MONUMENTA SERICA COLLOQUIUM IN GERMANY, 1997

The Institut Monumenta Serica, in collaboration with the China-Zentrum and other institutions is planning an exhibition and activities highlighting the Jewish presence in Kaifeng and Shanghai, between April and November, 1997.

An exhibition at the Ethnological Museum "Haus Volker und Kulturen" (Sankt Augustin, near Bonn) will run from April to October, 1997. An international scholarly colloquium, "From Kaifeng to Shanghai — Jews in China" will be held, hoping to determine the current state of the field and perspectives pertaining to the scholarly study of the history of Jews in China.

Possible dates for the colloquium are June 23-27 or October 6-10, 1997. A selection of the papers to be presented at the colloquium will be open to the public. The materials will be published, together with additional contributions, in the *Monumenta Serica Monograph Series*.

A volume of woodcut prints of German-born Jewish artist David Ludwig Bloch is planned to be published in conjunction with these activities. The book will include the woodcut series he made while living in exile in Shanghai in 1942.

Contact: Institut Monumenta Serica, Arnold-Janssen-Str. 20, D-53754 Sankt Augustin, Germany. Tel: (02241) - 237 431. Fax: (02241) - 20 58 41.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JUDAIC STUDIES OCTOBER 13-16, 1996, NANJING, CHINA

To exchange views and achievements of scholars in the field of Judaic studies, establish close ties among those scholars and related institutions, and promote the study of Jewish subjects in China in particular, the Center for Judaic Studies at Nanjing University, Tel Aviv University, and Hebrew Union College are pleased to announce jointly the '96 International Conference of Judaic Studies, which will be held from October 13-16. A tour to Shanghai and discussion about the former Shanghai Jewish communities will be conducted from October 11-13. A visit to Kaifeng, where Chinese Jewish descendants primarily live, will be organized.

Contact: Dr. Beverly Friend (E-mail: friend@oakton.edu) or Prof. Liwei Zhang, School of Foreign Studies, Nanjing University, Nanjing 210093, People's Republic of China.

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE THROUGH THE SINO-JUDAIC INSTITUTE

Michael Pollak. Mandarins, Jews and Missionaries. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1980. \$7.50.

Michael Pollak, comp. *The Jews of Dynastic China: A Critical Bibliography*. Hebrew Union College Press, in association with The Sino-Judaic Institute. (A continuation of the Loewenthal bibliographies) \$24.95, members \$20. With the item below, 2 vols., \$30.

Michael Pollak, ed. *The Sino-Judaic Bibliographies of Rudolf Loewenthal*. Hebrew Union College Press, in association with the Sino-Judaic Institute, 1988. 208 pp. \$20, members \$16.

Sino-Judaica: Occasional Papers of the Sino-Judaic Institute. Vol. 1 (1991). \$15 (\$9 to members). Vol. 2 (1995). \$20 (\$15 to members).

Frank J. Shulman, comp. *Directory of Individuals Interested in the Jews and the Jewish Communities of East, Southeast and South Asia*. Carrollton, Georgia, 1993. \$10, \$15 foreign (including postage).

Points East: A Publication of the Sino-Judaic Institute. Published three times a year. Back issues, \$5 each, \$15/year.

Wang Yisha. Zhongguo Youtai Chunqiu (Annals of the Chinese Jews), in Chinese. Hardcover, \$5, soft cover \$2.

Xu Xin et al., comp. Encyclopedia Judaica (Chinese version), \$30, plus \$10 postage and handling. Nanjing, 1993.

The Chinese Jews of Kaifeng, slide set with cassette. (30 minutes) \$75, members \$60.

Please note: For each item, unless otherwise stated, there is a charge of \$2 for postage and handling, domestic, and \$5 for overseas mailing.

Soints & Sast

Vol. 11, No. 2

A Publication of the Sino-Judaic Institute

July, 1996

REPORT FROM CHINA

by Albert E. Dien President, SJI

I visited China this past April 24 through June 3, first as a member of a research project in Xinjiang, China's far northwest province, and then as a lecturer for a tour organized by Stanford University's Alumni Association. I will mention here only those matters which may be of interest to members of the Institute. During my stay in Beijing I had the opportunity to meet Elyse Beth Silverberg, who has lived in Beijing for almost twenty years, and who is Vice President of the U.S.-China Industrial Exchange, Inc., which is housed in a beautifully renovated traditional Chinese courtyard down a secluded lane one would not know one is in bustling, smogridden Beijing. Ms. Silverberg is the focal point for the Jewish community among Beijing's foreign community, as we learned from Wendy Fine's report printed in Points East a few issues ago. Ms. Silverberg's son will be Bar-Mitzvah this October, and on behalf of the Institute I offered her our sincere congratulations.

THE NORMAN FISHMAN MEMORIAL FUND

The Sino-Judaic Institute has established a fund in honor of Norman Fishman for the purpose of continuing what came to be known as "Norm's Book Project" — an undertaking he had initiated some months ago which he believed could do the greatest good in contributing to Chinese understanding of the Jews. All funds raised will be used to donate Judaica books to individual Chinese scholars and academic institutions in China in his name.

Anyone wishing to donate to this fund may send a check made out to "The Norman Fishman Memorial Fund," and mail it to: Mr. Shelton Ehrlich, Protem Treasurer of the Sino-Judaic Institute, 755 Northampton, Palo Alto, California 94303.

IN MEMORIUM NORMAN FISHMAN 1924-1996

It is with deep regret that the Sino-Judaic Institute announces the loss of its Treasurer, Norman Fishman, on May 25th. Norm was one of our most energetic and enthusiastic members for many years. The son of Russian immigrants, Norm enjoyed a career spanning three decades as a chemical engineer and consultant. An active member of the Jewish community, he served three terms as President of the South Peninsula Jewish Community Center and was founder of the Palo Alto School for Jewish Education. We would like to extend our sincere condolences to his wife, Lillian, his sister, Lily, his children, David and Devora and his grandson, Max.

In Beijing I also met another member of the Institute, Lewis Sperber, formerly of Bridgeport, Connecticut, who decided a few years ago to chuck everything and move to China, where he has been teaching English and business management ever since. He has a number of plans concerning the improvement of the economic situation of the Kaifeng Jewish descendants.

I took the opportunity while in Beijing to meet with Institute members Dr. Morris Mathews and Prof. Zhao Xiangru to learn about their plans to expand the present hospital on the site of the Kaifeng synagogue into a facility which would be first-class and would serve the whole province of Henan. The friends of Prof. Zhao will be happy to hear that he and his family are in good health.

I tried to meet with the new Cultural Affairs Officer at the Israeli Embassy, Mr. Caspy, but he had no free time while I was in Beijing. My impression is that he is not as interested in cooperative undertakings with the Institute as was his predecessor, Mr. Propper, with whom we were able to help with the publication, for example, of Chaim Herzog's Heroes of Israel.

I had hoped in Urumqi, Xinjiang, to confirm the rumor that there were Jews living there, but this effort proved unsuccessful. The only person I could learn of is said to be originally from Bukhara and works at the Renmin Publishing Company, but he himself says he is an Uzbek and denies that he is Jewish. Under these circumstances, I felt I should not intrude on his privacy.

An interesting incident occurred while I went with a group of archaeologists to visit a Tang dynasty (618-906 C.E.) Fort at Alagao, near Turfan, Xinjiang. A resident of the area turned over to the director of the Institute of Archaeology a long sword of uncertain age on which were written inscriptions in a decorative style of Arabic script, not unusual because the Arabic script is used in this area by the Uighurs, who are Moslems. What was distinctive is that it also featured a Star of David. I suspect that the sword dates from the rebellion of Yakub Beg in the mid-19th century, or possibly from the attempt by Moslems of the area to establish the East Turkestan Republic in the early years of the 20th century. If anyone knows if the Star of David was used as a protective symbol by Moslems during this period, please inform me. (continued on page 17)

Points East is published three times a year, in March, July and November. Deadlines for submitting material to be included in these issues are January 31st, May 31st and

September 30th.

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POINTS EAST

A Publication of the Sino-Judaic Institute

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> The Sino-Judaic Institute 232 Lexington Drive Menlo Park, CA 94025 (415) 323-1769

KUDOS TO ANSON LAYTNER

The Sino-Judaic Institute wishes to express its wholehearted thanks to Rabbi Anson Laytner for a decade's worth of singlehandedly and superbly editing its newsletter. Anson has been the sole editor of Points East since it first appeared in 1985. bringing information and updates on the Jews of Asia, both ancient and modern, to the many members of the Sino-Judaic Institute world-wide. He will share that repsonsibility with Wendy Abraham as she becomes Managing Editor. Anson now also takes on the post of Comptroller for the Institute. We congratulate him on a formidable job well done, and thank him for all the time he has devoted to SJI during its first decade.



FINANCIAL REPORT AVAILABLE

SJI members interested in receiving a copy of the annual financial report should send a self-addressed envelope to: 755 Northampton, Palo Alto, CA 94303



SJI SPEAKERS AVAILABLE

Planning a fundraising event? Organizing a meeting or celebration? If your lewish educational, religious or cultural group has a need for a speaker on a truly unique subject, contact the Sino-Judaic Institute. Possible lecture topics include:

- The Chinese lews of Kaifeng
- The lews of Shanghai
- Jewish Life in Harbin and Tianiin
- Sino-Israeli Relations

A portion of the proceeds will be donated to the Sino-Judaic Institute.

For more information, contact SII at: (415) 323-1769 e-mail: wabraham@leland.stanford.edu fax: (206) 726-9791.

FROM THE EDITOR:

It is both a delight and a privilege to be taking on the new role of editor of Points East from Anson Laytner, who has done so for the past ten years. Through Points East Anson has kept us all apprised of the latest developments in Sino-Judaic scholarly activities, upcoming events and colloquia, book reviews, news clippings and news about Jews from around the world. It is my hope that this newsletter will continue to act as a focal point of information and contacts for those in the field of Sino-Judaic studies. Your comments and suggestions for inclusion of other information are, as always, greatly appreciated.

The Sino-Judaic Institute has many plans for the upcoming year, including the creation of an SJI home page on the World Wide Web so that we may reach a greater number of individuals and scholars throughout the world. By the next issue we hope to have in place the names of SJI domestic and international representatives who will help in our fundraising and outreach activities across the globe.

This year the funds we raise will help:

- Donate artifacts, or replicas of artifacts, to the Judaica Wing of the Kaifeng Municipal Museum
- · Donate material to the Ohel Moshe Synagogue/Museum in Shanghai
- · Search for Jewish tombstones in Shanghai
- Fund Chinese scholars doing research in Israel

Finally, we plan to produce a special commemorative Ten-Year SJI Retrospective Issue, which will include a list of all the projects SJI has helped come to fruition since 1985, a chronological overview of developments in Sino-Israeli relations since 1985, and a list of all Asian-Judaic studies organizations which have sprung up worldwide since the establishment of the Sino-Judaic Institute.

We look forward to your continued active participation in helping us reach these goals.

Wendy Abraham

RUDOLPH LOEWENTHAL

(1904-1996)

The news of the death of Dr. Rudolph Loewenthal on June 12th in Poughkeepsie, New York, leaves those of us who knew him personally or had consulted even a small portion of the numerous scholarly studies he produced deeply saddened.

Dr. Loewenthal leaves behind a legacy of learning that generations of members of the academic community will have reason to be grateful for. A courtly man, he was exceedingly generous in sharing his knowledge with others, as I personally had reason to know, as well as in encouraging colleagues and guiding students in their pursuit of the studies in which they were engaged.

