh yes, England! However, England would only take children—no parents, and even though one of my uncles had managed to make his way there, I didn't want to go without my parents.

By 1938 we had an affidavit from my father's aunt in New York, with the HIAS acting as guarantors (that was the only way the aunt would sign the papers). However, we were on a Polish quota because the city of my father's birth became part of Poland under the rulings of the Versailles Treaty. We were assured by the American Consulate, after having been given a quota number, not to worry, we would be receiving a visa for the United States. When? They didn't know. After the Austrian Anschluss in the Spring of 1938, Austrian Jews were leaving for Shanghai in droves. At about that time, all German Jews had to deliver up to the Nazis all their valuables—jewelry, gold, sterling, etc. and my parents decided to sell our beautiful 7-room apartment. The Persian rugs, beautiful oil paintings, priceless antiques, library, went for a pittance (the prices were mandated as to what a Jew could charge an Arvan customer), and we moved into three furnished rooms with my one remaining grandmother, my father's mother, to await our American visa.

Kristallnacht--November 9, 10, 11, 1938, of course, was the beginning of the end. Synagogues were burnt all over Germany, Jewish shops were broken into and thousands of Jewish males were arrested and sent to the three then existing Concentration Camps-Buchenwald, Dachu, and Sachsenhausen. My father ended up in Buchenwald. My mother, at the time of Kristallnacht was at the American Consulate in Berlin to see what the status of our visa was. However, she quickly returned to Breslau, for the American Consulate had closed their doors the moment the first synagoque was put to the torch. During my father's sojourn in Buchenwald my mother made the necessary arrangements to go to Shanghai, purchasing steamship tickets in Hamburg.

My father was released from Buchenwald, and on February 9, 1939, we took the train over Brenner pass into Italy and freedom, boarding the "Hakozaki Maru" for the 31 day voyage to Shanghai, where we arrived March 14, 1939.

Shanghai, at that time, was a bustling city of millions, occupied by the Japanese, the victors of the 1937 Sino-Japanese war, and an active Nazi Fifth Column. We moved into a beautiful apartment in the French Concession and while my father opened a typewriter business with a Chinese mechanic, my mother took care of getting accounts and did the bookkeeping. I attended the Shanghai Jewish School, a British School, founded and supported by two wealthy Iraqi Jewish families—the Kadoories and the Sassoons. My grandmother joined us shortly thereafter, as the number of the refugees increased, in the end numbering approximately 18.000.

We had to surmount the most unbelievable unhygienic conditions and a climate totally alien to the western European. The climate was sub-tropical. with summer readings of approximately 110 degrees in the shade. The winters were very cold and wet, the constant monsoon rains flooding the streets because of poor sewage. These conditions, as well as unaccountable diseases all present in epidemic proportions, were responsible for the tremendous attrition rate among the European refugee population. We had to get innoculated three times a year for cholrea, typhoid and para-typhoid and once a year for smallpox. We had to be careful to boil all our water up to five minutes past its boiling point, and never eat any raw fruit or vegetables. However, the Jewish refugees cemetery was filling up quickly with those who could not survive these terrible conditions. My father soon became one of the casualties. He died at the age of 43 in March of 1941, the consequences of Buchenwald—he had been unable to recuperate in this abnormal climate. My grandmother followed him in 1943 at the age of 76.

My mother continued the typewriter business until Pearl Harbor slowed it down. A tremendous food shortage • POINTS EAST EDITOR PUB-LISHES BOOK

Rabbi Anson Laytner has just had his first book published. Arguing with God: A Jewish Tradition (Northvale N.J. & London: Jason Aronson, 1990), traces the Jewish quarrels with God from Abraham and Moses to Elie Wiesel and post-Holocaust Yiddish poets.

 ACADEMICS TO DISCUSS INDIAN JEWRY

A special academic panel discussion on "Indian Jewish Identity" will take place at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion this November in New Orleans. It will feature Margaret Abraham of Syracuse U., Joan Roland of Pace U., Ruth Fredman Cernea of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, Thomas A. Timber of Robert A. Nathan Associates and SJI member and Points East contributor Nathan Katz of the U. of South Florida. For more information, call the AAR (404) 636-4757. Perhaps next year they can hold one on Chinese Jews?

- VIDEO ON SHANGHAI JEWS
   Karen Shopsowitz, of Toronto, and a prize-winning video maker, is planning on doing a film on the Shanghai Jews. She had lunch with Al Dien and Rena Krasno to discuss the project, and they gave her a number of leads
- of leads.

   PACIFIC JEWISH THEATER

  The Pacific Jewish Theater, based in Berkeley, CA, is presenting a play called "Beijing Legends." This deals with the relationship of a father and son during the Cultural Revolution. The Jewish connection is that the playwright, Shen Bitterman, is Jewish. The president of the organization, Lee Marsh, asked for a short essay on the Jews of China to be printed in their newsletter, with reference made to the Sino-Judaic Institute
- CHINESE-JEWISH PARALLELS Lois Chen, a new member, has written that her father was a medical doctor and a Protestant missionary stationed near Kaifeng, where she was born. He had been interested in the history of the Jews, and he had noted some "blue-eyed folks there," which she and her father believed to have some connection with the Jews. Her husband, who evidently had also

spent his childhood years there, remembered seeing that three strips of red paper were pasted on the outside of doors at New Year's time. and that her father had explained that this was a custom similar to that of the Jews of putting blood on the doorposts and lintels of their houses for the passover night in Egypt. Also the custom of eating unleavened rice cakes on New Year's was similar to God's command to Israel to eat the unleavened bread of the Passover feast. And so forth. She then mentions a book which has been written on the similarity of Chinese and Jewish names for God and similar hints in the Chinese script of connections between the ancient Hebrews and the Chinese. The book is Mysteries that Confucius Could Not Solve. by Dr. Ethel Nelson and Richard Broadberry. There is further work of this kind by Dr. Nelson and a Chinese named Kang. A pamphlet from the Institute for Creation Research, P. O. Box 2667, El Cajon, CA 92021. was included.

 INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM TO BE HELD IN CHINA

Dr. Zhang Sui, President of the Chinese Eastern Research University. Shanghai, (and subject of an article by Al Dien in this issue) is hosting an international symposium on Chinese cultural, economic and religious history, October 28 - November 1, 1990 at his University. Five different tours are available to complement the conference. One of the symposium sessions deals with minority religions, including Judaism. For more information contact Katherine Shen, Office of International Exchange Programs, Portland State U., P. O. Box 751, Portland OR 97207; telephone 503-725-4011 or 1-800-547-8887, extension 4011.

#### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

To the editor:

Thanks for SJI's help regarding invitations I am sending to members of the Sino-Judaic Institute in the New York area for the American Jewish World Service's model Chanukkah. The holiday will be celebrated with representatives of the Indian, Tibetan and Nepali communities.

Your members may want to know that The American Jewish World Service is a development organization providing assistance to peoples in developing countries on a non-sectarian basis. The AJWS currently sponsors development and medical projects in India and Nepal.

One result of AJWS's work in India has been to foster discussions between Tibetans and Jewish groups residing in the United States. These meetings have helped further understanding between the Jewish and Tibetan communities regarding issues of development, the preservation of cultures and traditions, and the desirability of further mutual education about our respective peoples.

