

## SHANGHAI STREETS AND PLACES

A list of street names and places of the pre-1949 era with their modern equivalents has been made available for distribution to Sino-Judaic Institute members by the editor of *The China Connection*, a quarterly newsletter for people who once lived in China. For a copy of this list, send a self-addressed, stamped envelope to the Sino-Judaic Institute, 232 Lexington Drive, Menlo Park, CA 94025.

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The Sino-Judaic Institute is a non-denominational, non-profit, and non-political organization which was founded in 1985 by an international group of scholars and laypersons. Its goals and purposes are as follows:

- 1) To promote friendship and understanding between the Chinese and Jewish peoples and to encourage and develop their cooperation in matters of mutual historical and cultural interest.
- 2) To assist the descendants of the ancient Jewish community of the city of Kaifeng, Henan Province, in their efforts to preserve and maintain the artifacts and documents they have inherited from their forebears, as well as in their efforts to reconstruct the history of their community.
- 3) To support the establishment and maintenance of a Judaica section in the projected municipal museum of Kaifeng.
- 4) To promote and assist study and research in the histories of early Jewish travel in China and in the rise and fall of the various Jewish communities that were established in China in the course of the past thousand and more years.
- 5) To publish general information and scholarly materials dealing with all aspects of the Chinese-Jewish experience.
- 6) To serve as a briefing and information center for those interested in Sino-Judaica, and for travelers to Kaifeng and other centers of Jewish interest in China.
- 7) To cooperate with other groups whose interests lie in Sinitic and Judaic matters.

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## SOME SHANGHAI JEWISH SITES

By Betta Chiara

I have just come back from China where I spent two academic years at Peking University studying the Chinese language and doing some research on the Jewish community of Shanghai. I have now returned to my university, the University Ca' Foscari, Department of Oriental Languages and Literature, Venice, Italy, where I am at present writing my *Tesi di Laurea* (thesis at the B.A./M.A. level) which deals with the development of the Jewish community of Shanghai from 1845 to 1932, concentrating particularly on the figure of Silas A. Hardoon.

In this article I particularly would like to point out some of the former Jewish sites discovered during my last trip to Shanghai. I will try to follow a chronological order and to give a brief introduction to the development of that community.

It is believed that the first Jew to set foot in Shanghai was Elias David Sassoon in 1845, two years after the two had been officially opened to commerce with the West. In the following years he developed the Shanghai branch of David Sassoon, Sons & Co. The Sassoon firm played an important role in the first period, attracting some Baghdad Jewish families to Shanghai. The first three Jewish residents were probably E. Abraham (father of the later well-known D.E.J. Abraham), M.S. Moshee and J. Reuben (but I have also found the name listed as Reuben Jacob), all working for the firm of David Sassoon, Sons & Co. It would appear that in 1851 J. Reuben's son wrote a letter to the Jewish community in Kaifeng. During these years most of the Jews coming to Shanghai were Sephardic, and their original home was Baghdad. Few came

from other countries; one of these was David Wilder, who came to Shanghai from Constantinople in 1855; his picture was shown during the exhibition held by YIVO in 1948/1949.

The presence of the nucleus of a small community, at least of a minyan or more, in the 1860's is confirmed by the first Jewish cemetery located on Mohawk Road, now Huangpi Bei Lu. On one of the gate-posts it was written: "Jewish Cemetery. Presented to the Jewish Congregation of Shanghai by David Sassoon, Esq. A.M. 5622, A.C. 1862." Some of the early tombs were those of Joseph Rahamin, died 1865, Joseph Sassoon, died 1868, Edward Elias, died 1872, and Emmanuel Lazarus, died 1879. The cemetery was used until 1920. Some Chinese scholars place it at the corner of Nanjing Lu, but consulting a tourist guide published in 1919, I have found that its position was some hundred meters south of that, on the corner with Weihai Lu, which I would propose as its location. I have also some information that there are some small lanes on the outskirts of Shanghai which have been paved with some old Jewish gravestones. I would think that this matter should be the object of some appropriate further research.

In the seventies the number of Jews in Shanghai grew proportionally to the development of the city. In 1874 we find at David Sassoon, Sons & Co. the following employees: M.S. Gubbay, M.S. Moses, J. Saul, M. Solomon, J.A. Nathan, and D.E. Moses. At E. D. Sassoon & Co., founded by Elias David after his father's death, we find Jacob Elias Sassoon, J.B. Elias, D. Joseph, J.J. Nathan, M.H. Musliah, H. O'Hara and S.J. Nathan.

But I do not want to wander from the point, and I go back to another of the Jewish sites. I have always been interested in looking for the synagogue on Fuzhou Lu. I had found a reference in

(continued on page 9)

## שנה טובה



## RELIGIOUS PROSYLETIZATION IN CHINA

By Dennis Leventhal

Following the Tiananmen crackdown, the Beijing Review published No. 8 in its pamphlet series "China: Issues and Ideas", entitled *China's Religions*. This series is published in English, represents official CCP opinions, and is offered free to all foreign visitors. They are usually found in lobbies or business centres in all major PRC hotels.

This particular issue makes the following statements which relate to religious prosyletization in China:

(a) "... it is imperative for China to draft more legislation concerning religious activity, as at the moment there are many loopholes in the law. These must include regulations to check the activities of self-appointed preachers, punishments for those who break the law under the cloak of religious activity, and the powers to disband reactionary organizations colluding with overseas hostile religious forces." (p. 6)

(b) "... in China, some people have deceived the masses and carried on illegal activities under the cloak of religion. Some foreign religious forces have also taken advantage of religion to engage in infiltration activities, and even incite people to create disturbances and damage social stability."

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**From the editor:**

For years I resisted my fellow SJI Board members in their desire to drop the word "occasional" from the *Points East* masthead. Then, after publishing *P.E.* regularly for 4 years, I succumbed to their demand. Now I find it nearly impossible to maintain a publication schedule! Analysis please, Dr. Freud . . .

Seriously, if any of you are irate or distraught because of my erratic ways, please understand that *P.E.*, like the Sino-Judaic Institute itself, is an all-volunteer organization, a labor of love for us all. We can use your help too. Renew your memberships, give gift memberships, promote knowledge about SJI among your friends, invite an SJI speaker to town and hold a program, write an article or letter, donate to our special projects in China.

I'd like to close volume five of *Points East* with a personal salute to my friends and colleagues in the SJI, those both on and off the Board, whose dedication and hard work over these past years has made our organization the success it has become. It's been a real pleasure working together. Thanks.

Anson Laytner

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**IN THE FIELD**

## • PEONY REISSUED

SJI Board member Wendy Abraham is the author of the Afterword to the newly published novel *Peony* by Pearl S. Buck. The book, reissued in an expanded and illustrated edition, tells the highly fictionalized story of a Kaifeng Jewish family around 1850. It is available, in hard or soft cover, from either the Bloch Publishing Co. or the Biblio Press, both in New York City.

## • DENNIS LEVENTHAL IN CHINA

Dennis visited Kaifeng on June 15-16, and has written substantial memos concerning what he found there. In the first, he described what he found in Kaifeng, including the good news that the stelae are not being so mistreated as had been earlier reported, and that it was the intention of the museum to install them in the fourth floor room before the end of the year. There was also some discussion with Wang Yisha about the possibility of establishing a non-governmental research association to handle Judaic studies affairs in Kaifeng, with which SJI might have cooperative academic relations.

The second proposal brought forward by Dennis is to establish a publication series for materials related to research on the history of Chinese Jews and Judaism in China. This project would be a cooperative one, with SJI and the Jewish Historical Society of Hong Kong working in conjunction with the Chinese scholars.

Dennis Leventhal also has sent a long and detailed report concerning his meetings with various scholars during his last trip to China. In Shanghai, Dennis met with Profs. Zhu and Pan, of the SJSA, who told him of plans now underway to rebuild the Kaifeng synagogue, and to put up plaques in Shanghai. They discussed the Sino-Judaic exhibit, the Wiesenthal Holocaust exhibit, and their work in translating Judaica. The channel for the delivery of the *Encyclopedia Judaica* was clarified. A meeting of Chinese scholars of Judaic studies is scheduled for November.

## • CHINESE TO VIEW "GENOCIDE"

In what is believed to be the first-ever agreement between the world's largest television network and a Jewish organization, China Central Television has agreed to broadcast 'Genocide', the Wiesenthal Center's Academy Award-winning Holocaust documentary.

Word of the cultural breakthrough was conveyed by Huang Yizhong, head of China's nationwide network's Department of International Programs, during a recent meeting in Beijing with Wiesenthal Center Associate Dean, Rabbi Abraham Cooper.

"During our meeting Mr. Huang indicated that the film was accepted in part, as a gesture of friendship to the American Jewish community," Rabbi Cooper noted. "For our part, the Center hopes that the screening of this documentary to a potential audience of some one billion will help the people of China to better understand the history, values, and concerns of the Jewish community."

## • POINTS EAST IN THE LIBRARIES

The number of libraries which receive *Points East* continues to grow. This month the Jewish Public Library, Montreal subscribed. Other libraries which have subscribed include Cornell University Library, New York Public Library, and Hebrew Union College Library, Los Angeles. In addition, subscriptions are sent gratis to the University of Maryland, which maintains an archive of East Asian newsletters, and the Library of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. We are listed with two subscription services: Faxon Company of Westwood, MA and Ebsco, of Birmingham, AL.