In 1988 the Sino-Judaic Institute and the Hebrew Union College Press jointly published The_Sino-Judaic Bibliographies of Rudolf Loewenthal, a collection of essays and annotated bibliographical data dealing with the Jewish experience in China that Dr. Loewenthal had contributed to various Chinese journals between 1939 and 1946. As compiler and editor of this volume, I included in its Introduction the appended sketch of Dr. Loewenthal's life and work:

The career of Rudolf Loewenthal reflects the chaotic world conditions in which it evolved. Born in Schwerin-Mecklenburg, Germany, in 1904, he worked between 1923 and 1929 for publishing houses in France and Germany, and in 1933 received a doctoral degree in economics from the University of Berlin. Almost immediately, the advent of Hitlerism drove him from his native land to a haven in the Far East. Arriving in China, he was appointed in 1934 to a teaching position at Yenching University, in Beijing, serving also on its library staff. Within a few years, he acquired Chinese citizenship, added Chinese and Russian to an already extensive linguistic repertory, and developed an outstanding reputation as an expert in Sino-Soviet rela-

Rudolf Loewenthal's tenure at Yenching University lasted until 1947, when the successes of the Maoist military forces drove him into a second exile, this time in the United States. Here he busied himself in research and teaching, first at Cornell University and later at Georgetown University. After becoming an American citizen (1957), he worked in a number of capacities for the United States Information Agency, specializing in the creation of bibliographies and other publications dealing with China, Africa, Turkey, and various Arabic national groups and institutions. Later, he became associated with several commercial firms engaged in the development of computerrelated translation programs. During this period, he and his wife Ariadne, a Slavonic specialist at the Library of Congress, designed one of the earliest systems for the computerized translation of Russian technical journals into English. His marriage, incidentally, brought him a fourth citizenship, and this for the reason that in grateful recognition of the pioneering work done by a grandfather of Mrs. Loewenthal on the development of the icebreaker -- and, moreover, to memorialize that gentleman's decision, as captain of a foundering prototype of this vessel, to go down gallantly with his ship -- the city fathers of Vladivostok had bestowed honorary citizenship in their municipality upon all his descendants in perpetuity, as well as upon

whatever spouses they might acquire. As part of this legacy, Russian national citizenship was automatically conferred upon each beneficiary. What could never have been foreseen, of course, was that, decades later, when Rudolf Loewenthal was called upon to testify before a succession of United States Senate committees on the complexities surrounding the three-sided relationships existing between the United States, China, and Russia, it would turn out that the expert witness whose counsel was being sought had held citizenship in all three of the powers under discussion.

The scholarly record of Rudolf Loewenthal is exceptionally impressive. Aside from his Judaic-related writings, he has published extensively, both as author and translator, on such matters as the growth of foreign-language and religiously-oriented periodicals in China and elsewhere in the Far East; Russo-Islamic and Sino-Islamic studies; Russian-held collections of materials dealing with Arab, African, and Turkic peoples; biographical data concerning numerous outstanding Russian intellectual and political figures; and the like. He also founded and edited the Central Asian Collectanea, and served with distinction on the editorial board of Monumenta Serica.

The principal Sino-Judaic publications of Rudolf Loewenthal which deal with the autochthonous Jews of China, excluding those of his articles which have appeared in a variety of encyclopedias, are:

- 1. "Literatur vegn di Yidn in Khine" ("Literature concerning the Jews of China"), Yedies fun Yidishn Visenshaftlekhn Institut, Wilno (November-December 1937). An initial listing of seventeen titles compiled by Dr. Loewenthal for M. Birman.
- 2. "The Jews in China: a Bibliography," Yenching Journal of Social Studies vol. 1, no. 2 (January 1939), pp. 256-91.
- 3. "The Jews in China: an Annotated Bibliography," Chinese Social and Political Science Review vol. 24, no. 2 (July - September 1940). pp. 113-234. Reprinted, 1940, with minor changes and new pagination: [1-4], i-iv, [119]-261.
- 4. "The Early Jews in China: a Supplementary Bibliography," Folkore Studies vol. 5 (1946), pp. 353-98.
- 5. "The Nomenclature of Jews in China," Monumenta Serica vol. 12 (1947), pp. 97-126. A revised and substantially enlarged version of this study appears in Hyman Kublin's Studies of the Chinese Jews (New York, 1971), pp. 53-84.
- 6. "Jews and China in Eighteenth-Century Literature," Historia Judaica vol. 12 (1950), pp. 67-76.
- 7. "An Imaginary Illustration of the Kaifeng Jewish Synagogue," Oriens Extremus vol. 19 (December 1972), pp. 95-99.

Michael Pollak

A TALMUDIST FROM BEIJING

Reprinted from Igud Yotzei Sin

Ping Zhang, a Beijing University lecturer, is fascinated by the Talmud, so much so that he is now doing a Talmud-related doctorate at Tel-Aviv University under the supervision of Prof. Yoav Ariel, Chairman of the Department of Philosophy, the Faculty of Humanities.

Ever since his arrival in Israel two years ago, Ping has been struck more by the similarities between Israel and China than the differences. It was these similarities which attracted him to study Talmud, he says.

Ping's dissertation involves a comparative study of the Mishna and Confucian texts, with special emphasis on the notion of fallibility and infallibility in both traditions. Both cultures have tried to build a society based on infallibility," he says in explanation. "The drive for perfectionism is evident both in the Halachic observance of laws and also in the moral code of Confucianism. In addition both traditions place a strong emphasis on learning and scholarship and rely on debate and argumentation," he says.

Mastering Hebrew in China

This study requires, of course, a good knowledge of Hebrew, which Ping began acquiring quite by chance while studying for an M.A. in Oriental Literature at Peking University. There he was informed that he would have to learn a second foreign language (in addition to English), and that Hebrew was one of the options.

Perhaps influenced by the fact that his grandfather had been a Bible-loving Christian, Ping chose to learn the language of the Bible. His class, taught by a Jewish American woman, had only eight students and was the first of a program in Jewish Cultural Studies established at Peking University in 1985, approximately eight years before the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Israel. To date the program has graduated two classes, with three students entering the diplomatic service in the growing area of Sino-Israeli relations.

Ping was enthusiastic about his Hebrew studies, becoming so proficient in the language that he was able to translate two stories by the Israeli writer Shmuel Yosef Agnon into Chinese. Therefore, it was only natural that Peking University should decide to send him for a year's study at Jerusalem's Hebrew University, within the framework of a cultural exchange agreement between China and Israel. Once in Israel, he was granted permission from Beijing to stay on and do a Ph.D. at Tel-Aviv University. At first it was to be on modern Hebrew literature, but a new translation project persuaded Ping to choose another topic.

This project was the translation of a section of the Mishna, Pirkei Avot ("The Sayings of the Fathers"), from Hebrew into Chinese. It took him three months of morning-to-night work to do it. At the same time, he prepared a commentary that would put this key work of Jewish philosophy into context for readers in China.

"As things turned out," says Ping, "the effort was worthwhile, for it

convinced me to devote my thesis to Hebrew writings of the past rather than of the present, as I originally intended."

Adjusting to Israeli Student Life

On the practical side, Ping supports himself by teaching Chinese to Israeli students, who express enormous interest in his country. The interest is reciprocal," he says. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two nations, there is a growing interest about the Jewish state in China. A number of books about Israel have been published and have proven extremely popular.

Ping is one of nine Chinese students presently studying at Tel-Aviv University. All the students are extremely busy, he says; they share a serious attitude toward their studies with Israeli students. He points out, however, that the life of a student in China is much easier than that of his Israeli counterpart: "In China," says Ping, "a student entering university is fed, clothed and housed by the government -- with a guaranteed job at the end of the line." He admires the Israeli student's sense of individual responsibility.

Ping, who lives in the student dormitories at Tel-Aviv University, has made many Israeli friends. Israelis are very friendly, though perhaps more to foreigners than to one another," he comments. But then he adds with a smile, "the same is true of my own countrymen." As far as everyday life is concerned, Ping has gotten used to eating falafel, humus and tehina. "They're not as terrible as I thought in the beginning," he joked.

One of the aspects of Israeli life that strikes him the most is the large number of religious people in Israel. In Israel there are more religious people than I expected. In China, Confucianism as a practice is almost non-existent. No one can afford the luxury of being able to study the five classics of the Confucian texts," he says.

When asked what he finds the most strange in Israel, Ping says "what is surprising is that I don't feel anything strange -- the ordinary people are just like the Chinese. My Israeli friends are always ready to help out; as in China, friendship is treated very seriously here."

Prof. Ariel, Ping's superviser at Tel-Aviv University, is an internationally recognized expert on Confucianism. Pointing out that the University has recently initiated a Department of East Asian Studies, Ariel foresees a continued expansion of cultural ties between China and Israel, "which, while enormously different in size, have many of the same concepts and values." Ping Zhang enthusiastically agrees.



SJI REMEMBERS NORM

Dear Lil.

On behalf of the Sino-Judaic Institute, I want to express to you our deep-felt sorrow upon the passing of Norm. During the years that he served as Treasurer of the Institute, we had more and more come to depend on his unfailing resourcefulness, and on his willingness to undertake difficult and onerous tasks. We very much appreciated his shouldering so much of the burden of administering the Institute. In all of this his generosity of spirit, his conscientiousness and his good humor marked him as a very special person, indeed, and we will miss him dearly as a colleague and as a friend.

Please accept our deepest condolences on your loss.

Sincerely, Al Dien President, SJI



"... The elements were so mixed in him that nature might stand up and say to all the world, THIS WAS A MAN."

These stirring words by Mark Antony about Brutus could easily have been written about Norman Fishman. Those of us who knew the man, understood that we had lost a treasured friend; his family had lost a devoted father and husband, and the Jewish world lost a strong defender.

When Norman Fishman died on May 25, 1996, much of an era died with him. He came from the Jewish community in Petaluma, California, famous for its chicken farms. He often described the strife the Petaluma Jewish community endured from both the political left and the political right; a strife that Norman found possible to rise above. Years had reduced these enmities to its proper proportions, and Norman came to laugh at those tempestuous years.

I have had the privilege of knowing and

working with Norman for more than 25 years. Our families were friends, and we thus knew of his activities and loyalties. The two central points to Norman's existence, aside from his family, were Israel and Yiddishkeit. He served as President of the Palo Alto Jewish Community Center, between the years 1976 and 1979, and he left his impact on all who knew him.

Norman was Jewish throughout without apologies to anyone. When Aaron Lansky started his collection of Yiddish literature, he could not have found more agreeable associates than the Fishman family. In the new library in Massachusetts, the Fishman family is well represented by their financial contribution to various bookshelves. In the past few years, Norman has devoted much of his energies to the Sino-Judaic Institute. Without doubt, he was its best Treasurer, and he treated his work with his traditional professionalism.

Norman was indeed a man to know and a friend to have. We thus come full circle with the words of Shakespeare, THIS WAS A MAN.

Leo Gabow Founding President, SJI



Evening in Norm's Garden

A gentle breeze Through the trees, Delicate scents From the plants.

Under the redwoods A rock alone. Norm's quiet ashes Under the stone.

His spirit in every flower, In every blade of dewy grass. A breath of strength, of gentle power That will not die, that will not pass.

Thoughts by Rena Krasno

LETTTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Mr. Laytner:

In the March issue of Points East I was mentioned in Al Dien's "Report on a Visit to China" as Joan "Goodman" in regards to the film I am producing about refugees in Shanghai. Please note that my correct name is Joan Grossman and that Paul Rosdy (also mentioned), who is based in Vienna, is not only a cameraman, but my partner on this project, and fully collaborating on the producing, writing and directing of the documentary film we are making.

The documentary film, THE PORT OF LAST RESORT: A Jewish Refuge in Shanghai (formerly DESTINATION SHANGHAI), has recently been awarded a generous grant of \$100,000 towards production by the Austrian Ministry of Arts & Education in Vienna. This project represents a unique collaboration between Austrian and American Jewish filmmakers on a film related to the Holocaust, and the filmmakers are working to match these funds with support from the American philanthropic community. For more information contact Joan Grossman, 18 Cheever Place, Brooklyn, NY 11231, Phone: (718) 855-9836.

Sincerely, Joan Grossman

To the Editor:

I am writing to ascertain if there is any more information on whether or not there are Chinese Jewish ("ancient") communities in Chinese cities other than Kaifeng. I base my inquiry on two articles that appeared in past editions of *Points East*, as well as an entry in Michael Pollak's *The Jews of Dynastic China: A Critical Bibliography*.

In the October 1992 (Volume 7, No. 3) edition of *Points East*, in an article authored by the publication's editor, there contains the following reference (Page 9) to the possibility of Jews residing in Chinese cities other than Kaifeng. In the article, you stated that "what we now know is that there are at least 2,000 people who can claim 'Jew' as their nationality based on place of family origin in Kaifeng and their holding one of seven distinctive surnames. There are perhaps many others,"

the article continues, "living throughout China with Beijing, Shanghai, Nanjing, Zhengdu [sic], Kuangming [sic], Xian, Lanzhou and Loyang being cited as additional locations ..."