This event is being held in the spirit of continuing each community's introduction to each other, and to bring groups from India and Nepal into these meetings.

We look forward to perhaps cooperatively sponsoring some educational programs with the Sino-Judaic Institute.

> Very truly yours, Owen Kupferschmid on behalf of the AJWS

#### DR. ZHANG SUI By Al Dien

The following is a report on the visit of Dr. Zhang Sui to the Bay Area, April 13-16.

Dr. Zhang, originally was made known to me through an introduction from Rabbi Stampfer. Dr. Zhang made a very favorable impression. I was struck by his dedication to scholarship and his obvious sincerity. It turned out that Dr. Zhang is not a medical doctor, but rather has a Ph.D. in history from East China Normal University. The topics of discussion were primarily the following:

1) Dr. Zhang published a book in 1989, written in Chinese, the title of which in English is <u>Judaism and the Chinese Jews of Kaifeng</u>. This is the second of a three part series, but the first to be published; the other volumes will deal with traces of Jews in other parts of China and with the

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modern Jewish refugees, especially in Shanghai. Dr. Zhang brought with him an English translation of the published volume, which he would like to see published in this country.

- 2) Dr. Zhang, through his organization, the Shanghai Eastern Research Institute, is sponsoring the International Symposium on Chinese Cultural, Economic and Religious History, to be held in Shanghai from Oct. 28 Nov. 1, 1990. (For more information, see "In the Field..") Interestingly, the symposium opens the day that the SJI tour being organized by Fred Kaplan reaches Shanghai. Dr. Zhang welcomes the participants of of that tour to his symposium, and said that he is willing to be of assistance.
- 3) During the Cultural Revolution the archives of the Catholic seminary in Shanghai were burned, but Dr. Zhang managed to retrieve a file of the Shanghai Jewish Chronicle for the period July, 1943 to March, 1944, unfortunately with gaps, but numbering 1144 pages. This was a newspaper published by the German Jewish community in Shanghai. The original pages have deteriorated, but Dr. Zhang made a microfilm, which he brought with him. I promised to make inquiries to see if there is a library which would be interested in purchasing the film.
- 4) Some time ago Tang Te-kang, who teaches at CCNY, wrote a report in Points East that there were more than 80 places in China where Jews could be found. It turns out that Dr. Zhang was the source of that information, but he says that Prof. Tang misunderstood him. What he said is that there were over 80 sites, but that there were six in Beijing (families with Tai-Sachs disease, but no apparent Jewish connection), two in Hubei (same), over 30 in Shanghai (in various buildings), one in Ningxia, one in Qinghai, and the rest in Kaifeng.

The cases of Tay-Sachs disease are interesting, but while it is largely confined to Jews of Eastern European origin, it also occurs in Yemen, Italy and Spain among non-Jews (according to Leo), and so its appearance in China is not a tracer, as it were, of Jewish presence. A medical report on some cases is included in Dr. Zhang's book, because he does believe there is a Jewish connection.

The Ningxia site is a group of a few hundred people called Blue Cap Moslems who have almost completely assimilated. Dr. Zhang says that they have had contacts with the Kaifeng community, and that while the Kaifeng Jews came to China by sea, those in Ningxia arrived over the Silk Road. Also, unlike the Kaifeng Jews who openly say they are Jews, the Blue Cap Moslems do not maintain a high profile. Dr. Zhang says that they still remove the sinews from the animals that they slaughter.

The other isolated community is a minority called the White-Blue Qiang (Bailan Qiang) who live in southeast Qinghai, near a place called Yushu. Dr. Zhang has spent several months in that area, and as proof of the Jewish ancestry of that group, says that they have an arch-shaped stone shrine (whereas others in the area have square ones) that they call Mosi, they place offerings of clear soup with a piece of lamb meat in it, also unlike their neighbors, that they remove the sinews from the slaughtered animals, and that they have six fragments of a Hebrew text which two of their number can still read. Dr. Zhang has pictures of those fragments which he will send to us. Dr. Zhang hopes that either the SJI, or some members of the SJI, will be willing to conduct a joint expedition to that area to study the matter in greater depth. He estimates that a month-long trek would cost \$5,000.

5) Dr. Zhang says that as of 1986, there were 66 families of Jews, with 159 individuals, in Kaifeng. Only one family still maintains some observances, such as removing the sinews, on Passover using the blood of a rooster (sheep not available) to mark the door, and which has a fragment of a Hebrew text.

The stone lions originally in front of the synagogue as well as a stone bowl have been preserved and are in storage in Kaifeng.

6) He met with Rena Krasno Sunday afternoon, and displayed a good knowledge of Jewish matters in Shanghai. He explained this by saying that after all, that was his field of study. He said that in his study of Jews in Shanghai, which will begin with the 1840's, he has the most difficulty in locating information concerning the Russian Jewish community. Rena

offered to put him in touch with sources in Israel. He also offered to translate into Chinese and to publish the memoirs which Rena is currently writing about her life in Shanghai during the war. He would hope thereby to remind the younger generation about a part of their history.

7) When I asked what material he would like to receive, Dr. Zhang asked for a set of the Encyclopedia Judaica, as he has a couple of students whom he wants to train, and the EJ would be an important resource. He also offered to give us a list of the Western language materials which his institute has, in case we would find it useful to have copies of some of the titles.

### JUDAIC STUDIES EXHIBIT OPENS IN NANJING

For the first time in China, achievements by Chinese scholars in the field of Judaic studies are being reviewed in a public exhibition. The exhibit, taking place in Nanjing University in the city of Nanjing, is being sponsored by the China Judaic Studies Association (CJSA), with the support of the Sino-Judaic Institute, an American organization. The exhibition, which opened May 21, is scheduled to last for one month. On opening day, nearly two hundred visitors came to examine the collection of photographs, essays and texts.

The Nanjing retrospective is the first of its kind in China. The exhibition consists of eight parts: studies of the Jews in China (including Jews in Kaifeng as well as in other cities); studies of Judaism; Zionism; Jewish literature; Jewish culture, society, and people; the Kibbutz; scholarly exchange; and organization of the field in China

Even today, many people believe that Chinese academics are entirely unfamiliar with Hebrew scholarship and Jewish affairs. "It is not true," said Professor Xu Xin, President of the CJSA. "As one can see from this exhibition, achievements have been made in the field of Judaic studies throughout the 20th century."

"However," he added quickly, "one must be aware that what has been done is far from enough. There is a long way to go, and much greater

the departed involved a baffling and incomprehensible deviation from Jewish law.

The next puzzle was even more confounding. While cleaning the cemetery, Morris A. Goldberg, a career naval officer and keen student of Jewish history, wandered about and discovered a totally incredible and cryptic scene. Completely removed from the perimeter of the Jewish graves and surrounded by tall weeds in a remote area was a tombstone inscribed in Hebrew and Russian. Why, we wondered, was this Jew buried outside the Jewish cemetery? After consulting Rabbi Jair Adler of the Tokyo Jewish Community Center, it was decided to move the remains to the Jewish section. However, we soon discovered that the remains were in an eighteen-inch earthenware vase, suggesting cremation, another practice alien to the Jewish people. The stone above the grave (translated by a Japanese professor of Russian) revealed a tale of love, a modern Romeo and Juliet tragedy. The vase contained the remains of a young girl, aged twenty-one, who was plucked away from the side of her beloved when she died of the Black Death. The couple had been betrothed and planned to wed when the plague struck. All this was told in a Russian poem by the young man she loved. Presumably the cremation had been effected to halt the progress of the contagion, but the subsequent burial outside the confines of the Jewish boundary remains a mystery.

