

investing in the mining of known gold deposits in North Korea.

At some point in the ensuing discussions, it was suggested that Israel be brought into the picture.

Reportedly at China's urging, North Korea agreed — even though gold mining is not exactly high on the roster of Israeli expertise. In October 1992, an Israeli delegation headed by Eitan Bentsur, deputy director-general of the Foreign Ministry, made a highly secret visit to Pyongyang — so secret that many senior officials in

the ministry were unaware of it. The delegation included Israeli geologists, but it was plain the North Koreans had more on their minds than gold. So did the Israelis.

North Korea, which has a well-developed arms industry, produces Scuds which it has sold to Syria. It was known to be developing a long-range missile, the Lodung-1. Iran had placed an order for the new missiles whose 1,000-km. range would permit them to strike anywhere in Israel.

Bentsur pressed for cancellation of that deal and a pledge by North Koreans suggested it would take something like \$1 billion in investments, in the gold mines and other projects, to compensate them for the loss of revenue from missile sales.

Last June's agreement by Pyongyang to suspend its pullout from the Nuclear Treaty led Washington to drop its objections to Israel pursuing its contacts with North Korea.

Join The Sino-Judaic Institute

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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— TWO AMERICANS IN CHINA —

SIDNEY RITTENBERG: THE MAN WHO STAYED BEHIND

by Nick Gallo, Seattle-based Freelance Writer
reprinted from Eastsideweek, December 2, 1992

"I wanted to start off the book: 'My life has been extremely happy and interesting,'" says Sidney Rittenberg, handing me the manuscript of The Man Who Stayed Behind, published by Simon and Schuster 1993, 476 pp. \$25. Co-written by Wall Street Journal reporter Amanda Bennett, it is an account of Rittenberg's 35 years in China, where he first traveled in 1945 and lived most of his adult life.

As we walk to the door, he stops at a family picture in the foyer. It's a nice shot of Rittenberg, 71, his four adult children, and his wife embracing in front of poplar trees.

The optimistic words are what you might expect from an old man with a nice Jewish face, someone who appears to have his health, his marbles, a loving family, and the trappings of the good life. He lives in a large, beautifully landscaped home in a Woodinville cul-de-sac, with a BMW in the garage, and plenty of electronic gear around.

The next time I visit Sidney Rittenberg I have finished his story and this time it is I who stop at the photo on the wall. I stare at Yulin, his Chinese wife, who was humiliated, beaten, forced to wear a placard: "This is the unrepentant wife of the dog of an imperialist spy," then exiled to three years in a labor camp.

I look closely at the children, who were ostracized and branded as "little American spies" and stoned by other kids.

Then Rittenberg himself draws up close to me, his face absent of bitterness and rancor. It is he who paid the heaviest price of all: 16 years of solitary confinement in China's prisons.

Few people survive 16 years in a cell in China let alone emerge with their humanity intact, but Rittenberg is a remarkable man with an extraordinary story.

The only American citizen ever to join the Chinese Communist Party, he roamed the mountains of revolutionary China with Mao Tse-tung and Zhou Enlai, then rose to a top leadership position at Radio Peking before being swallowed up by the Cultural Revolution.

Imprisoned twice, the last time at Qin Cheng, China's prison for top-ranking political prisoners, he returned to the U.S. in 1980 and now has finished composing his story, a gripping account that combines a devastating indictment of Chinese communism with an enormous love and affection for China itself.

Born in 1921 in Charleston, South Carolina, Rittenberg grew up the only son in a prominent Jewish family. His grandfather was a state legislator. His father was president of the Charleston City Council.

Rittenberg was a bright, rebellious youth, who attended the University of North Carolina. It was there he joined a leftist-oriented student group and began labor organizing and civil-rights activism.

Remembered by a friend from those days as a "skinny little kid with thick glasses being followed around by 200-pound miners," Rittenberg organized coal miners, steel workers, and cotton-mill workers. He joined the American Communist Party at age 18.

His unusual social conscience was fueled by college studies in political philosophy, but also had antecedents in a personal event. (continued on page 5)

SIDNEY SHAPIRO: FOR THE SAKE OF THE REVOLUTION

by Lindsey Shanson,
reprinted from The Jerusalem Report,
February 25, 1993

From his two-room back-alley residence in Beijing's West City, Sidney Shapiro looks back, with considerable pride and not a scintilla of regret, on how he renounced his U.S. citizenship and began his ascent through the ranks of the Chinese hierarchy. Today, after 40 years of championing the Great Leap Forward and the metamorphosis of China, the New York-born Jew is in semi-retirement but still a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council, the only foreigner ever to achieve such eminence.

Born in 1915, Shapiro qualified as a lawyer, entered the American army, and applied for the French-language program. Typically, they sent him to learn Chinese instead, then on to a signals intelligence unit which broke Japanese codes.

After World War II he practiced law in New York. But a seed of radicalism planted by the 1929 crash, which wiped out his family's fortune and claimed his bar mitzvah money too, took root. "That is what soured me on capitalism and opened me to socialism," he says. "So I got on a freighter in 1947 and came to China," out of sympathy for Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary movement.

In Shanghai under the Nationalist regime of Chiang Kaishek, whose policies he despised, Shapiro practiced law. He soon met and married Phoenix, a left-wing Chinese activist.

By 1948, the Nationalist hold on mainland China was crumbling.

(continued on page 10)

From the editor:

This issue features several interesting articles: another pioneering work comparing the Chinese and Jewish historical experiences, this one by Prof. Yee; a recapitulation of the Rites Controversy, by Leo Gabow; a portion of Ben Levaco's memoirs; and the usual cornucopia of Sino-Judaic curiosities.

But if this issue has a focus (which it does, is never planned), I would say it would be on famous Western Jews in China. We have stories on the two Sidneys (Rittenberg and Shapiro), a book review of a biography of Trebitsch Lincoln, and an appreciation of Lord Kadoorie, who died just this summer. All we need for a full set would be something on Israel Epstein and Borodin—unless there are other Jews about whom I am ignorant. (If so, please advise.)

Perhaps someday someone will do a book on these Jews, tracing their lives, comparing their backgrounds, evaluating their contributions to China, and so on. If someone picks up on this suggestions, a preliminary report in Points East would be appreciated.

Anson Laytner

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IN THE FIELD**• MIKE POLLAK UPDATE**

As some of you must know by now, Mike has been having a rough time. He had open heart surgery not long ago and seemed to be making an uneventful recovery when he suffered a setback a few weeks ago. Luckily he received emergency treatment in time, has now had new gadgetry added to monitor the heart, and he assures us that he is again on the mend. He is proofing the last stages of his Sino-Judaic bibliography and that important work will soon be printed. Again, it will be a joint production of the Institute and the Hebrew Union College.

• NEW MEMBER RENE GOLDMAN

One of the very enthusiastic new members of the SJI is Rene Goldman, who teaches Chinese at the University of British Columbia. He is working on a couple of articles dealing with comparisons between Jewish and Chinese philosophers (one on Zhu Xi and Maimonides, the other on the chun-tzu and the zaddick) and it may be that he will submit a ms to us for the Sino-Judaica. Goldman visited Kaifeng in 1957, which is a great deal earlier than most visitors with whom we have had contact.

• PROF. ANDY PLAKS VISITS KAIFENG

SJI Board Member Prof. Andy Plaks recently visited Kaifeng and has much to report on developments there. He reports that everything now seems possible, and it is only a question of money. We hope to publish a report on his visit in a future issue of Points East.

• PLANS FOR A NEW FILM ON SHANGHAI

We have received an announcement from the Shanghai Science and Education Film Studio that they wish to produce a 30 minute documentary on Jewish life in Shanghai in various historic periods since the opening of Shanghai as a city, that is, since

1840. The proposed title is "An Unforgettable Orient City — A Record of Jews in Shanghai." An accompanying letter welcomes financial and other support and facilitative assistance. Al Dien responded by sending a copy of the three page announcement with suggested improvements of the English, especially of the title, and expressing our interest in being kept informed of their progress. In this context, Sheila Kagan, of New York, has written of her plan to do a screenplay about Russian Jews who found refuge in Shanghai during the time of the Russian Revolution. She asks for names of people whom she might contact who would have stories and information on this topic. We sent her the names of Ben Levaco and Leo Hanin.

• BEN LEVACO AND THE HOOVER INSTITUTION ARCHIVES

As reported in a previous issue of Points East, we have established an archive on the history of Jews in China in the Hoover Institution. The first deposit was a copy of the ledger kept by the Polish consulate for Polish citizens arriving in China during the 30s and 40s. More recently, Ben Levaco, a former resident of Harbin, Tienjin and Shanghai, and now in his 80s, came up from southern California where he is living and gave a lecture co-sponsored by the Jewish Community Center and the SJI. At the same time, Ben presented a box full of his papers, photos, records, etc. to the Hoover archives. We hope that this will be the first of a flow of material. During his visit, we toured the Hoover facility and were very impressed with the professionalism of the enterprise. At the same meeting at the JCC, Ben's nephew, Ron Levaco, a professor of film at the University of California, San Francisco, gave a first-rate talk and showed a preliminary clip of a film he is currently making for distribution on NPR of Americans who chose to remain in China and to identify with the Revolution there. These include Sidney Shapiro and Israel Epstein.

countries. Dipak Jain, an Indian businessman, will perhaps be the first to set up a textile plant in Beersheva with a view to use Israel as a bridge to world markets. Joint ventures, such as that between Finolex, India's leading plastic processing company, and Plastro Gvat, a leading Israeli drip irrigation systems manufacturer, are also in the works. The two governments have also exchanged draft trade agreements which will bestow the status of most favored nation to each other.

• ISRAELI AND INDIAN COMPANIES SIGN AGREEMENTS

The Jain Agricultural Trading Company of Bombay has signed an agreement with As-Rom Metal Industries to manufacture hothouses. It has also purchased information from Amcor regarding the manufacture of solar heaters and plans to establish a joint plant in India to manufacture air-conditioners and refrigerators. Another agreement is with Rahan Meristem propagation nurseries to establish a joint factory in India.

• ISRAEL'S AMBASSADOR TO INDIA A MEDIA HIT

Ephraim Dowek was interviewed by the Indian media fifteen times in his first two weeks in office. "This is beyond expectations," Dowek said. "My colleagues from other countries have not been interviewed as much during their entire stay."

JAPAN**• JAPAN TO END SUPPORT OF ARAB ECONOMIC BOYCOTT**

Top officials in Japan told visiting American Jewish Committee leaders last December that leading Japanese companies have been advised to stop cooperating with the Arab boycott. In addition, Japan has expressed its "disapproval" of the boycott, and has called for its suspension in communications sent directly to the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council and in conversations with various Arab ambassadors.

• RELATIONS WITH JAPAN IMPROVING

Due to the recession which has hit Japan, there has been an increased interest on the part of Japanese companies in foreign markets, including

Israel. 1992 was a significant year in Israel-Japan relations. Among the more important developments were the visit of the Deputy Minister of MITI to Israel in November 1992, the first official visit of an MITI official in Israel.

Israel's Foreign Minister **Shimon Peres** made an official visit to Japan in 1992. In January 1993 Israel and Japan signed an agreement to prevent double taxation. This was the first formal agreement between the two countries. There was also progress in technological cooperation between Japan and Israel. This month a delegation from Japan's AIST agency will visit Israel to examine possible cooperation between the two countries in this area. Israel's exports to Japan reached nearly \$7 million in 1992. Aside from diamonds, the main bulk of the exports consisted of chemicals, electronics, communications systems, medical equipment, bio-technology and software.

VIETNAM**• NO ISRAEL-VIETNAM TIES SEEN YET, BUT RELATIONS IMPROVE**

An Israeli delegation that visited Vietnam in March made important contacts there, but diplomatic relations are still probably a long way off, officials in Jerusalem said. Foreign Ministry Director General Dr. Yosef Hadass, who headed the delegation, signed a memorandum with his counterparts in Hanoi that described the visit as a "first step towards diplomatic relations" and a second memorandum calling for the encouragement of economic and commercial ties. Koor Trade Ltd. signed a deal with a government-owned Vietnamese firm to sell \$50,000 worth of chemicals. It was also decided that Israel would provide 15 scholarships in the areas of economics and health for Vietnamese students to study in Israel.

• ISRAEL AND VIETNAM BARTER

Vietnam and Israel have signed a trade agreement whereby Vietnam will supply Israel with rice, coffee and rubber while Israel will supply Vietnam with agricultural compounds. Israel agreed to the barter arrangement as a way of initiating trade at a time when Vietnam faces a serious foreign currency deficit.

Other barter deals discussed were: establishing a communications infrastructure for Vietnamese village areas in return for Vietnamese textile manufacturing know-how to help lower production prices in Israel. Vietnam is considered to have an agricultural market with vast potential.

SOUTH KOREA**• S. KOREA MOVES AGAINST BOYCOTT**

South Korea has now joined Japan in breaking the Arab boycott of Israel, but is apparently moving more slowly than its large neighbor. According to Boycott Report, the South Korean governments is slowly and cautiously changing its stance, and the Korean corporations Samsung and Goldstar have begun selling in Israel. It is not yet known what the positions of Hyundai and Daewoo are on the matter. South Korea is the only country that trades with Israel but refuses to disclose the amount to the International Monetary Fund. Israel reported to the IMF that in 1991 its exports to South Korea were \$70 million and its imports from that nation totaled \$79 million.

• ISRAEL RE-OPENS SOUTH KOREAN EMBASSY

Asher Naim, Israel's first ambassador to South Korea in fifteen years re-opened the Israeli embassy in Seoul last November. The embassy had closed in 1978 under pressure from Arab countries on South Korea.

THAILAND**• DOROT SIGNS DEAL WITH THAILAND**

Dorot Valve Manufacturers has signed an agreement with Thailand's Ministry of Trade and Industry to supply hydraulic diaphragm valves for Bangkok's new central water transportation line.

NORTH KOREA**• CONTACT ESTABLISHED**

According to a knowledgeable Israeli source, contact between the two countries was initiated last year through an American Jew in the jewelry business and an American businessman of South Korean origin. The latter, who has commercial dealings with North Korea, approached the Jewish businessman to propose

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL NOTES

CHINA

• BEERSHEVA COMPANY SIGNS WITH CHINESE FIRM

Nepro-Negev Projects and a Chinese firm have signed an agreement to carry out joint industrial projects worth \$20 million in which the Chinese will supply materials and other services for large-scale construction projects in the Negev city.

