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- 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.
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VOL. 10, NO. 3 NOVEMBER, 1995

THE KOBE END OF THE SUGIHARA STORY

by Robert L. Sharp
reprinted from <u>Bulletin</u> of Igud Yotzei Sin (n.d.)
excerpted from <u>The Japan Times Weekly</u>

The story of Japanese diplomat Chiune Sugihara, who issued thousands of transit visas to Jews escaping from eastern Europe in 1940, thus drawing comparisons with the events depicted in the film, "Schindler's List," was part of much larger geopolitical drama which tied him to Leo Hanin, now an active 81-year-old living in Encino, Calif...and others in the Jewish community of Kobe of the time.

Hanin was raised in Harbin, Manchuria, polyglot city of Russians, Jews, Chinese, Japanese and stateless persons. Japanese had been in Manchuria since 1905 operating the South Manchuria Railway on the Liaodong Peninsula, which they had been awarded by the Treaty of Portsmouth ending the Russo-Japanese war.

At the age of 17, Hanin's father sent him to Shanghai to attend a British school as he realized the importance of English in foreign trade. After school he was employed in a Shanghai textile firm who sent him to open an office in Kobe, Japan, in 1936. Hanin soon became a fixture of the small Jewish community of Kobe, which he served as secretary.

German expansion into Eastern Europe in the late 1930s put pressure on the Jewish population of Poland, many of whom fled to Lithuania, which was briefly independent between the world wars. Just as the Soviet Union annexed Lithuania, Sugihara, as the one-man Japanese consulate, became important to the Jews.

In June 1940, on Leo Hanin's side of the world, the Jewish community of Kobe received a message from Lithuania asking if they would stand guarantee for seven people in transit through Japan, and soon the extent of Sugihara's visa operations was felt with many requests for help.

It has been something of a mystery why Consul General Sugihara, who had no previous relationships with Jews, and prior to knowledge of the horrors of the Holocaust, would issue visas to Jewish refugees in apparent contravention of orders from his superiors in the Foreign Ministry.

One explanation is contained in an intriguing book, The Fugu Plan: The Untold Story of the Japanese and the Jews during World War II, by the former rabbi to the Jewish community in Tokyo, Marvin Tokayer, together with Mary Schwartz, a writer with experience in Japan (Paddington Press: 1979). This book suggests it was unstated Japanese policy to gain the good graces of the world Jewish community and part of a plan to create an "Israel in Manchuria" as a buffer against the Soviet Union.

(continued on page 4)

A COCHIN JEW RECALLS HER CHILDHOOD 'SYNAGOGUE OF MIRACLES'

by Eric Silver reprinted from The Jerusalem Report, 13 July 1995

Before she left her native Cochin, on the steamy Malabar coast of southwest India, for a Galilee kibbutz in 1951, Ruby Daniel, a 38-year-old clerk, went to the Kadavumbagam synagogue to pray for a safe journey.

Her family worshiped in the more fashionable Paradesi synagogue at the opposite end of a curving lane still known unceremoniously as Jew Town. "There was something wonderful about the Kadavumbagam," she says 44 years later. "All sorts of people, Christians and Hindus as well as Jews, used to go and ask God's blessing. Many miracles were attributed to it. It was customary to bring gifts if anyone fell ill, was embarking on a dangerous journey, or had lost something, or if a woman was about to give birth."

As a child Daniel was taken there by her mother on Simhat Torah to peer through the dense latticework of the women's gallery as the menfolk clapped, cavorted and sang to rejoice in the renewal of the Torah-reading cycle. There were festive prayers in all the synagogues, serving an ancient community of 2,500 Jews, but Kadavumbagam was where the action was.

"The women," Daniel recalls, "wore their best silks and jewelry. They decorated the women's gallery by hanging thin pieces of tin in different colors from its ceiling. When the wind blew, the pieces tinkled."

Ruby Daniel, now 82, stood in the synagogue again in late June. If there was "something wonderful" about it in 1951, she had more reason to marvel in 1995. Kadavumbagam (in the local Malayalam language it means "beside the landing place," because the synagogue was built near a fishing pier) was sold for use as a warehouse in the 50s, when most of the Malabar Jews emigrated to Israel.

The retired kibbutz teacher, tiny, birdboned and a touch overwhelmed, was revisiting it not in Cochin, but at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, where it is the centerpiece of a summer exhibit that commemorates India's Jewish communities: Cochini, Bene Israel and Baghdadi. About 60,000 of them live in Israel.

The teak interior of the synagogue, endowed in 1549 by Ya'akov Ben-David Kashtiel, was brought to Israel five years ago with the aid of a British donor, Fred Worms. It took three years to acclimate the carved ceiling panels and rosettes, beams and pillars, stairs and gallery, to the dry air of Jerusalem; then 10,000 hours of scraping, rubbing and

(continued on page 5)

From the editor:

Once again, I must apologize for the delay in getting out Points East.

Actually, when I first began to procrastinate. I had in mind to tell you that in early October, my daughter Miriam became a Bat Mitzvah. As anyone who has ever had the pleasure of organizing this kind of simcha (joyous occasion) knows, its logistics are exceeded only by D-Day and the like. I was totally preoccupied for two months prior -- and we only had 150 guests to worry about!

But then, before I even had time to organize the articles for the printer, my wife was ordered in for sudden surgery to remove her thyroid because her doctor had found a lump on it. Although the growth was cancerous, the doctors are as certain as is humanly possible that she will have a complete recovery and in fact she is doing very well. October was quite a month, rushing from the high of the Bat Mitzvah to the trauma of my wife's surgery.

Finally, I was all set to get busy when the tragic news came forth from Zion that Yitzhak Rabin had been assassinated. Although his death is a poor

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poor reason for not having gotten busy with Points East, I must admit that it shocked me to my core. For a whole day and a night I was glued to my television. Not since Kennedy's and King's assassinations has the action of a single man wrought such devastation. I mourned not only for the loss of a great man at a crucial time. I mourned with his family, and I mourned for the loss of innocence of the Israeli people.

I was also struck by the power of words to incite to murder. It is not just in Israel that this problem exists. I cannot speak for anywhere else other than my own community, but here in Seattle, halfway around the world from Israel, the same vitriolic language that brought Rabin down also flows. I worry for my people whose tongues know no moderation, whose minds think only in black and white, not shades of gray.

My hope is that the presence of King Hussein, President Mubarak and other Arab leaders at Prime Minister Rabin's funeral will convince more Israeli Jews that the peace process has fundamentally transformed the region than all the negotiations have done to date.

Anson Laytner

PLEASE SEND ARTICLES. TO POINTS EAST.

NEXT DEADLINE:

LETTERS AND NEWS ITEMS



IN MEMORIUM: **IRVINE GLASS**

by Leo Gabow

Belatedly, we have received word of the demise of a veteran SJI Member, PROFESSOR IRVINE GLASS.

While this writer has never met Professor Glass, he has had considerable correspondence with him. Prof. Glass had developed an international reputation as an aeronautical scientist, and was considered an expert in high temperature gas dynamics. His writings have been translated into a number of languages, including Chinese and Japanese. Indeed, it had come to our attention that Prof. Glass was on a list of nominees to receive the Nobel prize for his experimental

In May of 1985, Prof. and Mrs. Glass traveled to China and visited Kaifeng, Prof. Wang Yisha, who was then in the process of writing a history of the Kaifeng Jews, wanted Prof. Glass to write the introduction to his book. This did not happen for reasons unbeknownst to me.

Prof. Glass sent me a number of photos taken in Kaifeng. Among these pictures was one with Shih Sha-ping. Wang Yisha, Shi Chung-yo, Mrs. Glass and Prof. Glass. [See below]

Prof. Glass spent many years teaching at the Institute for Aerospace Studies at the University of Toronto. He will be sorely missed by all of us. and particularly by those of us who

a kindly yet stern patriarch (a widowed chef, played by Sinung Lung) whose life is bounded by ritual (the daily preparation of meals) frets over his three unmarried daughters. One by one, the young women face the disappointments and sudden joyful reversals of romance, and one by one they leave their father's house. Eventually the patriarch says goodbye to his last unmarried daughter and himself moves out to begin a new life.

Even more than its plot elements, the movie's themes could have been imported from Anatevka—sibling unity and rivalry, respect and disregard for parents, the clash of ancient and contemporary traditions, and the culinary ways in which people express love. Obviously, such themes are not confined to Chinese or Jewish culture, and to pursue an analogy beyond its natural borders is to risk irresponsible generalizations.

And yet consider the experience of James Schamus, A Jewish New Yorker. Mr. Schamus helped produce and write both "Eat Drink Man Woman" and Mr. Lee's 1993 hit, "The Wedding Banquet," about a gay Chinese man in New York who makes a marriage of convenience to please his parents. In his introduction to a published collection of the two screenplays, Mr. Schamus explains that he learned to write credible scenes involving Chinese characters only after he threw out his Chinese history and poetry books and drew inspiration from his own experience. "In frustration, I'd simply give up and write the scenes as 'Jewish' as I could make them. 'Aha,' Ang would respond on reading the new draft. 'Very Chinese!"