### THE JEWISH CLUB OPENS IN HONG KONG

The new Jewish Club located in the heart of Central, within a few minutes walk of parking and transport facilities, offers a social focal point for the Jewish Community of Hong Kong. The Jewish Club is located in purpose-designed premises on the Fourth Floor of Melbourne Plaza at number 33 Queen's Road, Central.

The Club offers two restaurants serving kosher food under the direct supervision of an orthodox rabbi.

The family restaurant, the Sabra coffee shop, provides informal dining facilities for members and their fami-

lies in an atmosphere reminiscent of the Middle East. The menu features international, Middle Eastern and traditional cuisine. A children's menu is also available for younger members.

A suite of three inter-connecting function rooms provide meeting and private dining facilities for members. Whether it's a family get-together, business meeting or a once in a lifetime celebration, the Jewish Club is an ideal location. Function rooms accommodate any number from 10-60 people for private dining, and arrangements may be made to accommodate parties for approximately 120 people on request.

A covered terrace providing play facilities for children is located directly off the Sabra coffee shop. Youth members are invited to utilize the library as a meeting spot. Recreational items are provided. A range of classes and activities for younger members of all ages will be available at the Club.

The exercise room is equipped with the most modern equipment required to maintain a healthy exercise regime. Open to both ladies and gentlemen, it is complemented by elegantly appointed saunas and changing rooms.

The Retail Corner offers a comprehensive range of imported Kosher foods to meet home catering requirements. Selected wines and candies are also available. Freshly baked goods prepared in the kitchens of the Jewish Club will also be available for sale in the near future.

The books and periodicals available in the Jewish Club library provide reference and topical information for the Jewish Community. A wide range of cultural activities and special events are incorporated in the monthly club plans, in celebration and recognition of historical and cultural and religious occasions.

Full membership of the Jewish Club is open to the Jewish Community resident in Hong Kong. Temporary membership and use of the facilities is also available to overseas visitors on holiday or business.

For more information contact:

The Jewish Club, 4/F Melbourne Plaza, 33 Queen's Road, Central, Hong Kong, Tel: 8015440

### KOREAN AIR BOOSTS TOURISM TO ISRAEL

By Greer Fay Cashman reprinted from the Jerusalem Post, Jan. 9, 1990, pg. 9

Korean Air has joined European and American airline companies in encouraging tourism to Israel. In its December magazine, distributed free of charge to passengers in flight, the company features a seven-page detailed and illustrated article on Jerusalem.

Most tourism from Asia to Israel is promoted through the Israel Government Tourist Office in Japan, which reports a 19% upsurge in Asian visitors to Israel last year. There were 84,000 Asian tourists compared to 70,860 in 1988.

Although there has been an increase in Japanese tourism to Israel during the same time span, the rise of 6% is well below that achieved for the whole of Asia. There were 6,900 Japanese tourists in Israel last year, just slightly ahead of the 1988 total of 6,539.

Still prominent among Japanese tourists are members of the Makoya sect, who are their country's philo-Zionists. However the number of bona fide tourists from Japan is growing. Just as they are making their mark in industry and multi-national investments, the Japanese are also gaining a reputation as world travellers. Israel Government Tourist Office representatives are working hard to ensure that Israel is placed prominently on the itinerary of the Japanese traveller.

### A PERSONAL SHANGHAI EXPERIENCE DURING WORLD WAR II

By Evelyn P. Pike reprinted from The Observer/Scribe, March 1983

I was born in Breslau, Germany (now Wroczlaw, Poland), at the onset of the Nazi era, to an orthodox, Zionist oriented family who had been in Germany for many generations. On my maternal grandfather's side, a follower of the Gerer rebbe, I am descended from two illustrious rabbis, Rabbi

the hardships they endured — has been diluted, just as the image of their ancestors in the ancient city of Kaifeng. The younger generation of Shanghai does not know that once a persecuted people came, found refuge, and enriched the cultural life of their city. We learn the story of their adversities and triumphs only from the yellowing pages of newspapers and journals in library archives. It is only in the musical world of Shanghai that their names are still remembered — as the teachers of those who now teach and compose. In the strains of lovely music played by each succeeding generation the cultural legacy of Shanghai's Jewish refugees will never die.

### AN ORIENTAL JEWISH MYSTERY: THE CASE OF THE NAGASAKI CEMETERY

By Marvin Tokayer reprinted from The Jewish People's Almanac by David C. Gross

To Jewish personnel stationed in Japan a Jewish cemetery served as a gateway to Jewish history and an unequaled opportunity to observe the mitzvah of *Kibud Hamet*, reverence for the dead.

As a United States Air Force chaplain I was assigned to Kyushu, the southernmost island of Japan. One morning I received a long-distance telephone call from Nagasaki, and the first words I heard were "Shalom Aleichem." The caller, a Jewish physician from New York who was studying the effects of atomic radiation in Nagasaki, now needed assistance for the brit milah of his newly born son. Enroute to the island, which was one hundred miles away. I noticed for the first time Christian churches, monuments, and grave sites. Since Nagasaki was the first Japanese city open to Western traders, one could readily understand the Christian influence, but history also records a Jewish community in Nagasaki. I wondered if there were still Jews in the area. I soon learned that the Jews of Nagasaki left for Tokyo and Kobe forty years ago. A recent search for the synagogue and cemetery proved unsuccessful.

However, I frequently met Jews who

were born or raised in Nagasaki but currently resided in Hong Kong, Seoul, Kobe, or Tokyo. Jacob Gotlieb of Kobe, for example, remembered that the Torah and siddurim of the Nagasaki synagogue had been returned to the Jewish community of Shanghai. He recalled seeing pages of the Talmud stained with candle drippings. Apparently there were at one time learned Jews on the island. Robert Lurie, who was born in Nagasaki and had recently served as president of the Tokyo Jewish Community Center, recalled that the Jewish merchants used to supply food and coal to visiting ships. But where was the synagogue or cemetery? No one remembered. Even the Japanese officials had no records. All these tidbits of information whetted my curiosity, and I intensified my search.

On *Erev Pesach* we achieved our first breakthrough. A doctor in Nagasaki located a wood-block print of the synagogue and an artist by the name of Kentagawa took me to the synagogue site. It was no more! The bombings had leveled the area. A fish store now occupies that location.

I revisited the City Hall cemetery division. All the employees smiled as the Nudnik pursued his search. With my Japanese now more fluent, I asked for prewar maps. An old tourist map indicated a Christian cross atop a mountain. "It's a church," they claimed. but who builds a church on a mountaintop? A short taxi ride ended the search. It was a Christian cemetery with a small walled section that promptly aroused my suspicion. Was this it? Tears came to my eyes as I saw engraved in stone the words Bait Olam - "home of eternity." The cemetery was filled with tombstones engraved in Hebrew, English, Russian, and Japanese. Every grave had a headstone and footstone, with the headstone always in Hebrew and the footstone in the vernacular. The cemetery overlooks a granite pillar marking the epicenter of the nuclear blast. The hill protected the graves from heat and blast effects, but since the graves had

the cemetery needed immediate care.
The discovery of the cemetery proved the existence of a once flourishing Jewish community on the island of Nagasaki. I subsequently learned that

not been tended for the last fifty years.