• ZIM SETS UP SHOP IN CHINA

Zim has established official representatives in Beijing and Shanghai. The company's Chinese agent will be Sun Hing Shipping of Hong Kong, which serves as Zim's agent elsewhere in Asia. The company is considering running small container ships to the south China port of Cheku, as this port has modern docking equipment and facilities.

• BENGURION UNIVERSITY HOSTS INTERNATIONAL COURSE ON ARID-ZONE FARMING

Twenty-one students from fourteen countries including China, Kenya and the Ivory Coast graduated in December from BGU's third international course on arid-zone farming, held at the Institutes for Applied Research under the auspices of Israel's Foreign Ministry.

• SCIENCE AGREEMENTS SIGNED

Shmuel Sorek, Chairman of the Association of Engineers and Architects in Israel signed an agreement with a delegation from China's Association of Science. Under the agreement, the science association will help Israeli businessmen and scientists interested in the Chinese market to sell their products there. It also plans to produce an exhibit in China of Israel technology and products in the areas of computers, electronics, industry and agriculture. Director General of the Ministry of Science and Technology, Dr. Gershon Metzger recently headed a science delegation to both China and India and reported that the ground has been laid for future projects between Israel and the two countries.

• DRIP IRRIGATION AGREEMENT SIGNED

Plastro Gvat, a drip irrigation company and Hydromatic, have signed a \$1.5 million export agreement with the provincial government of Hebei, the first step in long-term cooperation, which could later include plants in Hebei with Israeli technology.

• SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION AGREEMENT SIGNED

This past February, the two countries signed an agreement by which scientists will hold joint conferences and conduct research in the fields of land conservation, civilian uses of space science, electronics and medical instrumentation.

• ISRAEL TO IMPORT COAL

Israel will import an initial local of 60,000 tons of coal, worth about \$2.5 million, from the Chinese national coal company, China Coal Import Export Co-op. After the coal is tested in Israeli power stations, a decision will be made on whether to import additional quantities.

• ISRAEL'S MEDICAL COMPANIES ATTEND MEDICAL CHINA '93

Medical China '93, a conference organized by the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade and supported by the Chinese Ministry of Health, will be attended by 11 Israeli delegates, representatives of Israel's medical and health companies, who hope to sell the Chinese surgical supplies, and medical and diagnostic equipment.

• ICT FOR ISRAEL-CHINA BUSINESS

A newly established business development organization has been created to foster Chinese-Israeli business relationships. Israel-China Technology (ICT) has at its disposal a large network of native Chinese technological and commercial sources to draw upon in Shanghai. The organization can help those interested in getting started in China by assisting in finding partners or setting up production in China's Special Economic Zones. It can also provide assistance in exporting to and importing from China. ICT concentrates mostly on opportunities in the healthcare field including medical equipment, biological products, Chinese traditional medical products and

health and specialty food items of Chinese origin.

• EFAR CUTS CLOTH IN CHINA

Efar (Tiberias) Ltd has recently signed a letter of intent with a Chinese concern to establish a moist cloth manufacturing factory in China. The factory will be established at a cost of \$1.7 million. The Chinese concern comprises three companies which manufacture and market toilet paper and cosmetic products. Efar will hold 55 percent of the new company's shares, with the Chinese concern holding 45 percent.

• CHINESE-IAI PARTNERSHIP PROPOSED

A delegation of experts from Shanghai Aviation Industries recently visited Israel Aircraft Industries Ltd. (IAI). They discussed cooperation in manufacturing a new passenger airplane intended for the Chinese market. The Chinese are also interested in cooperating with Israeli companies in the field of high-tech.

- **Twenty-six Chinese companies** and factories exhibited at Tel Aviv's "Man and His Home" exhibition in August. On display at the Chinese pavilion were light industrial and electronics products.

- **Ehud Matarasso**, vice chairman of the Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce, said China is likely to become one of Israel's principal trading partners within a short time, with the possibility of \$500 million worth of trade between the two countries within five years. Matarasso said Israel could supply China with technology and products in the agricultural, communications, electronics, chemical and medical equipment fields. In return, China could export to Israel raw materials, textiles, household goods and other high quality products at low prices. He said the cooperation agreement signed by Israel and China has done much to strengthen the ties between the two countries.

INDIA

• INDIA AND ISRAEL TRADE EXPLORED

Israeli officials have been inviting Indian businessmen to bring their textile products to Israel for re-export with a 35% value addition, following the footsteps of some far eastern

• WANG YISHA'S NEW BOOK

Wang Yisha, the Kaifeng scholar and former director of the museum there, has published his book entitled *Zhongguo Youtai chunqiu* (Annals of the Chinese Jews). Chunqiu is a traditional name for annals or chronicles, and is best translated as such, rather than the literal "spring and autumn" which does not make much sense. The cost per copy is \$2 (paperback) and \$5 hardcover, with \$2 per copy for postage and handling. Requests may be sent directly to the SJI, with payment, and we will forward these will be forwarded to Prof. Xu Xin who will handle distribution from China.

• GUIDE FOR THE JEWISH TRAVELLER TO CHINA

Al Dien is preparing a booklet, "Sites and Resources in China for the Jewish Traveller," with maps, lists, addresses, etc. It is currently in draft form and Al is requesting input from anyone with information to add.

• JEWS IN SPORTS

The first Hong Kong Maccabiah Team has entered the 14th Maccabiah Games with two athletes: Alan Frishman, runner, and David Leventhal, javelin. Dennis Leventhal, a member of the SJI Board and father of David (17 years old), reports that he is "Head of the Delegation and Manager."

• NEW COOKBOOK ON INDIAN-JEWISH CUISINE

Mavis Hyman has published a new cookbook which seeks to preserve in essence a form of cookery which has been bound up with Indian Jews for many generations. The dishes, which have been tested, can fit in comfortably with eating habits in the Western world. The recipes are placed in a historical, social and religious context. Comparisons are also made with the culinary customs of other Jewish communities. To order *Indian-Jewish Cooking* send a cheque for \$11.35 per copy, payable to Hyman Publishers, 10 Holyoake Walk, London N2 OJX, England, along with your name and address.

• AMISHAV USA FORMED

Amishav, Rabbi Avichail's Israel-based organization devoted to the identification of the "Lost Tribes" and their return to Israel, has established a US office. Amishav has recently received some major coverage: in the religion section of the *Washington Post* on 26 June 1993, and in a feature article in the *Jerusalem Report*, 9 September 1993. Amishav USA may be reached at 1211 Ballard Street, Silver Spring, MD 20910; telephone and fax: (301) 681-5679. It is a membership organization and it has also just published its first newsletter.

LORD KADOORIE DIES

by Mark Hughes & Victoria Finlay
excerpted from the
South China Morning Post,
26 & 28 August 1993

Lord Kadoorie spent his last Sunday just as he had spent most of His Sundays in Hong Kong — enjoying lunch at his comfortable granite house at Boulder Lodge in the New Territories with family and friends, reading the newspapers and discoursing on current affairs.

Although confined to a wheelchair for the last few weeks of his life, the man fittingly described as a human dynamo was as mentally alert, incisive and talkative as ever.

He died August 25th at the age of 94 at St. Teresa's Hospital, Kowloon, with his great ambition, to stand with Deng Xiaoping at the opening of the Daya Bay nuclear power station, unfulfilled. He probably missed that opening by just a few days.

Lord Kadoorie's life was the stuff of fiction. Packed with drama, struggle, achievement, loss achievement again against the odds, it could be said he lived the life of several men. He was certainly one of the territory's greatest taipans and an inspiration to the business and political community.

Born Lawrence Kadoorie on June 2, 1899, to a Jewish trading family from Iraq, he survived war, prison-camp internment and the seizure of his family's assets in Shanghai to become head of one of the world's wealth-

iest families. In 1981 he became the first person born in the territory to be given a British peerage.

By virtue of his role in the power industry, he played a pivotal part in giving Hong Kong the thriving, modern economy with which it flourishes today. As one commentator observed, he turned a rocky wasteland into a throbbing industrial and commercial centre.

The Kadoorie family came to Hong Kong in 1880, when Sir Elly Kadoorie emigrated from Baghdad at the age of 15 to work as a clerk. He later became a successful broker, developing a rubber business and opening three hotels in Shanghai and two others in Hong Kong, including the magnificent Peninsula.

As he commuted between the two cities, young Lawrence was often in tow — sometimes at school in China and sometimes in Hong Kong, but always learning about business.

In 1918, Elly decided to stake his fortune on setting up power plants in Kowloon after failing in Shanghai. With him at the first board meeting of China Light, originally a struggling little lamp supplier, was Lawrence, who was pressed into service at the company.

In the 20s, Lawrence studied law in London at Lincoln's Inn, although he failed to complete the course and returned to China Light. In 1938, he married Muriel Gabbay, daughter of another prominent Jewish businessman in Hong Kong.

When Japan seized Hong Kong in 1941, the Kadoories were put in a series of prison camps, where Elly Kadoorie died. The Japanese army seized their assets and dismantled China Light's power station for firewood.

After the war, Lawrence Kadoorie found the power station in ruins. The sumptuous Kadoorie-built Peninsula Hotel in Kowloon had served as Japanese occupation headquarters. Four years later, the family lost its Shanghai holdings to Mao Zedong's Communists.

But the remaining Kadoorie fortune was quickly put to work, both in post-war reconstruction and philanthropic projects to absorb the masses

of refugees fleeing to Hong Kong from the Communists. The Kadoorie motto was: "adhere and prosper" and Kadoorie stuck to it.

He was a member of the colony's legislature and policy-making Executive Council from 1951 to 1954. He received a knighthood in 1974 and then in 1981, the Queen made him "Baron Kadoorie of Kowloon in Hong Hong and of the city of Westminster." He was a member of the Basic Law Consultative Committee.

As a leading conservative, Lord Kadoorie sought to dispel the image of China's top politicians as unpredictable and threatening. He last spoke out publicly on politics after the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, arguing that Hong Kong people should not get involved in the upheavals of China. He also once remarked that China could not be governed by democratic principle because it was too big. "Big countries need strong leaders," he said.

Lord Kadoorie had an instinctive grasp of the power of the dramatic gesture. In 1967, when street unrest spilled into Hong Kong from the Cultural Revolution, Lord Kadoorie ordered crews on one of his construction sites to work through the night as his personal show of confidence in Hong Kong's stability.

He saw "quite a lot of good in colonialism" and would voice scepticism about bringing democracy to Hong Kong.

But when Hong Kong's return to China's sovereignty in 1997 was agreed, Lord Kadoorie was quick to embrace the future. He was believed to be closely involved in preparations for the transfer, and was reported to have close ties with Chinese leaders including Deng Xiaoping.

The Kadoorie family fortune is estimated at US\$3 billion. Its public holdings include a 35 percent stake in China Light and a similar stake in Hong Kong and Shanghai Hotels, which is headed by Kadoorie's son, Michael. The family's dividend income from China Light alone was US\$64 million in 1991.

The Kadoories also own stakes in Tai-Ping Carpets and textile maker

Nanyang Holdings. They are also said to have Johannesburg office buildings and a stake in a British merchant bank. In addition, they maintain a big equity portfolio including sizeable stakes in Hutchison Whampoa, Wharf Holdings, Modern Terminals and the Cross-Harbour Tunnel Company. The Peak Tram was conceived and run by the family.

The Kadoories are well-known for their philanthropy. For decades they have spent millions on self-help schemes in Hong Kong, Israel and Nepal. The best known of these, the Kadoorie Agricultural Aid Association, pioneered vegetable and livestock farms in the New Territories and helped more than 300,000 refugees from China to make a living.

Lord Kadoorie recently led China Light and Power into a joint venture with China to build a nuclear power plant at Daya Bay, 50 kilometres north of the border with Hong Kong. Although 70 per cent of Day Bay's power is destined for Kowloon, it will serve as a base for expansion in China.

In an interview last year, he said "I am still a Victorian, one of the very few around."

Lord Kadoorie retired as chairman of China Light and Power in December 1992.

He is survived by his wife Muriel, son Michael and daughter Rita, and younger brother Horace.

As his friend, Sir Jack Cater, remarked yesterday. "He was truly a great man."

About 100 people attended the ceremony, including all members of the immediate family and business associates.

The family had previously specified that the funeral was to be a private affair. A larger memorial service for Lord Kadoorie was held the following Friday at the Ohel Lea Synagogue in Robinson Road.

After a prayer in Hebrew had been said over the coffin, it was brought out to the grave site by a procession headed by Lord Kadoorie's son, Michael, who then said a prayer over the grave.

Sir Sidney Gordon, who has been a friend of the family for many years, delivered a eulogy in English.

There was a short bible reading in Cantonese, and then each of the peo-

ple at the funeral ceremonially placed earth into the grave.

It was a moving, private moment, and there were a few tears as each person in turn bade an individual farewell to this man who had been patriarch of his family, his company, and the Jewish community.

The pleasant, leafy cemetery in Happy Valley has become the final resting place for many members of Hong Kong's Jewish community since it opened in 1860.

FROM OUR READERS:

To the editor:

Looking for material on Morris "Two-Gun" Cohen. Would appreciate hearing from those who knew him in China, Canada and England and those who might have correspondences, documents, archival records or newspaper articles pertaining to this life and times.

Daniel S. Levy
83-57 118th St., Apt. 5M
Kew Gardens, NY 11415
USA

To the editor:

You ask about the Jewish community in Indonesia. So do I. Just now, interestingly, there is a rather large group, and very disparate - we had a seder in April with perhaps 65-70 attendees, including children - by far the largest such gathering in the memory of anyone present. The group included expatriates from America, Europe, Australia and the Middle East. The likelihood is that the Jakarta Jewish community will continue to expand. Interesting, also, to note reports that at the Vienna Human Rights Conference last week the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Israel had a brief conversation - although what was said is a subject of speculation. It is unlikely that Indonesia and Israel will have diplomatic relations in the near future, given Indonesia's position as the largest Muslim population by far in the world, and Indonesia's diplomatic recognition of the PLO. On the other hand, there is no religious prejudice in Indonesia. As for history, there was, in the last part of the last century and the early part of this one, an active

founded the city of Harbin. During the twenty years between the survey of the site in 1897 and the profound dislocations of the 1917 revolution, Harbin grew from an abandoned distillery with a minor river portage into a bustling urban center with over 100,000 inhabitants. Harbin's size and economic importance were commensurate with its *de facto* role as provincial capital of Russian Manchuria. After 1917, Harbin's population was doubled by a wave of immigration, and it now became the only "Russian" city in the world outside of the Soviet Union.