Mr. Schamus is not the first to point out resonances between Chinese and Jewish culture in recent Chinese cinema. Director Wayne Wang's 1993 film "The Joy Luck Club," based on the Amy Tan novel, has prompted several comparisons in the press to post-Holocaust Jewish life in America because it portrays a group of Chinese women reaching out to their daughters across a gulf of nationality, language and trauma. The movie even begins with snide references to Jewish mahiong. And the title event of "The Wedding Banquet" is so lavish and freewheeling that a reviewer for The New York Times, Stephen Holden, likened it to a bar

Speaking from the offices of his pro-

duction company, Good Machine, on West 25th Street in Manhattan, Mr. Schamus cautiously explores his perception of the parallels between Chinese and Jewish culture. "The two dominant faiths in Taiwan, Buddhism and Taoism, are like Judaism in the sense that they don't function as religions as much as philosophies that have embedded themselves culturally in people's lives and act as religions," he says. The Chu family of "Eat Drink Man Woman" is Buddhist, yet religion is shown to be a structure through which individual members assert their values and cement their relationships. When, for instance, Mr. Chu and his middle daughter, Jia-Chien, visit a Buddhist shrine to mourn a friend, the scene is about the special feelings parent and child shared for the dead man, and collaterally about their own unique bond. And when Jia-Jen, the eldest daughter and a born-again Christian, insists on saying grace at the Sunday dinner table, she is indulged. To be a born-again Christian in Taiwan, Mr. Schamus says, is similar to being a "born-again Jew" in the United States, where children who demonstrate firmer religious beliefs than their parents are treated with tolerance more often than

"In the '60s and '70s, a time of expanding economic opportunities, a lot of American Jews experienced a certain kind of Judaism, a relaxed tradition, and these same principles are being tested in Taiwan," he observes

The director's fascination with the Lower East Side suggests that perceived resonances between Chinese and Jewish culture have a great deal to do with the histories of both peoples, including their history in America. Those who emigrated from mainland China to Taiwan and thence to America represent a diaspora society in which even in families living under the same roof, each generation may speak a different language. The wrenching apart and reuniting of families (and by metaphoric extension, nations) is a theme of Mr. Lee, as well as Ms. Tan. Infant children are abandoned on the roadside in "The Joy Luck Club," to be reclaimed more than 40 years later by a young half-sister who lives across the ocean. The groom's

father in "The Wedding Banquet" longs for a grandchild because he wants to continue a family line that has been almost completely extinguished by civil war. Mr. Lee's own father, according to Mr. Rose, left a wife and children on the mainland in the 1940s, and Mr. Lee never learned of their existence until he was an adult. Though universal and timeless, such dislocations have a particular resonance for post-Holocaust

In the last shot of "The Wedding Banquet," the groom's father, played by the versatile Sihung Lung, returns to Taipei to resume a life that has been shaken by revelation. As he is frisked by an airport security guard, he lifts his arms in the gesture of a bird taking flight. Like Tevye setting out for America, the elders of the diaspora are models of adaptability. Their children pay cinematic tribute to their parents' strength even as they live in the shadows of their former

MAP OF OLD SHANGHAI AVAILABLE

A map of Shanghai during the 1949 era has been specially prepared by Joe Cohen, an old Shanghai-lander who now resides in Is-

This map recalls the original names of streets and other important buildings and landmarks. A complete index of street names, and pictorials, are given at the back of the map. The colourful maps are laminated so that they can be used as place mats, or hung on the wall. ACTUAL SIZE OF MAP: 40 x 28 cm. These maps are being offered in sets of two for a special price of N.S. 40.00 which includes mail, packaging and handling.

Please send your orders with your cheque to: JOSEPH COHEN, 14 B Jabotinsky Blvd.: Apt. 10, Kiryat Yam Aleph 29000. Tel. (04) 750692.

strong affinity for Jewish music; a number of traditional Jewish melodies (e. g. Hatikvah, Donna Donna, Tumbalalaika) are quite familiar to exponents of Western music in Beijing. I received a cassette (and the handwritten score) of Hava Nagila - a well known Israeli tune of East European origin - sung to English words by the Chinese National Childrens' Centre Choir in a splendid upbeat arrangement by their celebrated conductor, Professor Yang Hong Nian. I was also given the large poster written in Chinese calligraphy, which had been pinned up on one of the Conservatory notice boards, advertising lectures about Youtai Yinyue (Jewish Music) to be given by Yalishanda Kanaipu (Alexander Knapp) from London.....

RETURN TO CHINA - AUTUMN 1994

by Alexander Knapp reprinted from Kolot, March 1995

Little did I know - when I left Beijing in mid-December 1993 - that I would be back in less than a year, and that my second visit would be almost twice as long as my first! Grateful thanks are due to Professor Dennis Smalley - Head of City University Music Department - for allowing me to be away for nearly a month during term-time, and to Mrs. Geraldine Auerbach, Chairman of the Jewish Music Heritage Trust, whose committee authorized a most welcome grant to cover some of the expenses incurred.

The purpose of this trip was two-fold: during the first part, I was an official guest of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles; and during the second part, I was a private individual giving lectures and seminars on Jewish music and doing research.

As a member of the International Organization of Folk Art (a Unesco body based near Vienna), I had been invited to join a seven-person delegation from Holland, Germany, Austria, Russia, Cook Islands, and UK, to tour Northeast China with a view to studying local folk arts. The centres we visited were Beijing, Shanghai, Suzhou and Wuxi, where we were received with overwhelming hospitality by government officials, artists, musicians, dancers, writers, etc.

While in Shanghai, I had the oppor-

preparing them for performance during a forthcoming recital.

tunity to see places of Jewish interest.

My guide was Professor Xu Bu Zeng - a

contributor to the forthcoming Proceed-

ings of the First International Confer-

ence on Jewish Music at City University,

and a world authority on the history and

culture of the Jews who fled to China

from Nazi Europe. He and his wife kindly

took me to the 'Kedoorie Palace' (now a

Children's Palace); the former Jewish

Club and Betar buildings in the Shang-

hai Conservatory of Music; the Hongkou

'Ghetto' with its narrow streets and tall

houses where Jewish refugees (includ-

ing some celebrated composers and

performers) lived during the Second

World War; the public garden with its

stone memorial inscribed in Chinese,

English and Hebrew; and to two former

synagogues: Ohel Rachel (disused) and

Ohel Moshe (now a museum). The ex-

perience was especially poignant for

me since, many years ago, my late

parents had shown me their old Aus-

trian passports with visas for Shanghai

(which is where they would have trav-

elled, had they not been able to gain

entry to the UK in the late summer of

1939...) Back in Beijing, I was based at

the Central Conservatory of Music - my

generous hosts in December 1993! I felt

that I had returned to old friends! In no

time my sparsely filled diary was burst-

ing with engagements; lectures, semi-

nars, research meetings, social events,

sight-seeing. Open scholarly sessions

were devoted to matters such as the

subtle difference between Jewish mu-

sic and the music of societies and cul-

tures among whom the Jews settled,

and aspects of contemporary Jewish

music in America. Particularly interest-

ing for me were the discussions on the

history and music of Chinese Jews and

of European Jews in China, and the

influence of Chinese traditional opera

and folk music upon selected works by

Ernest Bloch! For this purpose, I played

recordings of the finale of Bloch's 'Viola

Suite' (1919), the 'Chinese' finale of his

'Four Episodes' (1926), and the whole

of 'Evocations' (the middle movement of

which is entitled 'Houang Ti - God of

War'). Colleagues made notes in En-

glish and Chinese, and it will be some

time before I shall have been able to

digest the enormous wealth of material

that was made available to me on this

subject, and on Chinese-Jewish cul-

ture as a whole. It was a special

pleasure and privilege for me to re-

hearse my own arrangements of 'Four

Sephardi Songs' with a fine Chinese

student mezzo-soprano at the Con-

servatory who, with her teacher, is

Invitations came from other prestigious educational institutions: At the Beijing University Hebrew Department. Hectured on 'What is Jewish Music?' to six brilliant fourth-year students who spoke fluent Chinese, English and Ivrit (Hebrew), and who all have added Hebrew names to their original Chinese names. The same lecture was given at the Chinese Conservatory of Music and at the Music Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Arts, where the audiences comprised lecturers, researchers and students. I spoke on 'The Musical heritage of the Jews' at the Institute of Nationalities where I met two Chinese professors of Jewish background. Posters announcing these lectures were given to me as gifts, and they are among my most cherished memorabilia!

Future plans include proposals for lectures at the Institute of Jewish Studies at the University of Shandong in Jinan, and at Fudan University in Shanghai, and also a visit to Kaifeng where many thousands of Jews lived in earlier centuries. In addition, the lectures I have given at the Central Conservatory in Beijing will be translated into Chinese and published individually in the CCM Research Institute Journal. Later, these, and a selection of my other articles on aspects of Jewish music, are to be collected together and published in Chinese as a book. I am learning (very slowly but systematically!) to speak, read and write the language in preparation for my next trip (whenever that may be...) So, if there are any Sinophiles who wish to share their expertise, experience and enthusiasm, please don't hesitate to get in touch with me through the Department of Music, City University, Northampton Square, London EC1V OHB England. I look forward to hearing from you!

ONLY IN AMERICA

by Julie Lasky
excerpted from The Forward,
18 Nov. 1994

The overlap of cultures is nothing new in melting pot America, but the affinities of Chinese-American and American Jewish sensibilities is increasingly apparent in a number of recent films and novels. "Eat Drink Man Woman," the first feature by filmmaker Ang Lee, might be described as a Taiwanese "Fiddler on the Roof" in which

by Jon Kalish excerpted from The Jewish Week, 28 July 1995

Professor Xu Xin has been studying Talmud for a semester at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, and before he goes back for another semester he's spending the summer at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research's Yiddish program at Columbia University. He was awarded scholarships for both the study of Talmud and Yiddish.