Jews had first arrived there as traders in the ninth century. They also accompanied Portuguese and Dutch merchants in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, respectively. After Commodore Perry had opened Japan to the West in 1854, the Jews began to come in more substantial numbers. An active Jewish community dates from the 1880s. By 1904 about a hundred Jewish families lived on the island. The use of Hebrew inscriptions on the tombstones and conformity to traditional halacha, for the most part in regard to burial practices, showed that these Jews were quite aware of their heritage. I was informed, moreover, that in the absence of a mohel parents would take their children by sea to Shanghai for circumcision, a distance of over five hundred miles. Apparently, despite their isolation the Jews of Nagasaki remained conscious of their way of life and dedicated themselves to its preservation.

News of the cemetery's existence inspired the Jewish soldiers at Kyushu to labor indefatigably in order to put it into proper shape. The men carefully cleaned and scrubbed the stones; pruned, cut, and plowed away the underbrush; and did everything necessary to refurbish the graves of an extinct community. All desired to demonstrate their reverence and give final tribute to this community of the past.

Though the immediate puzzle of the whereabouts of the Jewish community was solved, we were confronted with a series of finds that only increased our puzzlement.

As one entered the cemetery, the largest and most conspicuous tombstone bore the inscription of the life and death of the community's leader, Frederic David Lessner. Born in Rumania, he moved to Istanbul and finally settled in Nagasaki. Having prospered economically and socially, he left as a legacy a bust bearing his likeness, which was mounted atop the gravestone. This strange parallel, namely, the grand style of the Hebrew eulogy inscribed on the gravestone and the graven image atop the stone, which was so contrary to Jewish practice, perplexed everyone. A reading of the inscriptions seemed to imply a highly educated Jewish community, but the presence of a graven image of

efforts are needed before China becomes really familiar with Hebrew scholarship." It is hoped that the unique exhibit at Nanjing University will stimulate Judaic studies in China, and bring the field greater recognition within the nation.

### ISRAEL & CHINA: THE WAY FORWARD

By David Dukes reprinted from The Jerusalem Post 4/28/90

The recent establishment of an office of the Israel Academy of Science and Humanities in Beijing marks a new phase in Israel's relations with China.

The Beijing office, while basically a centre for academic and scientific exchanges is a symbol of Israel's presence in China's capital. The office of the China International Travel Service in Tel Aviv, opened last year, similarly demonstrates the growing attention China is paying to Israel.

The resurgence of Israel's interest in China stems from a belated recognition of the international economic and political importance of the Far East. High growth rates in East and South-East Asia have led not just to a rapid rise in the standard of living, but have also turned the region into a global economic powerhouse. And that, in turn, has created pressure on the major East Asian countries to play a more prominent political and strategic role in the international arena - in particular, to fill the vacuum left by the waning American military presence in the Far East.

Furthermore, confronted with the protectionist sentiment and regionalist approach of Europe and North America, the countries of the Asia-Pacific region have been compelled to explore ways of increasing political and economic cooperation within the region (such as through the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference, first convened in Canberra last year). These developments could well lead to the strengthening of the Asia-Pacific lobby in world affairs.

Israeli companies have become particularly active in the Far East, attracted by the region's buoyant

economies and the huge foreign exchange surpluses of some East Asian countries. Several notable successes have been registered, particularly in diamond exports and in trade with Singapore and Thailand. Yet, overall, Israel's performance has been patchy.

Israel's trade with China is probably

the best example of this uneven success. In recent years Israel has contracted "China fever." This is the same phenomenon that emerged in other Western countries 10 or 20 years ago when the doors of China were first opened to them. Israel was especially susceptible to "China fever" because China first became accessible to us at a time when its economic reforms and high growth rates made it seem irresistible. Israeli companies did not want to stand by idly while foreign competitors were busy signing contracts in China. There was also the mystical lure of exporting to a market made up of 25 per cent of the world's population: How could an Israeli businessman resist the temptation of trying to sell a telephone exchange to every Chinese factory, or a drip irrigation system to each Chinese farmer!

And so, unfortunately, "fools rushed in where angels fear to tread." Most Israeli firms came out of China with little for their efforts. Some companies, registering only modest sales after lengthy negotiatiofns, swore never to return. A few others, either large enough to operate as a multinational or lucky enough to be marketing a unique product, stayed on and are making money.

In the wake of the crushing of the democracy movement in Beijing in June last year, those Israeli companies with the tenacity to persevere in their attempts to penetrate the Chinese market have entered a period of reassessment. Looking at the experience of other countries (who all have their own China sagas of successes and failures), the lessons for Israel are clear.

First, sweep away the fantasies and make serious efforts to understand China as it really is. That is no easy undertaking. We have to build up a corps of Israelis who know China and its people well, who speak Chinese, and have the practical skills to service our private and public sectors. We have to be capable of accurately

assessing political and economic developments in China — a task made more difficult, but more important, by the Middle Kingdom's chronic instability. While we can all appreciate the importance of building up our links with China, we must be able to identify exactly what Israel has to gain from this relationship, in a strategic as well as a commercial sense.

Next, we will need to learn the virtues of patience. To operate in China, Israelis will have to cope with the frustrations and delays resulting from a diabolic combination of traditional Chinese business acumen and communist bureaucracy. There are few quick profits to be made in China in the way that is possible in the West. Patience and flexibility are prerequisites for operating in China (and elsewhere in Asia).

It is equally important for Israel to work at removing the barriers on the Chinese side. Putting aside the diplomatic issue, the major obstacle to an improvement in relations is a near total ignorance of Israel in China. For decades the Chinese media has peddled stories of the Zionist threat to the Middle East, while nowadays the only images of Israel seen in China are those of the intifada. For almost every Chinese, Israel is somewhere frightening and dangerous.

All Israelis dealing with China can contribute to changing this unbalanced image. Unless we do so, China and its people will continue to keep us at arm's length. For a start, every Israeli travelling to China on business should present a Chinese-language information booklet about Israel to his hosts. This is a project the government ought to complete as a matter of priority; it should be followed by the production of a series of Chinese-language information videos.

For the same reason, we have to work hard at advancing Israel-China relations on all fronts. The establishment of full diplomatic relations is probably dependent on either a breakthrough in the Middle East peace process or political change in Beijing. For the time being, we will have to make do with restricted political relations that do not facilitate the businessman's task.

That is all the more reason for us to continue along the path of building up Israel-China relations in other fields. The government, the private sector and community groups must cooperate in promoting two-way trade and investment, scientific, academic and cultural exchanges, and a broad range of people-to-people contacts.

The "softly, softly" and "go easy" approach that China urges us to adopt in the relationship is, therefore, not really in our interests. We should not be maneuvered into a situation where China alone dictates the pace of the relationship. While discretion in some area may be prudent, Israel has nothing to lose by urging an expansion of relations in all sectors. China, for its part, will take whatever action it deems necessary to limit its links with Israel whenever it believes its interests are threatened. Similarly, we must make Israel's interests the criteria that guide us in dealing with China. This will pave the way for the establishment of a positive relationship with China based on both mutual benefit and a realistic assessment of what we have to gain from our ties with China.