## • COMMUNICATIONS

Rabbi Stampfer met a Dr. Cao Cowen of Zhengzhou University, who was a visiting scholar at Portland State University, and who introduced him to a friend named Dr. Zhang Sui, of Shanghai University, who has written a book entitled "Hebraic Culture and the Chinese Jews." He also has a complete set of the Jewish Morning Newspaper, published in Shanghai. Rabbi Stampfer is intrigued by his claim of a substantial history of Jews in Tibet.

In addition to closer marketing ties, Japan is now purchasing diamonds from Israel. The first Israeli-Japanese diamond processing plant was established in Beit Shean.

These initiatives led to a 21% increase in Japanese exports to Israel from 1988 to 1989.

Still, many large Japanese firms such as Mazda openly participate in the economic boycott of Israel. The Japanese government has urged these companies not to comply with the boycott, but has not taken steps to negotiate a bilateral trade agreement with Israel.

**ISRAEL'S BEIJING LIAISON BUREAU SAID TO HERALD DIPLOMATIC LINKS**

By Ted Plafker

reprinted from the Jerusalem Post 6/17/90

BEIJING — Israel on Friday formally opened its Academic Liaison Office

here, its first official representation ever in China. Many western diplomats believe the presence of such an office — run by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities — in the Chinese capital is a significant step towards the establishment of diplomatic relations.

Friday's opening ceremony was attended by nearly 200 Chinese and foreign guests. Among the former were officials of the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, and the Ministry of Agriculture. Many Chinese businessmen and academics also attended.

The Vice President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Sun Honglie, gave a speech welcoming the Israelis to China.

The liaison office, with a staff of three headed by Dr. Yosef Shalhevet, is a counterpart of China's government-run travel bureau which opened in Tel Aviv in February. The agreement to exchange representatives was reached following discreet contacts at the United Nations in the fall of 1987

between then-Chinese foreign minister Wu Xueqian and then-foreign minister Shimon Peres.

The two countries have no diplomatic relations, but there are frequent press reports of extensive arms dealings, which both deny.

Shalhevet and his deputy, Yoel Guilatt, have outlined six priority areas for cooperation: agriculture, language study, environmental protection, public health, dry lands ecology, and alternative energy sources.

The function of the liaison office, says Shalhevet, is "to facilitate cooperation between China and Israel in science, in technology, and in cultural activities."

**PUBLICATIONS OF THE SINO-JUDAIC INSTITUTE STILL AVAILABLE**

The Sino-Judaic Institute has published a number of reprints which have been distributed gratis to the membership at the time of the printing, but not to those who joined the Institute at a later date. We now wish to make these available to those who did not receive a copy when initially distributed. These reprints are available to members of the Institute for the asking. We would appreciate a contribution to help pay for the cost involved in distributing these.

Samuel Sokobin, "A China-London Jewish Literary Mystery." With a tribute to the memory of the author by Michael Pollak.

Samuel Sokobin, "Knee Breeches and Tricorns."

Samuel Sokobin, reprint of excerpts from "Fac-similes of the Hebrew manuscripts obtained at the Jewish Synagogue in K'ae-fung-foo," Shanghai, 1851.

"A Genesis Manuscript from the Synagogue at Kaifeng," with an introduction by Sara Irwin.

"The Four Questions as they were asked centuries ago at Passover Seders in the heart of China."

In addition to the above reprints which are available gratis, we have *The Sino-Judaic Bibliographies of Rudolf Loewenthal*, edited by Michael Pollak. This volume contains three bibliographies originally published in various hard-to-find journals in 1939-46, and, as Michael Pollak points out in his fine introduction, the importance of these bibliographies to the study of Sino-Judaic history can scarcely be overstated. This volume, printed by the Hebrew Union College Press, Cincinnati in association with the Sino-Judaic Institute in 1988, is available for a contribution of \$25 or more.

Finally, back issues of *POINTS EAST*, except for Vol. 1, No. 1, are available for \$5 each.

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Jewish newspaper "Israel's Messenger", 1924, for his offer and trip to the descendants of the Kaifeng Jews.) In a conversation with Sidney Shapiro, who was here in Israel last year, I gather that no scholars in China have any knowledge of Jews in Xinjiang. He thinks they may have been Russian Jews, similar to the communities of Manchuria and Shanghai.

My own personal theory is that these Jews may have been Bukhari Jews who fled troubles in Uzbekistan or Kazakhstan (the Russian Revolution) to Xinjiang. It is hard for me to believe that European Ashkenazi Jews would stay in such an area for an extended period of time, without moving on. Bukhari Jews could find themselves comfortable there, being accustomed to the physical, social and cultural conditions of the area. I live in a community made up of Jews from the Soviet Union, mainly from Uzbekistan, both Ashkenazim and Bukharim, which reinforces this idea from experience . . . .

September 4, 1990

If your readers are still interested in the Jews of Burma; one of the last Jews of Burma, Mr. Abraham Faraj (Eddie) Rafael of the town of Bassein recently passed away. His son is one of my neighbors and he received a telegram from Mr. Samuel Moses of Rangoon (Yangon) a few months ago that his father had passed away. I had shown my neighbor the article in Points East about the Jews of Burma about a week before and he requested that I ask anyone travelling in Burma to look up his father. Alas, it is too late now. I found the request for candles mentioned in the article a bit puzzling. Most Oriental Jews light their Sabbath and synagogue candles with oil and not with candles as Ashkenazic Jews are accustomed. This is especially so of Jews who originate from Iraq, such as the Burmese Jewish community. (I can give a number of Rabbinic responsa on the subject if anyone is interested.) Also the name of the synagogue in Rangoon has not changed since its founding, which is the impression given in the article. Matzmiach Yeshu'ah and Musmeah

Yeshua are both transliterations of the Hebrew . . . .

David Skolnick  
Kiryat Malachi, Israel

## THE MAORI JEWS

By Leo Gabow

In the year 722 B.C.E., Sargon II, Chief of the Assyrian Army defeated the Kingdom of Israel, and more than a century later, the Kingdom of Judah was destroyed by King Nebuchadnezzar. The entire population of the Kingdom of Israel (10 Tribes), was deported to various parts of the Assyrian Empire, and King Nebuchadnezzar removed almost the entire population of the Kingdom of Judah (2 Tribes), to Babylonia.

The two tribes from Judah remained essentially intact, survived and even flourished, but nothing further was heard from the Ten Tribes of Israel. They were swallowed up by history and became known as the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel.

From that day to the present, many refused to accept the view that the lost tribes had simply been assimilated by the populations to which they had been deported. Speculation regarding these lost tribes strained the credulity of the most imaginative of minds. In 1644, Antonio de Montezinos, a Portugese Marrano Jew, claimed to have discovered a tribe of Indians in the jungles of Ecuador, who were praying in Hebrew. Montezinos claimed that these Ecuadorian Indians were of the tribes of Reuben and Levi.

His tale aroused considerable interest, and no less a person than Menasseh ben Israel, the famous Dutch Rabbi, swallowed the story entirely. But lost tribes were "found" on every continent from Europe to Africa and from Asia to the Americas. Few groups could escape lost tribalism. William Penn, the founder of the State of Pennsylvania, was convinced that the American Indian was of the lost tribes, and his observation of Indian children at play was persuasive enough to re-enforce his theory. He wrote that he was reminded of London Jews.

But it is the Polynesian Maoris of New Zealand who present one of the

most peculiar variations of tribalism, if not lost tribalism. While others considered the American Indian to be of the lost tribes, the Indians themselves had no consciousness of such provenance. In the case of the Maoris, however, it was fully believed by many, many Maoris that they were of the Tribe of Judah. Indeed many Maoris believed that all Polynesians descended from the Tribe of Judah, and therefore were to legitimately be considered the Chosen People.

In the year 1862, a new cult was formed in New Zealand by a Maori named Te-Ua Haumani. The cult was named "Pai-Mariri," meaning "Good and Merciful." They quickly became known as the Hauhau and their doctrines and behavior became known as Hauhauism. Soon Hauhauism became a term used to describe any opposition to British Colonialism by any Maori group.

The Hauhau were a fiercely martial people and their religion was an essential part of their opposition to British Colonialism. Their war against the British included the Christian missionaries who they felt had betrayed them. (There is a melancholy parallel between the White man's treatment of both the American Indian and the Maori. Indeed the terms Indian and Maori may be interchanged without doing violence to history.)

One scholar advanced the idea that Hauhauism was a reaction to colonial oppression and that similar movements sprang up in all colonial countries. In the case of the Maoris, despotism induced them to adopt Judaic tribalism. An indigenous population, persecuted by its European rulers, and simultaneously instructed in the Old Testament, found in the ever persecuted Jews a Biblical counterpart to their own plight, a find that induced them to claim direct descent from the Tribe of Judah.