In September, KTAV will publish an English book on the oral tradition of the Jews of Kaifeng. Many of the descendants of the Jews of Kaifeng told the centuries-old tales to Xu themselves.

Xu's "Anti-Semitism: How and Why," will be published in Chinese this fall. It's an outgrowth of research he did with a 1992 Simon Wiesenthal Center grant to research anti-Semitism. Xu's next book will be an introduction to Talmud in Chinese. He notes that there is not one Chinese scholar who is familiar with the Talmud.

When Xu returns to China next year he plans to educate Chinese professors to include Jewish history and civilization in their courses. He also intends to edit a textbook for Jewish studies in China. The professor said that there is an acute lack of textbooks for students who want to study about Judaism in China. "We still need help from the outside," he said.

As for his immersion in Yiddish at the YIVO/Columbia summer program, Xu, who already speaks Chinese, Japanese, English and Hebrew, says Yiddish is not as difficult as Hebrew. Interestingly, Yiddish literature was introduced to the Chinese at the turn of the century and in the 1920s. When Chinese scholars debated whether to use modern or classic Chinese, some scholars pointed out that Jews had a similar debate over whether to use Yiddish or Hebrew.

In the fall Xu will return to Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. After his final semester there he heads to Harvard where he will be a visiting scholar the University's Center for Jewish Studies. Next spring Xu Xin will lead a tour of Jewish historical sites in China.

FROM OUR READERS:

August 19, 1995

To the Editor.

Thank you for excerpting "A Kaifeng Question" from the December issue of The Economist. The response of the present government of Israel towards the recognition of the claims of non European people to Jewish descent, requests for conversion, or outright recognition as Jews is reflexly negative. The Israeli government believes that these non-Europeans choose Judaism because they are impoverished and desperate to have a better level of economic status. It is therefore no wonder that "lost" Jewish communities are inclined to stay lost since few want to return to Zion where a gratuitous insult is offered instead of a heartfelt embrace. I recently returned from Israel where

I observed the progress of Ethiopian Jews who, under the aegis of the South Wing to Zion, are forcing the government - by way of the courts - to cease discriminatory policies against Ethiopian Jews who have been waiting for years in Addis Ababa and Gonder province to make aliyah. I also met many of the Chinese Jews who had migrated to Mizoram and Manipur in India. They are making a very successful aliyah. I heard of the arrival of Kaifeng Jews who were not well received by the Interior Ministry but who had a sympathetic ear in the Chief Rabbinate's office. There is also a large world wide population of crypto Jews who have carefully crafted a non Jewish identity for the sake of survival. Often their knowledge of Judaism is rudimentary. Nevertheless, rabbinic authorities recognize that a Jew who has strayed for any reason is still a Jew. When that Jew is white, European and wealthy, this principle is recognized by Israeli governments. Look no further than the response to Robert Maxwell. Only the chief rabbinate has the discipline and courage to make this an egalitarian rule. I hope that each Kaifeng Jew who wishes to return to Israel will find the way to the Chief Rabbinate's office before speaking to the Ministry of Interior.

I believe that it is time for the universalist element of the Jewish people, who are more impressed with prophetic teachings than Western superiority, to make their voices heard. If not now, when?

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To the Editor:

I was captivated by Mr. David Fine's study "The Judeo-Confucian Tradition", which appeared in the July issue of Points East, all the more since I recently published a similar study in Philosophy East and West, of which I enclose a copy. Mr. Fine quotes passages from the Confucian classics and the Talmud, which I overlooked or simply was not aware of. That the Jewish tradition, like the Confucian, is among other similarities, also exegetical, is a point well made.

I disagree, however, with David Fine's argument that Li, which translates as 'rites' and embraces the rules of personal conduct in all areas of social intercourse, is "without a doubt analogous to the Halakhah of Judaism". The legalistic codification of the Halakhah seems to me alien to the idealistic tradition of Confucius and Mencius, which became orthodox from the Yuan dynasty on. Orthodox Confucianism opposes the "rule of (virtuous) man" to the "rule of Law", and expresses a marked preference for the former. The reason for opposition of virtue to law is the fact that Chinese codified law, contrary to law in Judaism and in all other civilizations, never outgrew its initial strictly penal character, its narrow function of instrument of government repression of the people.

The more obvious Confucian parallel to Halakhah would in my opinion be the concept of Tao. After all, the two bear the same connotation of "way". "path", i.e. something that one treads along or follows: the root of halakhah is lekh "go": the character tao is a phonogram composed of the element "go" and the sign for "head". Indeed latter day Confucianism, or Neo-Confucianism as it is called in the West, calls the "sacred teaching" of Confucius and Mencius the Tao, the "Way of the Sages" (shengren, which is analogous to bodhisattva or zaddik in the Hassidic sense of that term), and defines it as the way of ren (humanity) and yi (rightness, righteousness). Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi describe the manifestations of ren in the *junzi* (profound person, man of nobility) in the language of religious exaltation; it is not only that which binds the sage to his fellow humans, but moreover that supreme emotion, whereby he becomes one with all beings, all things in the universe. Rene Goldman.

Dept. of Asian Studies University of British Columbia Asian Centre, 1871 West Mall Vancouver. B.C. Canada V6T 122

DID SUGIHARA LIVE IN HARBIN?

reprinted from the <u>Bulletin</u> of Igud Yotzei Sin #334, March-April 1994

A new light was thrown recently on the early life of Mr. Sugihara in the following letter by Mr. Hillel Levine, professor of sociology and religion at the Center for Judaic Studies at Boston University, to Mr. T. Kaufman, Israel-China Friendship Society, Tel Aviv.

Dear Sir:

It is absolutely certain that Sugihara did live in Harbin for a good number of years in the 1920s and the first part of the 1930s. He was a student at the Japanese Gakuin University in Harbin, taught at that institution, and was an official in the Japanese and then Manchurian governments. He also was very much involved in the negotiations on behalf of Japan with the Soviet Union for the purchase of the North Manchurian Railroad. There is published and archival evidence for all of this. At the same time, it is altogether understandable that you and even your late father might not have heard of him at the time. He was, of course, a minor Japanese official. He escaped complete obscurity only by way of the recognition that he received years later for what he did in Kaunus in 1940. But there is a chance, given his warm personality and his absolute mastery of Russian and other languages, that he did have some contact with members of the Harbin Jewish community. It would be extremely important for me to find out about this and, if possible, to interview any of the people who might have known him at that time. The chances that there are still people around who remember events that preceeded 1935 are not great. But I must pursue this.

If you have a newsletter and could insert this request and provide my name and address, perhaps we might have some unanticipated responses.

Cordially, Hillel Levine Professor of Sociology and Religion Director, Center for Judaic Studies Boston University

THE KOBE END OF THE SUGIHARA STORY

(continued from page 1)

In 1932, shortly after Japan's occupation of Manchuria, Gisuke Ayukawa, a leading industrialist in prewar Japan who formed the forerunner of what is now Nissan Motors, was asked to advise on development of the 600,000 sq. mile wilderness. Ayukawa thought Jewish settlers from Europe could provide needed skills and would interest British and U.S. Jews to stop threats to boycott Japanese goods. In 1934 Ayukawa wrote a trial balloon article in a Foreign Ministry publication called "Plan to Invite 50,000 German Jews to Manchukuo".

Colonel Norihiro Yasue, head of military intelligence in Dalian in 1938, came up with a detailed plan to settle Jewish refugees in Manchukuo, the Japanese puppet state in Manchuria, and at the end of that year the "Five Ministers Conference" was held, attended by the then Prime Minister, Prince Konoye, the foreign minister, army and navy ministers and the minister holding the finance and commerce & industry portfolios. They approved a "Guideline for the Treatment of Jews," which stated: "As a principle the (Japanese) Empire is to avoid actively embracing Jews who are being persecuted by our ally (Germany)." But it also pointed out the German persecution of Jews "does not comply with the spirit of the equality of all races that the Empire has been upholding." It went on to urge that Jews should be treated equally with other foreigners living within Japan's territory, indicating Germany's policy "would damage relations with the United States."

Another important character was the president of the South Manchurian Railway Co., Yosuki Matsuoka, who hired the only Hebrew-speaking Japanese in the world, a Christian minister named Setsuzo Kotsuji, who became closely connected to the Jews under Japanese authority and eventually converted to Judaism. Kotsuji, supported by Matsuoka when he became Sugihara's superior as Japanese foreign minister, was quietly instrumental in obtaining permission for Jews to stay in Japan when all other countries refused them, including Britain and the United States.

Back to Leo Hanin: In May of 1941 the Kobe Jewish community received a command from the Imperial Japanese Navy asking two leading representatives of the refugee group to go to Tokyo for interrogation.

It was difficult to determine who

should represent the refugees as there was no single leader, but they thought the Japanese would logically expect priests to be leaders of a group identified by their religion. Rebbe Shimon Kalisch was chosen as especially articulate and, as the appellation "Rebbe" indicates, was held in high affection. Rabbi Shatzkes was chosen as having been one of the most brilliant Talmudic scholars in all of Europe, and with this decision the Jewish community approached the Kobe office of Japanese Naval Intelligence to confirm their choice. The Japanese authorities asked, "How high are they". The Jewish delegation answered, "As high as possible — they are next to God." Not a Jewish concept, but the intelligence officers were not Jews. Rabbi Shapiro also went to Tokyo because of his skill in languages, and Leo Hanin accompanied because of his English ability and greater knowledge of Japan.