The writer is a consultant dealing with East Asia and Australia.

### WHY SHANGHAI BECAME A JEWISH HAVEN

By Pan Guang

Why did Shanghai become an ideal haven for Jewish refugees from Europe during Work War II? I think the following things account for the occurrence.

In history, no anti-Semitic activity has ever taken place in China. While anti-Jewish outrages ran through Western Europe from the 11th Century to the 15th Century, the Jewish community in Kaifeng was prosperous. The same example could be found in the late 19th Century and the beginning of this century. When pogroms occurred in Eastern Europe and Russia, the Jewish community grew steadily in Shanghai. Consequently, Jewish people, having suffered untold tribulations, were friendly toward Chinese people.

Examine the matter from cultural tradition and there are many things

similar or identical between Chinese civilization and Jewish civilization. The most conspicuous is their emphasis on family ties and educational value. For this reason, there was not any racial and religious prejudice against Jews caused by cultural differences in China, and Jewish people living in China had a sense of security. As the most Europeanized city in China, Shanghai had the most favourable condition for Jews from Europe to settle down and seek a livelihood.

So far as the international environment then was concerned, most countries imposed strict restrictions on quantity of immigrants, especially on the entrance of Jewish refugees, due to the economic depression on a global scale and the imminent warthreats. In the White Paper, issued in May 1939. Britain declared a severe restriction on immigration into Palestine. In the same month, U.S. Government refused to admit 900 German Jewish refugees on the ship "St. Louis". In 1940, U.S. Congress rejected a Bill to open Alaska to Jewish refugees. Some of the neutral states refused to admit Jewish refugees for fear of Nazi retaliation. Meanwhile financial shortages prevented most Asian, African and Latin American countries from admitting and helping Jewish refugees settle down. Certain Jewish organizations tried in vain to send groups of Jewish immigrants to the Dominican Republic, Argentina, Madagascar, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Kenya, Tanganyka and the Phillippines. It was under these circumstances that Jewish refugees found Shanghai — a metropolis in the Far East.

At that time, Shanghai was in a special condition. After the August 13 Incident of 1937, Japanese troops occupied Shanghai and its vicinity except the International Settlement and French Concession, which consequently became "an isolated island" surrounded by Japanese occupied areas and had to keep in contact with the outside world only by sea. The Chinese government was not able to exercise authority over the Westernheld sector of Shanghai, and the Japanese did not have enough time to prop up a puppet regime in Shanghai. Consequently, in nearly two years between fall of 1937 and fall of 1939. Shanghai was the only city in the whole world, where foreigners could get into without visas, financial guarantees, moral character certificates and prearranged jobs. These advantages were particularly important for many Jewish refugees who left Europe "in an illegal way" and arrived in Shanghai penniless.

All of the factors mentioned above made Shanghai, so-called "paradise of adventurer", the most ideal haven for European Jewish refugees escaping from Hitler's Holocaust.

### THE JEWISH REFUGEE COMMUNITY OF SHANGHAI 1938 - 1945

By Joseph J. Lepelstat
(Adapted from Japanese, Nazis &
Jews - The Jewish Refugee Community
of Shanghai, 1938-1945, by David
Kranzer, Yeshiva University Press.
1976. & reprinted from The Observer/
Scribe, March 1983)

The days following "Kristallnacht" ("Night of the Broken Glass" - November 10/11, 1938) unleashed the panic which thousands of the Jews of Germany and Austria had kept suppressed in the months before and after the Anschluss with Austria. There was an immediate urge to flee. Every office connected with foreign travel was choked with swarms of terrified Jews wildly seeking any route of escape.

During this period, it was official Nazi policy to "encourage" Jews to leave areas under German control, including Austria. However, maritime shipping companies, international airways and rail lines would not permit passengers to board plane, train or ship unless the passenger could produce a valid visa from the country of destination. Any German or Austrian Jew who could obtain a valid visa for entry to a country of destination was to be envied.

German and Austrian Jews, desperately searching for any haven, began to hear rumors that no visa was required for entry into Shanghai. While almost every Jew had an application pending for a visa to the United States, Canada, Britain or countries in South America, few had ever thought of migrating as far as the East Coast of China. However, between late 1938

hobby. He played both the piano and stringed instruments well. In Shanghai he played with the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra in the string section and switched from violin to viola with ease whenever an additional player was needed. His composing was innovative and earned high praise.

In addition to his photographic memory, Fraenkel's musical knowledge was unsurpassed. Once a violinist wanted to play Mozart's Violin Concerto No. 3 in G Major with the Symphony but had only the piano score while the orchestra needed the full score to play the accompaniment. The violinist turned to Fraenkel for help. Having neither the full nor the petite score and depending solely on his memory, he wrote out the entire score for the orchestra. Afterwards someone checked Fraenkel's work against Mozart's original score, and there was almost no difference.

While in Shanghai Fraenkel taught composition as well as harmony and counterpoint. He also introduced to his students new composition systems, and was the first person to introduce the "barless" system to China. Many of China's current composers were his students.

The Jewish influence on the intellectual life of Shanghai was not only musical but also literary. Many of the refugees were already experts in the book trade before coming to Shanghai, so they resumed their old profession shortly after arriving. Because they were from the west they already had good contacts with western book dealers. It was not only easy for them to develop sources for books, but also to attract many customers.

The refugees ran such bookstores as the Book Mart, the Lion, the Western Art Gallery, and the Paragon. These offered, in addition to Jewish books, calendars and articles of worship, encyclopedias, dictionaries, musical scores, books on painting and photography, maps, etc. Books in these shops were in English, French, German and other European languages. Their rare books, first editions and books autographed by the authors were especially popular with book collectors.

The stores also had special rooms for Chinese books printed in Shanghai or Beijing by British or French presses and for scholarly books on Chinese history, literature, and customs published in the west. Several bookstores also opened lending libraries, especially welcomed by Shanghai's foreign community.

Among the Jewish refugees many were publishers, editors and reporters. One was Johannes Koenig, who later returned to China as the German Democratic Republic's first ambassador. From the end of 1939 until the Pacific war broke out there were three German dailies published in Shanghai, two morning papers and one evening.

One of the morning papers, the Shanghai Jewish Chronicle, was originally a weekly but subsequently became a daily. After WWII it changed its name to The Shanghai Echo and was published continuously until 1949. It was the longest running Jewish newspaper in the German language in Shanghai. The other morning paper was Die Gelbe Post, published by A. J. Storfer, a psychologist and former pupil of Freud. At first it was a monthly. then became a weekly and then a daily. Its content was mainly cultural and it was regarded as the best newspaper of its kind in Asia, the evening paper was called the 8-Uhr Abend-

It is noteworthy that elsewhere in the world at that time even the largest community of Jewish refugees could produce only one newspaper, but the Jews of Shanghai, even under difficult conditions, published three. We owe it to these newspapers and magazines that we now have so much information available to us on life in the Shanghai Jewish community in those years.

In addition to three newspapers the refugees also published numerous weekly and monthly medical and religious magazines in German, English, Polish, Yiddish and even in Chinese. For example, the magazine of the Chinese-European Medical Association was published in German, English and Chinese.