As a first step towards a Manchurian perspective on the history of the Russian Revolution, my dissertation provides an account and analysis of Harbin's rapid transformation from frontier town under government/company control to self-conscious, semi-independent community. I approach this question as a dialectic between policies created in Petersburg and the exigencies of local life in Harbin. This allows the Harbin case to speak to central historiographic concerns. Examinations of demography, administration and local politics in Russian Manchuria offer new perspectives on Russian technocracy, the Witte system, 1905 in Siberia and, most importantly, the bitter interministerial rivalries that imperiled every initiative from the center. Harbin, protected through most of its early years by distance and Finance Ministry backing, undertook a unique evolutionary path. A liberal nationality policy offered refuge to victims of persecution in Russia proper. The Jewish and Polish communities flourished. A belief that successful competition with the Chinese outweighed the dangers of ethnic particularism led both the local railway administration and its Petersburg superiors to tolerate both liberal and revolutionary political movements. The absence from Manchuria of repressive organs, such as the Gendarmerie, also furthered this development. Harbin's foreign location was often invoked to explain what within Russia could only be termed laxity. In a word, Harbin was the freest city in Russia precisely because it was outside the Empire's borders.

BUILDING BRIDGES OF UNDERSTANDING

by Marilyn Silverstein

reprinted & excerpted from Jewish Exponent June 11, 1993

When Dr. Alfonz Lengyel returned to China this month, he carried back with him a dream of awakening Chinese consciousness to the lives and legacies of Jews who made a home on Chinese soil.

A native of Budapest, Hungary, he is an American citizen who has taught in the United States, France, Germany, Yugoslavia, Tunisia, Italy and China. He has been a professor of art history, archaeology and museology at the University of Fudan in Shanghai for the past 10 years.

He also serves as the American president of the Shanghai University's Fudan Museum Foundation. It is in this capacity that Lengyel, a Christian, has become passionately involved in championing research into the history of Jewish settlements in China and in promoting Jewish-Chinese understanding.

In particular, Lengyel is working to open a room at the Fudan Museum filled with the relics that reflect that history.

"It is my idea just to start, to have the translation and a little exhibition — a permanent exhibition — on Chinese-Jewish heritage."

"This could really create some good relationship between the Chinese and Jewish people. That's my feeling," he said, "When you see you have common ground, that, in my opinion, creates a solid base for a future Israel-China relationship."

Another means would be to chronicle the true nature of the contributions of the Jews to Chinese society, he said. And still another, to gather together historic documents, photographs, Torah curtains and other religious relics and sacred objects related to Jewish settlement in China for a permanent exhibition at the Fudan Museum.

Farther down the road, Lengyel hopes to be able to find funding for research into the assimilation of Jews into Chinese society.

"Later, we figure out what really happened anthropologically," he said. "Who intermarried? Who are the offspring? Some of them intermarried. They know who they are."

The crucial thing now, the professor said, is simply to begin.

"We have somehow to get organized," he said. "We can do it in partnership with any foundation."

The Fudan Museum Foundation is also interested in researching and restoring synagogues, Jewish schools, community centers and Jewish cemetery sites in China, Lengyel said.

"I really wish this whole thing will go," he added with feeling. "If a Jewish museum wants to lead things through our connections and through our work, we are willing to do it."

Among the Chinese people, there is a great interest in the contributions of the Jews, Lengyel said.

"The Chinese are very proud of their culture. It's a very strong, homogeneous culture," he said. "They know that Jewish culture developed about the same time — 6,000 years ago."

"This is a parallel culture which from time to time touched China," Lengyel said. "They see from time to time they were touched, but they don't know. It comes again and disappears again, comes again and disappears again."

As a historian, he has always been interested in digging into such subjects, Lengyel said.

"Being a Christian, my own religion is connected with the Old Testament, so — no problem," he said, "As an archaeologist, art historian and museologist, I said that is an area that's quite unknown. Let's look at this."

"I am 72," he said, "Who knows how many years I have? I want to inspire a new generation to come and dig and pull out and start. I like to give inspiration."

THE SECRET LIVES OF TREBITSCH LINCOLN

by Bernard Wasserstein, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988. reviewed by Lauren W. Deutsch, marketing & public relations professional with KCRW, National Public Radio, Los Angeles

Like Woody Allen's Zelig, Trebitsch Lincoln was the consummate social chameleon, and like "Lazlo Toth" (aka Saturday Night Live's Father Guido Sarducci, aka etc.), he thought well enough of himself to court relationships with world-famous people and did so with awesome determination. In The Secret Lives of Trebitsch Lincoln, Bernard Wasserstein writes a fascinating report, not without a "true" scholar's apology for allowing "curiosity" to progress into "genuine interest" and "virtual obsession". His writing on the many-faceted personality of this historical (hysterical, nonetheless "highly disturbed") figure, for whom the word "scoundrel" is a polite understatement, becomes a casual thesaurus. (Would you prefer "rogue"?) He presents us with a well-documented (mostly from the records of the British Foreign Office, as well as a few encounters with the subject's distant relatives) text on what he considers to be "the closest accessible approach to the true history of a false messiah." (The book really doesn't really give one a romantic notion; although, he'd make good company for Jacob Frank and Sabbatai Tzvi.)

One should look at the life (lives?) of Trebitsch Lincoln with caution: "Don't try this at home, kids." He is but a mortal; born Ignacz Trebitsch in 1879 at Paks, Hungary to a prosperous, religiously conservative Jewish family. Talented for little scholastically or professionally (He had hollow careers as an actor, journalist and industrialist, among others), he was, however, brimming with bravado, linguistically adroit and motivated by a modicum of *tsoris*. Wasserstein allows us a broad view of the culture in terms of time and space which nurtured Trebitsch, the impressive array of social, political, economic and religious bureaucracies entangling both Eastern and Western hemispheres through whose loopholes the subject

masterfully slipped and whose movers and shakers he tantalized.

Despite his chronic financial destitution, it would seem even superficially that he had made it successfully; such as the times he was known (and "functioning") as Ignatius Timotheus Trebitsch, Lutheran (not too long afterward Anglican) missionary to the Jews, as I.T.T. Lincoln, British M.P., or as the Chinese Buddhist Abbot Chao Kung (as whom he died in 1943). But most of the time he was not productive in these guises, save the temporary satisfaction of his ego's hungry ghost. And he had little material impact on history, save his mere existence. It was all much to the joy of the media and the bane of those whose financial empires he drained in a flurry of misfortunes. From Berlin to Brooklyn to Budapest, Shanghai to San Francisco to Montreal, he attempted to storm into the countries and consciousness of an amazing number of people of high rank and stature. He offered a colorful package particularly to budding Western Buddhists and other Eastern mysticism-craving Europeans. Again, his successes were enough to make one wonder, "Why not try? What's to lose?" To Hitler and the Japanese occupation forces in China, for example, he positioned himself as the incarnate of spirits of both the Dalai and Panchen Lamas (simultaneously!) and offered the powers of his good offices (i.e. whatever worked). "Teflon" Trebitsch (my nickname for him) even evaded suspicion/harassment/more properly, death by the Germans, because even though they apparently knew of his Jewish genealogy there were officials who trusted him.

In the end, we are tempted to respond in the classical manner, "Who was that masked man?" Wasserstein's well-indexed, annotated text is perhaps a bit short of the sensationalist style which assures a best-seller at airports stalls; nonetheless, it is the author's true fascination with the chase that makes the book highly readable. The Secret Lives of Trebitsch Lincoln is much more satisfying than a silver bullet anyway.

* * * * *

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION
The Art and History of the Jewish Traders on the T'ang Silk Road
 by Milton G. Nobler
 Doctor of Philosophy in Art History
 Pacific Western University, Los Angeles
 1989

Data relating to the importance of the Jewish Traders on the T'ang Silk Road and their representations in ming-qi and other archaeological findings have been widely dispersed and generally unrecognized. This paper discusses the Chinese exploration of the West; the likelihood that the Western terminus of the Silk Road was Herod's Caesarea Maritima, in ancient Israel; and that Jewish traders provided Europe with the benefits of the greatly advanced Chinese technology, such as the crossbow, the compass, improved methods of animal husbandry, etc., as well as silk, crop plants, and other important commodities.

The generally unknown important role of the Jewish Khazars in facilitating this transmission of technology and ideas in both directions is elaborated upon.

The role of Moslem conquest and iconoclasm in the destruction of the Silk Road, its frescoes and art objects, and its ancient irrigation systems, is integrated with the history of the Silk Road.

The facets of the Chinese ethos and religions that led to the concept and use of ming-qi and the place of figurines of Jewish merchants in particular among the tomb furnishings is elaborated upon, along with the reasons for and methods of mass production of these figures.

TO THE HARBIN STATION: CITY BUILDING IN RUSSIAN MANCHURIA, 1898-1914.

by David Wolff, Ph.D.
 University of California, Berkeley, 1991.
 326 pp.

from Dissertation Abstracts International
 53:5 November 1992

Near the projected intersection of the Chinese Eastern Railroad and the Sungari River, Russian engineers

Jewish community in Surabaya in East Java (Indonesia's second largest city, then larger than Jakarta). There was a synagog, and the building still stands, although it is used for other purposes. The members of the community were largely, if not entirely, Middle Eastern traders. I am not aware of any China connections. I hope to visit Surabaya one of these days to explore this history a bit more. Also, I may note that the first Dutch Governor General of the Netherlands Indies, some 300 years ago, was named Jan-Pieters Coen. I have no idea if he was Jewish; if he was, he did not establish any kind of Jewish community here in Jakarta, but over the centuries there have been pockets of expatriate Jews here, though never in significant number.

If any of your members have information or historical reference to Jewish activity in Indonesia, I'd be interested.

Sincerely, Harvey A. Leve
 J1 Klungkung 48
 Kuningan Timul
 Jakarta 12950, Indonesia

To the editor:

Congratulations on your latest issue of Points East! Extremely well done, and full of valuable materials. I wish, however, that Wendy's interviews had been made available to us years ago. The content of these talks with Kaifeng Jews makes me think that I may have been a bit too suspicious of their motives in providing information to westerners, and of their veracity. Dr. and Mrs. Kaye, after all, had three of Wendy's interviewees at their hotel room for a seder ten or more years ago, and reported that none of them seemed to know anything about Pesach or anything else associated with Judaic traditions. Where did these fellows pick up the information they later imparted to Wendy? Or did the translator present at the seder give the Kayes a poor, or even distorted, rendition of the Kayes' guests' statements?

Sincerely, Michael Pollak

SIDNEY RITTENBERG: THE MAN WHO STAYED BEHIND

(continued from page 1)

It occurred when Rittenberg was a teen-ager. After seeing a drunken white man attack an innocent black man, he called the police, then watched in horror as officers clubbed the black man senseless.

The horror turned to anger when he heard his aunt explain away the injustice: "You only get as much justice as you can pay for," she retorted.

"I couldn't accept that," says Rittenberg, a short, bald man, seated in his living room. Dressed in heavy woolen clothes and a crocheted gray hat, he has thick Norman Mailer-like eyebrows that seem to punctuate his words.

Plenty of fire still glows in his brown eyes and intense focus. "That's not the way it was in the storybooks," he continues. "I wanted a world where the good are rewarded and the bad are punished."

Drafted during World War II, Rittenberg studied Chinese at the U.S. Army language school at Stanford. (By joining the Army, his membership in the Communist Party was revoked.) He showed an aptitude that later bordered on brilliance.

David and Nancy Milton, two Americans who lived in China during the 1960s, wrote in The Wind Will Not Subside: "He was a prodigious linguist, fluent in many dialects. According to some of our Chinese friends, themselves impressive interpreters and translators, he was perhaps the finest Chinese-English interpreter in the world."

In 1945, Rittenberg went to China to work as an Army interpreter. Touring the country to investigate Chinese damage claims against U.S. troops, he took an immediate liking to the people and daily life.

When the war ended, he tore up his discharge papers and stayed on as a famine relief observer for the U.N. The impoverished country was in desperate shape.

In the aftermath of the Japanese occupation, China reeled from disrupted communication systems, dismantled railways, and stratospheric inflation; people literally wheeled their money down to the market in wheelbarrows to buy grain. Huge masses of

refugees washed into the cities with no food, shelter, or medical care. In Shanghai, Rittenberg woke up every day to find a corpse in the street.

Meanwhile, Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists were warring with the Communists for control. As a U.N. worker, Rittenberg encountered corruption and greed in Nationalist-controlled enterprises. The Communists impressed him as just the opposite: they were honest, hardworking, and committed to creating a better world.

Given his political beliefs, such a perspective isn't surprising, but Rittenberg was more than just impressed. The revolutionaries were something of a revelation to him, embodying what he hoped for in a new kind of working democracy.

"As soon as I got to China, I found the people to be warm, friendly, and confiding," he says. "I felt like I could really do things as a communicator—act as some kind of human bridge between China and the U.S."

"Then after I met the Communists, I was even more excited. I thought this was the real thing. This was where a real people's republic could be built."

When Communist leaders asked him to help prepare English language newscasts to spread word of their struggle, he immediately accepted, heading for the legendary caves of Yenan in October 1946.

In Yenan, a town in the north-central province of Shensi, the Communists lived in an intricate maze of hill caves.

Here, Rittenberg polished speeches beamed at the ears of sympathetic foreigners. Here, he drank in communist theory and forged bonds with Zhou Enlai and other first-generation Communist Chinese.

Here, he mingled at social events, dancing with Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, at the popular Saturday night dances, giving Mao's daughter piggyback rides, and playing a Chinese version of gin rummy with the great leader himself. (The chain-smoking Mao apparently was a stoical card player.)

For much of 1947 and 1948, Rittenberg marched with the Communists throughout the mountains, dodging Chiang Kai-shek's planes.

When he tells of those days, they sound like a great adventure, but the primitive conditions held hardship. As

many as half the people had malaria. Rittenberg developed tuberculosis after caring for two elderly men with the disease.

"It was hard, but it was very exciting," he says. "We were a very tight-knit bunch. It was the kind of idyllic situation that only works when you're in a war situation, when you're the underdog fighting for power. Once you get into power," he sighs, "it's a different thing."