The fearful group were met at Tokyo Station by Dr. Kotsuji and a Capt. Fukamachi, who accompanied them to the Imperial Naval Officers Club, which became the home of the Tokyo Masonic Bodies after the war. The site near Tokyo Tower is now shared by Daici Department Store's headquarters.

The interrogation by four austere admirals was tedious, with Hanin interpreting from Yiddish to English and the navy interpreter from English to Japanese. The question they most feared soon came: "What is the inherent evil of your people that our friends the Germans hate you so much?"

Rebbe Kalisch quickly replied: "The Nazis hate the Jews because we Jews are an Asiatic people, which Germans consider inferior. And they consider you Japanese inferior too, along with Gypsies, Africans, and Slavs." The Rabbis noted a recent case where a diplomat in the Japanese Embassy in Berlin was forbidden to marry a German girl because it was forbidden by the laws of "racial"

part of his trip was difficult for him, since Halevy had planned to have her remains reburied in Israel.

The people of Shanghai were as excited about the visit as the many Jews who returned for the special ceremony in late April, when a monument was erected at the site of the original Jewish refugee camp in the Hongkou district. Jewish synagogues were restored and opened for the visit, although many have become schools and municipal buildings. Chinese schoolchildren sang Hebrew songs to welcome their visitors, and signs reading *bruchim habaim* (welcome) hung in the street.

Halevy returned to the Shanghai home he lived in for his first 12 years. He was also reunited with one of his teachers from the Jewish school he attended. The general recalls that as he stood looking at his former home, he became engulfed in a sea of Chinese people, curious about the movements of their Israeli guest. One elderly neighbor told Halevy that he remembered his father and aunt. Another Chinese man reminded the general that they played football together as children.

THE REGULATION OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS IN CHINA

by Dennis A. Leventhal

With the increasing level, and variety, of Jewish involvement in the PRC, it is necessary to be aware of the regulatory framework of religious affairs in China. The newly published Encyclopedia of Chinese Law, Volume II: June 1993 to December 1994 (Hong Kong: Asia Law & Practice Ltd., 1995) includes a short review of recent Chinese legislation in this area.

On 31 December 1994, the PRC State Council promulgated a regulation entitled "Administration of Religious Activities of Foreign Nationals in the PRC." The above-referenced volume describes its main contents as follows:

"The Provisions mainly detail the administration of religious activities such as preaching, baptisms, weddings and funeral ceremonies that

involve foreign nationals in the PRC.

"Article 4 stipulates that foreign nationals may hold religious activities attended by foreign nationals in venues recognized by the religious affairs department of the People's Government above the county level.

"Article 6 stipulates that foreign nationals are prohibited from carrying religious printed, audio or video articles with contents harmful to the public interest of Chinese society into the PRC.

"Article 8 stipulates that foreign nationals must comply with Chinese laws and regulations while conducting religious activities in the PRC. They may not establish religious organizations, offices, activity venues or institutes within the PRC, convert Chinese citizens, appoint clergy or carry out other preaching activities.

"Article 9 stipulates that where foreign nationals violate the Regulations in carrying out religious activities, the religious affairs department of the People's Government above the county level and other relevant departments must advise such foreign nationals to stop or must stop them. Foreign nationals that violate the administration of entry and exit of foreign nationals or the administration of public order will be penalized by the public security authority in accordance with the law. Where such offence constitutes a crime, criminal liability will be pursued by the judicial authorities in accordance with the law.

"Article 11 stipulates that overseas Chinese citizens and residents from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao will refer to the Regulations while conducting religious activities in the PRC."

A Regulation entitled "Administration of Venues for Religious Activities" was also promulgated on the same date as the above. Its main contents are described as follows:

"The Regulations are composed of 20 Articles that detail the administration of venues for religious activities with regard to registration, finance, land use and personnel. Penalties for violation of the Regulations are also stipulated.

"Article 6 stipulates that donations to venues for religious activities from religious organizations and individuals outside the PRC will be handled in accordance with the relevant state regulations."

The final interpreting authority for both of the above-described regulations is the Religious Affairs Department of the PRC State Council.

JEWISH MUSIC IN CHINA

by Alexander Knapp exerpted from Royal College of Music Magazine, Summer 1994

In 1979. Joe Loss and his orchestra were invited by the Chinese Government to perform at the theatre in Dairen - the first Western dance band ever to perform in the People's Republic of China. And so it was especially meaningful for me (as the first Joe Loss Research Fellow at City University) to discover that my lectures on Jewish music at the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing, given during the first half of December 1993. were the first ever series on this subject at university level in China. The invitation to spend two weeks as a quest of the Zhongyang Yinyue Xuevuan had come two months earlier from its President, Professor Liu

During my visit I gave six lectures, four on different aspects of Jewish music (Ashkenazi, Sephardi, Oriental; liturgical, folk, popular, and art), and one each on Ernest Bloch and Arabic music. My audience comprised professors of ethnomusicology, composers, postgraduate researchers, undergraduates, and interpreters. Each session lasted two-and-a-half hours and was recorded for the purposes of translation into Chinese and subsequent publication. There was also a round-table discussion that lasted 3-1/2 hours, covering Jewish music and religion, society and culture, history and geography.

Gifts of records, cassettes, sheet music, books, articles, City University memorabilia, etc. were presented to the President and to a number of individuals in the Research Institute, as well as to the enormous library (which, I noted with enthusiasm already contained seven textbooks on Jewish music and numerous recordings of compositions by Bloch).

The Chinese whom I met seemed to be fascinated by Jews — indeed, I became aware of remarkable similarities in the temperament and outlook of both peoples. Many Chinese feel a

BOOK NOOK (continued)

Jews, and on written studies by other scholars. The result, in Xu's own beautiful phrasing, is that "the content of the tales remains accurate and is true to their oral and traditional sources ... and I have added nothing more than what my soul advised."

With illustrations by Ting Cheng, Legends of the Chinese Jews of Kaifeng makes an excellent gift book for anyone from Bar/Bat Mitzvah age on higher.

MY CHINA by Ya'acov (Yana) Liberman, Ican Press, 1995

excerpted from the <u>Bulletin</u> of Igud Yotzei Sin #338, Jan.-Feb. '95 From the publishers

My China by Yana Liberman, traces the development of Jewish Communities in Harbin, Tientsin and Shanghai during the first half of the 20th century. This is a unique and fascinating account, written by an active and prominent participant in the events so eloquently described in this beautiful and exciting chapter of the Jewish Diaspora.

From the dangerous trek of Russian Jewry escaping the "blessings" of Communism to the final exodus from Shanghai to Israel, Australia, America, Canada and Europe, this amazing story becomes a treasured record of modern Jewish history.

For many years I was trying to convince our talented writers and activists of Jewish communities in China to sit down (individually or collectively) and write all that they can about the birth, progress and final disintegration of Jewish life in China during the first half of this century. No takers.

Instead, several interesting books were written by my friends from China dealing with personal trivialities or family memorabilia. There were also books written which depict episodes of historic and national dimensions. But none appeared that would address themselves to the true, first hand story of the step by step progress of our exemplary Jewish communities of Harbin, Tientsin and Shanghai.

Likewise many articles were wrritten and many lectures delivered,

both on the pages of the <u>Bulletin</u> and on the stages of Shanghai gatherings, which always emphasized the existence of a few names and a few organizations while ignoring completely the major Zionist force in China — the Revisionist Party and the Youth Movement — Betar.

I read a book about Shanghai in which the author touches on the Jewish cultural life of the city. However, the only Jewish publication referred to is "Unzer Lebn". The other two popular weeklies — The Jewish Call and Tagar — are not even mentioned.

Speeches were made at the last Jewish seminar in Shanghai. Many interesting details were revealed to the audience which included the Government officials and other Chinese hosts. They were told of the handful of "Ezra Zionists" but they did not hear a single word about the heroic efforts of our Harbin and Tientsin youths during the famous rescue operations they conducted during the Harbin and Tientsin floods.

I have also observed how several names of our social activists are repeated in many of these speeches and articles. However, no Chinese professor sitting at the seminar nor (for that matter) anyone else, has heard or seen in print the names of our finest Zionists — a few dozen Betarim who left their comfortable homes and loved families to devote their lives to upbuilding the Jewish State in Palestine, during the early "thirties".

I do not accuse any speaker at the seminar in Shanghai nor any author of articles that appeared in the <u>Bulletin</u> during the last several years. On the contrary — I praise them! They have all done service to the cause of history. They have all done what they possibly can. They either did not know all of these pertinent facts or found them to be less important.

On the other hand, history will be sadly orphaned if the extraordinary activities in the fields of sports, culture, Jewish and Zionist education and physical security of the Jewish populations of Harbin, Tientsin and Shanghai will not be detailed among other successful activities conducted by Kadimah, Maccabee, the Jewish Hospital, Hevre Kaddisha, Talmud Torah, Jewish schools, synagogues, social, educational and cultural organizations and sport and recreation clubs.