There was also a Polish newspaper, Echo Szanghaiskje, with an extra edition in both Polish and Yiddish. Der Yiddisher Almanach was published in Yiddish, English, Russian and German. In order to keep alive the study of the Jewish religion in the Hebrew language, both textbooks and secular

articles were printed in Hebrew. Thus there was an active press in six languages, thanks primarily to the Jewish refugees in Shanghai.

What became of all these refugees and their vast cultural heritage? Between 1939-45, 1,681 (13.3%) of the refugee community died - many weakened by the suffering they had endured under the Nazi occupation and in their forced migrations. After the war ended, some went to the United States and to Latin America. When the State of Israel was established in 1948, a Consul from Israel came to Shanghai to process visas for refugees to emigrate, and a great number went to Israel. Among them was violinist Mischa Riskin, soloist and concertmaster of the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra.

By 1949, however, out of a refugee population of approximately 20,000, around 10,000 still remained. After 1949 with the help of the new Chinese government another 9,700 went to Israel. In 1957 only 100 remained and in 1976 only 10. The last remaining Jewish refugee in Shanghai, who was married to a Chinese woman, is reported to have died in 1981.

Thus as the years elapsed the refugees left as silently as they had come. After forty years the impact of the culture they brought with them — and

SHANGHAI SUNDAY TIMES, FEBRUARY 9, 1930.

Municipal Orchestra - - TOWN HALL
Sunday, February 9th, 1930, at 3:15 p.m.
Soloist: A. FOA in the beautiful
"VIOLIN CONCERTO" by VIOTTI

Further items in the Programme:

OVERTURE "Magic Flute"......MOZART.

ARISTOPHANIC SUITE: "The Wasps"

(First Performance)

R. VAUGHAN-WILLIAMS

(By request)
TABLEAU SYMPHONIQUE: "The Cedar and and the Palm-Tree" ...... KALINNIKOW
(First Performance)

BOURREE FANTASQUE . . . . . CHABRIER

Conductor: MAESTRO MARIO PACI Admission Fees: Main Hall \$1.00 and 60 cts. Soldiers and Sailors in uniform half price. Gallery 60 cts. all persons.

### JAPANESE-JEWISH RELATIONS

(continued from page 1)

lowed in 1958 with the organization of a society for Japan-Israel friendship. One of its patrons was Prince Mikasa, youngest brother of Emperor Showa.

In light of these longstanding connections between Japan and the Jewish people, why, then, do we now see in Japanese publications manifestations of prejudice against the Jews? The fact is that anti-Semitic ideas have long been known in Japan through such works as "The Merchant of Venice" and the notorious Russian forgery, "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion." And, more recently, scurrilous books have appeared seeking to emphasize the absurd notion of a Jewish conspiracy to conquer the world.

In spite of these publications, most Japanese have scant knowledge of the Jews, their history and religion. Even well-educated Japanese have limited information about the Jewish experience as a continuous and historical development. Some Christian scholars and historians are well-informed, especially on the age of the Old Testament, but few have knowledge about Jewish history in the 1900 years since the destruction of the Temple.

One of the underlying realities is that there has been limited personal contact between the Japanese and Jewish people. There are little more than a thousand Jews in all of Japan, most of them foreigners living in Tokyo. Although small in number, they maintain religious and cultural activities through the Jewish Community Center which is also dedicated to promoting friendship with the Japanese people. What have been lacking are the vehicles through which positive information about Jews and Judaism could be made available in Japan.

Today, we are seeing a new appreciation of the Japanese-Jewish relationship. Japan's Foreign Ministry has issued a statement calling on Japanese publishers to use "common sense" on the question of anti-Semitic books. Japan and Israel are developing stronger bilateral ties, and trade be-

tween the countries is growing. And the print and electronic media are paying more attention to human rights questions, including concerns with anti-Semitism.

In turn, Jews and others in the U.S. and elsewhere are assuming an obligation to speak out against "Japanbashing," especially when it is rooted in racial slurs and misconceptions. Indeed, the American Jewish Committee recently created a Pacific Rim Institute dedicated to combatting mutual stereotyping and improving relations between the U.S. and Japan.

Those in Japan concerned with its growing international role can play an important part in assuring the success of such efforts. The outcome will affect us all

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### The Influence of Jewish Refugees on the Musical and Intellectual Life of Shanghai

(continued from page 1)

ish orchestra and he himself conducted it. To earn a living he also opened a music store opposite the Lyceum Theatre on Route Cardinal Mercier (now Maoming Lu South). Both of the Joachim brothers had moved to Singapore after Hitler seized power, and in 1943 had come to Shanghai. Otto was already composing by that time, his most notable work being a symphonic poem, "Asia".

In 1949 the brothers emigrated to Canada and became well known both as instrumentalists and as music teachers. Otto joined the Montreal Symphony Orchestra as first violinist and taught at both McGill University and at the Conservatory in Quebec. His major contribution, however, was in composing. His son Davis, who was born in Shanghai in 1949, is now a guitarist in Canada, as well as composer, music teacher and editor. Davis, along with his father and uncle, is listed in the "Cyclopedia of Music in Canada" the ultimate tribute to outstanding musical achievement.

Walter Joachim, the cellist, faced great privation when he first came to

Shanghai. He worked during the day in a menial job and the evening he played in DD's Coffee House and in a dance hall. As Maestro Foa was very fond of dancing, it was in the dance hall that he happened to hear Walter play and recognized his immense talent. Foa then invited him to join the Orchestra. Walter also later went to Canada with his brother, making his living as a musician. In 1986 he came back to Shanghai, by invitation of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, to meet again his old colleagues.

Other Jewish musicians were invited to teach at the Shanghai Conservatory and at Shanghai's leading universities. These musicians made very important contributions to the musical life of Shanghai. Henry Margolinsky, an excellent pianist, and his wife Irene, a lyric soprana, were both professors at the Shanghai Conservatory. Ada Bronstein, also a pianist, taught there until 1954. Erwin Marcus. formerly a Vienna choir director, came to Shanghai in 1938 and conducted both grand opera and the International Choral Society. He taught in the conservatories in Shanghai and Nanjing. Herbert Ruff, pianist, accompanist, conductor, and composer also taught in the Nanjing Conservatory from 1947-52, after leaving Shanghai.

The most famous of these musicians were the violinist Alfred Wittenberg and the composer Wolfgang Fraenkel. After WWII Professor Wittenberg remained in Shanghai where he was regarded as the most accomplished musician from the west. He had become famous in 1912 when he first played in a trio ensemble with the world-famous pianist Schnabel and cellist Hekking. Wittenberg was later invited to teach in the United States but he preferred to remain in Shanghai with his pupils (of which the translator was one — Ed.). He was not only an outstanding violin teacher but also an accomplished pianist. He died in Shanghai in 1953, his violin in his hand and a Bach solo sonata on his music stand. His violin was later sent to Israel in memoriam.

Wolfgang Fraenkel was a versatile musician for both composing and performing and he also possessed a photographic memory. While living in Germany his occupation had been that of a lawyer; music was only a

and the beginning of 1942, nearly 18,000 German, Austrian, Polish and Baltic State Jews began the long trip toward the haven of Shanghai.

Two major routes lay open to Shanghai, depending on the period during which the flight took place:

- 1) By sea end of 1938 to June 10, 1940.
- 2) By land June 11, 1940 to December 7, 1941.