Affectionately teased as the "Little Foreign Devil," Rittenberg felt the Chinese were beginning to accept him. He married a Chinese woman. Eyewitness and now participant in a great revolutionary movement, he was living history.

Then, in January 1949, out of the blue, his Communist comrades arrested him and threw him into a tiny, dank cell. Every day, interrogators grilled him, demanding that he confess to being an American spy.

His protestations of innocence only served to anger his interrogators. For a year, they kept him caged in near pitch-black darkness, deprived of any human contact.

Half-starved, sleep-deprived, and forced to take mysterious pills, Rittenberg descended into a mental hellhole. Terrifying hallucinatory nightmares afflicted him. Bouts of frenzied panic overtook him.

Certain that he was losing his mind, he wandered in and out of consciousness, waking up at different times to find himself eating mole crickets, the plaster off walls, even his own feces.

"It was an awful, horrible experience," says Rittenberg, grimly. "There was such an enormous sense of hurt and betrayal. How could they do these things to me? I was in total confusion. I can't really get myself back into feeling that horror. I can describe it, but I can't feel it, thank God."

One day, in the darkness of his room, he was able to make out a headline in a newspaper used to block his window: while he was in jail, the Communists had swept into Beijing and assumed power in October 1949. The People's Republic was here. Rittenberg found out in the spring of 1950.

Shortly afterwards, Rittenberg was moved to another jail where he remained in solitary confinement, but

was given some privileges, including newspapers and books. He followed China's affairs and read volumes of economic theory to escape his Kafkaesque predicament.

The better treatment he was receiving suggested that he would be exonerated and released.

But how soon? Incredibly, he would have to endure another five years in detention. In 1955, after six years in prison, he was finally released. He was 34 years old.

"How did you stay sane?" I ask.

"Well, I almost didn't," he answers. "There was this constant battle between rage and acceptance. There was the enormity of the wrong done to me, but if I allowed myself to feel it, I would become outraged and then I wouldn't have any way to deal with it. I had to subjugate myself or else I would have been consumed by bitterness."

As many victims of persecution have done, Rittenberg turned the blame on himself. Tracing his problems to his "poor class background," he faulted himself for being too weak and individualistic.

He believed his suffering paled beside the struggle of millions to build a new society. Choking off his anger, he accepted his confinement as a test, a trial to help him forge the strength necessary to become a good communist.

Rittenberg emerged from prison so muted of emotional protest that he waved off the apologies of officials. (Years later, Rittenberg received personal apologies for his imprisonment from Mao and Zhou Enlai.) Chinese leaders revealed they had followed Soviet orders to arrest him.

Distrustful of Americans, Stalin had arrested Anna Louise Strong, an American Marxist and journalist (she also once served on the Seattle School Board). She was held in the Soviet Union on trumped-up spy charges. Stalin wanted Rittenberg rounded up, as well. "They said I was Strong's man in China," says Rittenberg.

Out of jail, he was very much alone. His wife had divorced him while he was in prison. He had little desire to return to the U.S. where McCarthyism was running rampant. He did not attempt to correspond with friends or relatives in the U.S., fearing that contact with an avowed Communist in China would hurt their reputations.

"Plus, I was a wreck, mentally," says Rittenberg, noting that he was barely able to talk or say more than one sentence at a time. "I couldn't imagine plopping myself back in the U.S. and trying to cope with a new culture."

More importantly, the changes in China encouraged him. He looked around: the squalid, poverty-stricken country of the 1940s wore a calmer, cleaner, more prosperous face.

By the time Rittenberg got out of prison, the Communists had completed a major program of land reform. Their support had come from the countryside where 500 million people lived in villages and half the cultivatable land was owned by less than one-tenth of the population.

They redistributed land, handing over 113 million acres to more than 300 million landless peasant sin co-operative farms. In the process, peasant treated landlords harshly, bringing them before "struggle sessions"—meetings during which they were criticized and terrorized—and before "people's tribunals," where they were often sentenced to death.

Rittenberg had heard of problems during land reform, but hoped they were an aberration. Besides, they were part of the past.

Now, there was an air of freedom. Soon, Mao would launch the "Hundred Flowers" campaign, allowing more academic freedom and dissent, and inviting intellectuals to criticize the party.

One of only about a dozen Americans and their families who remained in China after 1949, Rittenberg chose to start anew in his adopted country, a decision deepened when he met a 22-year-old woman and married her a year later.

That woman was Yulin, his current wife, a pragmatic, salt-of-the-earth figure who would stay with him through his final ordeals.

Communist officials made his decision to stay easy. Greeting him with open arms, they offered him his choice of jobs within the propaganda network.

He went to work at China's Broadcast Administration. His task was to edit and polish texts—editorials, news, features—for foreign broadcasts.

Rittenberg rose steadily at Radio Peking during the next decade. As the bureaucracy grew to trust him, they

This type of travelling continued from day to day and even though we were never more than within a radius of fifty miles from our base - Hou's village - the slow pace made it seem as though we were in another world. Actually, we were only able to visit no more than two or three dealers daily and that is why it took me nearly a month before I could return to *Tientsin* and to reality.

Reality?! No more mule-carts - No more grit, grime and dust -- no more bandits!!

"Welcome back - how was it?" This from my brother, Bob, who met me at the *Tientsin* North Railroad station.

"Have you got several hours that you can spare? If you do I'll try to describe it all," I answered.

"What's so special about a trip to the interior?" from Bob.

"You might as well say, what's so special about a trip to the moon?" I countered. "It's another world - another time element - it's like living in the 19th Century. Some day when you really can spare a few hours, I'll tell you all about it. But now all I want is a bath. A bath in my own tub with lots and lots of hot water!!"

Epilogue

Next day at the office, I was warmly greeted by Alex Baylin.

"Glad to see you're back in one piece, Ben. Hou told me about the bandits. He also mentioned how much your presence and participation helped him in his negotiations with the dealers."

"Ben - you did a great job and as a bonus, I'm promoting you to Co-Supervisor with the same responsibilities as George Liepa, with an appropriate raise in your salary. Congratulations!!"

Well, my Adventurous Month was over - but it was also the introduction to many "Adventurous" assignments and the beginning of my successful career at O.C.C. Many trips followed in various areas of the interior of China, as well as Manchuria and Mongolia.

These ventures culminated in my being appointed as manager of our new plant in Shanghai in 1936. I headed this plant until the beginning of World War II. The Japanese, who then took control of most of China, closed down the O.C.C., it being an American firm.

What happened in Shanghai during WWII and after the defeat of the Japanese is another story - in fact - many, many more stories - some as exciting and unusual as *My Adventurous Month* and some that are quite brutal since they deal with the ferocity of the Japanese "conquerors."

Van Nuys, California 1991

BOOK NOOK

STRANGERS ALWAYS: A JEWISH FAMILY IN WARTIME SHANGHAI

by Rena Krasno

Berkeley, Calif.: Pacific View Press,
1992, 218 pages, 20 photos; \$24.95,
hardcover.

reviewed by Dr. Marcia Sachs Little
founding director of the Anne Frank Institute,
teacher at Temple University.

reprinted from *The Jewish Times*

21 January 1993

Most of us view pre-World War II Shanghai as a sophisticated, international scene of luxury and frivolity. We tend to recall the deliciously wicked image so well captured by Marlene Dietrich in the film "Shanghai."

But few people are aware that a large Jewish population had found refuge in Shanghai prior to World War II, during the very period when it realized its international height of sophisticated living.

The author, Rena Krasno, was born in Shanghai, China, in 1923, the daughter of stateless Russian Jews without passports. Krasno's father arrived in Shanghai in 1921, fleeing Russia.

In this book, Krasno provides the reader with a graphic—indeed unique account of the events that unfolded during the chaotic period of the wars in the Pacific. It is an unusually competent combination of solid history and personal experience. The accounts from her diary present a unique description of daily life in the Jewish community, especially in the time of the Japanese occupation of Shanghai.

In recent years, there has been an outpouring of books describing the plight of European Jews who were

caught in the web of World War II. We have a number of meticulously documented historic accounts, such as Leni Yahil's book, *The Holocaust*. Raul Hilberg, Yehuda Baue and Lucy Davidowicz — to name a few — also have added to the historic documentation of this period. In addition, we are fortunate to have several hundred excellent eyewitness accounts from survivors and partisans in the form of personal stories and diaries. More recently, doctoral dissertations from younger Jewish and Christian scholars also have begun to surface.

What we have lacked in the literature has been the voice of those Jews who lived in Shanghai both in its heyday, in the years before, as well as the years during World War II. Fortunately, a trickle of firsthand accounts has begun to surface, before all of those survivors are gone, documenting the lives of those who lived through and experienced the Japanese occupation.

The voice of Krasno, who was a young girl just coming of age at the time of the occupation, is a welcome and valuable addition to the literature. We are fortunate to have this engrossing and evocative eyewitness account of her own and her family's experiences. She recorded the information in a personal diary and also collected information from newspapers, wall posters and other publications.

This young woman's moving account of a life assaulted by the stings and humiliations of anti-Semitism is inspiring to read. Her narrative describes the heroic efforts of members of the Jewish community in Shanghai as they helped refugees from the Holocaust.

In addition to the important, little-known history to which this book contributes, those who are proponents of "multiculturalism" will find this chronicle contains an additional lesson. In a world filled with ethnic and political strife, there are presented some important models in tolerance and mutual respect in the most adverse circumstances.

dust on our bodies from the mule-cart ride of last night.

We were still having our breakfast when some visitors showed up. They were, I was told, village elders. They were quite excited - and explained their excitement as follows: - The bandits had found out that there was a white man somewhere in the village and it was their intention to make a surprise attack and carry him away for ransom. Luckily the village watchmen were alert and surprised the bandits before they could accomplish the kidnapping. Here is where I had the shakes again! "That's all I need," I thought "to be held for ransom!" I had heard that to hurry ransom payment bandits sometimes cut off the victim's ear and sent it on to his friends. First my teeth were chattering and then I felt the heat rising to my eyeballs almost popping them out.

The village elders then suggested that Hou should bring out his rifles and have them ready for any possible second attack.

This was done and my lesson in handling a rifle was the next step as I had never handled a gun before.

The rest of the morning was spent on rifle practice, using live ammunition. In the afternoon we had meetings with some of the dealers who owed us money and who were members of Hou's village.

Thus passed Tuesday, my second day of my, to say the least, adventurous journey into the unknown.

"I wonder what tomorrow shall bring."

Phase Three (Conclusion) Dust and Grime and Then a Bath!!

Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow - more mule-cart rides on more and more dirt roads - with more shaking - more body-aches and more entirely strange surroundings. I could not even appreciate the countryside as the ruts in the roads were everywhere - making it necessary to adjust one's position with almost every step that the mule took. His gait was so slow that I could have outdistanced him by walking at a leisurely pace. There was hardly any vegetation except fields and fields of corn, cabbages or rice.

The trees were few and far between - the farmhouses mostly made out of mud with straw roofs. There were dogs at every farm; their bark leaving no impression on the mule who had evidently become used to it and who plodded along at an even pace knowing that this was his fate and this is what he had to do to earn his solitary meal of oats and a bucket of water at the end of the day - day in and day out.

Whenever our travels took us too far from Hou's village to allow us to return before dark, we would stop at a roadside inn for the night. These usually consisted of the same mud huts with straw roofs and large yards for the mule-carts, the only type of transportation that I saw in this part of *Hopei*.

The sleeping accommodations consisted of large rooms with K'angs along the sides of the rooms - with each traveller being assigned his blanket and hard pillow - a pillowcase filled with some sort of grain - whatever the area produced. The smell was piercing, with garlic odor overpowering all others - including the washless sweaty stench of the bodies of the sleepers.

The necessary facilities for one's relief consisted of a small outhouse with a hole in the ground and two stone slabs over it on which to rest one's feet. Flies were everywhere and I can still hear the buzzing. The washing facilities were the same - a basin of hot water and one towel assigned to each group. In our case, there were three - Hou, the mule-cart driver and I. Food was served in a room with bare wooden tables and benches to sit on - and mostly consisted of noodles in soup, with slabs of fat pork. There were also dumplings out of pork - usually boiled and served with strips of salted cabbage and bottles of soya sauce and ladjiao - an oil made out of red chili peppers that was so biting that it threatened to burn one's insides.

The dealers whom we visited usually lived in farmhouses along the route we travelled - away from the dusty road, reached by still narrower paths. They would be the ones connected with small slaughter-houses from which they would collect the casings from sheep and hogs and would store them in salt until they would send them on to our plant in *Tientsin*, usually wrapped in cloth-sacks lined with water-proofed, oiled canvas.

Imagine my bodily discomfort on this trip - Here I was, bathless for almost a week - with dust all over me and grit in my mouth - unable to wash during the day except in the morning and evening and then only out of a small basin of hot water. On the fourth day, a Thursday, I finally had enough and told Hou that I had to have a bath. He promised to accommodate me but said that it would not be until that Saturday when we would reach a larger village than the ones we encountered so far. The village was *Hsi-Pei Hsien* - and it had a bathhouse.

Well - I never anticipated having a bath as much as the one promised for Saturday, which finally arrived!! Filthy, gritty, dust-covered - itchy all over - I was finally to have a bath!! We reached Hsi Pei Hsien in late afternoon and luckily found an inn that had a bathhouse. This bathhouse consisted of a large room with cauldrons of boiling water being constantly heated with coal on one side of the room and K'angs lining the other three sides. In the middle were six old-style metal bathtubs on four short legs - which were filled with the water whenever a customer wanted a bath. Each bather was supplied with soap and a towel and that was it! This was a communal bathhouse - for men only. Evidently the women in the area did not travel, staying home to take care of the children and to keep the home fires burning!

Before I left *Tientstin*, my Mother - ever the practical one - suggested that I take along a bottle of alcohol for disinfecting purposes. Well - the bottle served me in good stead as the rings on the bathtubs required quite a lot of scrubbing and washing away the accumulation of *Hopei's* dust and grime. After I considered myself thoroughly cleansed of the accumulated foreign matter that I was subjected to for the past week, I had the bathtub refilled for the third time and spent the next half hour in heavenly bliss!

Meantime, Hou was reclining on the *K'ang*, smoking away and drinking cups and cups of hot jasmine tea. The jasmine aroma was so powerful that it filled the room and masked the conflicting unpleasant odors that were a part of my memory of the entire trip.