Less than a year later, a similar article appeared in the June 1993 (Volume 8, No. 2) issue of Points East. Entitled "Update on Chinese Jews" (Page 2), the article gives a report by Professor Zhao Xiangru and states that "there are not more than 5,000 Jews living in China today, mostly in Kaifeng, but also in Hangzhou, Yangzhou, Ningbo and Beijing ..." With the exception of Kaifeng and Beijing, the cities listed in the two aforesaid paragraphs are different. Professor Zhao's estimate of 5,000 Jews living in China apparently does not include Shanghai, Nanjing, Zhengdu, Kuangming, Xian, Lanzhou and Loyang. Are there Jewish communities or individuals claiming Jewish descent living in these cities?

Apparently, from an article on the same page as the "Update on Chinese Jews" story, there is evidence of Jewish individuals residing in Shanghai. Entitled "Chinese Jewish Immigration to Israel," the articles quoted from the February 7, 1993, edition of the "Jerusalem Post," and states: "A Jewish Agency spokesman stated that there were 27 immigrants from China to Israel in 1991, most from Shanghai (!) But a few from Kaifeng." You were certainly justified to put an exclamation point after Shanghai, after all, that locale has rarely been mentioned as having ("an ancient") a Chinese Jewish community.

Besides getting an update on Chinese Jewish communities outside of Kaifeng, I should also like to know if there is more information on the Bailan Qiang people of Qinghai Province. In The Jews of Dynastic China: A Critical Bibliography, the following is written (C-25, pages 37-38) about the alleged connection between the Bailan Qiang and the Jews: "Dr. Albert E. Dien, President of the Sino-Judaic Institute, was informed in 1990 by Dr. Zhang Sui that the Bailan Qiang people of Qinghai Province appear to be of Jewish descent. These people ... are described by Dr. Zhang as owning an arch-shaped shrine named Mo-si - Moses! - making offerings of bowls of soup and cuts of lamb, and extracting the sinews from the thighs of the animals they use for food. They also preserve portions of six Hebrew manuscripts, which two of their members are said to be able to read. Dr. Zhang has provided a photograph of one of these texts, a nine-line Genesis fragment whose

reverse side displays a passage in Tibetan which translates as: 'This is the classic (Bible) of the divine sages; let your sons and grandsons remember it forever ...'"

Has the above information been confirmed? Is there any new information available on the Bailan Qiang? Any information you can provide on this group and the Chinese Jewish communities will be most appreciated. Thank you.

Gregg Sitrin Bayside, New York

Editor's Note: Mr. Sitrin raises some excellent questions on the subject of discrepancies in information about Jewish communities in China, given the widely differing counts of population which have been claimed at various times. The only definitive statement countering one of these claims which we can make at the moment is that the count of 5,000 Jews appears to be quite unsubstantiated. Also, to the best of our knowledge, no Jewish descendants have been allowed to immigrate to Israel under its Law of Return. The 27 "immigrants" mentioned in the Jerusalem Post as having gone to Israel in 1991 were most likely simply scholars who had received visas to travel and study there. We call on all knowledgeable members of SII to respond to Mr. Sitrin's query clo Points East before the next issue goes to print. It should be noted that Mr. Wang Yisha, who has done the most extensive research on the number of Jewish descendants presently living in Kaifeng as well as other parts of China, would be the best source of information to settle the matter as definitively as possible. So, Points East readers, keep your eyes glued to this spot in our upcoming issue ...

Beijing Store Closed Reprinted from the *Forward*, February 9, 1996

A Beijing business that was selling Nazi paraphernalia -- including gas masks, helmets, clothing and medals and badges with the swastika -- was shut down by Chinese police, a broadcast last week on Chinese state television announced.

German diplomats in Beijing, commenting on the broadcast, said Nazi revivalism was virtually unheard of in China. "This is worrying," one diplomat reportedly said. "This must mean there is a wider problem or they [the government] would not be reporting it so widely."

Elan Steinberg, executive director of the

World Jewish Congress, said the announcement was significant because it indicates that renewed Jewish and Israeli contact with China "has heightened China's sensitivity" to this matter. In the past, such an incident would have been ignored, he added.

HELP US LOCATE ...Walter Keller

In 1939 Walter Keller left Frankfurt for Shanghai with my father, Paul Nathan Lilienfeld. My father died in Shanghai in 1942. Walter and I were at school together in Frankfurt and he would be about 74 years old today.

I have written to numerous people in various agencies in the hope that someone, somewhere might be able to shed some light on the whereabouts of Walter Keller. I have been unable to trace any records of "arrivals and departures" in Shanghai during that period

Ingrid Falter (nee Inge Lilienfeld) 35 Hamilton Terrace London NW8 9RG

DID YOU KNOW?... Sophia Andreevna

My grandmother, Sophia Andreevna (born 1884) married to Raphael Voetzky who was a priest in the Czar's Army. He was killed by the Bolsheviks when they arrived in Nikolaevsk. My grandmother had to take refuge with her children (Tatjana, Nina, Zoya and Alex) first in Vladivostok, then Harbin and Tientsin (Tianjin) and she died in Shanghai (1942/43?). Their eldest daughter Natasha remained in Siberia and the family lost contact after 1922/23, when she was supposed to have been in Moscow.

I am interested in my grandmother's life in Shanghai, as she lived there for a period with my aunt Zoya (married to Howard Rowland), who had been interned by the Japanese then in Manila. My grandmother was on her own in Shanghai until she passed away.

Dr. Monica Strelow

(If anyone has any information on Sophia Andreevna, please contact SJI and we will forward the information to Dr. Strelow.)

keep members regularly informed of our activities. Plans are under way for an international reunion to be held in Israel. An initial listing of names and addresses is available on request and a complete historical and biographical record of the community is in progress for eventual publication.

In the meantime, we are calling on all former members of the Shanghai Sephardi community to write in with their own ideas and suggestions for our branch organization and to contribute whatever they can of their memories of Shanghai life and their family history for the community records.

Contact: Rebecca Toueg, P.O. Box 6076, Haifa 31060, Israel.

SHANGHAI NEWS UPDATE

THE TRAIL OF THE TOMBSTONES .. CHAPTER TWO
By Tess Johnston

We found some of them! Two years ago we wrote an article about our search for some Jewish tombstones which the (long-ago departed) Hungarian Consul General had told us existed somewhere in Qingpu County, near Shanghai. He declined to take anyone to the site, but after he left my partner, Deke Erh, and I started searching. We searched in vain for three years -- until just two weeks before the publication of our third book, God and Country. Miraculously, we found the tombstones, and in time to include both the pictures and a listing of them in the final chapter, which we called "The Jewish Legacy," which also includes pictures of synagogues, Jewish schools and hospitals.

A few stones serve as a courtyard's paving, some are simply scattered in a field. No one knows where the bodies are, as their host cemeteries were long ago destroyed, along with all other western cemeteries in Shanghai. We have no idea how the stones, some quite heavy, wound up in the countryside near Deke's Folk Art Museum. Only ten of the inscriptions are legible; the remainder of the stones are fragments only, often with Hebrew writing, some with a Star of David. We copied all of them we could decipher:

Madaleine, wife of E.H. Elias, departed this life on July 13, 1925
Emanuel Lazarus, beloved son of Louis and

Kate ...

Joseph Mrantz, died in January 1928, age 61

Solomon Ruben Minny, born in Hong Kong 29 November 1866, departed this life in Shanghai 27 November 1922 (in Hebrew, with a Star of David)

Isaac Samuel Perry, departed this life on 5th ADAR 5687, March 9, 1927 (in Hebrew, with a Star of David)

Gregory Pisarevsky, 16 November 1939, 39 years (also in Hebrew)

Fragment with partial name: David Saul ... Born M... (also in Hebrew).

At Deke's Museum: Emma Gould, fell asleep 19 June 1916

At the old Hungjao [sic] Cemetery location: Max Herzberg, and a Sydower, both fragments only, used as paving stones in an alley.

At the Song Qing Ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen) Memorial Cemetery on Hong Qiao Road, of the 200+ tombstones whose names we copied, only the following (mostly Sephardic) names would seem to be Jewish:

Abraham Hardon (probably Hardoon) Sir Ellie Kadoorie (died 1/8/44) Lady Laura Kadoorie (died February 1918) Jacob H. Mordecai Aaron Sassoon-Gubbay (died 8/7/46) Charles Sassoon-Gubbay (died 10/8/41) Joseph Sassoon-Gubbay (died 8/10/46)

There are also quite a few German names, some of which could be Jewish. (You can always send me the name and I will look for it.)

Hilda Sonne (?) C. German Zonneveld (?)

After extensive searching and to the best of our knowledge, these are all the Jewish tombstones remaining in Shanghai.

REPORT FROM CHINA

(continued from page 1)

In Shanghai I delivered a few Judaic books and music tapes to Mr. Wang Faliang at the Ohel Moshe Synagogue Museum. I also made a small donation on behalf of the Institute. The rooms of the museum, on the third floor of the building which once housed the synagogue, look very well kept up; there is some new furniture, and every indication that it is being cared for. The elderly Mr. Wang appears to be in good health. An executive from the Office of Civil Defense, which shares the building, came in and was introduced. He is Ji Yuanfu, and his card identifies him as Chiief of Administration Department, Shanghai Ohel Moshe Synagogue, so the museum has been integrated into the city's administrative structure, which should ensure its survival.

While in Shanghai I also called Prof. Pan Guang to find out that he was to leave for Canada the next day at the invitation of that government. He plans also to come to the United States during June, visiting Chicago, New York, Washington, San Francisco and Los Angeles, before returning to Vancouver and thence back to China. One of his plans is to conduct interviews with former residents of Shanghai. I also attended a lecture by Tess Johnston at the Shanghai Expatriate Club on the theme of Western-style churches in China, the topic of her third volume soon to appear. Included in her presentation were slides of various Jewish tombstones which have been found in the countryside around Shanghai. These are in the process of gradually being trransported to a museum which had been founded by Deke Erh, Tess' associate in the compilation of these volumes. I offered the assistance of the Institute in this tombstone project, and one would hope eventually for a list of the names appearing on the tombstones. Tess will be retiring from the U.S. Consulate on October 1st.

Finally, in Hong Kong I attended Friday evening services in the handsome new Jewish Community Center, and was a guest of Mr. and Mrs. Dennis Leventhal (Dennis is a member of the Board of the Sino-Judaic Institute) at a dinner at the Center following the services.

is a copy of a stone from 1489, now illegible. The stone from 1512 had been standing, according to the sign, outside the Trinity Cathedral, and remained undiscovered until very late, since the back side was facing outwards. The title of the stone is "A Record of the Synagogue which Respects the Torah of the Way, 1521."

The second stone, lying on its back in a glass case, was also almost illegible, but like the first one, was in Chinese. Excerpts from the text include: "Record of ancient shrine. From 1679 A.D. Zhao's family was notable among ..." There was a special pavillion and memorial gate and a shrine house in the Kaifeng synagogue. The subtitle of the stele is: "Forward for the foundation for Zhao's family shrine ..."

After this visit, we went to the former site of the Kaifeng synagogue, marked on the tourist map as "ruins of the Kaifeng synagogue." Today the rather old Kaifeng hospital is located on the spot, and Mr. Jin hadn't been there for many years. We started looking around for the eventual remains of the synagogue, but couldn't find any. On asking a woman, we got a reluctant answer, but in the same moment a Chinese man came out from the boiler hall. The woman asked him if he knew anything about our business, and after thinking for a moment, he said, "O.K., come inside," and showed us into the boiler hall. Dark and dirty from the coal, we couldn't see anything at first. But the man grabbed a broom and whisked some coal dust away from under the enormous boiler tank. Here we saw what he claimed were the only remains: the old stone ring around the churchwell, in which a simple pattern was chiselled. A lid was placed over the whole, and it was moved a little to the side, throwing a little stone down into the well. Far under us we heard the sound of water. The water in the well was still drinkable, we were told! We felt like real explorers at this moment. In the following conversation, we were told about the plans for moving the hospital, with the aid of the Israeli government, so that they could rebuild the synagogue on the original site.