The first leg of the sea route was, for most, passage to Italy by either train or boat. From there the refugees, generally using the Italian Lloyd-Triestino Line, travelled through the Suez Canal or around the Cape of Good Hope, to Shanghai or other points of destination in the Far East, including Japan. This stream of refugees reached its peak during the first half of 1939.

When the Mediterranean sea route was closed by Italy's entry into the war in June 1940, the only way of reaching the Far East, and particularly Shanghai, was the land route that crossed Russia and Siberia. This meant that thousands who had booked passage by boat lost their chance of escape when their visas through Italy were invalidated.

Since Russia was still on friendly terms with Germany, travel arrangements could be made with Intourist. the Soviet Government travel bureau, to travel by rail through European Russia to Siberia, a trek of 6,000 miles. Travellers to Shanghai did not need a visa, as long as the Japanese consul in the country of origin had stamped their passport: "No visa required for entry into Shanghai". Fortunate possessors of such passports proceeded across the U.S.S.R. (via Siberia) to Harbin in Manchuria and from there sailed across the Pacific to their final destination, Shanghai.

The attitude of the Japanese toward Jews and Jewish immigration into Shanghai and other areas controlled by them was a strange amalgam of friendly curiosity and respect; if not awe, for the supposed international economic influence of the Jews.

The most lasting impact upon the Japanese attitude toward the Jews was made by Jacob H. Schiff, the German-born president of the New York banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb and Company, at the turn of the century.

He arranged several crucial international loans to Japan at the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905. These loans financed the construction of about half the Japanese Navy, which later decisively defeated Russia's Baltic Fleet at the Battle of Tsushima.

The timing and circumstances of these loans made a deep impression on the Japanese, who came to view Jacob Schiff as the epitome of the international Jewish financier. Schiff was awarded the Order of the Rising Sun by the Japanese Empire for these loans.

The Japanese also frequently came into commercial contact with other Jews of means and influence, primarily in the export-import trade. These contacts only served to increase the Japanese feeling that the Jews had great international influence and economic strength, which could be turned to the benefit of Japan and its schemes for a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" under the domination of Japan.

Counter-balancing their respect for the supposed international influence of Jewry, was a feeling that "International Jewry" represented a possible threat to Japan because of its supposed desire for domination of the world as set forth in the infamous forged "Protocols of the Elders of Zion". The "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" was a complete fabrication, based upon a Frenchman's satire on Napoleon Ill's despotic methods in France. Ironically, the exposure of the "Protocols" as a forgery did not reduce its widespread appeal to anti-Semites. It was certainly no problem for the Japanese "experts" who implicitly believed in the authenticity of its very contradictory notions and "facts"; especially that the Jews were the prime secret proponents of world revolution under the guise of International Bolshevism.

To the Japanese, the homeless and penniless German, Austrian and later Polish and Russian Jews arriving in Shanghai between 1939 and 1941 were representative of a people without a homeland, but with great international economic power and influence. While forced to flee from the wrath of the Nazis, they nevertheless could exert tremendous economic and political influence on the domestic and

foreign policies of the United States, Japan's principal antagonist for supremacy in East Asia.

.Shanghai, situated near the mouth of the Whangpoo River, was a Chinese city of 6 million, in which approximately 60,000 foreigners lived and conducted business in two contiguous areas known as the "International Settlement" and the "French Concession," subject to their own laws and free of Chinese jurisdiction. Commercial property along the avenue known as The Bund was among the most expensive in the world prior to 1937. when Japan invaded the area, intensifying its war with China. Commercial activity in the area then declined as a result of the hostilities and the Japanese occupation.

The small Sephardic Jewish community in Shanghai, dominated by the Sassoon, Kadoorie and Hardoon clans, were of Mesopotamian origin; having left Baghdad in the early 1830's and emigrated to Bombay on the West Coast of India. After the dissolution of the English East India Company in 1858, they expanded their trading ventures and communities to other parts of India, and to Ceylon, Singapore, Hong Kong, Canton and Shanghai.

This Sephardic community, numbering not more than 600-700 persons, was joined after 1917 by substantial numbers of Ashkenzazi Russians and Poles fleeing the consequences of the German invasion of Poland and Western Russia in 1914, and the fighting between the Bolshevik forces and the Poles. Ukranians and remnants of the Czarist forces, which continued until 1921 in Central Siberia. By 1937 there were approximately 4,000 Ashkenazi Jews living in Shanghai with their own synagogue and rabbi. These Jews were considered by the Sephardim, who for the most part had British citizenship, to be of a socially inferior status. Each community maintained its own synagoque and its own social and philanthropic organizations.

The first wave of German immigrants into Shanghai received a warm welcome from the Jewish community. They were met at the boat by long-time residents who arranged customs

clearance, took them to apartments which had been found for them in the International Settlement, and who sponsored them until they had time to accustom themselves to their new surroundings and to the economic realities of their new home.

Such a welcome and period of adjustment was not to be the lot of thousands who followed in a steady stream from Nazi-dominated Europe. Care could no longer be administered on an individual basis, and concern had to give way to sheer subsistence. The war-devastated sector of Hongkew replaced the elegant residential areas of the International Settlement and French Concession as the place where most of these immigrants settled. And even that depressed and devastated area was beyond the financial means of many, who had to make do with hastily set-up refugee camps. Eventually the friendly atmosphere faded as the refugees began to out-strip in numbers and in need the resources of the established Sephardic and Russian communities.

The panic migration of German and Austrian Jews continued unabated and reached its peak during June, July and August, 1939, when the total number of refugees approached 14,000. If allowed to continue at this rate, between 20,000 and 25,000 Jews would have arrived by the end of

Two important factors brought about the gradual decline of the influx. First a severe shortage of shipping space closed bookings months in advance on any ships to Shanghai. Of far greater significance were the restrictions imposed upon Jewish immigration beginning in August, 1939, at the request of local Jewish relief organizations to the Japanese authorities and the Municipal Councils of the International Settlement and French Concession. It was the combined impact of these factors which prevented the Jewish refugee population in Shanghai from going above 18,000 before the outbreak of the war in the Pacific (December 7, 1941), when virtually all immigration into Shanghai ceased.

The immigrants found themselves in a Japanese-controlled Chinese city with a thin veneer of Western business and culture. Until Pearl Harbor,

the Japanese authorities respected the rights of foreigners with valid passports or visas who lived in the International Settlement, the French Concession, or damaged Hongkew. Here, the immigrants sought to build a new life for themselves along the old traditional lines. Small shops and businesses quickly sprang up, catering to the immigrants' needs for bakery, grocery, tailoring, shoe repair and other normal trades. Professionals set up medical, accounting, legal and other services which did not require licensing. Others sought employment in established businesses which catered to local Chinese, Japanese or "Western" foreigners. Because of the inability of most immigrants to speak any language other than Yiddish and German, many were unable to find gainful employment in a job market where the necessary languages were Chinese, Japanese, English and French.

Those unable to support themselves were lodged in dormitory-like buildings, known as "Heime," where they received subsistence rations and clothing allotments, paid for by the local Sephardic charitable organizations and the American Joint Distribution Committee (J.D.C.).