Christian missionaries who came to New Zealand, converted many Maoris to Christianity, and their evangelical missionizing was heavily based on the Old Testament. Christianity, Judaism and the Maori tribal religion were mixed into a strange brew that produced a new militant cult that rose in rebellion against the British. Their war against the British included the

After 1975 neither Sihanouk and his FUNCINPEC (*Front Uni National Pour un Cambodge Independant, Neutre et Cooperatif*) nor any other Khmer faction (the Khmer Rouge, the *Front National de Liberation du Peuple Khmer* (F.N.L.P.K.) headed by Son Sann) nor the Vietnamese-supported regime headed by Heng Samrin and Hun Sen, considered resuming relations with Israel. The same was true of the three factions making up the "Coalition Government of Democratic Cambodia" (constituted in 1982) which Sihanouk joined. Some private and unofficial contacts took place between the Bangkok office<sup>27</sup> of Prince Sihanouk, headed by his son and political heir, Prince Norodom Ranariddh, and the Israel Embassy in Bangkok.<sup>28</sup> It seems that after a visit of Prince Ranariddh to the United States, at least Sihanouk's Bangkok office seemed to realize that a hard-line anti-Israel policy might not be compatible with Sihanouk's efforts to receive more political and financial support from the USA, especially from Congress.<sup>29</sup>

The 'most articulate advocate' of US support for Sihanouk was, according to Frederick Z. Brown,<sup>30</sup> Representative Stephen J. Solarz, who shepherded the necessary legislation through Congress against the half-hearted opposition of the Reagan administration. It is difficult to understand this enthusiastic support for a leader who accused Israel of the same policy ("support of Lon Nol") for which he blamed the U.S., but now seems to have "forgiven" the U.S., while continuing to give wholehearted support to Arafat.<sup>31</sup> Representative Solarz seems aware of this dilemma: in a letter to the author dated December 18, 1988, he writes:

"... My impression is that the Prince is totally obsessed with the effort to free his country from the clutches of the Vietnamese... Under these extraordinarily trying circumstances, in which not only his own future but perhaps the fate of his nation hangs in the balance, I honestly think it is not appropriate to press him to change his views... If and when he is successful in his efforts to facilitate the restoration of Cambodian sovereignty and a measure of meaningful self-determination for the Cambodian people, I would hope that we could then get him to constructively focus his attention... on the Middle East."

Today, Israel considers relations with Cambodia a somewhat irrelevant matter. But those interested in Israel's

policy toward Southeast Asia still ask why Israel votes to seat Sihanouk's Cambodia in the UN but condemns the Vietnamese who helped bring down the notorious Pol Pot regime. The argument that Israel's interest in this region requires that it support the policy of the ASEAN states is not entirely convincing. Perhaps it should now be reconsidered in the light of the recent changes in global policy with regard to Cambodia.<sup>32</sup>

This article is not the place for detailed analysis of Sihanouk's more recent steps, such as his on-again, off-again resignation from the presidency of the CGDK (July 10, 1988), his "cocktail party" negotiations in France, and the informal meeting in Jakarta with Hu Sen, the representative of the Phnom Penh government. Sihanouk's prestige in the Western chancelleries as "Mr. Cambodia" is high and for many Khmer "Samdech Euv" personifies "the good old times."

But while it can, perhaps, be understood that Sihanouk as titular head of the GRUNK (1970-1975) and as President of the tri-partite GCDK (1983-1988) had to follow the present Third World anti-Israeli line, it is quite another matter when he fosters the establishment of political links with the PLO and "brotherly" relations with Yasser Arafat, because it was less impulsive than deliberate. It may even have run counter to the advice of his son, Prince Norodom Ranariddh, who could better understand that his father's "Badminton Policy"<sup>33</sup> would not help to strengthen his political and financial support in the U.S.A. Somebody who knows Sihanouk well defined him as follows:

"The Prince is... an emotional man who easily overreacts to events and situations... concerning his beloved Cambodia. This the Palestinians knew... and have clearly made use of the possibilities to influence the Prince."

One explanation for Sihanouk's enthusiastic relationship with the PLO might be that the PLO, trying now to play the political card in order to differentiate themselves from the terrorist image, have clearly made use of the Prince's quasi-permanent hunger for a role in international politics. It was not the first time that the Prince has chosen to make friendly Israel a political scapegoat. He did so in 1967, while still in power.<sup>34</sup> It would be an

underestimation of the Prince's high intelligence to believe that his published reasons for his anti-Israel policy (i.e., for Israel's remaining in Phnom Penh in 1970 and recognizing the Lon Nol regime) are the real ones. More than 30 states remained in Phnom Penh and recognized Lon Nol, among them the U.S., Great Britain, and ASEAN states like Malaysia and Indonesia. Since Israel is not directly involved in the Cambodia problem, it can afford to ignore Sihanouk's political animosity. Nevertheless, why should Israel year after year support "Democratic Kampuchea," which includes the notorious Khmer Rouge, to keep the Cambodian seat at the U.N., while at the same time condemning the Vietnamese occupation?

As for the future, it seems that, with patience, Israel will be able to re-establish friendly ties with all three Indochina states, at a time when she is slowly succeeding in the process of improving relations with black African states, the Soviet Union and some of its East European allies.

It may be reasonably hoped that Sihanouk, the experienced politician, in his eagerness once again to play a dominant role in an independent and neutral Cambodia, will realize that Cambodia's best interests are not enhanced by a policy biased against Israel.

### NOTES

1. Francis J. Galbraith, *The Importance of Southeast Asia*, Institute of International Studies, Essay Series No. 6. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1977.

2. China: The nationalist government recognized Israel on March 1, 1949. Communist China (People's Republic) was recognized by Israel on January 9, 1950, the first Middle Eastern State to do so, but because of the outbreak of the Korean War diplomatic relations have never been established. The 1955 Bandung Conference and the Suez Crisis in 1956 caused a final negative change in the attitude of the People's Republic of China toward Israel. India never established full diplomatic relations with Israel, but did allow establishment of an Israel Consulate in Bombay (though not in New Delhi).

3. Burma and the Philippines have embassies in Tel Aviv. Thailand's ambassador to Italy is non-resident ambassador to Tel Aviv.

4. One example: although the three Indochina states had already become independent in 1949 within the "Union Francaise," Indochina affairs were dealt with until 1955 by the French desk in the West European division of the ministry.

5. A good illustration of this is Cambodia. First, it was unnecessary to maintain the embassy in Phnom Penh until the end of the Khmer Republic in 1975. Second, Israel established its embassy in Phnom Penh in 1967 with the encouragement of the United States, whose diplomatic relations with Cambodia,

December 1972, two and a half years before the final defeat of South Vietnam in April 1975, Israel established full diplomatic relations with South Vietnam, and a protocol was signed in Phnom Penh, the capital of Cambodia. Israel nominated an ambassador and established an embassy in Saigon in 1973. It lasted just two years, until the final collapse of South Vietnam in April 1975.

Be it because of missed chances, or for lack of a balanced foreign policy toward Southeast Asia, Israel never succeeded even in opening a dialogue with the most important regional power in postwar Indochina, post-1975 unified Vietnam. Perhaps with the thawing climate of global policy in general, and of the "Cambodian problem" in particular, Vietnam will be able to turn fully to its urgent problems of development and reconstruction, and improved relations between Israel and Vietnam will be possible.

Perhaps it will then be remembered that Israel, despite its own difficulties in 1977, accepted and absorbed into its population about 300 Vietnamese refugees, many of them "boat people," welcoming and caring for them just as it had done for Jewish immigrants.

**C. A Turning Point: The Bandung Conference.** In 1955, just when it seemed that the fast-developing relations with Burma were beginning to pierce the walls of Israel's political isolation in Asia, and Israel had reason to hope for acceptance in non-Arab and non-Muslim Asia, Israel suffered its first serious diplomatic setback. Despite frantic last-minute efforts, and despite its officially declared policy of non-alignment, Israel — together with Taiwan and South Africa — was not invited to the conference of Asian and African states known as the Bandung Conference, held in Indonesia in April 1955. The dominating figures at the Conference and even during its preparation were Nehru and Nasser; it was also the first important appearance of Chou En-Lai on the international scene. Among other participants were U Nu of Burma and Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia. This was the first international success of Arab political pressure and

the end of Israel's short-lived policy of non-alignment.<sup>20</sup>

In the forefront of Israeli efforts to be included in the Bandung Conference was David Hacohen, Israel's minister in Rangoon. Early on, he became aware of the anti-Israel trend and tried to mobilize support for inviting Israel to the Conference. The main supporter of Israel was, in fact, U Nu, who tried unsuccessfully to reverse the decision not to invite Israel.

Bandung became the great divide in Israel's relations with what was later called the "Third World" or the non-aligned movement. It should be noted, however, that Israel did not suffer any impairment of its relations with Southeast Asian nations like Burma, Thailand, and the Philippines, which participated in the conference. In any case, the influence of the Southeast Asian nations which participated in the conference was negligible.

The Bandung Conference did not achieve real unity among the Afro-Asian non-aligned nations, and the famous "Five Principles" finally accepted by the Conference were nothing more than a rather broad and somewhat vague framework, open to different interpretations. With such a weak foundation, Bandung and the following conferences were unable to solve conflicts and to avoid confrontations. Nevertheless, at Bandung the Third World consciousness came alive as an important political factor, and the principle of exclusion of Israel by Third World and non-aligned nations was established. From this to the UN's painful condemnation of Zionism as "colonialism and racism" was but a small step.

**D. Israel, Cambodia and Prince Sihanouk.** In the twenty years (1955-1975) of its special relationship with Cambodia (now Kampuchea), Israel maintained diplomatic relations with two different regimes, each with its own markedly different political orientation: (1) the personal, semi-autocratic and non-aligned regime of Prince Norodom Sihanouk (1955-1970); and (2) the pro-American Khmer Republic under President (General) Lon Nol (1970-1975). During ten years (1965-1975), Israel extended a relatively important measure of technical assistance to Cambodia. The most impor-

tant project was the Israel-directed Agricultural Pilot Farm, within the framework of the ambitious Prek Thnot Hydro-Energy Project.