The sightseeing ended with a visit to the Shanshangan Guild Hall, with elaborate and beautiful woodcarvings on all buildings. The place has nothing to do with Chinese Jews, however, it is highly recommended. Back at the Dongjing Hotel, the manager invited us all for a banquet of the best Chinese food, and we then made an appointment with Mr. Jin, agreeing to go to his home afterwards. We wanted to get the phone numbers of some of the people who knew the most about the Chinese Jews. After dinner we went to his home, located in a typical Chinese

concrete building nearby. Mr. Jin asked his daughter to make us tea, and showed us different things to prove that he and his family really were active believers in the Jewish faith. Just inside the door was the little pipe with a prayer roll inside it (I don't know the name of this — and to be honest, I really don't know much about the Jewish faith as such). He also pulled out his little prayer cap, and showed us two books related to his faith. One of them was an encyclopedia of Jews in China, in both Chinese and Hebrew.

The family album was also taken out, and I learned that he earlier had had a visit by an American Jew. To Mr. Jin's knowledge, there are now about 200 Jewish families, or about 600 Jewish people, in Kaifeng. He also told us that he and his family follow normal Jewish customs, although it was difficult for them to hold Sabbath on Fridays, and food was not always prepared the Kosher way, but they tried.

The evening, and the visit to Kaifeng, ended in a very friendly atmosphere, with Mr. Jin and his daughter presenting small gifts to us. We had had a very good and interesting experience there, and who knows, maybe one day we will return to Kaifeng to visit the new synagogue!

A thematic tour, arranged by Penta Travel in Stockholm, Sweden, departs on October 30th for Beijing, Kaifeng, Shanghai and Hong Kong. The tour will be led by Mr. Theodore Katz [a member of the Sino-Judaic Institute], and has the Chinese Jews as its topic. If you are interested, please contact the Penta Travel offices in Stockholm or Copenhagen:

3, Frederiksborggade DK - 1360 Copenhagen K Phone: +45 33 15 29 11 Fax: +45 33 15 84 11 9, Brunnsgatan S - 111 38 Stockholm Phone: +46 8 24 83 38 Fax: +46 8 24 31 10

Editor's Note: While we are delighted to learn that Mr. Pedersen was successful in meeting with Jewish descendants in Kaifeng, and was able to gain access to the Kaifeng Municipal Museum's Judaica Wing, other bits of information given to him the the Chinese Jewish descendant, Mr. Jin, mentioned in his article, must be taken with some skepticism. Scholars have determined that any active Jewish religious life in the community died out beginning in the mid-19th century. According to my own conversations with Jewish descendants in 1985, ritual circumcision continued somewhat in the first decade of the 20th century, but observance of any holidays or the Sabbath ceased long before that, most likely around the time the last Rabbi of Kaifeng died, in the mid-1800's. The only observances, of sorts, which were noted during my visits in the 1980's, concerned not putting offerings of pork in front of the images of ancestors during Chinese holiday celebrations, out of respect for the fact that their ancestors never ate pork. All other observances of Jewish festivals, notably Passover, had long ago become childhood memories for those descendants then in their 60's, some of which I gathered on tape in informal oral histories.

Further, Mr. Pedersen was told that the 1512 stele was a copy of the 1489 stele, which appears on the reverse side. These are actually two separately written stele with different information on each, concerning the date of entry of the Jews into China, customs, etc. All those interested in more accurate historical information regarding the steles and the religious life of the Chinese Jews of Kaifeng are encouraged to consult Donald Leslie's Survival of the Chinese Jews and Michael Pollak's Mandarins, Jews and Missionaries.

NEWS FOR SHANGHAILANDERS

The Shanghai Sephardi community, which dates back to the mid-19th century, has played a unique role in the history of Chinese Jewry. Enterprising Baghdadian merchants and traders, who had established themselves in the colonies of the British Empire in India and the Far East, formed their own communities in Hong Kong and Shanghai where they lovally maintained their religious traditions and customs while enjoying all the social and cultural advantages of English and European civilization. Wealthy families built palatial homes, beautiful synagogues and many charitable institutions for the benefit of the Jewish community. Unfortunately the serious disruptions of World War II and political changes that occurred in its wake led to the dispersal of community members. Some emigrated to Israel, but many others chose to go to Englishspeaking countries around the world.

On August 8, 1995, a group of former members of the Sephardi community of Shanghai living in Israel held a small reunion in memory of the late Isaiah Cohen at his family's residence in Givataim. The aim of this gathering was to renew old acquaintances and to set up an organization which would ensure closer contact with all those living in Israel or abroad.

A Steering Committee is now being formed for this purpose and the Igud Yotzei Sin, the Association for Former Residents of China, has granted our proposed organization the status of a branch group within their Association, to be called the Sephardi Group, as well as a column in their English Bulletin so as to

THE SHAPES OF THE MASORETIC ACCENTS IN KAIFENG'S MANUSCRIPTS

by Guy Shaked • Givataim, Israel

Introduction

(A)

(A)

The "masoretic accents' are written signs used for the regulation of the chanting of the Bible. The system of Masoretic accents, or ta'amim, at present in use, originated in Tiberias around the 7th-9th centuries, and is believed to be the third system of accents which was used. (It was preceded by the "Israeli" and "Babylonian" systems of Masoretic accents.) The Masoretic accents of the Tiberian system have three functions: signify the place of the accent in each word, divide the sentence ("pasuk") into its syntactic parts, and represent the melodic formulas for the chanting of each word.

The section books from Kaifeng are "square" in their shape, each containing a "section" of the Torah (a "parshia'), with Masoretic accents.

These books were found in Kaifeng, and are present today in the manuscripts collection at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, and in the Chinese Library of the Royal Ontario Museum located in Toronto, Canada.

The Shapes of the Masoretic Accents in Manuscripts from Kaifeng

Some of the Masoretic accents which appear in the manuscripts of Kaifeng have unique shapes, that are different from those in other ancient Hebrew manuscripts containing the system of Tiberian accents:

1. Zakef Gadol - Appears in two forms: Form (A) is the one used today in print; and form (B) is its variation, unique to the section books from Kaifeng.

(B)

2. Zarka - This shape (B) appears in many other ancient manuscripts as well, but is not hte one used today in print (A).

(A) (B) 9 9 9 9 9

3. Gershaim - The two lines of this accent which are today separate (A), connect at their lower ends in some of the section books from Kaifeng (B).

(A) \heartsuit (B)

4. Pazer - This accent is unique in its shape in the section books from Kaifeng (B). Shape (A) is the one used in other manuscripts and also today.

(A) (B) (E)

5. Legarmeye - Appears only in the Bereshit section book (A), and is missing from other section books from Kaifeng.

(B) / N

6. Munach - Appears to have two separate graphic shapes. Shape (B) is a variation of the accent's shape (A), and is unique to the section books from Kaifeng.

 $(A) \qquad (B) \qquad (A)$

7. Darga - The shape of this accent in the Kdeshim and Shmot section books (B) is unique. It also has a peculiarity, especially evident in the Kdeshim section book: the accent's line starts downward from left to right while in other manuscripts, and today it starts downward (today first horizontally) from right to left. The shape of the accent in the Bereshit section book (A) is similar to its shape in other manuscripts and in print today.

 $(B) \quad \begin{cases} \\ \\ \\ \\ \end{cases} \end{cases}$

8. Tlisha Ktana - This accent appears usually in two forms: Form (B) is a circle, sometimes connected to the upper left side of the letter it follows, and appears in the Kdeshim and Shmot section books. Form (A) is a circle with a small "stem" attached to it, and appears in the Bereshit section book of the Bible.

(A) b (B) **X**

Conclusion

There are systematic differences in the shapes of the Masoretic accents between the Bereshit section book of the Bible (Chinese Library, Royal Ontario Museum) and the Kdeshim and Shmot section books of the Bible (Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio). These differences are evident in the shapes of the accents Darga and Tlisha Ktana, and in the use of the accent Legarmeye.

A comparison of the Kaifeng section books to many other Hebrew manuscripts containing Masoretic accents, reveals that the Bereshit section book of the Bible from Kaifeng is a copy of a different and probably later source than the other section books from Kaifeng. These results suggest that the manuscripts of the Jewish community at Kaifeng

originated from more than one source.

Sources

- 1. Bereshit section book (Genesis 1:1 6:8), Manuscript. Chinese Library, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada.
- 2. Shmot section book (Exodus 1:1 6:1), Manuscript, (Cin. 982). Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- 3. Kdeshim section book (Leviticus 19:1 20:27), Manuscript, (Cin. 984). Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

THE JAPANESE/JEWISH CONNECTION

by Michael Pollak Reprinted from Congress Monthly, Sept./Oct. 1995

Of the 135 million residents of Japan, fewer than a thousand are Jews, and these, aside from the occasional Japanese convert, tend to be students, business people, or individuals attached to foreign governmental deputations of various kinds. A survey conducted in 1988 by the B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League indicated that 99 out of every 100 of the Japanese who responded could not recall having even once in their lifetimes crossed paths with a Jew. How, then, are we to explain the disproportionately large outpourings of Jewish-related materials that have permeated Japan's print and audiovisual media in recent decades? How, also, do we account for the attitudes, ranging the entire gamut from the philo- to the phobo-Semitic, that are displayed by these media? What, moreover, does the ongoing preoccupation of the Japanese with the history, culture, religion, and politico-economic status of a people with whom they have so little in common tell us about their own people? And finally, what significance does all this have for Jews who live elsewhere than Japan?

In their penetrating and thought-provoking Jews in the Japanese Mind: The History and Uses of a Cultural Stereotype, Professors David S. Goodman of the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, and Masanori Miyazawa of Doshisha Women's College, Kyoto, succeed brilliantly in sketching out the lines of progression that have shepherded so many Japanese to the diversity of views they now hold regarding the character of a people about whom they know virtually nothing. The reactions of the Japanese public to the glut of media-generated information concerning the Jews provide a key, the authors argue, to comprehending what it is that makes the Japanese think and act as they do. "The antisemite Uno Masami," they point out, "got it almost right in 1986, when he titled one of his best-selling books If You Understand the Jews, You Will Understand Japan. By understanding Japanese thinking about the Jews, we do indeed better understand modern Japan, its development, its character, and its future promise."

Borrowing a leaf from the Nazi propagandists of the Hitler period, Japanese anti-Semites attribute their own country's defeat in the Second World War, as well as a bewildering array of the ills they see as presently afflicting their people, to the machinations of a monolithically structured and overwhelmingly powerful world Jewry. These unlikely recruits to an anti-Jewish paranoia that has demonstrated a perverse ability to sustain itself even in so Judenrein a country as Japan are, however, sharply divided over the question of how to put a stop to the endless Jewish conspiracies they have conjured up. The most rabid among them applaud the Nazi Final Solution program, which they regard as a fitting punishment for the evils Jews have long perpetrated upon non-Jews, and would apparently pose no objection to its reconstitution on a global basis. Others deny that such a thing as the Holocaust ever took place. A third faction urges the Japanese government to adopt an international strategy based on an "if you can't lick 'em, join 'em" policy, asserting, in short, that the establishment of a full-blown Japanese economic and political

alliance with "International Jewry" would greatly enhance Japan's standing in the community of nations and redound to its benefit economically. The Japanese, they nevertheless caution, would have to remain constantly on the alert, once such an alliance was concluded, to keep the malevolent viruses that abound in the Jewish psyche from being passed on to themselves.

Many Japanese philo-Semites, on the other hand, regard the Jews as a talented and worthy people whose achievements merit emulation. There are also Japanese who see them as kindred souls with a history that parallels their own. Some philo-Semites, moreover, go so far as to claim that the Japanese are themselves descended from the Jews; others, mutatis mutandis, take the position that the Jews are descended from the Japanese; and still others speak of a common ancestry for both peoples. To a substantial percentage of those Japanese who have turned to Christianity and adhere to its traditional messianic teachings, the Jews are the people of the Scriptures who, having at last regained possession of the

> land of their fathers, will in the course of time accept baptism and thereby herald the second coming of the Christ; but there are also Christians in Japan whose antipathy to everything Jewish is no less passionate than that of the fervid Caucasian phobo-Semites who imparted that antipathy to them.