I was lucky to have been able to have a bath once a week at the various inns that we stopped at when we could not return to our base.

gave him greater powers and more sensitive, delicate projects, such as helping to translate Mao's writings.

"I was the only foreigner who was accepted into the inner circle," he says. "I read classified documents. I had clearance to go over translated material before texts were final. I didn't have any real power, but I had privilege."

As his influence grew, Rittenberg became a central figure for the small but important foreign community living in Beijing. Every day, dozens of foreigners gathered at the Friendship Hotel for lunch to chat and exchange gossip.

The enthusiastic, gregarious Rittenberg, who the Miltons remember as wearing a brown corduroy suit and disheveled tie, always drew a crowd of lunch partners.

"The bright star of the circle . . . whom Peking's entire foreign community leaned for information, expertise, and wisdom regarding China, was Sid Rittenberg," they write.

It is not difficult to imagine Rittenberg as a mobilizer and go-between. "A gifted raconteur," wrote Fox Butterfield in his book *China: Alive in the Bitter Sea*. (Butterfield, who had covered China from Hong Kong, was the first *New York Times* bureau chief to serve in China after the relations were normalized in 1979.) It's clear that Rittenberg's great personal charm has served him well.

Photos depict him as somewhat nerdy, with thick black glasses, but he was a socializer and a cultural buff. A connoisseur of Chinese food, he hosted dinner parties at his apartment where he had a collection of fine Ming period rugs, attended opera, and was the foreigners' unofficial guide to the best gathering spots.

He also was a tireless worker, a zealous ideologue who valued party discipline and supported a dizzying number of political campaigns launched in the '50s and '60s to move China forward.

During the late '50s, the openness of the Hundred Flowers era vanished. Alarmed that too many of their countrymen were not working toward collective goals, Chinese leaders renewed efforts to enforce ideological purity.

Rittenberg tolerated the party's continual search for "rightists" and "capitalist roaders." When comrades

with "bad attitudes" were sentenced to hard-labor camps in Manchuria, it was the price that needed to be paid for the country to succeed.

And, in many respects, China was improving the lot of the ordinary person, or so believed Rittenberg.

For the first time in a century, the country was unified, free of warlords and other terrors. Children got medical treatment. Old people were cared for. Life expectancy doubled.

Like Soviet programs, China's first Five-Year Plan introduced rapid industrialization in an agrarian-based nation.

It enjoyed some successes: the economy showed an impressive annual growth rate of 8 percent, the educational system graduated 130,000 engineers, and major gains had been made in public health, including the control of many communicable diseases.

But, in the next few years, China also reported spectacular results in economic programs that later were shown to be false.

In 1958, Chinese leaders put forth the Great Leap Forward campaign, a massive effort to invigorate the economy.

Mao ordered the formation of communes to speed up the transformation of the undeveloped nation into a modern industrial power.

After throwing masses of manpower into labor-intensive enterprises, such as making steel in countryside "backyard furnaces," officials hailed their successes.

Indeed, when Rittenberg toured a commune to view the Chinese miracle, he saw well-fed people, small-scale rural factories, and superproductive plots of agricultural land.

It was only years later that he discovered the visit had been a sham: everything had been doctored to look successful. The Great Leap Forward, which had drawn peasants away from fields into the industrial crucible, ended up devastating agriculture and causing millions of deaths from starvation.

"Is it that you didn't know or didn't want to know?" I ask.

"A combination of the two," he says, "In the city, we didn't know the scope of problems.

"I once asked a bunch of Chinese journalists if they had been aware of

all the people starving during the Great Leap Forward. Only one person knew . . . But I admit I had a vested interest in the system. I didn't have much incentive to doubt the official line."

When he talks of past mistakes, Rittenberg is forthright and seemingly candid. So, I ask: "What if you'd known the human cost of these political campaigns? Would you have tolerated it if you thought you were making progress?"

"Probably," he says, after a long silence. "I believed the end justified the means. I thought we would have to go through a dictatorship to get to the ideal society."

In the early '60s, China's economy improved, but politically, things grew convoluted. Top Chinese leaders argued over simmering problems, among them: heavy bureaucracy dominated by party veterans, peasants' resistance to communes, and a long-running battle over whether to emphasize technical expertise and efficiency or ideology at state enterprises.

Party leaders launched an ideological purification movement to promote self-sacrifice. They also instituted a "rectification campaign" to eliminate corruption among rural officials, but the measures only set the stage for the Cultural Revolution.

Fervent as he was, Rittenberg was wary of getting involved in politics. Like other foreigners, he avoided taking sides in various battles.

Then, the Cultural Revolution came along.

Some China scholars believe that the upheaval resulted from power struggles among a divided leadership.

Others interpret it primarily as an ideological crusade to re-infuse the country with revolutionary spirit and egalitarianism.

The result was chaos: organizing themselves as Red Guards, university and high-school students smashed stores, dragged officials into the streets, and attacked party leaders.

Scholars and officials were sent to work at menial tasks in the countryside. Red Guards were often nothing more than out-of-control mobs, made up of students who were free for political work since Mao closed the schools in 1966.

As counterattacks resulted, the nation split into factional groups. During a 40-day period in 1966, 1,700 people were beaten to death, 33,000 households were ransacked, and 85,000 people were driven out of Beijing, according to a 1980 citation from the New China News Agency published in Fox Butterfield's book.

Like nearly everyone else, Rittenberg didn't understand the maelstrom that would be unleashed during the mid-'60s by the Cultural Revolution, but says now that it sprang from well-intentioned aims to oppose unthinking obedience demanded by the party and breathe life into an ossified bureaucracy.

Believing he saw the seeds of town-hall democracy in the rebellion, he allied himself with one faction of rebels who were vying for power at Radio Peking. When they won, he was appointed as part of three-member group to head the network.

Breaking the expatriate community's unwritten rule, he ventured out to press for reforms during speeches at universities and before various groups. His visibility rose.

Suddenly, he was being asked for his autograph and requested for interviews. At a meeting with African leaders, Mao glowingly pointed to him as an example of an international freedom fighter.

For the Communists, he was an excellent mouthpiece, drawing crowds wherever he went. Later, he would understand that he also was being used as a foil. Because he was an "internationalist," he was immune from attacks and thus some rebel groups used him to shield themselves, as well.

But his immunity ran out: in early 1968, army security went to his home and took him away in a black car. He didn't know it but a second car waited behind it for his wife and children.

Jailed as a spy, Rittenberg was denounced by Red Guards as a "mysterious American . . . of doubtful antecedents and one to be suspected."

For the next ten years, he was held in Qin Cheng No. 1, a special prison near Beijing that held about 500 Chinese leaders, who were purged during the Cultural Revolution.

Until Mao's death in 1976, virtually no prisoner ever was released from it,

according to Fox Butterfield, who writes that 34 leaders were tortured to death, 20 maimed, and 60 went insane at the infamous compound.

During Rittenberg's second imprisonment, he slept on a wooden door in an ice-cold cell that measured seven paces by three and a half paces. Devoid of human contact except for interrogators who grilled him several times a day for three or four months at a time, he never knew what happened to his family.

He suffered brutal hunger, sometimes given nothing more than water or thimble-sized portions of pickled vegetables with gruel. Although he was never tortured physically, he was tormented by cries and groans from nearby cells.

Still, Rittenberg was better prepared for his second detention than his first. His voice of protest returned, demanding that truth would prevail. While he could hear other prisoners falling to pieces, he vowed to stay strong and hopeful.

Despite his debilitated condition, he did exercises in jail. He swabbed his cell clean with a tiny cloth every day and refused to be provoked by hostile guards.

He would not give up on his future, yet he became philosophical. He had done what he could to contribute to the long river of human progress. As the years went by, he grew less afraid of death. The hardships strengthened him.

While Rittenberg was in prison, China underwent continuing turmoil. By the late '60s, Mao had sent in the military to take over schools, factories, and the media network to regain authority over the Red Guard—inspired mob rule.

During the '70s, party factions continued their internal power struggles as leaders pitted ideology against a more practical course of economic growth and liberalized foreign policy. Forces for pragmatism had the upper hand in 1971 when pingpong diplomacy began with the United States. A year later President Richard Nixon went to China and restored ties between the two countries.

By the mid-'70s, the Cultural Revolution had slowed, but the "Gang of Four," a group of leaders including Mao's wife, who had fueled much of the upheaval, still clung to power. In 1976, Mao died. The four leaders were dislodged immediately.

In 1977, Rittenberg was released. Yulin was there to take him home, where he set his eyes on a trio of unfamiliar teenagers who were once his daughters, and on a 12-year-old son who was a 2-year-old tot when he left.

"Without Yulin, I don't know what I would have done," Rittenberg says. "The whole family helped me recover. I came out of jail with a lot of problems—arrhythmia, high blood pressure, sleeplessness—but I was in good shape in about three months."

Still, it took him three or four years to adjust emotionally. "I had shut down all my feelings," he says. The timbre in his voice didn't return to normal for seven years.

Communist officials, many of whom had been imprisoned also, welcomed Rittenberg back to the land of the living. They apologized and gave him ten years' pay in one lump sum—about \$15,000—and a job at New China News Agency as a translator.

He accepted the position, but when he rejoined society, he discovered that few people supported the regime, the party, or communism any more.

As his dream of a utopian world faded, he allowed his party membership to lapse, then decided to leave the country when he saw that Deng Xiaoping, the new Chinese leader, was resisting democratic reforms.

Leaders tried to sway him with offers of a lifetime salary, housing, free medical care, and special treatment as part of a special advisory political group, but he turned them away.

"I knew it meant that I would have to keep my mouth shut," he says. He and Yulin visited the U.S. in 1979, then returned for good a year later, followed by their children.

Today, Rittenberg tries to live without bitterness. "How can I be bitter?" he says. "I was an A-1 zealot. Besides, it's like being a prizefighter who get clobbered and battered."

"After he wins, all he can think about is that he won. Every day was horrible, but you gain a lot of strength that you didn't know you had."

Rittenberg now rejects communism. He had a ringside seat and doesn't like what he saw: one-party dictatorship, limited personal rights, blind allegiance, the constant pitting of one class against another.

ager for China of the Oppenheimer Casing Company of Chicago.

The year of 1931, and I was 20 years old; the month was July. It was exactly a year since I joined O.C.C. as an assistant plant supervisor. The Company processed and exported Sheep and Hog casings either to the main office in Chicago, Illinois, or to the Company's branches in Europe.

Alex Baylin went on, "As you know, one of the methods we employ to have a constant supply of raw material is to advance funds to dealers throughout Hopei Province (in which Tientsin is situated). Against these advances, the dealers undertake to provide us throughout the year with all the casings that pass through their hands.

"Settlement of accounts is at every Chinese New Year. This year, the Chinese Lunar New Year fell in March. Here we are in July and all accounts for the past year should have been settled long ago. However, there is still a substantial amount outstanding against quite a few dealers who have not been able to settle their accounts due to poor slaughter and the smaller availability of casings.

"Well, here is where you come in. We would like you to accompany our Compradore, Hou Hsin San - (A Compradore is a Chinese Manager who supplies all the labor force and is responsible for all operations with Chinese dealers.) You are to go to a village near *Pao Ting Fu* (300 miles west of Tientsin), which shall be your base of operation.

"From this base, you shall travel throughout the countryside and visit all the dealers who owe us money. Hou shall introduce you as our representative who is authorized to collect all outstanding funds due us. You shall be away for about a month.

"The reason you are to accompany Hou is to add support to his efforts and to influence the dealers to settle. A foreigner on this type of a mission should add prestige to Hou and show the dealers that we mean business."

This assignment hit me like a bombshell. I had never been away from home on my own. Imagine the excitement that filled me. I could feel the blood rushing to my head and for a moment, I felt dizzy and was speechless.

"Are you all right, Ben?" Alex Baylin asked. "Sit down. Well, what do you think, would you like to go or shall I offer the assignment to George Liepa (the Plant Supervisor)?"

"No, no, no Mr. Baylin - I'll go, I'll go. It is just that will be my first trip for the firm and I could not imagine a better opportunity. I am so excited that I still can't believe it."

"OK then, you will be leaving in a week - so get yourself everything you need. I shall arrange all the necessary travelling documents and give you further instructions later."

Thus began a month that I shall never forget. It was my first venture on my own into a strange territory to be among strange people whose habits were foreign to me. To have to depend upon my, at that stage, limited knowledge of the Mandarin dialect - without recourse to any alternatives. To be exposed to an entirely foreign diet - to travel throughout the area on strange conveyances.

Except for the train ride to *Pao Ting Fu*, we were to proceed by mule-cart to Hou's village from there - and then to use the mule-cart on our trip to visit the various dealers throughout the countryside.

What faced me on the trip and what transpired during the next 30 days will have to be expressed in many, many more words in succeeding phases as they occur.

Phase Two - The First Night - Unexpected Visitors

I wake up in pitch darkness. "What's that noise?" "It sounds like a rifle shot." I reach for the lamp that should be by my bed, but it's not there. Then I hear more shots. "Where the hell am I?" "What's going on?" Then it comes to me in a flash. I'm in *Hou's* house in his village, which we reached from *Pao Ting Fu* late last night after having arrived at *Pao Ting* late that afternoon from *Tientsin* by rail. Then the two hours on a mule-cart to *Hou's* village. Two hours to traverse no more than 10-12 miles on a dirt road with ruts at every turn.

With my body still aching from the shaking-up on the mule-cart, I try to get my bearings. I remember that on arrival we had some hot tea and then each one of us, *Hou*, his Number Two son *Lao Er* and I bedded down on a *K'ang* - or an elevated ledge stretching over one entire wall of the small 8 foot by 12

foot room. The ledge was covered with a straw matting and was the length of a bed. It was built out of brick and was a permanent fixture. Each one of us slept with our heads to the wall with no more than two feet between us.

I reach over in the darkness and shake *Lao Er* who sleeps next to me. "*Lao Er, sheng ma yisseh?*" In Mandarin, "*Lao Er*, what's going on?" - He answers in a whisper, "*Wai bien you hung - hudze*." "There are bandits outside." "*Pu-yao kai deng*." "Don't turn on the light."

"Bandits?" - That's all I needed to hear!

I start shaking like a leaf and ask him in the Mandarin dialect, "What can we do?"