FROM STATELESS TO STATESMAN

by Marcy Oster
excerpted from the <u>Bulletin</u> of Igud
Yotze Sin #338, Jan-Feb. '95

Israeli Brig. Gen.(Res.) Yehuda Halevy still marvels at how far he has come during his eventful lifetime. "I have gone from being stateless to statesman in one generation," he says proudly.

Halevy was born in Shanghai, China in 1937 and grew up in a community of Jewish refugees. He recently returned to Shanghai at the invitation of the Chinese government to commemorate the Jewish community that once resided there. This time he came as a representative of the government of Israel . . .

Halevy's merchant parents came to Shanghai from Iraq in 1929. The general recalls that his synagogue was located next door to his home and the Jewish school he attended was right down the street. The family spoke English at home and he spoke Hebrew at school. "We knew very little Chinese," he admits.

Halevy was very young when the nearly 1,000 Iranian and Iraqi Sephardic Jews and 4,000 Russian Ashkenazic Jews already living in China absorbed 30,000 Holocaust refugees, building them homes, synagogues and schools, and finding them jobs. Shanghai, he says, was the model of cooperation between Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews who lived in the same neighborhoods and went to synagogue and school together...

Halevy says that his father came from a traditional Jewish background and was part of Shanghai's burgeoning Zionist movement. In 1948, Halevy's two older brothers left Shanghai for Israel to fight in the War of Independence. Halevy came to Israel with his father in 1949, when all the Jews of Shanghai left to escape the Communist takeover of the city.

Halevy's mother died and was buried in Shanghai. On his return trip in April, the general says he tried to find her grave. The cemetery she was buried in was gone, without even a sign or plaque to mark the spot. This

purity." There was no need to point out the scarcity of tall, blond and blue-eyed Japanese who would meet the archtypical standard of the Aryan Master Race.

The mood quickly changed: the Jewish delegation was invited to rest and return to a kosher meal.

They were then joined by Shinto priests, who settled down to a discussion of comparative religion, about the common origin theory that Japanese were one of the Lost Tribes of Israel, and the idea that Moses had come to Japan to learn the wisdom of ancient Shinto during the time he was supposed to be receiving the Ten Commandments on Mount Sinai.

Finally, at the end of the meeting, an admiral said, "Go back to your people. Tell them they have nothing to fear; we Japanese will do out utmost to provide for your safety and peace while in Japanese territory."

Interestingly, Hanin and Sugihara worked together for a time during the Occupation years in a Jewish-owned store in Ginza, Tokyo. Hanin says Sugihara never discussed the transit visa episode.

A COCHIN JEW

(continued from page 1)

painting by a team of 50 specialists to restore Kadavumbagam to a glory it had not seen this century. A ceiling in the Museum's Judaica pavilion was raised to accommodate its height of five and a half meters (18 feet). A crane with a 60-meter (196-foot) arm eased it into the building, where it will remain on permanent display.

The restorers had an unexpected manual. Ruby Daniel inherited a Malayalam book from her grandmother that had been in the family for five generations. The pages are flaking, the ink is eating into the paper. But the book includes a song, which celebrates the building of the Kadavumbagam synagogue. "Nobody knows the tune anyone," she says, "and the words are written in an archaic script."

The details ("red crests and engravings, beautiful lotus flowers too") are decipherable, however, and Daniel has painstakingly translated it into English for a memoir, "Ruby of Cochin: An Indian-Jewish Woman Remembers," which the Jewish Pub-

lication Society will bring out this summer

Standing in the reconstructed synagogue slowly awakens memories and legends of an almost extinct Jewish Cochin (during a recent visit Shalva Weil, a Hebrew University anthropologist, found only 20 Jews in the port city and 74 others scattered along the Malabar coast).

"A space was kept open between the Kadavumbagam synagogue and the water," Daniel recounts. "There was a time when the Hindu maharaiahs of Cochin lived in a palace at the northern end of the town. In order to travel south, the maharajah went by boat. He had to pass the site. The Jews were always informed ahead of time. They would open the doors of the synagogue, then the doors of the Torah ark. The maharajah's boat would stop at the synagogue landing. He would stand up and then prostrate himself toward the synagogue. Even after the royal residence was moved from Cochin, that landing place was kept as an open space."

Visitors will not see the ornate ark, pillared and carved in red, gold and blue, in the restored Kadavumbagam. It was brought to Israel 40 years ago and donated to an Ashkenazi congregation at Moshav Nehalim, near BenGurion Airport. The museum offered to buy it, but the moshavniks cited a rabbinic ruling that it is forbidden to transfer a holy ark from a "living" synagogue to a "dead" one.

JEWISH WORSHIP SERVICES IN INDIA

by Ted Nevins
reprinted from Washington Jewish
Week, 16 September 1993

The old silver Torah covers were tarnished and worn, but Ezra polished them on the bimah with a cloth until their sparkle re-emerged.

Sweat poured down his brow as he concentrated on his task in Ahmedabad's steamy heat. Yom Kippur would begin in just a few hours, and I set to work helping him and a few other boys to prepare the synagogue for the largest crowd of the year.

Ahmedabad is an old industrial city in the northwestern state of Gujrat, India. The city — founded hundreds of years ago by a Muslim sultan who

built an impressive wall around the city — soon became a prosperous trade center.

Bene Israel Jews, as the indigenous Jews of India call themselves, migrated there from the South to engage in commerce and became eminent and affluent members of society. Legend has it that the Bene Israel community, which today numbers less than 6,000, dates back 2,000 years and is descended from one of the lost tribes of Israel.

In Ahmedabad, they built a large art deco-style synagogue in the heart of the city and became honored citizens

During the Indian independence movement, Ahmedabad was the focus of Hindu-Muslim tensions and home to Mahatma Ghandi. The Jews never experienced any problems of discrimination in India, but soon after India's and Israel's independence in 1948, the population began a mass migration to the new Jewish homeland.

Today only 64 families remain in this area, scattered throughout the state of Gujrat. On one of my previous visits, I had watched a train pull away from the station with another family on their way to Israel to join the rest of their oncethriving community.

Yet on this Yom Kippur eve, I helped clean the synagogue for those remaining few who would come to pray from far away, and wondered what it had looked like when full of worshippers.

As the sun sank in the sky, I performed the traditional Bene Israel "tebilah," purifying myself by ritually pouring a cup of water over my head. Then, like the other men, I donned an all white *khorta* (loose pajama-like shirt and pants) to wear to synagogue.

Being careful not to touch anyone on the way to synagogue (to preserve our purity), we walked hastily through the streets filled with busy vendors as well as camels, cows and elephants.

At the entrance to the synagogue, I was transfixed by a group of 50 or more men dressed in their white khortas already beginning the harmonic Bene Israel holiday chants.

The benches were gone, replaced by white cloths laid on the floor on which to sit. The women, with their saris draped over their heads, gazed down from the gallery at the service below. Like the other congregants, I removed my shoes, and kissing the *mezuzah* on the door frame, joined my friends and fellow Jews in prayer on the holiest night of the year.

Few people held prayer books, since the Hebrew language has been forgotten by all but a few in this eroded community. Being that there are traditionally no rabbis in the Indian community, the services were led by the only chazan, occasionally being relieved by young Ezra.

Still, the congregants paid very close attention to the service, some having memorized many of the prayers, while others held transliterations of the service in their mother tongue of Marathi.

After services, a few men remained behind to sleep at the synagogue, whose doors would remain open all night. I walked to a nearby home to spend the night with the Samuel family.

In this traditional Indian household, each generation of young men marry and begin their families under their parents' roof. Now with nearly 30 people, the extended family lives together.

They generate such warmth that one instantly feels a part of the family. I stayed up late with the young and old talking about the holidays, history and also about ourselves.

The next day was typical for Ahmedabad — hot. Beneath the ceiling fans, we prayed for forgiveness from God like all Jews around the world. The crowd grew, until by noon there were over 200 people, gathered from around the city as well as from remote villages hours away.

The service climaxed during musaf when each person in the congregation knelt and spread a handkerchief before him. Then, with tallit over the head and fringes wound up and held in front of the eyes, we each bent all the way down to the floor and changed, "Baruch shem k'vod malchuto l'olam va'ed."

Soon after was the break between services. Half the men casually stretched out on the floor for a short nap in the afternoon heat. Others began to squeeze soaked raisins to make the traditional juice on which to later break the fast.

The service continued, with the tired chazan leading the congregation

in the familiar tunes. The sun finally sank; and as three stars appeared in the sky, the day concluded with a blast from the shofar marking the end of the holiday.

We all briefly shared a "I'chaim" over the delicious and syrupy raisin juice. Revived, the worshipers savored the sweet taste of an old custom.

Before everyone raced back to their homes to begin their feasts, the synagogue president and I took the opportunity to toast a very special new year with the congregation.

I was in Ahmedabad not only to pray with this small community and learn their customs, but also to help them perpetuate their practices.

Such a small and remote Jewish population faces many challenges. One difficulty is that Jewish education has slowed because so many of the knowledgeable elders have emigrated. Children can easily be lost amid the overwhelmingly non-Jewish community and young Jews have difficulty finding someone to marry.

Part of the answer to this problem lies in improving the Jewish education available to the community. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) office in Bombay began sending educational materials to the synagogue.

Then last year, the JDC and the Buncher Family Leadership program sponsored Ezra Samuel, a young leader in the synagogue, on a trip to Israel to learn more about Jewish education. He was then able to return and share his experience and knowledge with the community.