Japanese anti-Semitism is an outgrowth of a xenophobia that has marked Japanese history and culture from time immemorial. This paranoia, fostered by generations of ideologues and exploited by demagogues given to honing in on whatever scapegoats they could seek out, has at times been directed against an

assortment of peoples, such as the Koreans, the Chinese, Caucasians in general, and, in its grandest manifestations, even against the entire non-Japanese world. Thus, although the 1549 introduction of Christianity to Japan by St. Francis Xavier and his fellow missionaries created understandable misgivings on the part of the Japanese leadership concerning the basic reasons for Europe's interest in their country, it also evoked a barrage of criticism condemning Christianity as an "occult religion" which was propagated by Western nations and employed for the purpose of securing a foothold in "Holy Japan" and ultimately turning it into a European colony or puppet state.

Such later writers as Aizawa Seishisai (1781-1863), Ohashi Totsuan (1816-62), and Ukai Tetsujo (1841-91) characterized Christianity as, among other things, an abomination which taught its people to despise the virtues inherent in the Japanese way of life and, in Ukai's words, to "suffer in the present life [in order] to be happy in the hereafter"; "murder little children and eat them"; "disrespect the sun and moon as if they were mere lanterns"; "make medicine out of the eyes of the sick and oil out of the blood of the dead"; "seduce each others's wives and indulge in indecency"; "arouse the ignorant with theories of heliocentrism"; "slaughter animals as if they were vermin"; and, in general, "pervert morality" and permit "their lies and lawlessnes [to] know no bounds." A litany of denunciations, this, that the Westerners against whom it was

Along with others in the group, Berk was struck by the warmth and eagerness of Indian-Israeli relations. After all, there had been nearly four and a half decades of non-relations. But that is just the point. India's desire for relations had, in a sense, been "incubating" for that entire Dershowitz made a side-trip to Cochin, the period.

"We heard it over and over again," said another of Iraqi descent. The city has a 'Jew-town Road' group member, Hillel Kuttler, the Washington correspondent for the Jerusalem Post. "Indians are delighted to have relations with Israel now, and such good and high-level relations. In fact, their only regret is that those 45 years had been The group was briefed by Israeli Ambassador wasted."

"At the same time," Kuttler continued, "Indians recognize that there had been political constraints on the government before 1992 (the year of the Madrid peace talks) having to do with the country's large Moslem population and the fear of repercussions from the Arab world. But once the dam broke, the relationship quickly flowered and bloomed."

Another participant, Toby Dershowitz of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee, reported that Indians they met assured them that the lack of relations "never reflected any animosity toward Jews or Israel by the Hindu majority." To the contrary, "Indians expressed a tremendous admiration for both. There has been a long history of friendship and respect for Jews."

Hillel Kuttler pointed out that there was no history of anti-Semitism in India. "Jews with whom we met said that they had never been singled out as different; they always felt equal. There were no negative associations about Jews." However, there are kindred associations. "Indians feel that they have a lot in common with Israelis," said Harvey Berk. "Both countries have a religious majority which has to find a way to coexist with a Moslem minority. Both worry about the threat of Islamic extremism on their borders. Both have historic ties to Great Britain. And both are ancient cultures."

Berk notes that Jewish history in India itself goes back two thousand years. "According to legend, the ten lost tribes of Israel arrived in India in the year 175 B.C.E., the first being survivors of a shipwreck near what is now Bombay." This was the traditional "Bene Yisrael" community. A second wave of Jewish immigration took place in 1524 from Iberia. "The Jewish community is rapidly dwindling," said Berk. It now numbers fewer than 6,000, with one third in

Bombay. "I don't expect there to be a China, to try and find out more about the general community at all in 15 years. They are predominantly older people." The group was told that no synagogue has been built in India

ancient seat of Indian Jewry. "It is a community of about 100 Jews, mostly Bene Yisrael and Jews and a 'Jew-town Bank,' but she doubts that it was meant to be pejorative. "That's just the way it was translated into English."

Yehoyada Haim, who joked that "Indians think that Israel is a bit bigger than the United States. When I tell them we are a country of five million people, they can hardly believe it." The Ambassador is helping to set up a model farm outside of New Delhi to teach Israeli agricultural methods. Israel's agricultural production per acre is 17 times that of India's. With help, India could become a major agricultural exporter.

Trade between the two countries is also booming, Berk said. "Last year's trade was more than double that of 1994, and so far this year it is running 35 percent higher than last." The group met with Israel's Finance Minister, who stopped in India on his way back from Southeast Asia. They also had the opportunity to meet with Rajman Ghandi, the grandson of the great Mahatma Ghandi. Ghandi, whose non-violent movement liberated India from British rule, has been a somewhat controversial figure for Jews because of his stated opposition to armed resistance against Nazism. But, explains Hillel Kuttler, "Rajman made it clear that his grandfather's position on this issue was more academic than practical. Rajman felt that had his grandfather been a Jew in Europe at the time, he would have felt that there was no alternative to fighting. His sympathies were clearly with the Jews and against the Nazis."

NEWS OF KAIFENG

REPORT ON A VISIT TO KAIFENG By Jorgen W. Pedersen Penta Travel APS, Copenhagen

This past February I was on a three-week fact finding tour to China for my travel agency, Penta Travel. Since the ancient capital of Kaifeng in Henan Province was on the itinerary, I was asked by my Swedish colleague, Hakan Danielsson, who is putting together a special Jewish tour to

situation in Kaifeng for travellers, and specifically to investigate the situation of the Jewish community.

My Chinese colleague, Yu Qing, and I arrived by car from Luoyang and settled in at the Dongjing Hotel, where we were greeted by, among many others, the Manager of the Reception Dept., Mr. Zhang Yan. Upon arrival we didn't know much about the Kaifeng Jews, but had only some rather old phone numbers for Wang Yisha, former Curator of the Kaifeng Museum, and a couple of others. Through our conversation with Mr. Zhang Yan, we finally found someone who might be able to help us. This was Mr. Jin Guang Yuan, Director of the Henan Kaifeng Boiler Factory, and a Chinese Jew, who joined us the next day after lunch.

We held a short meeting, at which he and his very sweet daughter of 17, told us a little of their story. We then agreed to spend the afternoon together, planning to visit the most important sites relating to the Jews of Kaifeng. The first place we visited was the Jin family burial place, about 8 kilometers southwest of Kaifeng, in the coutryside. The earthen tombs, which had been the family's burial site for eight generations, was situated just outside a little village among scattered trees, in a landscape characteristic for the area: dry, dusty, yellow loess earth, very few trees, and rather poor huts. In 1982 Mr. Jin had taken the initiative to have a memorial stone erected. The stone was inscribed with Chinese characters, describing how the Jin family came to China in the Song dynasty, around 1000 A.D., together with six other Christian [?] and Jewish famlies, and how the emperor had given his permission for them to stay and practice their religion in Kaifeng. Mr. Jin told us how only the Moslems and the Jews in China are allowed to bury their dead, rather than having to cremate them.

Back in Kaifeng, we visited the town museum. which otherwise has been closed for a long time due to theft. Only if one is with a Kaifeng Jew is it possible to visit the museum now, that is, what little of the Jewish history remains on the fourth floor. We received permission after a 15-minute wait, and the whole party trotted through storage rooms of factory furniture up to the fourth floor. Here, in an almost empty room, were two inscribed stones and three rubbings on paper from the same two stones. Lastly, two paintings of the Kaifeng synagogue from 1722 by Jean Domenge were on exhibition.

The first stone was from 1512, and is actually two stones back to back, where the one from 1512 "There was a playground here, it was lovely," Dora points out. "That building wasn't there then and, of course, the synagogue was well tended." They dutifully snap pictures of each other, somewhat blank-faced, in front of the ministry and the sagging synagogue.

Hollywood brought them back, but the ending to their journey is quintessentially Chinese. Suddenly tired, they step back into the car. "We had a wonderful life here," says Michael, bowing his head. "But everything has changed. Everything has changed."

'Round Eyes in the Middle Kingdom' Reprinted from the San Franciso Examiner March 10, 1996

Bridging cultures is a familiar role for Ron Levaco, a San Francisco film fixture who was born in China, has Jewish roots, expertise in Russian and an Italian-sounding name. With "Round Eyes in the Middle Kingdom," his debut documentary [which showed at the Asian American Film Festival and the San Francisco International Film Festival during the Spring of 1996], the S.F. State professor emeritus investigates his origins. Reared in privilege until his parents fled China's 1949 revolution, Levaco explores loyalties both primal and ideological by linking his own story with that of one remarkable Westerner who stayed behind.

"There are a lot of Asian-Americans," declares China-hand Israel Epstein at the start of this heartfelt saga, "so why shouldn't there be a non-Asian Chinese?" Known to comrades and combatants alike as Eppie, this Polish-born Jew was schooled in the foreign concession of the northern city of Tianjin. A boyhood chum of Levaco's father, who had fled Russia and would soon seek safe haven in the United States, Eppie risked all to find Communist leader Mao Zedong and join the handful of foreigners who would devote their lives to China's cause.

"In many ways, Eppie became a model," Levaco says. "Growing up, there was always this man who my father couldn't be but wanted me to be like. Someone who acted out of more than self-gain." When China opened up in the late '70s, Levaco thought at once of retracing his boyhood steps — and tracking down Epstein. (A small inheritance from his father, and the legacy of home movies shot in China, made it possible for Levaco to leave behind 23 years of teaching film theory.)

"I was always preparing to make a movie," Levaco now sees. "And I wanted to do something big for openers — because I had wasted all that time." Little did he know how much more time it would take to complete his project. "It took six months to convince Eppie to be part of it. Then there was an incredible back-and-forth with the China Film Co-Production Corporation. On my first trip, they would only allow me to shoot with tourist equipment. But I was lucky because they knew this guy Eppie was a national treasure."

Equally challenging was winning the trust of his prickly subject. "Eppie was suspicious, which was hard for me to reconcile with stories of the most humanistic man my father ever knew." Raising funds back home, Levaco was once more inspired by his father, who supported the family by shipping sausage casings from China to a Chicago meat-packing firm. ("My father always said that he peddled "kishkes" — Yiddish for intestines — "so that I wouldn't have to. But being an independent filmmaker, you spend most of your time peddling kishkes.")

Two years later, he was finally able to film — and bring back an appreciation of China's quotidian beauty that could only be the product of someone raised in that country. "The way things took their measure made me feel instantly at home. The Chinese language felt like familiar music," says Levaco.

"My Chinese guides thought I was crazy when I wanted to film ordinary life. But I needed to read back into the record what I saw as a kid—that this culture, so abused by Westerners, was full of such tremendous gentleness."

Back in the Bay Area, Levaco utilized crumbling barracks on the Marin Headlands as an effective visual stand-in for a Chinese prison where Epstein spent five years in solitary confinement. "Film is the truth that tells a lie, a lie that tells the truth," the director rationalizes, sounding professorial. Epstein would later object to this dramatization of a persecution that he considered a mere bump in the road to socialism.

In an ironic twist, Stanford University's ultraconservative Hoover Institution would provide key historical footage: neglected archive reels shot by a U.S. Army colonel in China offered Levaco "irretrievable imagery of my childhood."

There was debate over the film's title. According to Levaco, "Some objected to the phrase 'round

eyes' because it evokes racial categorizing. But I wanted to show that in the Asian-Caucasian tension, a lot of those insults were earned. I saw 'foreign devils' do terrible things in China. But I also hoped to suggest people wide-eyed and dumb-struck at the culture they were living in." No wonder the end of Levaco's search for that round-eyed child has allowed him to "... feel like I've finally put back something of what I've been given in life." In the end, the effort to encapsulate six decades of Chinese history into 51 minutes had taken Levaco 11 years. In the meantime, Israel Epstein is still in China, going strong at 80.

What has expired is much of the Communist world—which adds to the film's poignancy and, Levaco believes, a sense of urgency about its screening. "In this period of conservative backlash, I don't think we can simply sweep these people under the rug or gainsay the sacrifices they made."

To those who argue that Epstein should have foreseen the revolution's excesses, Levaco counters, "Life is like going down a raging river in a kayak. When you come to a fork, you take your best shot. Looking at the misery I saw in China, who wouldn't have chosen Mao over Chiang Kaishek?"

What unites the director with his father's idol is more than politics or an innate affinity with the Chinese. Summarizing his years of service to China, Israel Epstein declares, "I was given a different sense of the 'I' within the 'we." So will those who follow Ron Levaco's journey home.