"Don't worry, just keep quiet," he answers. "There are village people outside who are guarding the village and who have guns. The bandits are on top of the hill which is north of the village and since their shots are answered by the village people by counter shots the bandits know that we have guns and they will not come down from the hill. Go back to sleep and I'll wake you up in the morning."

"Back to sleep?!" *Lao Er* must be kidding. There is no more sleep for me this night and from that hour - which I found out to be 2 o'clock by finally finding my flashlight and checking my watch - until sunrise I am as wide-awake as a cat watching a mouse! True enough, after some more shooting, everything becomes quiet and all I can hear is the snoring and wheezing of *Hou Hsin San* - who is a heavy smoker.

At daybreak we were all up and I had my first taste of a Chinese breakfast - hot soybean milk and *Shaobing Guodza*, a flat baked bun like a bagel without a hole and a long cruller-like piece of dough deep-fried in peanut oil. You sliced the *Shaobing* and inserted the *Guodza* between the two halves - like a sandwich.

As to the morning ablutions - these consisted of a basin of hot water and a towel - used in sequence by all present - luckily with me as the guest being the first one. I say luckily because after everyone was through soaking the same towel in the hot water and then rubbing oneself with it - you can imagine what the towel looked like. It started out being white and ended up gray. This was due to the accumulation of

Chinese opera has elaborate sets, outrageously decorative makeup, and is sung in a shrill, high-pitched tone that to the uneducated Western ear sounds uncomfortably like a nail scratching a wall.

Stuart demonstrates his prowess, raising his head to one side, rolling his eyes and singing—in what to a Westerner sounds like perfect Chinese—a falsetto cantata from the Chinese opera "Couple Coming Down the Mountain."

Learning Chinese was vital, Xiao-Kingston says; to play the role, he had to understand the story. Just as he learned Hebrew quickly when he was in Israel, he says it took him only three months to achieve sufficient fluency in speech and writing to appreciate the nuances of the tales. He began by studying a role that, if he perseveres to the end of the course, will take three years to master but only 20 minutes to perform—the singing character of Bao Gong, a famous judge of ancient China.

He came to China to satisfy his interest in the country, heard of the opera's course and applied. It is rare for Westerners to be accepted, and Kingston is one of only three non-Chinese currently enrolled at the school—the others are a British woman, and a Japanese man studying operatic martial arts.

Kingston is now in his second year of the course. He hopes that the British Council, the U.K.'s official cultural export agency, will cover his tuition next year, as it is doing now.

"Then I will be able to perform clown parts from a selection of operas," he says, ecstatic at the prospect. But it was grim that first year, living off his savings from the basement of a cheap hotel. Now he resides at the school, in a dingy room beside the classroom. But he is oblivious to the dilapidation around him, and possessed by the idea of becoming a clown.

Kingston's first go at clowning came in Israel, where he immigrated in 1977. After three years at Kibbutz Ga'aton in the Western Galilee he moved to Tel Aviv and worked as a toolmaker in the print shops of two daily newspapers—until at the age of 28, he decided to become a clown.

"I joined a Tel Aviv workshop for street theater and clowns," he says. The group, which he says was the "biggest street theater in Israel" from 1985 to 1991, disbanded during the Gulf War. Then he decided to "follow a dream I'd had for years—to visit China, not knowing what to expect, and to expand my knowledge of the clown. My family"—his mother and one sister live in London, another sister in Israel—"were bewildered, but very supportive."

During another break in his rehearsal, he takes time to talk of his ambitions. "I'll stay here three years if my legs and back can take it," he says. "I originally wanted to create a part for the Beijing Opera clown which I would adapt for a Western audience, or sing in English, and take it on tour to England and Israel." At the end of this year, he will have mastered five solo pieces, ranging from 10 to 20 minutes per part.

Eventually, he hopes to be able to teach and perform clown theater and mime in Britain and Israel. He is considering a suggestion to take "Stealing the Silver," a Beijing opera classic, adapt it to Yiddish and take it on tour. That would be something they've never seen in the West End—or, for that matter, at Habimah or the Cameri in Tel Aviv.

WILLIAM H. FERN DONATION

We are extremely pleased to announce the generous donation from the William H. Fern Philanthropic Fund of \$3,050 to underwrite the expense of placing copies of the Chinese version of the *Encyclopedia Judaica* in eighty Chinese libraries all through China, as well as in fifteen of the leading East Asian libraries in the U.S.A. What makes this gesture even more impressive is that it was Mr. Fern's own idea, one with which he approached the trustees of the fund, and certainly an example of an innovative and significant use of such funds. Mr. Fern further designed and had printed a handsome bookplate which be placed in each copy.

UPDATE ON SINO-JUDAIC ARCHIVES IN THE HOOVER INSTITUTION

by Rena Krasno

Our Archives at the Hoover Institution are taking shape and we are acquiring important material. Our last acquisition was donated by Mr. Ben Levaco, who arrived in Palo Alto from Southern California with the express purpose of delivering personal documents and photographs he has collected in China.

Ben Levaco arrived in China in 1915 at the age of 4. After graduating a British School he obtained work at an American Company and purchased animal casings for them in China proper, Manchuria and Mongolia, riding ponies, camels, trains and whatever means of transportation were available. In the course of his adventurous life he kept notes of his impressions, wrote and published his recollections and preserved documents and photographs. Hoover Institutions' archivists were delighted to receive his rare and fascinating collection.

In the evening of June 23, Ben Levaco gave a talk on his life in China at the Palo Alto Albert L. Schultz Jewish Community Center which co-sponsored this event together with the Sino-Judaic Institute. On the same occasion, Ben Levaco's nephew Ron Levaco, Professor of Cinema at San Francisco State University, presented an 18-minute clip of a 1-hour film he is completing for PBS. The subject is foreigners who chose to remain in the People's Republic of China after 1949.

Both speakers aroused much interest in the audience; questions, answers and discussions went well beyond the allotted time.

AN ADVENTUROUS MONTH Phase One - The Assignment

by Ben Levaco

"Ben, I have an interesting assignment for you which I wish I could have taken part in myself, but as you see, I have important matters to take care of right here, in Tientsin."

This opening statement was spoken by Alex Baylin, the assistant man-

He saw faults in the people at the top—narrow-mindedness, overzealousness, corruption—but most of all, he blames communist philosophy.

"I'm definitely not a Marxist anymore," he says. "Marx was brilliant and made many valid points, but the theory of class struggle, the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which was more Lenin, the labor theory of value, those things aren't wholly true ...

"I started out to change the world, to do something for underdogs," he continues. "I didn't get very good results. I get an A for effort. But I took the wrong way.

"I was wrong to think answers lay with the Communist Party and communist doctrine. I was wrong to accept it so fiercely. I came to communism on ideological grounds and that meant that I overestimated concepts and theories.

"I didn't pay enough attention to the specifics, to reality . . . I was attracted to a philosophy that offered a select group of wizards who knows all the answers and explains all the whys.

"I'm very dubious about the whole business of thinking that human beings can create great social plans to guide economic and social development," he says. "We don't know enough about managing society to blueprint the future."

His current politics? "I'm very close to having no answers," he confesses. "I'm looking for something that points the way ahead to make things better for people.

"I don't think the answer is political revolution. At certain times in history, it might have been, but not now. In fact, I think it's better to contribute to human progress on a small scale—to work in the little areas around you—than delude yourself into being part of world-changing schemes."

Rittenberg says he has few regrets, though he wishes he never got involved in factional battles during the Cultural Revolution.

He still is uncertain why he was imprisoned, but suspects the source of his troubles was Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, who may have decided he was a convenient foreign scapegoat.

At the time, he was linked to a conspiracy against Zhou Enlai. "That's absolutely untrue," he says. "I was never part of any movement like that.

The Chinese press later exonerated the two movements I was associated with as conspiring to do that, either."

In fact Rittenberg has nothing but admiration for Zhou Enlai: "He was very affable, direct, sincere. There was no bull about him, no sense of superiority.

"He was thought of as Mao's chief of staff, the implementer, the organizer, but when Zhou Enlai died the country went into deep mourning. It happened while I was in prison. I broke down and cried. I felt like I'd lost a great personal friend. Then Mao died, and not a tear."

His impression of Mao? "He was a great thinker, a great theoretician and strategist.

"In person, he was very poised, very conscious of his importance, but he had an ability to focus on you so that you thought your opinion was the most important thing in the world to him. He had a certain caginess about him, though. He never told you what he was really thinking."

Rittenberg claims never to have had a direct role in any violence. Radio Peking, he says, was the site of a bitter struggle for control, but very little blood was shed while he was there.

Still, he knows that the factions he sided with and argued for were part of a chaotic time that cost hundreds of thousands of people their lives.

"The Cultural Revolution was a holocaust," he states. "It involved enormous cost and suffering."

Rittenberg leans back in his chair and shakes his head. "People say, 'How could he be such a dope?' Well, it's very easy to be one or another kind of dope. It has very little to do with intelligence. If you make any doctrine immune from criticism, you can do all kinds of stupid things."

Rittenberg's story doesn't really end here. While some might have been crushed to discover late to life that their dreams and vision were flawed, Rittenberg found that it free him to start anew.

"When I got out of prison, it took time to get accustomed to freedom, but as I adjusted, it was a bright new world ahead of me. Everyone else was getting older and I was getting younger."

He returned to the U.S. practically penniless. Bob Neuman, a college friend, recalls Rittenberg saying, "Here I am in my sixties and I have to learn how to make a living."

Like storied immigrants, the Rittenbergs plunged themselves into entrepreneurial enterprises and 80-hour work weeks. They landed in Queens, New York, where they lived in a flat and rode the subway every day.

Rittenberg taught courses at the New School, Yulin knitted sweaters to sell, taught Chinese, and gave lessons in Chinese cooking. They started a successful travel business, shuttling tourists to China.

Then, the two went to work for Computerland, selling computers to a country that suddenly hungered for the fruits of Western technology. Milking their connections in China, Rittenberg and Yulin hit the jackpot: in the first four months, Yulin sold \$20 million of computers.

Four years ago, they moved to the Northwest to join one of their daughters. They bought a \$200,000 home, paid it off in full, and live on a 1-acre plot where the yard is filled with fruit trees and the garden is planted with roses, rhododendrons, and hyacinths.

From this suburban paradise, they run a mom-and-pop consulting company, smoothing the way through China for corporate clients and travel groups. "You know, in business, if you're deluded you know pretty quick," he laughs, alluding to his transformation from ideologue to pragmatic businessman.

The Rittenbergs' client list is impressive: Levi Strauss, ARCO, Digital Equipment, Polaroid, Campbell, Mike Wallace, Billy Graham . . .

"When I got out of prison, my family had become something of a legend," says Rittenberg. "The people in power had been persecuted just like me, so once I was exonerated it was like the most wonderful old-school ties you can imagine.

"Because of our contacts, we can see people immediately that otherwise might take a year," he says. "The home phone numbers of officials are considered a state secret. Yulin has a whole book of them."

"It's ironic," I say. "A former Communist embracing capitalist America?"

"Yes, but I don't have any reservations," he says. "I think we're being more helpful to China than we've ever been. We're doing only good projects, good technology-transfer jobs that will

produce things that the Chinese need. In the end, this may be the most effective way to get things done.

"Since I was in the Army, I wanted to be a bridge between these two countries," he says, from his kitchen, which is swamped with the Wall Street Journal, People's Daily, China Daily News, and other periodicals.

"I couldn't do it anymore on the China end. But I can still be of help on this . . . There's a great misunderstanding of China in this country right now.

"The regime in Beijing isn't the worst in the world. China is not a society in total darkness or anything like that. There are plenty of problems, but there is a majority of fairly strong reformers who came to power in the last congress."

The Tiananmen Square debacle was a dark stain for Deng Xiaoping's government, but Rittenberg believes reforms will continue.

"After Tiananmen Square, I attacked the Chinese leaders vigorously on CBS News and other programs. I thought that the students were wonderful.

"But now I also think they were manipulated by both the hard-liners who wanted an excuse for suppression and by elder democrats who were trying to bring down the regime.

"Democracy will come to China, but I think it'll come from the professionals, the managers, the constructive-minded entrepreneurs who see its benefits.

"China first has to build up its economy, then it will democratize just like Singapore and other Asian countries have."

The dreams continue to rise from Sidney Rittenberg, who gave many of his years to dreams of revolution and then to business success and now perhaps to finding a measure of personal happiness and peace of mind.

"When the book comes out, we may anger the Chinese and lose our contacts," says Rittenberg. "We're prepared for that risk. We won't starve.

"We say we can always plant corn in the yard," he says with a laugh. "I promised myself in prison that I would write this story."

He also made another promise: to make Yulin happy.

In his book, Yulin is heroic: confined to a single room in a Beijing

hotel-turned-jail for eight months, she was sent into the freezing cold of a labor camp to make bricks for three years.

An independent, down-to-earth person, she never was easily won over by political dogma. Short, round-faced, she smiles broadly in the family photo on the wall. Nevertheless, she looks formidable.

"Yulin is a wonderful, wonderful person," he says. "We're very, very close right now, all of us," he says, pointing to the pictures of his children.

The Rittenbergs' eldest daughter Jenny has moved away from the Puget Sound area to a small village in Alaska. Their daughter Sunny, a computer programmer, lives in Bellevue. Their daughter Toni is a doctor in Boston, and Sidney Jr. is an advertising photographer in Los Angeles.

Speaking of his kids, Rittenberg says, "We're great friends. It's really a great thing. I'm very lucky.

"You know, I gave the manuscript to an agent, and he said it was a sad story.

"I said, 'Are you sure you read the right book?'"

SIDNEY SHAPIRO: FOR THE SAKE OF THE REVOLUTION

(continued from page 1)

Shanghai was in chaos, jammed with refugees; garbage trucks would load corpses from the gutters. Shapiro was numbed by the callous treatment of the masses.

When the Communists took over in 1949, Shapiro became a literary translator. He found it stimulating and exciting, and it allowed him to study Chinese emotions and attitudes. Phoenix, who speaks English, was a war correspondent, and later was given work "in the arts."

He was captivated by Chairman Mao's vision of a China where the masses could suffer deprivation as equals. And today, four decades later, he remains a supporter of the Chinese version of "socialist democracy."

But China has changed; its economy, once rigidly controlled from the center, is increasingly being exposed to market forces. At the same time, the authoritarian power of the politbu-

ro survives almost intact. Does this meet Shapiro's approval?