Now, for the first time in many years, there are classes held every Sunday at the synagogue, which are regularly attended by 15-20 children. The JDC helps support Ezra's efforts to conduct these classes.

Taking advantage of the large gathering, we inaugurated a small Jewish library, only the third in India, to be used freely by the Jewish community.

Nearly 100 books on various Jewish topics for all ages were donated and shipped to Ahmedabad from JDC in New York. In an effort coordinated between JDC and the synagogue, a room was prepared to serve as both a library and classroom.

Yom Kippur in Ahmedabad was an appropriate climax to my rewarding year working with the Jewish community in India. During that time, the Jews of Ahmedabad never ceased to touch me with their sweetness and sincerity.

They remained immune to local politics and bound to their commitment to live as Jews. After years without a single Jewish wedding, this last winter the community celebrated four!

Ezra led a children's choir in Hebrew songs and dances for the jubilant celebrations, which began the next generation of Judaism in Ahmedabad.

JEWISH STUDIES IN KOREA

by Seung-Yune Yoo/Chairman, Kon-Kuk University Foundation

Kon-Kuk University has long cultivated good relations with the Jewish people and Israel, and maintains close ties with many institutions, among them universities in Israel, Yeshiva University, the Jewish Theological Seminary in the United States, and the World Union of Jewish Studies.

In May 1992, a Second International Symposium on "The Study of Similarities and Cooperation between Koreans and Jews" was held at our university.

In 1990, Kon-Kuk University established a Department of Jewish and Hebrew Studies, and we plan to expand that curriculum to our related institutions, including the High School, Middle School, Medical school, and our overseas campus.

Included in the department's four year curriculum are Hebrew language, conversation and composition at all levels, Zionism, Jewish social structure, Jewish folklore, Jewish society in transition, modern Hebrew literature, the Diaspora, Jewish sociology, Talmud, Hebrew education, and modern Hebrew literary criticism.

Currently 100 students are registered in this department, and we foresee these studies serving as a bridge between Israel, and Korea in the Far East. We have arranged for two hundred students to pursue their studies in Israel.

We plan to establish a Jewish and Korean Cultural Center to acquaint our people with an understanding of Jewish civilization.

Many Kon-Kuk University students study at The Hebrew University. (The writer of this report is a Hebrew University graduate, and serves as Chairman of the Korea-Israel Friendship Society).

During the past four years two delegations from Korea visited the International Center for University Teaching of Jewish Civilization, and Korean academics have attended International Center workshops.

BOOK NOOK (continued)

Heimann, and Eva, the daughter of Rabbi Georg Kantorowsky. He uses their experiences as a jumping off point to explore the conditions of health, radio and entertainment, children, and employment and to describe the life of the city including the Jewish component, that existed before the arrival of these four people in 1938.

It was the worst city to house what eventually grew to nearly 20,000 refugees fleeing atrocities of Hitlerian Europe. The year before Dr. Didner's arrival, there had been fighting between the Chinese and Japanese which had destroyed the Hongkew area where most of the refugees settled. Shanghai at that time comprised the International Settlement including Hongkew across the Soochow Creek, the smaller independent French Concession, and to the North and South the Chinese Municipalities of Greater Shanghai. In addition to the foreign population, a large Chinese population inhabited the city, but there was little contact between the two groups on the social level. The standard of living for the majority of the Chinese was much lower than that for the foreigners, and certain occupations were altogether infra-digue for foreigners. Ross points out that there were thus few jobs available for the refugees and that these were often poorly paid. They, therefore, had to rely for the most part on the jobs generated by their own needs and skills. Housing in Hongkew was primitive and inadequate. While the oppressive summer humidity, diseases, floods, bugs, cockroaches, lack of water and electricity were suffered by all the residents of Shanghai, they afflicted the refugees to a greater extent. Ross describes this in personal as well as general terms as he tells the story from the arrival of the four refugees, their cultural shock, and miserable living conditions, worsened by the outbreak of the Pacific War, which cut off funds received from Great Britain, America, Europe and other nations.

Like A Jewish Refuge, Escape to

Shanghai describes life of the many kinds of Jews in Hongkew and later in the mile square ghetto and the interaction between them. Both point out the effort that was made to protect the children from the "poverty and dangers" in Shanghai; the several schools established to educate them until age 14 and the professional schools to train them for careers. Both referred to the SJYA School (Shanghai Jewish Youth Association School), popularly called the Kadoorie School, which played a large role in educating many children, appreciated, especially later on, for conducting classes in English.

In his Prologue to Escape to Shanghai, Ross discusses the history of foreign treaties, domination, and enterprise in China and describes some of the conditions the foreigners found on their first arrival in Shanghai. The book is wide ranging and comprehensive; however, there is one serious omission and that is the mention of the late Rev. (Rabbi) Mendel Brown, rabbi of Ohel Rachel Synagogue and principal of the Shanghai Jewish School, both Sephardic institutions situated in Seymour Road. Rev. Brown was a graduate of the University of London and ordained by Jews College, London, under the auspices of the then Chief Rabbi of the British Empire and the United Synagogue. Such graduates in England were called ministers and given the title of Rev., but they were and are in actuality orthodox rabbis, able to perform all the activities of orthodox American rabbis.

From the time of the first arrivals of the refugees in Shanghai he worked to better their lot. An excellent fund raiser, he immediately set about to raise funds by appealing to the wealthiest and most generous members of the Jewish communities and inspired Sir Victor Sassoon to set up a revolving fund to enable entrepreneurs to establish small businesses. He served as joint honorary secretary with Karl Marx for the Committee for Assistance of European Refugees in Shanghai (CFA) and was a member of the Education Committee together with the late Sir Horace Kadoorie. While the latter took care of the school in

Hongkew, he initiated a scheme whereby an individual of the Jewish community could "adopt" a child for the purpose of paying the fees for attendance at the Shanghai Jewish School. As critical as Laura Margolies was of the members of the CFA, she had only the kindest words for Rev. Brown (Kanzler, David. Japanese, Nazis, and Jews, p. 108, footnote 55.) As chaplain of the Jewish Company of the Shanghai Volunteer Force, he joined his unit to bring cheer to those refugees who came to the soup kitchen at the Sephardic synagogue on Museum Road. Finally in the early days, he visited the "heim" on Ward Road to check on the conditions there. At that time, they were primitive but clean and the food was good in contrast to what became of it by the time Laura Margolies arrived.

Despite this omission, both books, which contain footnotes and an index, are highly recommended for their enthralling accounts of a very unique but unhappy period in Chinese Jewish history.

LEGENDS OF THE CHINESE JEWS

OF KAIFENG by Xu Xin with Beverly Friend, Hoboken: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1995.

Reviewed by Anson Laytner

For many of us "in the field", looking for something on the subject to recommend to the curious uninitiated, Xu Xin's new book will prove ideal. Less cumbersome than White's Chinese Jews, more focused on Kaifeng than Pollak's Mandarins, Jews and Missionaries, and not meant for scholars or knowledgeable lay people in any case, Legends is an ideal introduction to the major highlights of the Kaifeng Jews' history, told in the narrative style of a series of legends.

Not that Xu hasn't done his homework. As he notes in his preface, he bases his fictitious dialogues and scenes on the oral histories of contemporary Kaifeng Jews as told to Wang Yisha, on his own interviews with other descendants of Kaifeng

BOOK NOOK

SHANGHAI REFUGE: A MEMOIR OF THE WORLD WAR II JEWISH

GHETTO by Ernest G. Heppner, Lincoln & London, University of Nebraska Press, 1993.

ESCAPE TO SHANGHAI: A JEWISH COMMUNITY IN CHINA by James R. Ross, New York, The Free Press, 1994.

Reviewed by Henrietta Reifler

Shanghai Refuge and Escape to Shanghai complement each other in that the former is an autobiography of an actual participant in the Jewish ghetto in Shanghai and the latter is written by one who was not a European refugee, but an American who in December 1990 met by chance in Hallandale, Florida, a former European refugee from the Shanghai Jewish ghetto and had read a few weeks earlier a newspaper article about the 1985 refugee reunion in the Catskills. This had led him to telephone one of the organizers who supplied him with the names and addresses of a few of the participants. Having received a thorough Jewish education as a child and spent two summers in Shanghai as a journalism professor at the Shanghai Foreign Language Institute, he was a stranger to neither Judaism nor Shanghai and set about a world wide tour interviewing hundreds of former refugees and taking notes in the archives in Australia, Europe, Israel, and the United States. He also walked the streets of Europe and wherever Shanghai refugees had lived.

I. In his preface to Shanghai Refuge, Heffner explains that in 1976 he was asked to give a presentation of the Holocaust and life in Shanghai by the Indianapolis Hebrew Congregation and again in 1984 at Temple Beth El Zedeck at a "Yom Hashoah" commemoration. On both of these occasions he realized there was a lack of knowledge about Shanghai. At that time his memory of events had faded somewhat, but with the help of relatives and friends, his memory slowly revived as he relived the painful life of that time. He also began to under-

stand that no fully authoritative account by a survivor of the ghetto had been published in the United States and set about supplying it.