NEWS FROM INDIA

India's Long "Incubation" Reprinted from *B'nai B'rith World Report* Spring 1996

It wouldn't be the first time India had declared a national day of mourning. But there was something very different about it. The mourning was for slain Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

"This shows you how extraordinarily far things have come since India recognized Israel in 1992," says Harvey Berk, B'nai B'rith's Director of Communications who was one of seven Jewish journalists who spent ten days in India as guests of the Indian government. The trip, arranged through the CPP [Center for Public Policy], exposed the group to a broad range of Indian government officials, academicians and journalists.

targeted must surely have recognized as almost indistinguishable from the roster of recriminations that they themselves had for dozens of generations been employing against the Jews back home.

Years passed, a new century was born, and now many of the accusations that Ukai and his fellow intellectuals had chosen to level against the Christians of their time were refurbished and redirected against a distant people whose reputedly malevolent designs vis-a-vis the welfare and sovereignty of the Japanese had never been more than figments of their imagination.

The small number of Jews who settled in Japan in the decades following the 1853 opening of the country to Western trade and influence by Commodore Perry were regarded merely as Americans or Europeans, no distinction being made between them and all other Caucasian newcomers. Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, first staged in Japan in 1883, became a staple in the nation's theatrical repertory, but little significance was attached to the fact that Shylock happened to be a Jew. During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, the ecstatic publicity that greeted the American Jewish financier Jacob Schiff's arrangement of a \$300 million loan to the Japanese, in part because of his detestation of Tsarist anti-Semitism, opened the eyes of large numbers of Japanese to the existence of a people known as the Jews, and led to the development of considerable empathy for them by reason of the oppression to which they were being subjected in Russia and elsewhere. This sentiment, however, was not universally shared by Japanese students who attended Russian, American, and European institutions of higher learning, most notably those destined for the ministry, where many of them soaked up the prevailing anti-Jewish prejudices they encountered and made them their own.

Following the Bolshevik Revolution, the Japanese troops who participated in the Siberian Intervention were introduced to The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, the unconscionably anti-Semitic forgery then being distributed as required reading to all White Russian and Ukrainian soldiers. Copies of the book were also made available to the Japanese military, who brought these back with them to Japan. A Japanese translation of the Protocols, made in 1924 by Ho Koshi (the nom de plume of Yasue Norihiro), became the first of the several editions from which Japanese phobo-Semitism was to draw so much of its ideology. Despite the repeated denials that were made by reputable scholars regarding the legitimacy of the *Protocols*, the work attracted the enthusiastic support of numerous Japanese intellectuals and Japanese Christian ministers, who incorporated virtually all its anti-Semitic claptrap into their own writings and on occasion contributed innovations no less bizarre than those they had picked up from the book and from other Western sources. Goodman and Miyazawa thus report that

The Christian syncretist Sakai [Sakai Katsuisa (1870-1939)] reasoned that when God's son Jesus, God's people the Jews, and God's nation Japan came together, Zion would for the first time achieve global hegemony, and the "kingdom of Zion will emerge as the premier, unparalleled, and singular Utopia." He was convinced that the simultaneous ascent of the Jews and Japan would lead to their rapprochement and that the return of the Jews to Palestine should be greeted with celebration as the fulfillment of prophecy and the first step toward the realization of a Judeo-Japanese "Empire of Zion."

The increase of anti-Semitic feelings among the Japanese was encouraged and intensified by their alliance with the Nazis and their fear of antagonizing the Arabs. The importance of oil to the Japanese economy accounts for, but does not excuse, Japan's adherence to the

Arab-sponsored boycott of Israel and its affirmative vote in the United Natioins' denouncement of Israel as a racist state. On the other hand, the reactions of the Japanese government to the 1972 massacre by three members of the Japanese Red Army Faction of 24 people at Israel's Ben-Gurion Airport fall into a different pattern. There were, it is true, leftist mass meetings at which the perpetrators of the massacre were hailed as heroes but, overwhelmed by a sense of shame, various Japanese organizations solicited monetary contributions from their membership toward the assistance of the survivors. The government, moreover, dispatched an envoy to Israel to apologize and to offer Japan's condolences to those who had been injured and to the families of those who had been killed. However, when certain Arab states complained about these apologies, Japan promptly sent a second emissary to apologize to them for having apologized to the Israelis. This demonstration of the Japanese government's ambivalence stands in marked contrast to the quiet but firm position it took during World War II when it refused to accede to the demands of its Nazi ally to exterminate the 30-40,000 Jews who lived in the country itself or in the continental Asian regions that had come under its control.

Anne Frank's Diary of a Young Girl, first published in Japan in 1952, became a phenomenal best-seller, and has for decades been designated as required reading for all high-school students. It must be said, however, that in the Japanese editions of the diary Anne's Jewishness is barely mentioned. She is depicted instead as a young person caught up through no fault of her own in a world of violence and terror, so that it is not at all uncommon for readers of the Japanese text to identify with Anne and come away highly moved by its tragic story of the brutal effects of war on innocent people, though without realizing that the root cause of Anne's tragedy was not war per se, but the murderous anti-Semitism of Japan's major ally. In the same way, Fiddler on the Roof, which has surprisingly turned out to be the longest-playing musical in the history of the Japanese stage, makes very little of Tevye's oneness with the Judaism of his forefathers. In the Japanese version of Sholom Aleichem's story, Tevye becomes a decent, hardworking father and husband who could for all intents and purposes have been a Japanese, and who does his best to support his family while striving to live in harmony with the ancient traditions that have been handed down to him as they become increasingly difficult to maintain in a rapidly changing world.

The post-World War II years have seen the development in Japan of a thriving cottage industry devoted to the production and dissemination of pro- and anti-Semitic literature. By 1987, Japanese readers had bought in excess of a million copies of The Japanese and the Jews, a very strange work written by Yamamoto Shichhei [sic] (1921-1971), and first published in 1971 under the pen name Isaiah Ben-Dasan. The book, while bewildering in its approach to the subject suggested by its title, tends on the whole to be philo-Semitic. Its great success in Japan and elsewhere may be presumed to have inspired the rush of other writers into what was proving to be a very rewarding field, so that by 1982 no less than 82 books containing the word "Jew" in their titles could be purchased in Japanese bookstores, many of them little more than cutand-paste versions of the *Protocols* and other Western anti-Semitic texts. At the same time, numerous anti-Semitic stories and anti-Jewish diatribes of the kind one would normally have expected to encounter only in the pages of such repugnant publications as Der Stürmer had become readily available to readers of a distressingly large number of Japan's major newspapers, were heard and seen on national radio and television, and were even echoed in the halls of the nation's legislative bodies.

ISRAEL THROUGH CHINESE EYES

by Prof. Xu Xin President, China-Judaic Studies Association

During my first visit to Israel in 1988, I made a sweeping statement: "Chinese find Israel a country even more alien and mysterious than those in the Western Hemisphere." I made this assertion during a speech at the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace at Hebrew University, Jerusalem. I think my audience may have been surprised. Certainly they wanted to know why Israel was deemed so alien and mysterious to most Chinese.

They asked me what has furthered this view of Israel and its people. After all, they noted, modern Israel was founded about the same time as Communist China; both peoples have the same long and continuing history, suffering devastation during World War II. After all, they said, both countries have organized collectives to bring development to backward areas.

This essay will attempt to answer their questions, to examine the cause and development of this view of Israel as an alien place, by focusing on the bilateral relations between China and Israel from an historical perspective.

Historical Background

In order to understand just how exotic the Chinese find the Jews, it is essential to examine the Chinese knowledge of and attitude towards Jews from an historical viewpoint which begins before the 1948 founding of the State of Israel.

Today, we know that the Jewish presence in China can be traced back to at least the sixth century. The well-known Kaifeng Jewish community is

believed to have arrived in China in the 11th century and has resided in Kaifeng ever since, practicing as an observant Jewish community for at least 700 continual years. But the fact that Jews resided in China does not mean that the Chinese had any great awareness of their presence. The majority of the Chinese knew very little. In fact, until the middle of the 18th century, Jews were simply referred to as the "Blue Hat Hui Hui [Moslems]" — people who came from the West. No one, not even the most knowledgeable scholars, had a glimmer of suspicion that the Jews in Kaifeng might represent a larger religious population who were scattered in many countries, held common beliefs and shared a similar lifestyle. 1

The situation changed around the 1840's when China was defeated by European gun ships in the Opium Wars and forced to open her doors to the West. Information about Jews and Judaism was disseminated through China through two main sources: foreigners who now were permitted to enter China for missionary, commercial, trade, or diplomatic ventures, and Chinese who were now sent abroad to either study or work and who returned to China bringing new information gleaned from their experiences in the Western World.

Early publications about Jews in the Chinese language were both brief and vague, some of them even heavily biased. For instance, one article starts like this: "The Jewish people are a mystery. For long a Jew has been a symbol of greediness, meanness and shame in our world."2

Chinese intellectual attitudes towards Israel before its founding as a state can be assessed by their favorable reaction to Zionism — the Jewish nationalist movement. One such article notes:

(continued on page 9)

(Pollak continued from page 7)

This is not to say that Japanese anti-Semitism has come to be an imminently crucial problem for either Jews as a whole or for those few Jews who live in Japan. Still, its potential for doing great harm must not be minimized, and Goodman and Miyazawa's remarkable in-depth examination of the Japanese attitudes toward the Jews must be taken as a forceful reminder that merely throwing up one's hands in dismay is not enough. The problem therefore becomes: first, how do we help the saner elements in Japanese society overcome the idiocies that are currently being peddled about by their fanatically anti-Semitic compatriots and, at the same time, undo the damage that has already been done; and, second, how do we keep that damage from recurring and, perhaps even more importantly, from spreading to other *Judenrein* Far Eastern countries?

Goodman and Miyazawa suggest that the incidence of anti-Semitism in Japan will be reduced when, and to the degree that, its people, intellectuals, and political leaders rethink certain salient aspects of their approaches to their nation's history and culture. Perhaps. But this seems too much to expect, certainly in the short term. In the meantime, it would appear, we must rely on fighting fire with fire —

that is, on countering the prevailing anti-Semitic propaganda by launching educational and informational campaigns that will describe the Jewish experience to the Japanese public in a more realistic manner than it now tends to be presented, while making it clear to the Japanese authorities that merely standing by as anti-Semitism takes further hold of the ethos of their country is bound to tarnish Japan's image throughout the world.

Attempts of this kind were set into motion several years ago by the Israeli government and by organizations such as the Pacific Rim Institute and the Sino-Judaic Institute, with the latter's attention being directed more to China and other portions of the Asian mainland than to Japan. Although these efforts have so far yielded occasional small victories such as the Japanese government's recent statements to the Japanese Publication Assocation that anti-Semitic books were sullying Japan's good name - no dramatic overnight successes should be anticipated. Nevertheless, this is a process that must be supported until, one may hope, its objectives are finally met.



boom threatens to do even more harm. The The high life continued, though with a quiriver, though, is the same one that carried them away from Shanghai in 1947, a journey that took them from China to Chile and, ultimately, to Hollywood. Now, Hollywood has brought them back home.

Medavoy persuaded his parents to come along on his recent trip to attend a Shanghai film festival and plan a movie set here in what was once China's most cosmopolitan city. It is not a movie based on his family's life in Shanghai but it could be.

This is the place, after all, where in its heyday, identities and fortunes could change in a night. Michael senior recalls how an heirless Chinese warlord tried to take him from his mother. Dora tells of an Iraqi millionaire named Silas Hardoon who married a Chinese stocking mender he met in the street, then adopted a dozen children. They describe how wealthy gentlemen were ruined in casinos and opium dens and Russian refugees fleeing the Bolsheviks reinvented themselves as exiled royalty, or the unlucky ones as taxi dancers.

Michael and Dora Medavoy grew up in Shanghai, children of Russian emigres who fled the pogroms of World War I. They were among the thousands of foreigners who arrived to make their fortune in the booming Chinese port city — and the prime of their lives coincided with Shanghai's golden age.

"I left behind a place that was very important to me," says father Michael, a tall, thin 77-yearold with dark hair and a slight mustache. "It represents the best years of my life - my youth, my money. I almost didn't want to come back because the memory was so good. But when I stepped off the plane I was crying.

From the deck of the riverboat, Michael senior points to where foreign gunboats dropped anchor to protect their treaty port. Just up the river is the apartment where Mike, who was known before Hollywood as "Morris," was born. And in front of Shanghai's majestic embankment is the tree-lined promenade where Michael used to court Dora.