"I'm impressed with the changes, and it's the right way to go. They have to break with their old pseudo-hangover — the deeply ingrained, autocratic, paternalistic, who-you-know mentality. This is not something the Communists brought in, but they didn't get rid of it either. If you compare it with the 1940s, or even 10 years ago, they are doing fabulous things. It would appear that the economic measures they are taking now are correct." He adds that he has a "lot of respect for the leaders in China calling the shots now."

And what of the Tiananmen massacre on June 4, 1989? Who was to blame? His response is of a lawyer, putting a gloss on his client's case. "At the time of Tiananmen," he says, "the country was teetering on economic crisis. Students camped and protested in the square against graft, corruption and inflation, on and off for six weeks. Their criticisms were 100 percent justified, but the authorities handled it very badly.

"The municipal authorities," he said, "bent over backwards to show how democratic they were, and let them alone for six weeks. They set up toilets, provided doctors, but they didn't come to terms. Finally it became a traffic and sanitation problem, and there were provocations, perhaps (instigated) by Taiwan . . ."

Shapiro says the authorities had to get the protestors out of Tiananmen. "The government are not people who go about doing rash things. Finally, they just had to do it. No students were hurt or shot at first, but the overall situation got out of hand, and the army was attacked by mobs, not students. Then someone gave orders to shoot. It was a tragedy. Whether they could have not fired, I do not know."

Amnesty International says thousands died that day. According to Shapiro, it was "probably a couple of hundred."

The conversation turns to his own roots. Does Shapiro feel any empathy with the Jewish people? "I feel at home with Jews and with Jewish jokes, but I don't believe in religion. I am an atheist," he answers with evident discomfort. He visited Israel in 1989 with

one of the foreign businesses in Shanghai.

Russian Vice-Consul Igor V. Outkin and Alexander Y. Shamanovsky insisted that there are no relevant documents on Russian Jews in their consulate, even though a Russian consulate has been housed in the same building at 20 Hwang Pu Road since 1915. Mr. Outkin, who previously served as Soviet Vice-Consul in Shanghai, explained the paucity of records as due to a situation in which both previously and today "we do not separate Jews by nationality." Hence, even if records did exist, it would be difficult to distinguish Jews from non-Jews. He added that the Soviet Shanghai consulate was closed in 1962, 1964, and again for an unspecified period during the Cultural Revolution, at which times "all documents were sent to the Central Archives" in Moscow. He asserted that "movements of people are not confidential at all" and suggested that we apply to the Moscow Central Archives via the Russian Foreign Ministry. He suggested checking the Shanghai Library for the Russian-language books Russians in Shanghai, by Captain V.C. Jiganoff (Shanghai, ca. 1930), and Natalya Ilyana's Roads Return (2 vols. Moscow, ca. 1952), about Harbin. He promised to cable the Russian Foreign Ministry on our behalf requesting additional information on Russian Jews in China.

At this point I asked the Russian Consuls General if, as part of their general request, they might mention files of the monthly Epoch, (EPOXA in Russian). This paper was published in the 1940s by the Soviet Citizens Association of Shanghai under the editorship of a Jew named Zagen. The activities of this Association are of historical interest because it along with the Soviet Consulate General in Shanghai was responsible in certain instances for granting the all-important clearances necessary for Soviet Jews to leave China. We know something about the activities of this group from a June 23, 1954 letter in the Jewish Agency archives from W.J. Citrin in Hong Kong to N. Bar-Giora in Jerusalem. "Clearance from the Soviet Citizens Association," according to Mr. Citrin, is connected with 'voluntary contributions' which are set beyond the means of the migrants . . . This particular clearance is more difficult to obtain in the north of China, and particularly in Harbin. It often happens that after the exit permit is grant-

ed, it is cancelled one or two days before the intended departure of the migrant. No reason is given for such action, and the person, having liquidated his business and personal affairs, is left to sit and meditate until his final fate is decided some months later . . . The financial position of the Jews remaining in China is becoming more and more acute." The files of Epoch and Soviet Shanghai Consular documents, may shed light on the financial squeezing of Soviet Jews as they attempted to leave China—an all too-common occurrence as Jews tried to leave the U.S.S.R. in the 1970s and 1980s. Hopefully, in the spirit of detente, the post-Gorbachev Russian Foreign Ministry will be forthcoming in releasing documents that clarify the activities of its discredited predecessor regime.

Our final November 6 appointment was with Tess Johnston, the effervescent and indefatigable secretary of the United States Consulate in Shanghai. During a ten year residence in Shanghai Tess has accumulated three thick folders of material on Shanghai Jewry. She readily shares this information with researchers visiting the United States Consulate. Among the unusual items in her collection are: annual reports of the Council of the Jewish Community of Shanghai up to June 30, 1959, including material on Tientsin and Harbin; and miscellaneous articles from such publications as the United States-based China Connection and the Hong Kong-based The South China Morning Post and Shofar. Ms. Johnston's activity as Judaic history resource person is completely voluntary and over-and-beyond her extensive consular responsibilities. Nevertheless she assists scholars on a time-available basis. She can be contacted c/o American Consulate General, PSC 461 Box 200, FPO AP 96521-0002.

In summation, I am looking forward to a positive response from the Poles on the reproducibility of their log book and other Shanghai or Nanking consular documents with Judaic content. I am hopeful that the Russians, in the spirit of glasnost and detente, will divulge Epoch and other Shanghai records which they almost certainly have in their Moscow Central Archives. And I thank the American Consular personnel in Shanghai for facilitating appointments with their Polish and Russian counterparts and for this unstinting support of historical research.

[Editor's Note: The reproduction of the Polish register was accomplished, and a copy is now in the Sino-Judaic Institute Archives of the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, California.]

CLOWNING AROUND

by Lindsey Shanson

reprinted from The Jerusalem Report

December 17, 1992

Xiao Shi grimaces as he squats, puts his hands in the lotus position, lifts his rear and waddles around the Beijing classroom six times. Perspiring freely, he rolls his eyes in time with the movement of his bottom. Funny, but even as he performs this very Chinese movement, called "exercise for the clown," he doesn't look at all Chinese.

The grueling contortion is designed to strengthen thigh muscles, knees, ankles and the lower back. It is no mean task for Xiao Shi, born Stuart Kingston, a Jewish Londoner, 38 years ago, on a route that included a 14-year detour to Israel and is one of three foreign students currently studying at the Beijing Opera Company's school in the Chinese capital.

Before taking the name Xiao Shi — it means "Laughing Lion" — Kingston briefly called himself Xiao Dao Tian, which literally translates into "laughter makes the sky fall down." But he changed his name on the advice of a fortune-teller, who considered the first one an ill omen.

Xiao Shi resumes his exercise, to the thump-thump-thump of a stick against the wall, an improvised metronome wielded by Beijing Opera choreographer Jin Guang Yao, the clown school's principal tutor. The beat sets the pace for the clown's every twitch; each movement of the hands, the eyes, the feet and the bottom is in time with the percussion.

"He's a hard-working student," says Jin, who is initiating Xiao-Kingston into the complexities of Chinese opera — a mixture of the arts of dance, acting, martial arts, acrobatics, mime and high-pitched opera-singing into what the Chinese see as a "complete" art form. To qualify as a practitioner of this kind of opera, called the highest level of the Chinese arts, he must become accomplished in the entire process. It's one that seems to suit him, with his wide eyes, high forehead, broad face and expressive features. "Many actors," he says, "regard the clown as the highest form of performance."

interpretations be attached to Ancestor Worship or to the honors paid Confucious. These are merely social and civil customs. It is therefore not necessary to oppose these customs in order to seek converts to Christianity.

The Franciscans and the Dominicans, on the other hand, held that Ancestor Worship and the honors paid Confucius, were more than secular respect. They were in fact superstition and idolatry, for the Chinese worshipped, not God, but a material Heaven.

The third issue, the translation of the Chinese word, "Tien," was the area in which the Jesuits, in order to bolster their own position, brought the Kaifeng Jews and the European Jews into the debate. The Jesuits, in order to demonstrate that the Chinese did not worship a corporeal Heaven, pointed to the practises of both the Kaifeng Jews and the Jews of Europe. Their argument is best summed up in the "Remarks on the Preceding Letter of Father Gozani."

The "Letter" referred to, is one written by Father Gozani to Father Suarez, and is dated Nov. 1762. The "Remarks" following the Gozani letter is described in a footnote as follows: "These remarks are from the Jesuits, and annexed to Father Gozani." No mention is made as to the actual author of these "Remarks."

The Jews of Kaifeng, argued the Jesuits, are as dismayed by idolatry as are the Christians, and would therefore never worship a corporeal Heaven. Yet the Chinese Jews do indeed "worship God under the name of Tien, or Heaven . . ."

Moreover, "Tis very common for the European Jews, who are as far removed from idolatry as those of China, to use 'Heaven,' in speaking of God . . ." They are merely using a "figurative expression." The Jesuit argument was to no avail. Pope after Pope ruled against the Jesuits.

The beginning of the end of the Rites Controversy occurred in the 1930's, not in China, but in Japan. Why did the Japanese bow and pay reverence to the Shinto Shrines of their Ancestors? Were they engaging in a religious or secular ceremony? The Japanese Ministry of Education set the matter to rest by declaring officially that the bowing and the reverence displayed was merely a matter of Patriotism, and therefore totally

secular. No Church debate ensued. The controversy which beset the Church in China failed to raise its head in Japan. The Church had learned to respect cultural differences in other lands.

On December 8, 1939, a document approved by Pius XII, finally and for all time ended the Rites Controversy. The document stated "that the honors paid to Confucius are not religious acts taken in themselves, but rather civil honors, and therefore Christians may honor Confucius in their way; that it is lawful and upright to observe toward deceased ancestors the traditional civil observances and that all clergy are dispensed from the obligation to take the Ex Que Singulari oath."

It is frequently hypothesized that if the Jesuit's point of view had prevailed, Catholic Christianity would have made great inroads in China. As³ the Dominicans and the Franciscans prevailed, K'ang Hsi's successor banished missionaries from China. In the minds of many the former was the direct cause of the latter.

It would have been dramatic and perhaps theatrical for the opinions of the Kaifeng Jews to have influenced the resolution of the Rites Controversy. But on the face of it, the views of the Kaifeng Jews did not affect the outcome one way or the other.

1) *The Chinese, Their History and Culture* by Kenneth Latourette, Vol. 1, p. 337, Macmillan, N.Y., 1934.
2) *Travels of the Jesuits* by Mr. Lockman, Vol. II, Second Edition, pp 11-27, 1762.
3) AAS, Vol. 32 [1940, pp 24-26]. From *100 Roman Documents Concerning the Chinese Rites Controversy (1645-1941)*, University of San Francisco, The Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, 1942.

POLISH, RUSSIAN, AND UNITED STATES CONSULAR RECORDS FROM SHANGHAI ABOUT JEWISH REFUGEES: An Interim Report

by Jonathan Goldstein,
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On November 6, 1992, through the good offices of United States Congressman Newt Gingrich, I was able to meet in Shanghai with representatives from the Polish, Russian, and United States Consulates-General. My objective was to ascertain what records about twentieth century Jewish refugees may be extended and also accessible to historical researchers. I was accompanied on all three

visits by Marcia Ristaino, Asian Acquisitions Librarian of the Library of Congress, and Paul Stone, a Lewis and Clark College student writing his senior thesis on Chinese Jewry. Chiara Betta, a doctoral candidate in Sino-Judaica at London's School of Oriental and African Studies, joined the visits to the Russian and American consulates. Lawrence E. Sheftel, a participant in Harvard University's August 1992 conference on Jewish diasporas in China, partook in the Polish and American consular visits.

The visit to the Polish consulate was far-and-away the most productive of the three sojourns. Consul General Jozef Soltysiewicz showed us a mammoth tome of approximately 200 pages listing Polish citizens who passed through either Shanghai or Nanjing between January 9, 1934 and October 29, 1941. He was uncertain whether this 'sign in' book was kept at the Polish Embassy in Nanjing or in Shanghai. The printed portion of the book was a standard log used in Polish diplomatic missions around the world. The information inscribed in the volume is similar to United States census data. Either the registrant himself or, more probably, a consular official, recorded the following: registration date; full name of registrant; his or her profession; religion [i.e. "Mojzeszowa" for a Jew]; birthdate; birthplace; marital status; address in Poland [non-existent for virtually all Jews]; address in the consular region; documents submitted to register [usually a passport; there was no reason why a stateless Pole would sign this register]; name and date of birth of wife and children; passport expiration date; and "other notes," i.e. "husband is emigrant from Russia."

The log book is in Polish. The Consul General noted that this book has been of interest to at least one prior researcher on Jewish refugees in Shanghai, Mrs. Phyllis Horal of London. He is in the process of inquiring whether the Polish Foreign Ministry will permit photoduplication. If permission is granted, I will try to make a professional microfilm copy that can serve as a master for additional xerox, microfilm or microfiche replication. Unfortunately, United States Shanghai Consul Ray McGunigle ascertained that there is no microfilming equipment available in Shanghai from consular or academic institutions. I am in the process of determining whether such equipment can be borrowed or rented from

Phoenix, and found it very moving. He went with the knowledge and blessing of the Chinese authorities. The Israeli government regarded him as an unofficial emissary, provided escorts, and treated him royally. "I strongly support the concept of a Jewish homeland," he said afterwards.

Today, from the tranquility of his Beijing home, he looks back without remorse. He loves China, and always has. The luxuries bestowed on him by a grateful administration are simple, yet a treasure by comparison to the lot of the ordinary citizen. He enjoys a ground-floor home with a courtyard and two rooms, a fax machine, telex and international telephone — acknowledgments of a lifetime devoted to the cause.

The outstanding token of this recognition is his membership in the People's Political Consultative Council, a body of unpaid members who analyze and discuss policy and legislation. The appointment, by the ruling politburo, is a mark of esteem for services rendered.

His living room wall is graced with a 1949 photograph of Chairman Mao after the liberation of Beijing, and a poem to his wife Phoenix. Their daughter, a doctor, and her husband have been allocated a home nearby. His book, *The Jews of Old China*, was published three years ago to much acclaim, he says. It is his own story that has remained largely untold till now.