The autobiography first contrasts his happy comfortable life during his childhood and early youth in Breslau, Germany, with the increasingly oppressive legislation that afflicted the Jewish communities in the 1930s after the victory of Adolf Hitler, culminating in the destruction of synagogues and Jewish businesses in 1938, leading gradually towards the establishment of ghettos and death camps in the 1940s. Because his mother was a woman of determination and resolution in the face of the many difficulties that beset them, Heppner and she in 1939 left Germany for the only open port, Shanghai, on the S.S. Potsdam, leaving his father and sister to follow

Heppner also contrasts the pleasant days he spent on board the ship with the cultural shock he experienced on arrival in Shanghai. Whereas the local small Sephardic and Ashkenazic communities had done well in settling the first newcomers, they now found themselves unable to cope with the increasing arrivals of penniless refugees. They had requested the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee to send a social worker since none existed in Shanghai, but their request was given low priority and it was not until May 1941 in the face of further deterioration that Laura Margolies and later Manuel Siegel arrived. Unfortunately, in December 1941 the bombing of Pearl Harbor, followed by the American declaration of war and the consequent invasion of Shanghai by the Japanese army, interfered with their work. Funds from abroad were cut off, and British and American firms as well as those of other enemy nationals were commandeered by the Japanese gendarmerie. Since most of the Sephardic leaders were British citizens, their efforts to help the refugees, which were quite considerable, were hampered. In 1943 the final blow fell when Laura Margolies was repatriated and Manuel Siegel was interned.

In May 1943, the Japanese

gendarmerie, urged by the German consul, established a ghetto of one mile square in the Hongkew district where most of the European refugees were living and insisted that all refugees who had entered Shanghai after March 1937 had to uproot themselves and move into this small area. Heppner movingly describes the suffering caused by such a move into this inadequate area. Despite local efforts to ameliorate conditions, they were insufficient and near starvation set in. Fortunately in 1944, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee found the means to send some funds and thus averted a complete disaster.

One last horror remained for Heppner to describe. That was the unintentional dropping of a bomb by the Americans on May 17, 1945, on part of the crowded ghetto. Its goal was a Japanese transmitting station nearby. Heppner gives a graphic account of the death and destruction that rained upon the European refugees and numerous Chinese in the affected area and describes his own more fortunate experiences. The end of suffering, however, was already in sight with the victories of the Allies; however, it was not until 1953 that all Jews who wanted to were admitted to the United States. Nevertheless, the arrival of the victorious GI's brought a measure of comfort to the refugees as they were once again free of oppression and some of them found lucrative jobs.

The autobiography, despite its harrowing story of life in Shanghai and Heppner's later difficulties in settling in the States, concludes on a positive note as Heppner, his mother, his wife and her father leave for New York in 1947. He himself feels very proud to have been a part of a unique Jewish community "which existed for just about one decade" and taught him and his wife "the priorities for an ethical and moral way, a Jewish way of life."

II. To present the story of <u>Escape to Shanghai</u>, James Ross follows the fortunes of four people: Dr. Sam Didner, Horst Levin, Gerhard (Gerd)

PROJEKT GEDENKDIENST & THE "FLIGHT TO SHANGHAI" CONFERENCE

by Maisie J. Meyer

An official declaration in 1991 admitting Austria's role in the Holocaust resulted in a law being passed permitting Austrian citizens a year's alternative to military service. Projekt Gedenkdienst, the brainchild of Andreas Maislinger, a lecturer in political science at the University of Innsbruck, is just such an alternative promoting reconciliation between survivors of the Holocaust and their descendants, and Gentile Austrian citizens. To this end the Austrian government funds a few, carefully selected, young people to serve as interns at Holocaust institutions around the world. These young Austrians are attempting to reconstruct this era of their history by providing valuable assistance in translating and restoring documents at Holocaust memorials and archives like the Yad Vashem, Jerusalem; Anne Frank Museum, Amsterdam; US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington; Leo Baeck Institute, New York; Holocaust Centre, Montreal; and at the Auschwitz and Theresienstadt concentration camps. On their return to Austria they will instruct their countrymen on what they have learned.

The Gedenkdienst organizes an annual Conference and last year the topic was Theresienstadt. This year's Conference "Flight to Shanghai: On the Survival of Austrian Jews in an Asian Metropolis 1938-1949", was held at Salzburg between 26 and 28 May 1995. It was organized by two members of Projekt Gedenkdienst, Matthias Kroen, an intern at the Leo Baeck Institute, New York and Fred Kranic, assisted by three students of Sinology from Vienna, Thomas Halbeisen, Christine Lixl and Simon Wachsmuth (the only Jew among them). The Conference was warmly supported by the provincial governor of Salzburg, Dr. Hans Katschthaler, the Dean of the University Rektor, Dr. Edgar Morscher, and especially by the Minister of Science, Research and Art, Dr. Rudolf Scholten, who offered significant assistance. It was financed by some fifteen government institutions and private sponsors, businesses and banks - a unique and diverse combination which included Jewish and Afro-Asian institutions.

A large number of the approximately two hundred delegates who attended the Conference were among the some 8,000 Austrian Jews who had found refuge from Nazi persecution in Shanghai. It must be remembered that Shanghai, being an Open Port with no entry visa requirements, became one of the few destinations of the Jewish exodus from Europe after the Conference of Evian in June 1938, given that Britain and America had quotas to restrict the influx of refugees. It is estimated that over 20,000 Central Europeans found refuge in Shanghai.

The initial scepticism of some of the delegates that the Conference was merely a superficial attempt to make amends for Austrian collaboration with Hitler was dispelled by the total sincerity and commitment of the organizers. It was apparent that the many declarations of sorrow at the treatment of Jews in Austria were genuine, not least an unsolicited speech, interrupted by her sobs, from Sascha Hartmann, a young member of the audience.

Refugees after the war generally chose not to talk about their experiences partly because others did not want to be reminded about what happened. This was particularly true of the Jewish refugees who returned to Austria where the myth that ALL Austrians were victims of Hitler was generally held. Now, fifty years later, this Conference has enabled Austrian Jews to share their feelings and experiences with a large international audience including their fellow countrymen and a large number of students. Eva Grudin, born of Viennese parents in the Shanghai ghetto and now living in America, poignantly explained to the assembly, "I must say that I feel at home here, which is a remarkable concept for a refugee. I didn't think I could ever feel that. Even though we refugees move freely through the world, nowhere do we ever feel 'at home'". The organizers of the Conference explained that their objective was to make Austrians understand and acknowledge their authentic history - warts and all. As Matthias Kroen deftly put it, "We have to acknowledge as (Gentile) Austrians that we also have wounds. The evil we have perpetrated or seen is a wound within ourselves". He believes that even fifty years later Austrians are traumatized by their Nazi past.

This historic Conference was an outstanding success both intellectually, and emotionally. A distinguished number of international Sinologists spoke, including: Professor Irene Eber on Shanghai as a city open to Jewish refugees 1939-41 via both land and sea routes, Francoise Kreissler on the flight to Shanghai in the context of contemporary Austrian history, Pan Guang on the Central European communities in war-torn Shanghai, and Dorit B. Whiteman, clinical psychologist and author of The Uprooted: A Hitler Legacy, on the emotional aftermath of the traumatic war experience.

HISTORY OF THE "CHINA SECTION" OF THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

by Rena Krasno

On May 7, 1946, Dr. Arieh Tartakower, Chairman of the Relief and Rehabilitation Dept. of the World Jewish Congress in New York, wrote in a letter to Boris Radomishelsky, Chairman of the WJC Shanghai Relief Committee and President of the Shanghai Ashkenazi Jewish Communal Association:

"It is our final goal to establish a "China Section" of the World Jewish Congress. Yet, such a section, if it is to deserve this name, must be truly representative of the whole of China Jewry and include the spokesmen of all the long established Jewish communities and organizations in that country..."

The reason for founding a "China Section" was that the Shanghai WJC Relief Committee was not authorized to carry out any work with political implications, could not represent the WJC before the Chinese authorities nor engage in publicity - all matters of primary importance due to the unsettled postwar situation in China.

Upon the advice of Radomishelsky, the World Jewish Congress subsequently send explanatory letters to the the following Jewish communities in China: Shanghai Sephardi Jewish Communal Association, Shanghai Ashkenazi Jewish Communal Association, Tientsin Hebrew Association, Hankow Hebrew Association, Peking Jewish Community, Tsingtao Hebrew Association.

On August 21, 1946, Dr. I. Schwarzbart, Head of the WJC Organizational Department requested that, in addition to the above-mentioned organizations, the following Shanghai groups be represented: Shanghai Communal Association of Central European Jews, The Executive Committee of the Polish Refugees in Shanghai, The Joint Zionist Organization 'Kadimah', The United Zionist Revisionists in Shanghai, WJC Relief and Rehabilitation Committee in Shanghai.

It was decided that "a Founding Assembly of the China Section would be called" and Boris Radomishelsky was invited to "take its chair and direct its business".

On August 22, 1946, Dr. Schwarzbart addressed letters to Jews of "standing, authority and influence" in China asking them for support. He wrote:

"I feel sure that you will not fail us in this hour of need when the Jewish people emerges painfully from its most appalling tragedy ... The World Jewish Congress aims at the unity of the Jewish people in faith and fate, and has become its relentless champion in the defense of its right to equality and justice wherever there are Jews ... Our offices, Sections and Representatives are spread all over the world to the remotest outpost of the Diaspora, yet this picture of Jewish cooperation would not be complete without the participation of China Jewry, now destined to play a greater role than ever before in opening up a road to a better future for the Jewish people ..."