In a burst of gaety between World Wars I and II, the Medavoys, like thousands of other expatriates, danced till dawn at the famous nightclubs — Ciro's, Farren's and the Paramount Ballroom. Dora owned a dress boutique, and her tailor made her a new gown every week for Saturday night on the town. "Shanghai was heaven for foreigners then," Michael says.

etly growing desperation, as Japanese forces occupied the city in 1937. For the most part, foreigners were left alone. But in an attempt to smoke out Chinese snipers hiding on the rooftops, Japanese soldiers burned out the entire riverside section of town where Michael's family lived.

Arriving on the same river were the victims of another war, boatloads of Jewish refugees fleeing Nazism in Europe. The Medavoys endured World War II, helping the new arrivals settle in Shanghai as other had helped their parents two decades before. But soon after the war was over, it became clear to Michael that though the Japanese army was gone, the Communist army of Mao Tse-tung would soon take their place.

"I knew they were coming, so we sold out and got out, just as my family did before from Russia. We sold all our furniture and my 1940 Plymouth, and got on a Norwegian steamer headed for South America," Michael says. They chose to go to Chile, he says, because "the consulate had the shortest visa line in town."

Mike Medavoy says that starting from scratch again gave him the perspective and toughness of an outsider who has had to win his way into the innermost circles, and gave his parents the sanguine calm of those who have not only survived but succeeded.

It wasn't an easy journey for Mike, though the process of reinvention may have been the perfect training for Hollywood. "I too had to learn a new language, a new way of life. When I first got to America, I wasn't an American. When I first got to Chile, I was a gringo," he says, recalling his transition from mail-room clerk to studio head. "Knowing how to get beyond that has its advantages."

The movie mogul was 7 when he left China and doesn't remember much about it, except that he was teased for his red hair, preferred playing marbles to doing homework and loved the movies. The first movie he saw was in Shanghai, he says — a wartime Russian propaganda film about the Nazis.

"I remember the image of a woman jumping under a German tank, holding two hand grenades to blow it up," he says. "For a 6-year-old, it was devastating.

That theme of sacrifice and courage has haunted him throughout his career of making more than 300 movies with Columbia, TriStar and Orion

Pictures. Now, in the first film by his newly created studio, Phoenix Pictures, it's a theme he says he finally has the freedom to explore.

Watching his parents rediscover Shanghai has sparked new insights for the picture, he says. "When I think about my parents, I really do think about courage," he says. "They had to start over again three times. There are very few people who can do that and maintain their dignity ... I've learned a lot about them — from their reactions and their memories. And a lot about old

His parents are busy learning about new Shanghai. Armed with copies of a 1937 map and one from 1995, the Medavoys make their way through Shanghai's crowded streets, looking for their last apartment, Dora's dress boutique and San Francisco Rosy, the concubine who once was their neighbor. Some of the places have given ground to construction sites, but they spot some familiar landmarks: the Ward Street prison and the Ohel Moshe Synagogue built by Jewish refugees in 1927. "I used to go there to pray," Michael says. "The synagogue, of course, not the prison," he adds with a smile.

They also find their old school, now the Shanghai Department of Education, the gate guarded sternly by an unsmiling official. Their driver tries to persuade him to let them in. "These people just want to take a look at the school," he says, gesturing to the anxious couple waiting in the car. "They grew up here."

"Impossible," says the guard, looking straight ahead. "They came all the way from America," says the driver. "No." The guard shakes his head. Michael Medavoy unfolds himself from the car, bows slightly to the guard and greets him in perfect Shanghainese. "I went to school here when I was this tall," he says. "My wife went to school here. My son went to school here. We just want to take a look."

The guard's jaw drops. Michael, well-practiced in sweet-talking the authorities, continues. "Look, I was born here. I'm Chinese," he smiles. "You're Chinese. Let us just take a quick look at where we went to school." The guard puzzles a moment over whether this gentleman could really be Chinese. He glances away, then opens the gate. Michael and Dora Medavoy gaze hard at the school, now a sterile-looking municipal office, and a synagogue shrouded in ivy and neglect nearby, trying to mesh the scene with the images long preserved in memory.

NEWS CLIPPINGS

The lew in the Lotus

Reprinted from the Forward, April 19, 1996

Dharamsala is a small town in northern India, where the Dalai Lama of Tibet lives in exile along with a community of several thousand Tibetans. It's a place where my life changed drastically six years ago when I witnessed a dialogue between Jews and the Dalai Lama. Going back to where your life changed is risky. Especially if it changed for the better. Suppose the magic isn't there? Suppose it was made up?

As we were getting ready for the trip, Laurel Chiten kept asking, "What is your motivation?" Ms. Chiten is a filmmaker who is making a documentary based on my book, The Jew in the Lotus. I didn't have the heart to tell her that I had no idea, except perhaps to make up for the I said that Rebbe Nachman's story explained last time I met the Dalai Lama.

As a mere scribe at the 1990 dialogue, I had been allowed to ask the master only one question. I was so shy my eyes were closed the whole time. Then, as we were parting, the Jewish delegates were giving him gifts. I had nothing to offer but a copy of my autobiography, Terra Infirma. There's a photograph of me grinning and handing him the book. It happens to be one of the stupidest moments of my life. What I am saying to this living Buddhist master is "I read your autobiography, here's mine." I hoped to do better this time.

Our meeting seemed extraordinarily intimate. Even though my wife, three translators, Laurel and her film crew of six were in the room, I could see only the Dalai Lama. He walked in. smiling, passed me, bowed slightly as I bowed to him and sat down. My friend Dr. Marc Lieberman, the father of the Jewish-Buddhist dialogue, introduced me, reminded him of the encounter with the Jews and explained that I had written a book about it. Then it was up to

"You Holiness," I said, "people ask me, 'Why did I have to go all the way to Dharamsala to look more deeply into my Jewish tradition? Why did I have to meet with a Buddhist master to see Judaism more deeply?' I heard a story from Nachman of Bratslav, a great Chasidic rabbi from the last century. May I tell it to you?"

He gave me the nod. I told him the story of Reb Yehiel, who dreams every night of a bridge in Vienna where gold is hidden. Finally, he journeys to Vienna and finds the bridge. A guard asks him what he's doing and when Reb Yehiel explains, the guard laughs. "Oh you Jews are such dreamers. I'll tell you what dreams are worth. Every night I dream of a Jew named Reb Yehiel, and behind his stove, under the floor, there's buried gold."

As I was telling this story, I was captivated by the Dalai Lama's face. He reflects every nuance of your words. He laughed all along the way and then just roared when I got to the punch line. "So Reb Yehiel returned home, looked behind his stove and found gold."

why someone might have to journey far away to find a teacher, who will show him what is already close at hand. I added that for me, and for many Jews, the Dalai Lama has become such a teacher. By making us look more deeply into Judaism, I said, "You have become our rabbi." Cupping his hand, the Dalai Lama reached for his head, laughing, and said, "So you will give me a small hat?"

I promised to leave a yarmulke for him, then got quiet. I had learned something from transcribing the dialogue — always leave him time to respond. During the silence, he's thinking. If you fill it up with your own chatter, you'll never get the benefit of that thought. So I contravened 46 years of my own noisy cultural conditioning and let the silence hang.

Soon he replied that "all major religions ... can help each other," that "each tradition has some specialty or uniqueness which can be very useful for other traditions." He added that sometimes the communication is not necessarily through words, but also "through close feelings." "So," he concluded, "if you find some little contribution from my part to our Jewish brothers and sisters, I am very happy." He laughed and said thank you twice.

I told him that his questions about the Jewish inner life had been particularly helpful. Buddhists practice meditation and he had asked to know the Jewish method for overcoming "afflictive states of mind." This had spurred Jews to look inward.

The Dalai Lama replied that he felt all traditions, including his own, are sometimes too focused on "external rituals or ceremonies." "Then they neglect the real end of spirituality — transformation within ourselves." He added with a smile, "If you make a short visit to a monastery, everything is beautiful. But if you listen to the story of what is happening - just as with normal human beings, there's fighting." He laughed and continued, "That is a clear indication that we are neglecting genuine transformation, or spiritual development, inside."

I thought about the fights that so often go on within our own synagogues and between denominations within the Jewish community, and I had to agree. I had the chance to present him with a copy of The Jew in the Lotus, an author's dream come true. I was a little nervous he might be offended by the title, which plays on "the jewel in the lotus" — om mani padme hum the Tibetan national mantra. I'd found that Jews often didn't get the pun and some Western Buddhists were too pious to laugh. But the Dalai Lama seemed to think it was a riot. He touched the book to his forehead in the Indian gesture of acceptance, and I felt, well, maybe I'd finally made up for that stupid moment five years ago.

Before we parted, I mentioned that at the next full moon, we Jews would be celebrating Passover. According to the Talmud, there will come a time when at Passover we will recall the liberation not just of the Hebrews from Egypt, but of every nation from captivity and slavery. Certainly in my household we pray each year that Tibet will soon be free.

A Hollywood Ending

Reprinted from the Los Angeles Times December 13, 1995

Shanghai — Mike Medavoy and his parents stand together on the deck of a cruise ship floating down the Huangpu River, using memories to recreate their old hometown. The majestic waterfront banks and hotels provide a familiar facade from the time when his parents - Michael and Dora Medavoy - and the city were in their prime.

But since Shanghai fell under Communist rule in 1949, neglect has chipped away at the oncedazzling metropolis, and a recent construction

The nationalist wind of the modern world has a strong impact on the wandering Jewish nation. They tried to gather their scattered people who are now living in many countries. The most famous of their plans is Zionism ... And their efforts are not in vain. Their national restoration movement was recognized by the League of Nations and was entrusted to Great Britain. Ten million Jews were overjoyed when they learned the news. With their gifted talents and their accumulated forces, after some time's patient work, it would not be impossible for a Jewish state to reappear on the map.3

Perhaps the most important positive statement made by Chinese politicians can be seen in a quotation from the following letter written by Dr. Sun Yatsen, forerunner of the Chinese democratic movement and the founding father of modern China, to N.E.B. Ezra, the editor-in-chief of Israel's Messenger, April 20, 1920:

I wish to assure you of my sympathy for this movement, which is one of the greatest movements of the present time. All lovers of Democracy cannot help but support wholeheartedly and welcome with enthusiasm the movement to restore your wonderful and historic nation, which has contributed so much to the world and which rightfully deserves an honorable place in the family of

The sympathy is so obvious that this letter was often termed "The Chinese Balfour Declaration. Nevertheless, while some limited knowledge existed among a small number of Chinese intellectuals, the vast Chinese majority still knew very little, if anything, about Jews and Israel-related matters.

Early Contacts

When the two countries were founded, in 1948 and 1949 respectively, many valid reasons could have been cited for the State of Israel and the People's Republic of China to establish and develop normal and close relations. The Chinese government initially showed great sympathy towards Israel in her struggle for survival in the early stages of the Arab-Israeli conflict. A Xinhua News Agency (the official news agency of China) report supports this point:

Egypt, Transjordan and seven other Arab coutnries had launched, since mid-May of last year, an aggressive war against the newborn Israel, but suffered an ignominious defeat. The Israeli army and people not only withstood the aggressors, but since last December they have driven the Egyptian military encroachment of the Negev far away from their national territory.5

In addition, both newly-established societies were basically socialist. Both faced hostility from the Arab world. (At that time, the Chinese government believed that most, if not all, Arab regimes were subservient to Western imperialism and hostile towards Communism and the New China. These attitudes were demonstrated by their votes on the China issue in the United Naitions and by their refusal to recognize Communist China.) Most importantly, both countries were diligently struggling for recognition from the international community.

Following Israel's recognition of Communist China on January 9, 1950 (Israel was the sixth non-communist nation to recognize Communist China), contacts regarding the exchange of diplomatic missions began in Moscow. As a result, the Chinese government allowed Israel to set up offices in Shanghai and Harbin, two major Chinese cities with fairly large Jewish communities, to coordinate the Aliyah of Jews in these cities who wished to immigrate to Israel. However, negotiations broke off when the Korean War broke out. For obvious reasons, Israel stood on the side of the United States in condemning Chinese "aggression."

Following the end of the Korean War, negotiations resumed. In January 1955, an Israeli Trade and Good Will delegation was invited to visit China. During its 20-day visit, a five point protocol agreement was signed, which demonstrated that China was very interested in establishing full and mutual

relations with Israel.