SINO-JUDAIC REFLECTIONS: THE STEPPING-STONE SYNDROME The Symbolic Encounter of Diaspora Chinese with Jews

by Albert H. Yee
Professor of Educational Psychology
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This essay discusses some broad similarities between the Chinese and Jews. Reference is given the Chinese Stepping-Stone Syndrome (Yee, 1992), a social-psychological complex that explains and predicts Chinese behavior. Thousands of years of oppressive, bitter hardship have shaped the behavioral characteristics

of the Chinese and Jewish peoples. Although most particulars differ, their life conditions have been marked by prolonged authoritarianism and self-sufficiency.

As misrule, whether indigenous or not, necessitated subservience and opposition, both peoples exhibit conditioning by totalitarianism. Lacking civil liberties and recourse to law, the Jews and Chinese have had much reason to live and let live, to resist or flee if possible, submit to injustice in order to survive, and to carry on as best they could. They share a unique psychological dissociation that other peoples have not experienced, that is, their histories lack compatibility in culture-state-people (civilization-nation-family/person) identity. This dissociation is still manifested by extraordinary inbred apprehension and awareness of life's vicissitudes. For many, it is a source of subliminal unease motivating their restless work ethic. Such existence through thousands of years without nation-state bonds and socioemotional attachments which other peoples take for granted have produced interesting parallels between the Chinese and Jews. For example, the Jewish idea of messianism is partly reflected in pre-Mencius Confucianism — the collective force of the sage king, the true "son of Heaven," uplifting all and perfecting human relationships and endeavors.

Minus the sense of nation-state identity and security, the Chinese and Jews committed loyalty, trust, work, fortune, etc. into family relationships to utmost limits. Although their families sometimes mirrored the authoritarianism of those who oppressed them and fomented petty injustice, there is no rival to their familial groups in their comprehensive handling of basic human activities (self-reliance) across the ages. Conservative and traditional, their sense of family and culture have provided lifespan motivational needs, social identity, and a high degree of group mobility whenever necessary and possible to seek opportunities and security elsewhere.

Find an errant Chinese or Jew and in many cases you will have one with a dysfunctional family background lacking cohesion and traditional values. Although the family is universally vital

for the young, the essential culture-people profile of Sino-Jewish behavior placed greater demands on family socialization and kinship relations. Those who know the critical importance of nurture and the ideal of life-long self-development in Chinese and Jewish cultures can surely deny the claims of hereditarians that the intellectual prominence of Jews and Chinese in the U.S. mainly accrues from genetics (Yee, et al, in press). Typically self-critical, their best always seek to improve.

While religion provided the Jews a cultural dimension that the Chinese did not evolve, the Chinese developed faith within their kinship frame. Filial piety and reverence of ancestors provided the Chinese continuity and the unspoken sense of eternity. Whatever their many differences, such as religion, both peoples' families as enduring institutions have honored and preserved their respective civilizations. Emphasizing powerful culture-people associations, the Chinese and Jews have had the capacity to relate their cultural heritage and significance as distinct, worthy peoples wherever they may be in the world, a trait much noted by others. Unlike other peoples, e.g., the British and French, identity by nation-state and patriotic symbols is irrelevant. For while the Stars and Stripes and Union Jack are emulated by their respective peoples, the Chinese have had no equivalent (nor a Magen David) to inspire them. Just consider how many flags have flown over Tiananmen in this century alone? Comparing the profusion of national monuments in Washington and Paris to the paucity of such in Beijing, one finds nothing heroic spanning the dynasties. Similar to the pyramids, the Ming tombs and Great Wall are testimonies to totalitarianism, alas, unbeknownst to the common tourist.

Modern Israel carries immense meaning for Jews, the likes of which the Chinese are still yearning for — within the land of their ancestors but where they are mostly ruled as in the past. For it is not the soil itself but everything that goes with nationhood, as clearly shown by the patriotism of peoples with true culture-state-people associations. In contrast, the Chinese memorialize heroes martyred

through injustice and ill rule (e.g., Yue Fei, Ch'u Yuan, Tiananmen students). Likewise, Bermant's (1977) chapter, "In Every Generation . . .," relates a history of anti-semitism filled with martyrdom (e.g., Ten Sages, kidush hashem). What peoples other than the Chinese and Jews document thousands-year histories through heroic martyrdom?

Unlike the Japanese, the Chinese view their homeland in kinship and abstract, cultural terms (culture-people), i.e., "We are people of the Yellow Emperor." Recall the aged Kuomintang veterans that revisited China for the first time since the late 1940's. As they passed through Hong Kong from Taiwan in 1989, their shirts were inscribed with the characters, "xiang jia" (homesick), to represent their abiding sentiments for family, kin, and village — but not for China as a nation-state. In sharp contrast, the strong unity of culture-state-people associations for the Japanese illustrates the point. For while the Japanese family is close-knit, Japanese boys are socialized to achieve outside their families in, say, the government and corporations, i.e., for Japan. Forsaking their roots, Japanese Americans ("super Americans") reveal their differences from the Chinese. They, like Jews, have pursued political advancement and recognition and intermarried at higher rates than do Chinese Americans. Traditionally, Chinese boys have been raised to assume lifelong family commitments. Except for their tragic adulation of Mao Zedong that led them into the mad depths of the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese have never had the same sense of loyalty to their rulers and do not adapt culturally as have the Japanese. For the Chinese and Jews, their fierce work ethic, drive for material gain and wealth, power, educational and professional status, etc. come from all of this. The "middleman" role of the Chinese in S.E. Asia surely relates to Jewish history and has been so compared; the same for the cultural ethos of the scholar. Books relating the Jews and Japanese (e.g., Ben-Dasan, 1970) are interesting but neglect more fundamental Sino-Jewish similarities. While racism has been strong in Japan as elsewhere, the Chinese have generally regarded

others by their merits and been nonmilitant with their xenophobia. The treatment of American POWs by the Japanese in WWII as compared to the Chinese in the Korean War in worth noting.

The Stepping-Stone Syndrome attempts to encapsulate the above and much more. In brief oversimplification, it can be posited by two intersecting continuums. The first, authoritarianism, concerns the variable conditions of misrule (adversity). This bipolar continuum ranges between the poles of extreme oppression [A+] and laissez-faire detachment [A-]. A+ was seen in the Tiananmen massacres of 1989 and following years of police-state purges as well as the brutal reign of Emperor Qin Shihuang, who built much of the Great Wall 2,000 years ago and buried alive hundreds of scholars to ensure absolute rule. This extreme is well-illustrated by those who directed the tanks that not only crushed the Tiananmen demonstrators but ground their tracks over the bodies to obliterate any hope of identity. A+ can be generalized to the Jews (e.g., slaughter by the Roman emperor Hadrian (117-138) and the Holocaust).

The other polar extreme [A-], concerns weak, ineffective rule or impasse, such as during natural calamities (e.g., famines) and dynastic decline (e.g., Opium War defeats). Jewish equivalents might be Roman rule before Hadrian and medieval Europe before the crusades. However, as will be discussed shortly, this polar extreme featured differently for the Jews and Chinese.

The second continuum concerns the people's compliance behavior, which I term counter-allegiance. The Chinese related to their life situations, rulers and state authority through the bipolar extremes of despair [CD] and rancor [CR]. Despair and fatalistic capitulation [CD] can be represented by the pathetic close to Lai She's Ricksha Boy, when the once ambitious, hardworking laborer ends up as a destitute, beaten prop in funeral processions. When Mao Zedong's Great Leap Forward failed, the people collapsed in exhausted despair and capitulation; about 27 million died from starvation in the early 1960's. Anyone who known the worst of times in Chinese societies knows the down-trodden hopelessness of people who

for little fault of their own can do no more. When rancor and smoldering resentment [CR] approached breakpoint revolt at Tiananmen in 1989, CCP leaders saw the threat and applied classic ruthlessness to crush it. Also, rancor developed after successive Qing defeats by the imperialists, such as the humiliating surrender of Vietnam to the French in 1885, the last straw for revolutionists, such as Sun Yat-sen.

Jewish capacity to adapt, resist, aggress, and seek retribution with arms, i.e., Jewish activism and tough-minded determination, do not parallel Chinese behavior so well. Perhaps Jewish counter-allegiance behavior would be better characterized as antagonism than compliance. While religious unity could mobilize the Jews, the Chinese were insular (Lu Xun said China was a suffocating "windowless, iron house" and berated the Chinese for their passivity), defenseless against domination, and seldom able to muster united resistance and rebel leaders. However, to achieve and earn in life, the Chinese and Jews have exhibited survival and refugee traits that are deeply ingrained and their motivation to seek opportunity and succeed greatly drives their behavior. Although the Jews and Chinese manifest this continuum differently, the qualities seem to differ by degree more than by kind. For pitted against the wall of despair [CD], as when forced to denounce their faith or die, thousands of Jews committed suicide. Also, CD behavior during the Holocaust resembled the capitulation of the Chinese to bitter fate, as during the Cultural Revolution when unknown millions died. It is at the opposite pole, rancor [CR], where Jewish (antagonistic versus compliant) behavior reaches a climax well before the Chinese will to revolt and fight back. This contrast no doubt stems from their differing philosophies, Judaism and Confucianism/Daoism/Buddhism.

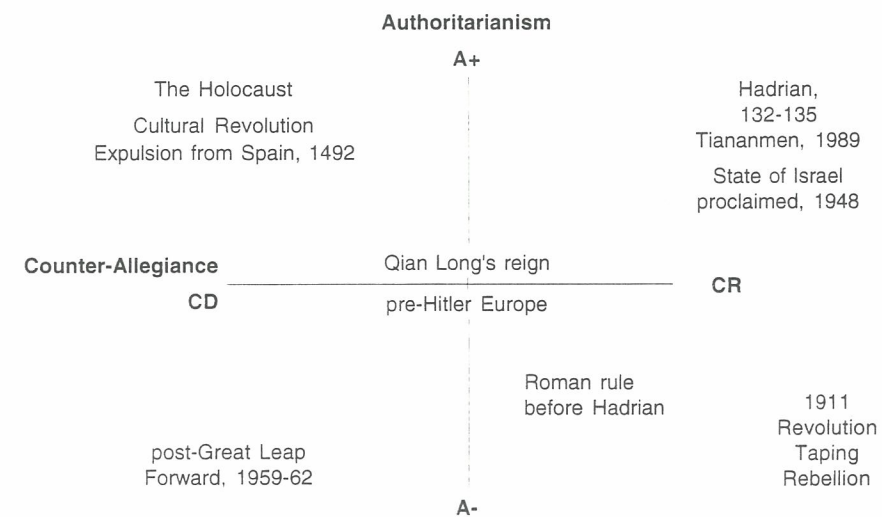
Midpoint intersection of the two continuums (to form four quadrants) represents the best of times for the Chinese — stable, functioning society and dictatorship (not too fierce nor ineffective) and conforming, achieving people, such as the Golden Age of Emperor Qian Long's reign (1711-1799). The counter-allegiance of Hong Kong people towards British rule today hovers centrally. However, Hong

Kong fears of change in 1997 have generated the greatest diaspora of Chinese abroad in modern times. Hong Kong has been the classic stepping-stone for the Chinese, a geopolitical but more importantly a psychological stepping-stone haven and gateway from the "iron house." In per capita terms, Singapore's brain drain has been about as great. Relative to rule [A+ to A-], Hong Kong is south of center and Singapore is north.

Except for post-WWII developments, the best of times for the Jews were when they were tolerated and relatively free to work and achieve, as in pre-Hitler Europe and pre-WWII Shanghai. Yet how many times were such periods of acceptance overturned by shifting politics and rule. As Bermant (1977) concluded, although many surrendered Judaism and even Jewish identity and achieved, such as Disraeli and Trotsky, they will and have become a Jew again with "but one knock at his door at an early hour" (p. 321). Overlooking differences by "color," we can say that the U.S. today is less bigoted and racist towards the Chinese and Jews than in the past. Both peoples have freedom and opportunities to pursue their chosen lifestyles and achieve. Yet forgetting their culture-people associations, most importantly family values, they haz-

ard the loss of ethnic strengths that have evolved and been well-proven across thousands of years. We have now returned full-circle to family traditions, which I believe are uppermost in being Chinese and Jewish.

SIMPLIFIED MODEL OF THE STEPPING STONE SYNDROME



Funds had been sought, without success, to conduct cooperative research on the Chinese family with psychologist friends in China. Concerned with distinct family behavioral patterns, we want to give special attention to parent-child interaction influencing the academic achievement of children, China's one-child/family policy and other changes affecting the family spur our interest. After Rabbi Anson Laytner's welcomed invitation to write the above article, I have expanded the research design to study Jewish as well as Chinese families for a more comprehensive, cross-cultural project. This larger goal of ascertaining specifics of parent-child interaction, values, attitudes, etc. in Chinese and Jewish families will be conducted in China, the U.S., and elsewhere in East Asia. Advice from Points East readers on funding sources for our research would be welcomed. I may be reached c/o Florida International University, Miami, FL 33199; phone: (305) 348-2610; fax: (305) 594-7142.

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THE KAIFENG JEWS AND THE RITES CONTROVERSY

by Leo Gabow
 Past President
 Sino Judaic Institute

The Chinese Jews of Kaifeng did not know that they were being used as witnesses in a controversy that raged within the Catholic Church. The controversy lasted for some 300 years and had to do with Catholic policy in non-Christian countries, specifically in China.

The "Rites Controversy" as it was called, and as we know it today, was initiated in the year 1630 and finally resolved in 1939. The principal adversaries were the Jesuits on one side and the Franciscans and Dominicans on the other. In addition, 26 Popes took positions unfavorable to the Jesuits. The controversy was often bitterly personal and some cynics felt that behind much of the rhetoric was competition to determine which Catholic order should have dominant access to China.

When the Emperor K'ang Hsi issued his "Edict of Toleration" in 1692, which in effect provided for Freedom of Religion, the Jesuits looked upon the Edict with favor, though Rome opposed it. The Church was caught up in a bitter, internecine struggle, though there were apparently a number of factors other than theological ones, that contributed to the bitterness. Kenneth Scott Latourette writes, "Jealousies between orders, rivalries among European nations, the Portuguese claim of the right to control the Church in the Far East, and the rising tide of feeling in Europe against the Jesuits complicate the debate."

The theological substance of the controversy was threefold, and the debate centered on the interpretations given the following factors.

- 1) Ancestor Worship
- 2) Chinese Veneration paid to Confucius.
- 3) Meaning of the Chinese word "Tien," translated by many Catholic missionaries as "Heaven."

The Jesuits, starting with Father Matteo Ricci, held that no theological