Pearl Harbor marked the end of "Western" ascendency in Shanghai. Most of the Sephardim were British citizens, and were eventually interned. Hoping to save what they could of their businesses and personal possessions, the Sephardim rapidly withdrew from further charitable efforts after December, 1941, especially with regard to the refugee immigrants. All private businesses belonging to Allied Nationals, including the British Sephardim, were taken over by the Japanese. Economic activity in Shanghai, especially the export-import business, came to a virtual halt. Thousands of previously employed refugees were thrown out of work, doubling the need for economic assistance from the J.D.C.

However, the J.D.C. was an American organization bound by the "Trading With The Enemy Act". After December 7, 1941, American-Jewish philanthropic organizations, particularly the J.D.C. were anxious to obey the law as proof of their patriotism. They therefore refused to authorize transmittal of desperately needed re-

lief funds to Japanese-occupied Shanghai. As a result, all J.D.C. funds in Shanghai were exhausted by the summer of 1942. In fact, Laura Margolies, American J.D.C. Director in Shanghai, received a cable on May 21, 1942, from the J.D.C., through Paraguay, instructing her to discontinue all attempts to contact the J.D.C. in New York for further funds. Cable communication with the J.D.C. in New York was not resumed until December, 1943.

Margolies, and other officials of the J.D.C. in Shanghai, were able to raise money for desperately needed food and clothing by making unsecured loans from foreign neutral business firms, particularly Swiss and Swedish businessmen, still operating in Shanghai, until February of 1943, when Margolies and the rest of her American staff were interned by the Japanese.

The Jewish refugees continued to live undisturbed in their homes until February 18, 1943, when the Japanese authorities, under pressure from their German Allies, announced the establishment of the ghetto in Hongkew for "stateless" refugees. All German, Austrian, Polish, Czech, Hungarian and Baltic refugees who had lost their citizenship were required to leave their homes in the International Settlement and French Concession and move into the already over-crowded and unsanitary Hongkew area. This forced relocation of Jewish refugees resulted in incredible overcrowding and real hardship. The move was required to be completed by May 18, 1943.

Immigrants who had retained their Soviet citizenship, or applied for and obtained new Soviet passports, were left undisturbed.

Once confined to the ghetto, the refugees could not leave, even for employment, withoiut a pass, which was issued by the Japanese authorities for periods of one or three months; but could be renewed on showing continuing outside employment or special need. While inconvenient, the pass system permitted Jews to leave the ghetto for virtually any legitimate reason during the day, provided they returned before evening curfew.

The exits to the ghetto were policed by armed Japanese sentries and Jewish members of the auxiliary police known as the "Pao Chia", of whom there were about 3,500, headed by a Jewish director under Japanese supervision. The Pao Chia were in charge of checking exit passes and "keeping the peace".

The refugees quickly relocated their existing schools, hospitals and relief agencies to the Hongkew ghetto. They tried to live as normally as possible and not give the Japanese any reason to take additional repressive measures against them.

The refugees set up committees to regulate the distribution of food, clothing, medical supplies and other necessities of life which they were still able to purchase from local Chinese and Japanese sources. However, as relief funds dwindled and came close to exhaustion, food rations were continuously cut, until malnutrition became rampant.

By the winter of 1944, the "Kitchen Fund", which operated kitchens in the "Heime", was able to deliver only one hot meal per day per person of about 1350 calories to the 6,000 refugees who had no other source of food. Children received an additional meal in the evening. While only a few died of actual starvation, many died of illness because the amount and type of food available was not sufficient to build up their resistance to the epidemics which were always raging in Shanghai.

Cable communication with the J.D.C. in New York was resumed in December, 1943, after Laura Margolies was repatriated to the United States. As a result of her insistent efforts, the J.D.C. resumed financial aid through Switzerland. The first \$25,000 arrived in early 1944 and in increasing amounts in the following months. There is no doubt that these emergency funds prevented thousands of refugees from dying of starvation, as the economic situation in Shanghai continued to deteriorate through the balance of 1944. By the end of the war, J.D.C. funds were flowing into Shanghai through Switzerland at a rate of \$100,000 per month. During this entire period, the Japanese authorities in Shanghai did everything possible to encourage the refugees to obtain outside economic assistance, and made no effort to halt or seize relief funds which trickled in from Allied sources.

As the war neared its end, the ghetto was subjected to its first and only airraid on July 17, 1945, when American B-17s bombed Shanghai. The air-raid resulted in the deaths of 31 refugees and injury to hundreds. Seven hundred refugees were left homeless. Unknown to the refugees, across the street from one entrance to the ghetto was the largest ammunition dump in the Shanghai area. Had a bomb scored a direct hit on the ammunition dump, most of the residents in that part of the ghetto would have been killed or injured.

After Germany's surrender on May 8, 1945, reports about Nazi atrocities in the concentration camps began to circulate in the Shanghai ghetto. The reports of the Holocaust perpetrated by the Nazis convinced most of the refugees that there was no going back to Europe.

The war in the Pacific ended in August, 1945. the J.D.C. continued its support until 1947, when many of the refugees were resettled in the United States or in Central or South America.

Those who had thought to remain in Shanghai, particularly Sephardim, who returned to their homes and businesses after release from internment. were faced in 1949 with the Communist Chinese triumph and the loss of their businessess. Most of the remaining Sephardim and Ashkenazim now emigrated to the new State of Israel, Israel quickly dispatched its consul to Shanghai, and visas began to be issued. Within six years, 9,700 of the 10,000 remaining Jews left for Israel with the cooperation of the Chinese Communist regime. By 1957 only about 100 Jews remained, bringing to a close the Jewish settlement in Shanghai.

### U. S. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM RECORDS SHANGHAI REFUGEE EXPERIENCES

By Andrew Silow Carroll
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In 1945, a young U.S. Army Air Corps chaplain stationed in China officiated at the bar mitzvah of a 13-year-old boy.

The boy was an orphan, one of hundreds living among the German and Eastern European Jewish refugees who managed to escape to Shanghai, China, before the gates to the Old World closed for good.

Here, on the edge of a vast and alien continent, the boy represented the remnants of a civilization that had nearly ceased to be.

In 1989, Rabbi Morris Gordon looked into a television camera and said he cannot forget that boy.

"Here's a boy who heard the knock on the door, saw them take his father and mother. Later they took his sister because she was so beautiful. Now he was going to be bar mitzvaḥed in Shanghai, alone. When you hear it from a kid's lips—that's different than hearing about the whole six million."

Gordon was sharing his memories of war-time Shanghai as a favor to a friend, Linda Gordon Kuzmack (no relation). Kuzmack is the director of the Oral History Project of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

When the Holocaust Memorial Museum opens on the Mall in 1993, said Kuzmack, visitors will be able to view edited portions of the video-taped recollections and "meet a survivor face to face."

Kuzmack has interviewed Leo Hanin, now living in California, who ran the ghetto's kosher cafeteria, and Ernest Heppner, who was a central figure in the community's rich cultural life.

Gordon will round out the Shanghai sage with an outsider's view, she said, a view with which many American visitors will be able to relate.

Since launching the video history project in May, Kuzmack has taped 50 witnesses, and plans to tape 150 per year. The videos will be collected, along with taped recollections provided by Holocaust centers around the country, and be made available to scholars and researchers at the Museum's research facilities.

Listening sometimes twice a day to tales of suffering, Kuzmack said she is nonetheless "fascinated, deeply awed, by the strength of the human spirit. They have given me more than I can give anyone else."