A key figure in general as in Israel's relations with Cambodia was Prince Norodom Sihanouk, an impulsive but charismatic personality, with a gift for politics.<sup>21</sup>

Sihanouk's attitude toward Israel constitutes a fascinating story of a changing policy which reflected two contradictory attitudes. On the one hand, Sihanouk saw a kind of "parallelism" between Israel and Cambodia, between the Jews and the Khmer, both small but ancient peoples with a glorious history but now surrounded by powerful enemies blocking the way to each people's integration into its own region. In the eyes of Sihanouk, the small Jewish state, which successfully defended its existence, was an example for his people:

"Israel a transforme en fertiles oasis les deserts de Palestine, . . . les ingenieurs Israeliens sont venus chez nous enseigner leurs methodes a nos paysans." <sup>23</sup>

"Imitez donc l'exemple d'Israel qui a su faire d'un desert un pays verdoyant. . . Cette experimentation doit etre repetee dans tout le Royaume" <sup>24</sup>

Sihanouk appreciated Israeli technical assistance, especially in the fields of agriculture and irrigation, but despite friendly assurances in private, he kept his official policy cautious and reserved, especially after the 1967 Six Day War. As is shown in various letters and articles<sup>25</sup> and by Cambodia's voting record at the U.N. concerning the "Palestine Problem," Sihanouk generally followed a pro-Arab, non-aligned policy.

Sihanouk was deposed as head of state in March 1970, and after becoming titular head of the Khmer Rouge-dominated government in exile, Sihanouk adhered without reserve to an extreme anti-Israel policy which cannot be fully explained by the fact that his personal influence on the foreign policy of the GRUNK was limited. In an interview,<sup>26</sup> on the eve of the Khmer Rouge victory, he defined the future policy of Cambodia. Two of the seven points of his declaration deal with Israel and the PLO:

(4) "Pas de relations avec "Israel Sioniste"

(5) "Le representant de l'OLP qui est pour nous l'Etat de Palestine, aura le rang et prerogatives d'Ambassadeur."

evident that some kind of unity or cooperation at least, was necessary. The accusations of satanic alliances each Christian group flung at the other should no longer be tolerated.

As a consequence the Church of England and the Wesleyan Societies divided the territory of New Zealand. Each group to have absolute control of their respective areas in order to spread the Gospel without concern over theological poaching. The Church of England evangelized in the northern part of North Island and the Wesleyans evangelized in the southern half.

This "civilized" arrangement worked for some years until the Church of England appointed a Bishop who proceeded to "invade" the territory of the Wesleyans, and in addition proceeded to castigate them as errant Christians. They advised the Maoris that the Wesleyans had "no authority to baptize;" they were "ravenous wolves spoken of in Scriptures;" and they were to be "condemned."

This, of course, did not sit well with the Maoris who were loyal to the Wesleyans. This territorial dispute, however, was only the beginning. The internecine Christian strife, as described by Thomas W. Gudgeon in his REMINISCENCES OF THE WAR IN NEW ZEALAND, ". . . was worse confounded by the arrival of other missionaries of various denominations, who all professed to teach the doctrine of Christ from the same Scriptures, yet each managed to read therein the condemnation of the other." (Shades of the internal strife among Jews.)

Gudgeon declared that the Maoris joined one faction after the other, until they decided that if each Christian sect had the right to interpret Scripture, the Maoris could play the same game. This they did, says Gudgeon, until they "finally settled into Hauhauism."

Hauhauism is usually described in New Zealand literature as a vicious, fanatic and blood-thirsty religion. And indeed, many of the acts committed by the Hauhau are blood-curdling. However, later writers have begun to treat the Hauhau more sympathetically, much as current literature treats the American Indian.

Christian missionaries who they felt had betrayed them. The Maori reaction was consonant with that oft-quoted remark, "In the beginning, we had the land and you had the Bible. Now we have the Bible and you have the land."

The Hauhau responded to British Colonialism with a terrible ferocity. They attacked the British with fury as thousands of Maoris rejected both British sovereignty and Christianity. They won a number of military victories, killing many British soldiers before they were finally vanquished by the superior arms of the British.

The Hauhau, fed up with the hypocrisy and contradictions between the Christian ethic and Christian behavior, returned to many of their ancient traditions. These they admixed with Old Testament teachings. Jehovah was the God of the Hauhau, though he combined the qualities of Jehovah and the Maori God called Tane. Te-Ua, the founder of the Hauhau, told his followers that he was inspired by the Angel Gabriel; he declared that he was the modern Moses; the Maori country, the new Canaan; the Maoris the Chosen People; and that a repetition of Biblical history would occur in New Zealand, the new Zion. This would, of course, include communication by God to the new Moses as was done with the Biblical Moses. As the Egyptians had enslaved the Jews, so had the British enslaved the Maoris. Te-Ua told his followers that the day would come when the Jews from around the world would come to New Zealand, form a single people with the Maoris and build a new life for all mankind.

When the Hauhau captured a British ship, they killed the missionary, imprisoned the crew and freed the Captain whose name was Levy. A Hauhau leader said that the God of the Hauhau protects his Chosen People. (I should add that the above event is authentic and well documented in New Zealand history.)

There was good reason for the Maori disenchantment with Christianity. When it was decided to colonize New Zealand, the question arose as to which Christian religious group should have the opportunity of persuading the Maoris to forego their "heathen" religion and adopt Christianity. It was

Te Ua called his followers "tiu." The Maori word for Jew, as well as Israelites, and there are many Maoris who still have knowledge of past association with Judaism. The following story may be spurious, though it is told in some literature as a true event. It has been reported that Maoris who fought with New Zealanders during World War II, used to taunt Nazi prisoners in hospitals, by telling them that they were Jews, and that their blood had been used in transfusions.

The new religion which evolved out of Hauhauism is called the Ringatu faith. The prophet of this religion was Te Kooti Rikirangi. In a round-up of Hauhau Maoris, Te Kooti was jailed along with the others. There is considerable evidence that Te Kooti was not in any way a part of any rebellious group, but that he was railroaded because of a personal dislike from one of the white settlers. He, along with the other Maoris were exiled to the cold and barren Chatham Island.

It was in exile that Te Kooti revealed his talents as an organizer and propagandist. It was in exile that he developed his "new" theology and the Ringatu faith and Church thereby resulted. He followed the precepts of Te Ua Haumani, by calling his followers Israelites and he saw his exile in Chatham Island as the equivalent of Moses in Egypt. He introduced the Passover holiday and declared that it was to be celebrated on July 12th, and also decreed that the Sabbath was to be on Saturday, not Sunday. And finally, THE SIGN OF THE UPRAISED HAND, which was the symbol of the Hauhau, remained the symbol of the Ringatu Church.

Te Kooti and his followers seized and captured a British ship which had come to Chatham Island, and escaped. This escape was also likened to the Israelite escape from Egypt.

From the time of their escape from Chatham Island in 1868, Te Kooti and his followers were a scourge to the white settlers, whom Te Kooti reiterated had stolen Maori land. For more than a decade all efforts to capture him were foiled despite the heavy bounty placed on his head, and despite overpowering military forces sent

out to get him dead or alive.

It was finally recognized that an injustice had been committed in exiling Te Kooti and he was pardoned in 1883. When he died a decade later, he had become a venerated prophet to his followers in the Ringatu faith.

The Ringatu Church is now officially recognized by the New Zealand Government and receives perquisites offered other religions. But one cannot ignore the number of vestiges of Hauhauism that remain in the Ringatu Church, nor can one ignore the vestiges of Judaism. For the history of the Ringatu Church is bound up with the history of the Israelites, and especially with the tribe of Judah. But Christian scholars report that the Ringatu faith is moving closer and closer to official Christianity.

Nevertheless, further research must be done on this historically brief association with Judaism. I understand that much oral history about this unique association still remains, and it would be a shame to see it vanish entirely without recordings.

It is the hope of this writer that he will be able to pursue this investigation in the near future. He would appreciate receiving information and source material on the subject from the field.

## MY BAT-MITZVAH IN KAIFENG

By YiLing Livia Chen-Josephson

My bat-mitzvah was a very special occasion for many reasons. Not the least of them was the fact that it was held in Kaifeng, which once was home to China's largest concentration of Jews.

When I was ten, my father allowed me to choose where I wanted my bat-mitzvah to be held. The choices he gave me were China, Israel and New York. I chose China because it was the only place of the three that combined both my heritages. It would also be historically significant, I found out later.

So my bat-mitzvah was originally planned for the summer of 1989, when I would be twelve. This gave us lee-

way because, in case anything happened to go wrong, I could always have it the summer after, when I would be thirteen. Little did I know that this was to happen.

The events of Tienanmen Square were the main reasons that we did not go in 1989. Though we were going solely for ceremonial purposes, we felt that many people might mistake this as a political event and think that we were showing our support for the government and its treatment of the students. So we decided to postpone the trip.

Since we still weren't certain if I was going to be able to have my bat-mitzvah in China, I had one in New York, in November of 1989, about two weeks after my thirteenth birthday.

But finally the plans were made that I should have my bat-mitzvah on July 14, 1990, (which also happened to be Bastille Day, thus adding another international flavor to the event), in Kaifeng.

Originally, it was to be a much bigger affair, but since I'd already had my bat-mitzvah in New York, with all my friends and most of the people who were supposed to attend the original bat-mitzvah, this one was done with a much smaller amount of people.

In June, after my school ended, my parents, my sister and I flew to Taiwan to spend a month so my sister and I could have Chinese lessons. I have relatives on my mother's side in Taiwan and Hong Kong but none in Mainland China, so my mother took this opportunity to visit with her family. From there, we went to Beijing where we met up with the rest of our group. Included were my grandparents, who were returning to China, their homeland, for the first time in forty years, a few of my mother's friends and Chinese relatives, some family from my father's side, and a group of my father's Israeli friends.