On August 27, 1946, WJC interoffice memo outlined the plan to set up a China Section and described the situation in North China:

"Four Jewish communities in Manchuria are actually cut off from the rest of the country on account of the civil war and the breakdown of the communication network. With the other Jewish communities in Northern China, especially the most important one in Tientsin, our Shanghai Relief Committee maintains regular contact ..."

As a result of the WJC approach from New York, the Tientsin Hebrew Association declared its affiliation to the WJC on August 29, 1946, and on September 30 the Shanghai Ashkenazi Jewish Communal Association unanimously adopted a resolution to affiliate with the World Jewish Congress. Following this declaration, its Board of Directors was invited by New York to nominate delegates to the World Jewish Congress China Section, which was to be created in the near future.

Dr. Schwarzbart wrote Boris Radomishelsky:

"I do hope that one of the first results of this new orientation will be the setting up of an all-over representative body, unifying the entirety of the Jewish Communal Associations, cultural and political organizations and relief agencies in China."

Soon after, the Hankow Hebrew Association also joined the WJC.

On January 10, 1947, Dr. Schwarzbart wrote the WJC in Shanghai that the China Section had to be legalized by the local authorities in Shanghai before beginning its activities. He also mentioned that most communities and organizations they had approached had affiliated. On the same date, Dr. Schwarzbart contacted the Bureau of Social Affairs of the Shanghai Municipal Government asking for the legalization of the WJC China Section and thanking them for the "sympathetic understanding and moral support which the Chinese Government, its representative agencies and diplomatic spokesmen have shown whenever the World Jewish Congress appealed to them for help in the solution of the pressing problems with which the Jews are confronted."

The letter concluded:

"May I be permitted to express the hope that in view of the traditionally human and liberal attitude of the Chinese Government and Chinese people, legal steps be granted the China Section of the World Jewish Congress".

The situation in China (excluding Manchuria) at the time, as described in a WJC January 13, 1947 memo was as follows:

- A total of 20,000 Jews (95% Ashkenazim and 5% Sephardim)
 - Shanghai 18,000-19,000 (of whom 13,000 European refugees)
- Tientsin 1,600 Ashkenazim (of whom 200 refugees)
- Tsingtao 160
- Peking 60Hankow 23

On January 23, 1947, an Executive Committee Meeting of the WJC presided by Boris Radomishelsky took place in Shanghai. Long discussions were held on its budget. Since there was a cash balance of \$200 on their account, it was decided that no funds would be requested from the central WJC office in New York. Their monthly budget was set at \$70, of which \$35 for the office administrator's salary and \$35 for running expenses. It was resolved to buy a typewriter since monthly rental fees were high.

The founding meeting of the WJC China Section was held on August 3, 1947 after which the Relief Committee was disbanded because members concluded that "relief work should be left completely to more qualified organizations, such as the Joint."

An early January 1948 report from the Committee of the WJC in China listed the difficulties that Shanghai Jews had experienced. During the last two years before the outbreak of the Pacific War, 20,000 Jews had arrived in this city: 16,000 from Germany and Austria, 1,000 from Poland and 2,000-3,000 from other parts of China. The report stated:

"The basic differences in the mentalities of the Jews from the different countries were in the course of a few years the cause of a lack of unity, which was manifested in the founding of different organizations which in part still exist to the present day."

The report further stated that in spite of all these problems, the WJC had succeeded in "reaching an understanding with all groups and forming a committee of 24 members, comprising 4 representatives of each group according to their country of origin. The groups in question were Jews from Russia, Germany, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Sephardim. The last-mentioned is the oldest in Shanghai."

As to the situation in Tientsin:

"... There are today in Tientsin 1,000 Jews whose economic situation is as follows: 50% are engaged in trade, while the remainder comprise employees, artisans and free professionals. There is in existence a Jewish club "Kunst", which is the center of Jewish social life. There is also a Jewish school which looks after the education of the children. Besides, there exists a separate group of Jews from Germany and Austria, numbering about 100. This group is steadily decreasing in number due to continuous emigration."

In Tsingtao, there were 100 Jews left. In Peking, Jews numbered 50 and several Jews lived in Hankow.

The report concluded that the WJC had become the most important Jewish institution in the Far East.

Finally, on January 21, 1948, the China Section of the WJC was officially established. All the communities, organizations and Landsmannschaften in the Shanghai area were represented on its committee. The provinces also nominated delegates. The following top officers were elected:

"President: Mr. I. Jacob, member of the Governing Board of the Shanghai Sephardic Community.

Vice-Presidents: Mr. J. V. Citrin, of the Shanghai Ashkenazi Community, Hon. Treasurer of the Kerena Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth & Mr. S. Hopp, member of the "Repraesentanz" of the Juedische Gemeinde and member

of the YIVO.

Hon. Secretary: Mr. I. Sieger, member of the Executive of the "Polish War Refugees Organization" and Secretary of the Labor Zionist Organization (Poalei Zion - Igud Olami).

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. M. Halpern, of the Austrian Landsmannschaft, President of the General Zionist Organization in Shanghai.

Office Administrator: Mr. L. Gruenfeld, Rosh Machaneh Habonim in Shanghai."

Members of the Plenum were: G. Zyrinsky, member of the Executive of the Shanghai Ashkenazi Community, of the Keren Kayemeth and Keren Hayesod; S. Margulies, member of the Board of the Juedische Gemeinde and Chairman of the Chinese Section's Sub-Committee for the Restitution of Property in Europe; Dr. S. Mannheim. Chief Physician of the S.R. Hospital and Chairman of the Labor Zionist Organization, Poale Zion (Igud Olami); S. Baruch and I.A. Toeg representing the Shanghai Sephardic Community; Mr. Zondovich, delegate of the Tientsin Hebrew Association.

The China Section requested JWC New York to take the proper steps to have the Minister of the Interior of the Republic of China in Nanking grant it legal status. JWC considered whether it should approach Nanking directly or have informal conversations with the Chinese Embassy in Washington or

the Chinese Delegation to the United Nations. No progress was made in this matter.

By April 14, 1948, the number of European refugees in China decreased to 7,000 and this number would diminish further due to emigration. The "hard core of long established Shanghai Jewish Communities" was expected to remain

On April 12, 1948, Dr. Schwarzbart sent a memo to members of the Executive of the JWC. In it he outlined the situation of Tientsin and Tsingtao Jewish Communities:

• **Tientsin:** 1,500 Jews (90% Russian, 10% European refugees, some American, French and Jews of other nationalities).

This community was suffering economically because of the high inflation. Voluntary contributions were sought to help those in serious financial straits. Politically, the Brith Trumpeldor retained a dominating position and funds raised for Israel were always transmitted to the Irgun.

Almost all the remaining European refugees wanted to emigrate to the U.S. under the free German quota. They complained that no Displaced Persons Bill in the U.S. Congress ever appeared to provide for DP's outside Shanghai.

• Tsingtao: There were 62 Jewish

• Tsingtao: There were 62 Jewish families of various nationalities. These Jews were very helpful to the DP's and appreciative of the considerate attitude of the Chinese Government and the Chinese people towards them. The entire Community were "using all their resources and making every possible effort to help the rising State of Israel*.

As civil disorders in China increased, even old Jewish settlers began to leave the country for the U.S., South America, Australia, Israel and other countries. Jewish organizations lost most of their members and Jewish communities slowly vanished.

A final last letter dated July 20, 1950, from Mr. W.S. Citrin, Chairman of The Far Eastern Palestine Office to the WJC in New York, states:

"We regret to inform you that due to disintegration of the China Jewish Community through resettlement in Israel and other countries, the China Section of the World Jewish Congress has ceased to exist approximately one year ago"

Thus ended the China Section of the World Jewish Congress.

THE FATAL 17TH OF JULY 1945

by Kurt Maimann
Excerpted from the
Bulletin of Igud Yotzei Sin

I think there is hardly one ex-Hongkew refugee, who, when the 17th of July comes around, does not remember, with sorrow, what happened on this date in 1945.

For my readers who are not familiar with the happenings of that day, here, in short, is the sad story. The 17th of July 1945, in Shanghai, was a beautiful, sunny day. At noon, a squadron of American B-25 bombers came, at low altitude, over the Hongkew district. The inhabitants, who were used to daily and nightly visits by American planes, which had caused no damage, were not afraid of this squadron's purpose.

Just as the bombers flew over the Japanese Naval Command radio station, they dropped their bombs. None of the bombs hit their (supposedly intended) target. Instead, the adjacent houses which were inhabited by a large number of refugees and many Chinese, exploded and became a blazing inferno.

The question why the station was not hit has often been asked but is still awaiting answers. The antenna of the station was so high that it should have been seen with the naked eye. The B-25s were the most modern of their kind at that time and certainly must have been equipped with excellent bomb sights.

31 Jewish refugees (besides many Chinese) were killed and a large number were injured.

Many of our ex-refugees as well as some Sinologists have written books about the Hongkew Ghetto and probably came up with information about the bombardment. Also, there are many ex-Hongkewers who are in close touch with the Museums of the Holocaust that have been — or are being — erected in U.S. cities. Possibly, our friends will find documents that will shed light on why 31 Jewish refugees had to die by "friendly bombs" a few weeks before the Pacific war ended.

¹ Unfortunately, no report on the situation of Jews in Shanghai could be located by the author of this article.

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