After seeing sights such as the Great Wall and the Forbidden City, we met with three friends of my dad's from America, and the American ambassador to China, James Lilley, and his family.

After staying in Beijing for three days, we went to Kaifeng by train. We worried a little when the train was delayed for quite a few hours because a government official was going to be

on board. I was nervous that the train would be canceled and that we wouldn't make it to Kaifeng in time for my bat-mitzvah. But my fears were dispelled when we boarded the overnight train and finally arrived at our destination.

My bat-mitzvah was supposed to be held in the city's museum, but at the last moment the location was changed so that it was held at our hotel. This was due to the local government, which was getting confused between Jews and Israelis, so they didn't want any photographs taken for fear of straining their relations with local Muslims. As a compromise, they lent us two ancient Chinese rubbings from the old synagogue, to hang behind us during the ceremony. It also worked out well for us, because the heat would have been unbearable on the rooftop of the museum. Each day, we had over 100 degrees fahrenheit weather.

My father had brought the Torah in a duffel bag, and it was on loan from but I had to learn a new Torah portion. During the ceremony, I thought back Nadich, the rabbi emeritus of Park Avenue Synagogue, and Cantor Lefkowitz, also of Park Avenue Synagogue, were the ones who led the ceremony. They were also the ones who converted me to Judaism, when I was about five years old. (Since my father is Jewish but my mother is not, I was not officially considered Jewish.)

At the ceremony, I wore a necklace given to me by the Israelis. In it is a coin that was found in Jerusalem from 47 c.e.

I did the same haftarah portion I had learned for my New York bat-mitzvah, but I had to learn a new Torah portion. During the ceremony, I thought back to the previous day when my father and I and a few friends had gone to visit the quarter where the Jews used to live. We had seen the street named for the Jews, "the street of the sinew-pluckers". Traveling around the city, we had also seen a number of locals with some Western features, who could very well have been Chinese Jews.

I was more nervous than I thought I would be during the ceremony, and afterwards, I must admit, I was quite relieved that it was over. But this was definitely the most memorable occasion in my life.

the Economic Council for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE, today ESCAP) sponsored a hydroelectric and irrigation development program for the Lower Mekong Basin, in order to exploit the potential energy of the Mekong, rightly called the "Sleeping Giant." The project was sponsored and supervised by the U.N. and a 16-member "Donor Group" of developed nations, including Israel as observer. Later, an executive committee, called for short "The Mekong Committee" (*Comite du Mekong*), was established with the participation of the regional member countries: Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam.<sup>11</sup>

### Israel's Regional Role in Technical Assistance

Israel's policy toward underdeveloped Third World Countries cannot be fully understood without taking into account the role played by Israel's cooperation and technical assistance in establishing and maintaining relations.<sup>12</sup> This is valid also for Israel's policy toward the more developed countries of Southeast Asia.

Israel's Technical Assistance Program started in a small way in 1958, its motivation a logical outcome, at least in part, of the social ethics of the Biblical Prophets as well as the socialist ideas which the Zionist pioneers brought with them from Europe. Most of the leaders, like Ben-Gurion and Golda Meir, felt that Israel was under a moral obligation to share Israel's experience and knowhow with the poorer developing countries of Asia and Africa. Israel should be a "Light unto the Nations," in the biblical sense.<sup>13</sup> But the very limited means available, and high expectations which Israel could not satisfy, led inevitably to second thoughts. Should Israel's cooperation really be given unconditionally? Should Israel's assistance be extended even to nations which voted against Israel or which shied away from recognition or diplomatic relations? There was also a growing opposition in Israel to "giving away money" when there was not enough available to combat poverty and absorb mass immigration in Israel. This led to the necessity to fix priorities, and to use technical assistance more selectively. Israel managed to receive money for this purpose from wealthy

countries, and cooperation became a helpful instrument supporting Israel's main foreign policy goal: to break out of its political isolation.

Some Southeast Asian countries like Burma, Cambodia and Laos enjoyed a relatively high level of technical assistance, with Israeli experts being permanently stationed in those countries and with Israel receiving a considerable number of trainees from those countries.

### Milestones in Israel's Relations with Southeast Asia

**A. The Burmese Connection — Trial and Error.** <sup>14</sup> During the 1950s and early 60s, Burma was Israel's most important partner in cooperation and technical assistance, not only in Asia but worldwide. During one decade (1953-1962), relations between these two culturally and geographically distant nations were very close, perhaps because of the coincidence that at this time the heads of state on both sides were dynamic leaders with vision. On the Burmese side, Prime Minister U Nu, a national figure and the first Asian leader to visit Israel (1955), was on friendly terms with then-Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. On the Israeli side, the first Head (1953-1955) of the diplomatic mission in Rangoon, David Hacohen, a dynamic labor leader, was a driving force.

Burma's interest in close relations with Israel was based on the hope of some Burmese leaders that they might profit from Israel's special experience in nation-building despite Israel's not being politically integrated into the hostile surrounding region. The first Burmese study mission visited Israel in 1952, even before diplomatic relations were established.<sup>15</sup> Early contacts between the Israel Labour Movement (Histadrut) and the Burmese Socialist Party and its leaders such as Ba Swe, encouraged Israeli hopes that close cooperation with Burma would facilitate Israel's political acceptance in Asia.

Israel's technical assistance to Burma is an outstanding story. Starting in 1953 Israel dispatched a flow of technical experts to Burma, and hundreds of Burmese trainees, many accompanied by their families, came to Israel for training.<sup>16</sup> One of the most ambitious projects was the Namsang

(Shan states) agricultural settlement for veteran soldiers.

Not all the projects were successful, partly due to the fact that the program did not accommodate the Burmese mentality. In 1962, after the removal of U Nu, the Burmese began to see ties with Israel more realistically. Under the regime of Ne Win and the "Socialist Program Party," the Burmese lost interest in the projects, and most were either reduced or phased out, although the two countries continued to maintain embassies in Rangoon and Tel Aviv.

Despite failures and disappointments, Burmese-Israeli relations during the 50's were, at least from the Israeli point of view, a positive and enriching chapter, a reliable experience which later proved quite useful to Israel in building its relations with Third World countries, especially in Africa.

Today, though Israel's relations with Burma are little more than correct, they also have an unexpectedly positive aspect: during the upheavals still continuing in Burma, Israel cannot be accused of interference in favor of the ruling regime.

**B. Israel and Vietnam — Missed Chances.** The newly born state of Israel and its foreign ministry had neither the experience nor the qualified personnel to deal with Asian problems, especially the complex problems besetting the newly independent ex-colonial nations of Southeast Asia.

Not until 1955, on the eve of the Bandung Conference, did Israel go into high gear in establishing relations with Cambodia and Laos. Relations with Vietnam were problematic from the start, because of the de facto division of Vietnam into two separate states.

Israel had probably already missed a chance in February 1950, when France invited Western states, including Israel, to recognize Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.<sup>17</sup>

Some de facto relations were established with the Republic of (South) Vietnam (Saigon), but the question of recognition had also become a "hot" issue in internal politics in Israel. Finally, as a result of U.S. pressure, in

relations with four: Burma, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.<sup>3</sup>

After the establishment of Israel in 1948, a fledgling Asian division was set up in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Although it could count on one or two knowledgeable middle-echelon officials, the small division was unable to cope with the many short- and long-term Asian problems which emerged during the first ten years.<sup>4</sup> Fortunately, Israel was able to count upon the Israel Labor Movement (Histadrut-General Confederation of Labor) and its Political Department (under the leadership of Reuben Barkatt) to fill the gap during this period.

From its early days Israel anticipated a close and friendly relationship with the countries of the Third World, and hoped for relations with the Asian giants, India and the People's Republic of China, but Israel had never worked out a well-defined long-term policy toward Southeast Asia. In practice, Israel closely followed the policy of the United States.<sup>5</sup>

Relations with four out of the ten Southeast countries (Burma, Thailand, Singapore and the Philippines) were established quite early and continued without interruption. The three Muslim states — Indonesia, Malaysia and Brunei — never recognized Israel. Relations with Cambodia lasted twenty years (1955-1975) and were at times rather close but also sometimes problematic. Relations, or rather non-relations, with divided Vietnam were a story of hesitation and missed chances. Israel's relations with Laos (1955-1976) were friendly almost to the end.

The narrow scope of this article does not permit a detailed review of Israel's relations with each of the ten Southeast Asian states. It will therefore restrict itself to a short general description of Israel's relations with the less "problematic" countries such as Thailand, Singapore, The Philippines and Laos, and treat in some detail Israel's changing relations with countries like Burma, Cambodia and Vietnam.

#### **Israel's Relations with Individual Countries of Southeast Asia**

**Thailand.** Though Thai-Israeli relations were formally established in 1953,

and Israel was represented from the beginning by an honorary consul general and later by a non-resident ambassador, political and economic relations developed slowly. Some technical assistance was granted and dozens of Thai trainees participated in courses in Israel.<sup>6</sup> The Yom Kippur War, the oil crisis of 1973-1974, and Thai oil-import dependence on OAPEC (Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries) shifted Thai foreign policy to a more pro-Arab position, especially at the U.N.<sup>7</sup> Later, with the reopening of the Suez Canal and direct shipping from the Israeli Red Sea port of Eilat to the Far East, economic relations improved. Today there is reason to assume that direct air-connections by the respective national airlines will be established, as well as perhaps a Thai trade representation in Israel, in addition to a non-resident Thai ambassador to Israel in Rome. More and more Israelis visit Thailand, and Israel has reason for looking forward to a steady improvement of relations with Thailand.

**The Philippines.** Manila's representatives at the U.N. General Assembly voted in 1947 for the establishment of a Jewish state. The Philippine government recognized Israel as early as April 1, 1949.

Since 1952, even before the establishment of full diplomatic ties, Israel was represented in the Philippines first by an honorary consul, and later by an honorary consul general. The first non-resident Israeli minister presented his letters of credence on May 13, 1957, the first resident minister (Y. Ilisar) on June 23, 1960.

Hundreds of Philippine women have found work in Israel, most as nurses and domestic workers, some as trainees. No major crises in relations have occurred. This is attributable to several factors: The Philippines are an island state, at a certain remove from events on the mainland; the American influence continues in Philippine affairs; and, a serious threat is posed by a Libya-supported uprising in the most southern island populated by militant Muslims.

**Singapore** established full diplomatic relations with Israel in 1965 after seceding from Malaysia (with which Israel had no official relations)<sup>8</sup> and

Israel opened a trade office in Singapore on October 10, 1968. A short while later, Hagay Dikan, Israel's first trade representative, was nominated ambassador, presenting his letter of credence on July 23, 1969. Close relations developed between the mostly Chinese-populated city-state and Israel. Israeli ships plied the seas regularly between the Red Sea port of Eilat and Singapore. Israel understood the delicate position of Singapore during the oil crises. As a result of Singapore leader Kuan Yew's personal interest in close cooperation with Israel in various sensitive fields, a quite important Israeli presence developed in Singapore. In April 1986, Singapore's president visited Israel, and in November of the same year President Herzog paid an official visit to Singapore.

**Laos** maintained friendly relations with Israel from 1955 to 1976 in contrast to the two other Indochina states, Vietnam and Cambodia, perhaps because the civil war in Laos was different from that in Cambodia. The tactics and leadership of the Pathet Lao were different from those of the violent Khmer Rouge. The Lao Prime Minister, Prince Souvanna Phouma, showed much personal sympathy for Israel, quite different from his Cambodian counterpart Prince Sihanouk.<sup>9</sup> As is often the case with technical assistance granted to isolated and small countries, the impact in Laos of a few well-chosen Israel-managed projects, mainly in agriculture, like the Hot Dok Keo experimental agricultural station, helped maintain friendly relations between the two countries. Full diplomatic relations were established in 1955, with a non-resident Israel Ambassador, and lasted until February 1976.<sup>10</sup> Israeli ambassadors for some time also maintained relatively normal relations with the Communist Pathet Lao ministers. At that time this was the only Communist state with which Israel had relations, except for Romania. Israeli diplomats conducted meetings and frank discussions with some Pathet Lao leaders, especially with the Foreign Minister, Phoumi Vongvichit.

Israel's participation in an important U.N.-sponsored project in Southeast Asia should be mentioned. In 1957

## **CHRONICLES OF A JEWISH TRAVELLER TO ASIA**

*By Charlotte S. Schwartz*

The ad was intriguing. "Pepper, Silk, and Ivory," an invitation to explore the Jewish connection in Japan and China with Rabbi Marvin Tokayer. I decided to do just that during the summer of 1989. But the events in China during the spring of that year, culminating in the crushing of the student rebellion in Beijing and the imposition of martial law made travel to that country untenable.

When martial law in China was lifted in the spring of 1990, the Rabbi resumed his annual trip, and I was fortunate to be able to travel with this group too.

Herewith are this traveller's impressions while seeking the Jewish connection in Asia.

Our first destination each year was Japan; and while I knew that there was a small Jewish community of mostly ex-patriates, I was surprised to learn not only of the interest of many Japanese in Jewish culture, history, and religion, but of the almost mystical similarities of practice in the Shinto and Jewish observances.

In Kyoto, a lovely city, once the ancient capital of Japan, we visited a calligrapher, Kampo Harada, who considers himself descended from Jews. He is a gentleman in his 80's who evokes a memory of another era with his long sparse beard and traditional Japanese gown. After demonstrating his art, he invited us into a room which holds the largest collection of Jewish interest books in Asia. It even had a Holy Ark complete with Torah Scroll. This library is available for use by students and scholars.

On the previous day, we had stopped at the Well of Israel, an ancient well whose history is clouded. From inscriptions on the stone and on the houses that had surrounded it, it has been theorized that the Japanese just might be the remnants of the ten lost tribes of Israel, thereby bolstering the "theory of common origin." It might even explain why some Shinto symbols and practices echo those of Jews.

Still in Kyoto, we were guests of

Beit Shalom, a Christian sect whose members study Hebrew and Bible and who are passionately pro-Israel. This was forcefully articulated by its founder, Rev. Takeshi Otsuki, in sermons on both occasions that I visited. This group has also built a guest house which is open to any Israeli or other Jewish visitor to Japan so that they may feel "at home". But the most impressive and surprising feature of this group is its choir which sings Israeli songs and liturgical selections in perfect Hebrew with such feeling that one cannot fail to be moved by their spirit.

Before leaving Kyoto, we met with Kazuo Ueda, a professor from Kochi University who is, of all things, pursuing the study of Yiddish. It was fascinating to hear about the Jewish connection in a place like Kochi, a remote part of Japan.

We arrived in Tokyo in time to prepare for Shabbat. We were warmly welcomed on both Friday evening and Saturday morning by the members of the Jewish community, both at services at the synagogue and at the collations they prepared afterwards.

Still in Tokyo, we visited another Christian sect, Makuya, who are also passionately pro-Israel and emphasize the study of Hebrew, Bible, and Jewish history. As we walked into the large meeting room there were about 300 people, singing and clapping to the accompaniment of what sounded like Chasidic Klezmer music. There at the front of the room was Giora Feidman, the premier Klezmer artist, performing with a zeal that matched that of his audience. On my second visit to Makuya this year, they were sadder but equally passionate in recalling their friendship with Rabbi Wolfe Kelman who had died that week. Their musical tribute to Rabbi Kelman, whom they had known not only in Japan but on their journeys to Israel, was touching.

Before leaving Japan, we stopped at the Jewish cemetery in Yokohama. Reading the tombstones, one gleans the history of the Jewish community in modern Japan.

In the tour of 1989, after we left Japan, we travelled to Bangkok, Singapore, Taipei and Hong Kong, still seeking the Jewish connection. We

certainly found it in Singapore. We were there for Shabbat, and, as in Tokyo, we were greeted and treated with hospitality by the resident Jewish community. Many are natives of Singapore, descended from Jews who arrived in Victorian times and who built the lovely synagogue. There is a rich Jewish history here, borne out by a visit to the Jewish cemetery. This was an unexpected link in the Jewish connection.

In Hong Kong, the traveller is immediately reminded of the Jewish connection - the main commercial thoroughfare, Nathan Road, is named for Governor Matthew Nathan, who was a prominent member of the Jewish community.

The center of Jewish life in this well-established Jewish community is the impressive Ohel Leah Synagogue. It was built at the turn of the century by the Sassoon family and is beautifully maintained by the community. We attended Shabbat services both Friday evening and Saturday morning. At the collations after services, we had an opportunity to talk with members of the congregation. Some of the oldest told touching stories about the wartime period when Hong Kong was ruled by the Japanese. One was impressed by their courage.

One of these older men, who lives in Hong Kong now but is a native of Shanghai and spent the war years there, met us one day and led us to the Jewish Cemetery. As in Yokohama and Singapore, the gravestones in the cemetery recalled the history of the Jewish community. Many graves date back to the nineteenth century, revealing familiar names in the Far East - Kadoorie, Sassoon, Haroon. The graves of the less well-known also contributed to an understanding of the history of the Jews in Asia by reading the sometimes lengthy inscriptions on the stones.

Shanghai is a city filled with many Jewish connections. We learned that during the war there were about 18,000 Jews in this largest city in China. The very hotel we stayed in, the Peace Hotel, formerly the Cathay Hotel, had been built by Sassoon and had served as his headquarters. Even the Friend-

ship Store around the corner is on the site of the old Sephardic synagogue.

Our tour through Shanghai, led partly by Mr. Wang, who still lives in Hongkew, which was the Jewish ghetto, included such sites as the Ohel Moshe Synagogue, now a psychiatric hospital; the Kadoorie School; the Kadoorie home, now the Children's Palace; the new Synagogue, significant because its windows are in the pattern of a menorah; and the Ohel Rachel Synagogue, built by Sassoon as a twin to the Ohel Leah in Hong Kong. It now houses the Shanghai Youth Commission. Other points of interest included the site of the Mir Yeshivah, the former Jewish Hospital, the Jewish Club, the Shanghai Jewish School, and the homes of Kadoorie, Sassoon, and Hardoon, whose families are inextricably intertwined with the history of Shanghai.

One of the highlights of our visit to Shanghai was a meeting held at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences with members of the Shanghai Judaic Institute. In addresses by both Rabbi Tokayer, a founding member of the Institute, and by Professor Jin Yang Zhong, it was explained that this group of scholars does research on Jewish history, philosophy, education, language, and religion, with particular emphasis on Chinese Jews and even more particularly on those Jews who lived in Shanghai. Their aim is to promote understanding and friendship between the Chinese and the Jewish peoples. An exchange of papers between Rabbi Tokayer and Professor Zhong epitomized the accomplishment of that aim. This is truly a Jewish connection.

We were in Beijing for Shabbat, and while Tiannenman Square, the Forbidden City, Mao's Tomb, and even the Great Wall were impressive - even mind-boggling - none was so exquisitely touching as hearing our group welcome the Sabbath in song, followed by a rendition of the traditional blessings over wine and bread, in a lovely private dining room in our Beijing hotel.

In Beijing we met with Israel Epstein, the journalist, historian, and author, who gave us his views on the

political situation in China, then and now, and graciously answered questions. We also met with Professor Li Teng Zhi, a member of the Beijing Academy of Social Sciences, and a scholar interested in Chinese/minority relations which includes Jews. His lecture stimulated an interesting discussion and gave us an opportunity to explore the China/Israel connection.

The biggest surprise in Beijing was our meeting with Professor Zhao, who is from a Kaifeng family who are descendants of Jews who lived in that historic Jewish community. He described customs which are followed by his family that surely have their roots in Jewish tradition.

Our attempts to travel to Kaifeng to explore more deeply this Jewish connection, and even to meet with members of Professor Zhao's family were thwarted by the weather and the vagaries of the Chinese airlines. We were sad and frustrated not to have visited this important Chinese/Jewish link.

Our trip to the Chinese mainland ended at Guanzhou (Canton), where at a stop at the Sun Yat Sen memorial, Rabbi Tokayer told the story of Two-Gun Morris Cohen, Sun Yat Sen's Jewish bodyguard, advisor, and confidante.

It was a fitting conclusion to a journey that sought the Jewish connection in Asia because the relationship between Sun Yat Sen, the founder of democracy in China, and Two-Gun Cohen was the epitome of an ideal Chinese/Jewish relationship. The friendship and abiding trust between them serves as a model for developing a link between these two ancient peoples. The connection is there!

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## PROFESSOR GONG FANG ZHEN

*By Leo Gabow*

I have recently received several letters from Professor Gong Fang Zhen of the Institute of Religions, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Shanghai, China, in which he provided information that our readers may find of interest.

Professor Gong's areas of study are " . . . mainly on Ancient Religions; Ancient Languages of Central Asia; the Science of Religion; and Historical Relations between China and Foreign Countries." Professor Gong's expertise, however, is " . . . not limited to Judaism or the Chinese Jews." In his letter of July 21, 1990, Professor Gong lists some of his own writings on the subject of Judaism. They are as follows:

- 1) THE JEWISH MERCHANTS ON THE SILK ROAD, Journal of Research in N.W., National Minorities, 1989.
- 2) THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE JEWS, Journal of Contemporary Religious Studies Review, 1990.
- 3) I-SSU-LO-YEH RELIGION, Encyclopedia of Sinica, Vol. Religion, 1988.
- 4) COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ZOROASTRIAN, JUDAICA AND CHRISTIANITY, A Symposium. Researchers on Religious Problems, 1987.

In reference to item 1, THE JEWISH MERCHANTS ON THE SILK ROAD, Professor Gong writes that the earliest Chinese name given to the Jews was ZIAK XUAT. "This name appeared in a Chinese Nestorian Scroll of the 7th century (Tang Dynasty)." Professor Gong further states that " . . . the Nestorian Scroll was partly translated from Matthew." This source does not appear, writes Gong, in the Loewenthal Bibliographies.

Many of us were reasonably certain that the earliest references to Jews in China, were made by Ibn Khordadbeh; a Baghdad Postmaster, who wrote in the 9th century about Jewish merchants (Radanites), who traveled to China by land and sea, and Abu Zaid, a Muslim writer who described the slaughter of "120,000 Muslims, Jews, Christians and Magians" in Canton during the Tang Dynasty in the 9th century. While very slender clues placed Jews in China as merchants during earlier periods, nothing of a substantive nature presented itself to warrant a conclusion pointing to an earlier presence of a Jewish settlement in China. Professor Gong has now supplied a clue that may point to an earlier Jewish presence in China, though we point out in haste that the

one on every balcony. Well, I thought, can there be something like that? The next day I went there, but being quite doubtful, I did not look into it very carefully. The first house on the street had some decorative patterns that could have looked "somehow" like stars. She was mistaken, I thought, and left. But later, other people told me the same story, so on my last trip I went there again and after a one minute walk, I found that long building with many balconies and big Stars of David on every balcony. The building seems to have been erected around 1910-1915, there are many apartments, and it does not look like the place where people from far-away places would have chosen as their residence. I do not have the remotest idea of what it all means.

I know of other people who have seen Stars of David in Shanghai, one, for example, in a warehouse. It seems that for someone like myself who is looking for such things, that it is more difficult to find them.

The second small mystery is a house that I found described in a book as having been "built with Jewish architecture." I asked myself what that meant. When I arrived there, I was stopped by an old man who looked half-Caucasian and who told me in perfect English, "This is the house where once Jews used to live," and then he disappeared. The building had until recently been used by the People's Liberation Army and now is occupied by the offices of a company and by an apartment. When I went in, the people who lived there were more than nice, and they seemed quite proud to see someone who came from so far away and was so interested in their new home. They confirmed that before Liberation in 1949, Jews had lived there, but they could not add any further information. The architecture of the house is very interesting, especially the internal part. It seems to be a typical house of the Middle East. There is also a beautiful blue bathroom, that has for certain to be dated back before 1949. The interior is also slated to be restored, and I hope that the original structure will be kept.

Last, but not least, there is the Sassoon (sic) Restaurant, on Najing

Xi Lu. The name reminds one of the Sassoon dynasty. The address was given to me by Mrs. Phyllis Horal, another member of the Sino-Judaic Institute. I have made some enquiries, and an old Shanghai person told me that it was once the home of one of Hardoon's adoptive sons. I do not know if it is true, but it is certainly a good place where to start a conversation on the history of the Shanghai Jews, and with a little bit of imagination, to go back to the old, so-called Paris of the Orient.

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## RELIGIOUS PROSYLETIZATION IN CHINA

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(c) " . . . . religious circles are not allowed to interfere in state administration, the judiciary, school education, or social education . . . no foreign power or influence is allowed to dominate China's religious bodies or religious affairs." (p. 21)

(d) " . . . no religious organizations or believers should preach a sermon, do missionary work, or propagate theism beyond the places of worship, nor release religious tracts, or religious books not approved by the departments concerned." (p. 22)

(e) "China's religious circles now have more and more international exchanges with their counterparts. These exchanges will, no doubt, strengthen mutual understanding and friendship and help to maintain world peace." (p. 19)

Points "a" and "b" above show CCP attitude, while points "c", "d" and "e" state official policy.

This substantiates the "correctness" of SJI's policy of promoting "academic exchanges" and historical research, while opposing prosylectizing activities in China. Any "Jewish agenda" re China must be in accord with a rational assessment of circumstantial realities.

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## ISRAEL'S RELATIONS WITH SOUTHEAST ASIA

*By Shimon Avimor*

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When one thinks of Asia in general terms, the countries which come to mind almost automatically are the giant or overpopulated states like China, India and Japan. The relatively small countries of Southeast Asia, such as Thailand, Vietnam and Burma, do not fit into this preconception.

Why has there been — at least until the middle of this century — relatively weak political interest in and research on this region of 363 million inhabitants on 4,280 million square kilometers? Perhaps a good answer to that question has been given by Francis J. Galbraith: " . . . Americans, whether in government or not, are inclined to assign a low priority, to neglect, to exaggerate faults and downgrade Southeast Asia . . . as of marginal interest." <sup>1</sup> But besides this, there are two deeper reasons: (1) The relative "balkanization" of the region; and (2) the colonial past of nine of the ten Southeast Asian nations. Even the tenth, Thailand, the "Land of the Free," so proud of its unbroken independence, was virtually a British protectorate during its modern history.

When the United Nations General Assembly voted, on Nov. 29, 1947, to establish separate Jewish and Arab states in Palestine, the Philippines — the only Southeast Asian country which was a member of the U.N. — voted in favor.

The process of establishing diplomatic relations between the new Jewish state and the countries of Asia was slow. Attempts to forge diplomatic links with the two giants, China and India, were especially problematic and not very successful. <sup>2</sup> In contrast, diplomatic relations with Japan were established as early as 1952. From the 1950s until 1975, Israel succeeded in establishing and maintaining full diplomatic relations with no more than seven of the ten states of Southeast Asia, excluding only Indonesia, Malaysia and Brunei. Today, Israel continues to maintain normal diplomatic



nature of this presence is totally unknown. We would be extremely appreciative if Professor Gong could supply us with further information on this Nestorian Scroll.

As our readers maybe aware, our member in Australia, Professor Donald Daniel Leslie is completing a book on the relations between China and the Roman Empire. Professor Gong writes, "I have studied the ancient relations between the Chinese and Romans, Byzantine Empire. Professor D. Leslie's new book must be a very useful book."

In another letter to this writer, Professor Gong writes of other articles on Judaism and/or the Kaifeng Jews, appearing in various Chinese journals. In one journal entitled, MATERIALS OF WORLD RELIGIONS, 1986, the author, Kong Xian Yi, writes that Shi Jing Xun, (1874-1919), was, according to Professor Gong, "... the earliest Chinese scholar who investigated Kaifeng Judaism. (Western scholars have not noted this reference.) Mr. Kong quotes from local Kaifeng papers regarding the stelae and the transfer of the Synagogue site to Bishop William White:

"Now Chao clan and Ai clan privately sell the Synagogue old site and two steae to a Westerner (Prof. Gong says, 'I am sure he was White'). They got one thousand more dollars. This Westerner takes two stelae out of the city (Kaifeng) by the Kaifeng-Loyang train."

"Bishop White of the Anglican Church of Canada pay six hundred more dollars to buy the Synagogue old site in order to erect a hospital . . . we must notice carefully." MARCH 6, 1913.

"It was confirmed that Chao Yun Chung not only sold stelae, but also offered the Synagogue site as a mortgage to borrow the money from Bishop White. They signed a contract, White gave 1,300 silver dollars. This money was divided among Chao, Kao, Ai, Li, Shih, Chin, six clans." MARCH 17, 1913.

Prof. Gong then writes: "This news aroused overwhelming protest. At last, White consulted with the local authorities, both agreed that two stelae be placed in the Anglican Church and must not be taken out from this city. As we know, the hospital was not

erected. Chao Yun-chung was certainly arrested."

Prof. Gong continues, "From these statements we can learn that Bishop White's original idea was to buy two stelae and take them out of this city (Kaifeng), perhaps to convey abroad."

I have written to Prof. Gong for the names of the newspapers in which the quotes above appeared. I have also asked him, if possible, to send me copies of the original quotes in Chinese.

The above remarks are of interest to this writer, for he has been attempting to secure information on the sale of the Synagogue site to Bishop White. The background to this matter is as follows:

In part 3, page 155 of Bishop William White's book CHINESE JEWS, he wrote of the sale of the site of the Kaifeng Synagogue to his Mission. His exact words are: "The new deed conveying the land to the Mission contains the names of the head of each of the (Jewish) clans."

Bishop White also discusses the transfer of the site of the Synagogue to the Mission in his article in the CHURCH MISSIONARY REVIEW of June 1921. He wrote that "early in 1914" the transfer was "readily effected."

For some years this writer has been attempting to secure a copy of the deed of transfer but has been unsuccessful. The Anglican Church of Canada has no copy of the deed of transfer, and no relevant organizations can supply information on the matter. There have been suggestions, however, that there were irregularities in the sale, which at that time may have been illegal.

Finally Kong Xian Yi writes that there was a restaurant called TIE XIE LOU in Kaifeng during the Sung Dynasty. He identified TIE XIE LOU with the word ISRAEL, and advanced the notion that the restaurant provided prostitutes to its patrons. But Professor Gong vigorously disagrees and believes that TIE XIE has been translated from the Persian TARSA or TARSAK, and should properly be translated as CHRISTIAN. Professor Gong concludes in his letter that it is

"ridiculous" to imagine a Jewish restaurant involved with prostitutes.

## SOME SHANGHAI JEWISH SITES

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an article, but no one seemed to know what I was speaking about and, naturally, that made the matter even more interesting. But by now I have put together enough material at least to place it historically, to give the right name to the synagogue, and so on. I have especially to thank Michael Pollak who sent me an interesting description of the interior written in 1888. As for its location on Fuzhou Lu, I cannot know for certain. I have the address of 1887, the number of the building, but probably the architectural structure of the street has changed during this century, so I have not been able to locate it exactly.

On August 2, 1887, there was a special general meeting of the subscribers to the new synagogue, and the following people were present: Lewis Moore, E.E. Sassoon, A.E.J. Abraham, S. Joseph, S.A. Hardoon, E.A. Hardoon, J. Moosa, S.S. Joseph, S.J. Solomon, E.M. Ezra, S.A. Levy, A.J. Rahamim, D.M. Moses, D.H. Silas, and E.J. Moses. The name chosen was Beth El, and it was located at number 24, Foochow Road, as it was then called. My personal feeling is that it could have been in the same building as the firm Moses and Elias and that of R.J. Solomon. The President was L. Moore, the Vice-presidents R.A. Gubbay and S.A. Nathan, the Honorary Treasurer was M.M. Moses, and M.A. Sopher was the Honorary Secretary. The following is a vivid description that dates back to 1888:

"The synagogue is a room about thirty or forty feet square, taking up the entire upper floor of the building. It is plainly, yet neatly furnished, with a portion in which the women sit railed off from the rest, in true orthodox fashion, for the Jewish community of Shanghai is too limited in number to indulge in the luxury of dividing itself into sects. Unless my memory is at

fault, the society numbers between thirty and forty members in all, and, according to the statement of my informant, would long since have ceased to exist if it were not for the liberality of the Sassoon family."

According to a report written in Germany in 1895, it is stated that the prayer books came from Bombay and some had an Arabic translation in them too. Further, it is said that Rabbi Jacob B. Abraham d Sudea (sic) a Scholar from Baghdad, was in Shanghai at that time.

In view of these materials, it is clear that the original location of Beth El Synagogue was not Peking Road, as it is often said, but instead Fuzhou Lu (Foochow Road) where it was established in 1887. In the year 1887, many Jewish firms were already operating in Shanghai. For example, there was A.E.J. Abraham at 59 Rue de Consulat, L. Moore & Co. at 11 Canton Road (now Guangzhou Lu), J. David & Co. at 16 Szechuan Road (now Sichuan Lu), L.S. Raphael at 5 Hankow Road (now Hankou Lu), Isaac Ezra & Co. at 18 Kiukiang Road (now Jiujiang Lu), B.D. Benjamin at 15 Kiukiang Road, D.H. Silas at 4 Peking Road (now Beijing Lu), R.J. Solomon at 22 Foochow Road (now Fuzhou Lu), Moses & Elias at the same number, R. E. Toeg at the Sassoon's buildings, and so forth. E.D. Sassoon & Co. and David Sassoon, Sons & Co. both had their offices along the Bund and had already achieved a leading position in Shanghai's business world.

In the following years the community grew and new institutions were established. At the beginning of the century a new wave of immigration reached Shanghai. It was mainly formed of Russian Ashkenazi Jews of a much lower social class than the Sephardis, and their arrival brought about the establishment of an Ashkenazi congregation and the Ohel Moishe Synagogue in 1907. But rather than following up the theme of the location of synagogues, I want to turn to another site.

This is not an important one but I would say it is a quite interesting one, especially if one is spending some time in Shanghai. While I was in Taipei

this last summer I found an article of 1919 concerning a Mr. A. Cohen of Shanghai who owned the largest number of rickshaws in the Far East and who had built a large garage called the Star Garage which had an interesting architecture. This last July, while I was riding in a car along Nanjing Xi Lu, I saw the building just as it was seventy years ago. I very abruptly ordered the taxi driver to stop immediately and began taking pictures with the enthusiasm of someone who has just discovered something like the Sistine Chapel. My taxi driver looked at me quite astonished to see a foreigner with such a zeal in taking pictures of a shoe shop!! Mr. A. Cohen, whom I suppose was Russian, had arrived in Shanghai in 1908 with very limited capital. He invested his money in the rickshaw business and after a few years possessed 2000 rickshaws. In 1914 he decided to go into the motor industry and was very successful. Between 1914-1916 he erected the Star Garage, which as I have said can still be seen on Nanjing Xi Lu. I have forgotten to note the number of the building, but it is very easy to find. Coming from Nanjing Dong Lu, it is the building just before the Old American Club (now also used as a club), and it now houses a fancy shoe store. The first and second floors are worth a visit. Everything is just as it was seventy years ago, and it is very easy to imagine Mr. A. Cohen, with his steady look and long mustaches, directing his business from there. The internal part will be "restored," or as I would say, rebuilt very soon.

Now I would like to speak about another site that has been puzzling me for a few months; that is, the first Jewish Club of Shanghai. It was to have opened at the end of 1919 or the beginning of 1920, but a fire broke out, and it is said that as the water extinguished the flames, it also quenched the enthusiasm of the supporters of the project. That left Lord Elly Kadoorie, who was the most important sponsor, use of the partly destroyed building for other purposes. It was to have had a library, a reading room fifty feet by forty feet, an auditorium for lectures, dancing and other purposes, eighty by eighty-five feet, a place to play cricket, tennis courts and other

games. I had been trying to find the place, but without success, when I came to a house that externally looks like many others built during the colonial period. As I entered the courtyard I noticed an interesting balcony, and when I went up to it my eyes caught sight of an old metallic door with two Stars of David on the lowest part. The people who lived there did not seem to enjoy my presence as much as I enjoyed the Stars, and they did not welcome me. In fact, they treated me very badly. But after a while I was offered a big piece of watermelon and was gently given permission to take pictures of the Stars of David. I still have doubts whether this is for certain the site of the building that was to have been the first Jewish Club, doubts that can be solved quite easily if given the time.

I have not had enough time to do further research on the Jewish clubs of Shanghai. I can just give my personal impression. I do not think that the present Conservatory of Shanghai, sometimes indicated as the Jewish Club, can be really considered as the Jewish Club. It was probably used as one of the Jewish clubs during the thirties. But my research goes only until 1932, so I am not going to discuss this period. Before 1930 I do not think that anything like an elegant Anglo-Saxon type of club existed. The only attempt to have been made, as we have seen, was not successful. The Jewish Recreational Club, founded in 1912, was dedicated to sports activities. But in an unpublished manuscript by Manfred Rosenfeld, it is referred to as the Jewish Club, not the Jewish Recreational Club. I have the feeling that perhaps there is a little bit of confusion in this particular matter, and some order should be brought to the subject. But this is just a very personal opinion and I would really be interested to hear of other people's ideas. I think I should finish with two small mysteries and, being Italian, a place to go to eat.

The first mystery, at least for me, is a house near the center of Shanghai. One evening last February, while I was in Shanghai for a short visit, an Italian friend told me that while riding her bicycle in downtown Shanghai, she had seen a long building with many balconies and big Stars of David,