These signs indicated that relations between the two countries would soon be improved. Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai, China's chief architect of foreign affairs, stated publicly before China's National People's Congress: "Contacts are being made with a view to establishing normal relations between China ... and Israel."6 However, the Israeli government slowed the process once again. Again it was for the same reason: to try to protect relations with the united States. As Yizhak Shichor observed, "The Israeli government had no intention of establishing diplomatic relations with

This delay had major historic consequences. China opened a channel to some Arab countries, asking for their recognition and better relations between China and the Arab world. This opportunity was imminent. The April 1955 Bandung Conference, with participants chiefly from Asian and African countries, was the first important international meeting where the Chinese government played an initial role. At this conference, Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai had an initial opportunity to meet Egyptian President Nasser and other Arab leaders. During these meetings, Zhou was greatly influenced by the Arab versions of the Arab-Israeli conflicts. As a result, the Chinese government ignored Israeli proposals to establish immediate official relations between the two countries, which was put forward after the Israeli government had learned of the breakthrough of the relations between China and the Arab world during the Bandung

Soon after the Bandung Conference, China established diplomatic relations with Egypt, Syria and Yemen. Indeed, the Bandung Conference can be regarded as the watershed in Sino-Arab relations, the source of China's hostility towards Israel and its identification with the Arabs, even though most of the Arab countries remained hostile toward China.

Many years were to pass before this attituted changed. The 1956 Suez War sealed the Sino-Arab alliance for the next 30 years, and Israel had no chance to improve its relations with China. The Suez War, as Shichor states, "triggered China's hostile attitude towards Israel, for it convinced the Chinese that far from being helplessly manipulated by 'Western imperialism,' Israel was in fact volunteering to serve imperialist interests in the Middle East."8

Obviously, China's relations with the Soviet Union also played a very important role in its policy towards Israel during this period, because the Russians were considered our model and the "Big Brother" of the Communist world. Whatever Russia said or did, China listened and followed. This is blatantly evident if one examines China's foreign policy at the time. For instance, when the Soviets denied Israel and Zionism in late 1952 and early 1953, China condemned them, too. Shijie Zhishi (World Knowledge), one of China's major encyclopedic magazines, carried an article which stated the

The Zionist movement has become the weapon of the Jewish capitalists for propagating bourgeois nationalism — a reactionary doctrine compared to proletarian internationalism ... They raised the banner of "Zionism," planning to establish a bourgeois republic in Palestine in order to take government and rule into their own hands and thereby to exploit and suppress the Jewish working people ... Today the Republic of Israel is established in Palestine, but although nominally dominated by the Zionists, in reality, as everyone knows, the ruling of this nation rests in the hands of the American imperialists.9

This was the first time the Chinese had attacked Zionism in such a harsh fasion, making it easy to see the dramatic change from their previous, favorable assessments. Of course, the tone was not strange and new to

those who were familiar with the Soviet's policy towards Israel at the time because it was identical to the voice of Russia.

As China was (and is) a highly political country, politics and ideology play a decisive role in all fields, including the academic and educational. Since there was so little information available about Israeli society, its people and daily life, it is no wonder that Israel appeared more and more alien and mysterious. For instance, in the respected Chinese reference books, Hebrew was said to be a dead language like Latin; the Bible was defined as a Christian book, having nothing to do with Jews; the term "kibbutz" was unknown; modern Hebrew literature was nonexistent. Because of repeated reports of Middle East conflicts and because the blame for these conflicts was always directed at Israel, the Chinese defined Israelis as bellicose, aggressive, and full of martial spirit. Zionists were said to be people whose only purpose was to steal Palestine from its rightful owners, the Arabs. Israel was defined as a "running dog" of the Western imperialist powers.

Although the Israeli government tried repeatedly to reopen a dialogue with China, including setting up its consulate in Hong Kong in 1973 after relations between China and the United States eased following President Nixon's historic visit to China, nothing really worked. The office was shut down in 1975 because of "the lack of any headway in making meaningful contacts with the Chinese."10

One of the major consequences of these abnormal relations between the two countries is that Israeli studies became, by and large, a suspended subject in China. Direct contact between Chinese and the Israelis became impossible. Very few, if any, publications dealt with Israeli culture, society and life. Chinese knowledge of Israel was still very limited and never went beyond the abstract and superficial. It was always more negative than positive.

Turning Point and Change

The death of Mao Zedong in 1976 marked the end of the ultra-leftist political policies of China. A major policy shift took shape in almost every area, including China's foreign policy towards Israel. On July 30, 1977, Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua declared the following for the first time in a United Nations speech:

We do not endorse the one-sided idea of certain ultra-leftists that Israel should be eliminated. Since Jews in Israel are also one of the peoples of the world, they have a right to national survival. We really do not want to see the tragedy of homeless Palestinians repeated in

These words certainly sent strong signals that China would like to change her policy. As a result, secret contacts between China and Israel started. For example, military and arms experts from Israel were invited to visit Beijing in the late 70's. Israeli agricultural specialists worked in China in the early 80's. In 1984 Israel reopened its office in Hong Kong to increase its channels of contact with China.

Just two years later, Peking University, with the help of an American Jewish organization, began to teach modern Hebrew to its students. The media considered this one of the most important steps towards normalization of relations with

In April 1987, an official meeting between Chinese and Israeli diplomats was held in the United Nations. Above and beyond the significance of the meeting itself was the fact that China's official Xinhua News Agency chose to announce it publicly. This visible announcement marked a profound change in China's policy towards Israel because China had always denied, or at least maintained silence about, these kinds of contacts - although foreign sources often reported them. That year, China permitted entry of tourists on Israeli passports, although Israeli academics had been permitted to enter since 1982. Later developments of bilateral relations between the two countries were conducted openly.

In 1989 an agreement was reached for each nation to set up an "unofficial" office. China immediately set up a bureau in Tel Aviv in 1989, and Israel opened the liaison office of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Beijing in 1990. In December 1990, Ze'ev Sufot, an Israeli diplomat who spoke Chinese, headed for China as a "political advisor" to the Director of the Israeli office in Beijing. On January 24, 1992, full diplomatic relations between China and Israel were finally established.

While most of these activities occurred on the official level, there were also many unofficial contacts, especially among intellectuals.] experienced this personally when I was invited to pay a private visit to Israel in 1988 and gave a public speech at the Truman Institute of Hebrew University of Jerusalem. This kind of contact has increased, and in so doing, has played a very important role both in improving relations between the two countries and in changing the Chinese attitude towards Israel.

Such changes are due to at least three considerations:

1) China's current reform movement and open-door policy.

This has made possible many basic changes in her strategy, including a gradual movement away from a rigid, ideologically-based policy on foreign affairs.

2) China's new willingness to meet the West.

China began to realize that backwardness and poverty were largely caused by seclusion and self isolation. "Go to the world" has become a slogan for modernization. China must first understand the West if she wants to meet the West. Great efforts have been made to learn about the West. Occidental studies have become a popular subject. Jewish and Israel studies have benefitted as subsets of such learning. "Not to understand Jewish culture is not to understand the world" is actually a motto of the Chinese Judaic Studies Association, which was founded in 1989.

3) The awakening of Chinese intellectuals.

Intellectuals are beginning to appreciate the value of independent thought. Thus, the first group of Chinese scholars who visited Israel before 1990 believed it was important for them to see Israel personally in order to make their own decisions. To some extent, they took career and life risks by doing so. These visitors brought back the first-hand knowledge and information about Israel, which, in due course, is replacing dated and stereotypical infomation about Israel

The consequences of such changes brought the two coutnries closer: For example, the establishment of normal relations between the two countries made reports more objective not only about the Middle East conflict but also about the everyday life of Israelis. Thus, reports on Israeli attacks on the Arabs are no longer one-sided. They include at least some exploration as to the cause of such attacks, information which had previously been

The China Central TV (CCTV) crew visited Israel in January 1995 to explore aspects of Israeli development, potential for trade with China, and to examine the colorful aspects of the country's culture and people's lives.

It is also relevant to mention the agenda of Judaic and Israeli studies in China since the late 80's. I believe these activities not only helped to improve the relations between China and Israel but improved the attitudes of millions of Chinese towards Israel.

In 1988, the first organization focusing its attention on Jewish and Israeli subjects, the Shanghai Judaic Studies Association, was founded. In 1989, the China Judaic Studies Association was founded in Nanjing. These soon became international organizations to promote the study of Jewish and Israeli subjects among Chinese.

Later, similar organizations were established in different cities in China. For the first time, the study of Jewish and Israeli subjects was conducted in an organized way, yielding observable results. An annual conference on Israeli matters unites Chinese scholars with shared interests and provides them the opportunity to compare their thoughts and achievements, to exchange insights and to learn from one another. Though the first meeting was limited to Chinese scholars, its significance should not be underestimated in advancing the understanding of relations between Israel and

Exhibits related to Israeli and Jewish subjects are being held in China. The first one, Judaic Studies in China, mounted in Nanjing in 1990, broke the ice and generated interest among its viewers in Israeli studies. The Holocaust Exhibit, partly sponsored by the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, was held in Shanghai, Beijing and Nanjing from 1991 to 1993, and viewed by thousands of Chinese, helping them better understand why the Jews wanted their own country. The mobile photographic exhibit of Israel held in numerous major Chinese cities has brought Israeli life before a Chinese public.

The recent publication of books and articles on various Jewish and Israeli subjects has promoted better understanding for Chinese readers. Among the most important publications are the following: A Series of Jewish Culture (20 volumes), edited by Dr. Gu Xiaoming of Fudan University and published by the Shanghai Sanlian Shudian since 1990, and The Encyclopedia Judaica (Chinese edition), edited by myself and published by the Shanghai People's Publishing House in 1993.

The publications during this period cover almost the entire range of Jewish subjects: Judaism Jewish history, philosophy, literature, culture, Zionism, anti-Semitism, tradition and customs and the State of Israel. They not only provide scholars and readers with handy and readily available reference works of a kind which did not formerly exist in China, but they also bring knowledge of Jews and Judaism to the general Chinese public.

Instruction in Jewish culture and Hebrew currently underway in Chinese colleges and universities and other academic activities have also promoted greater interest among a younger generation of Chinese. This appears likely to continue and grow.

Conclusion

The present situation is entirely different from that which existed seven years ago when I made that statement in Jerusalem, or even four years ago, before China and Israel finally normalized relations. Political relations between the two countries has vastly improved. Visits between senior officials are frequent. Economic and scientific ties are closer. Numerous cultural and academic activities have promoted a better understanding of Jewish culture and Israel among Chinese. Chinese knowledge of Israel and of its history and culture has already gone beyond the abstract and superficial. Therefore, the Chinese attitude towards Israel and its people has undergone an enormous change.

I jotted down the following thoughts as I returned from my second visit to Israel from late 1993-94:

> The importance and significance of the establishment of the State of Israel is not only as a refuge for homeless, persecuted Jews but also as a spiritual and cultural center. Israel has certainly fulfilled the goals of cultural Zionism. This culture, with a history of 4,000 years, has not only been preserved but also been revived. A distinctive civilization is finally able to develop freely within the broad scope of world experience. The Jews now can live within their own context, speak their own tongue, practice their own faith and because of this, the world we live in becomes richer, and the life of all human beings becomes enriched.12

I do not say that all Chinese follow my thoughts, but I know I am not alone. Speaking as one Chinese, this thought certainly reflects a new Chinese attitude towards Israel and the culture it represents in the mid-90's.

² Jun Shi, "The Future of the Jewish People," Dongfang Zazhi, Vol. 15, No. 10 (1918), p. 45.

³ You Xiong, "The Present Situation of the Jewish People and Their Potentiality," *Dongfang Zazhi*, Vol. 18, No. 12 (1921), p. 21.

4 Sun Yat-sen, "To N.E.B. Ezra," The Collected

Works of Sun Yat-sen, Beijing, 1985, Vol. 5, pp. 256-

⁵ Renmin Ribao (The People's Daily), January 18,

1949, p. 3.

6 Zhou Enlai, "Zhengfu gongzuo baogao," (Report on the Work of the Chinese Government), p.

⁷ Yizhak Shichor, "Early Chinese Attitudes towards the Arab-Israeli Conflict," Points East, Vol. 7. No. 2, 1992, p. 11.

8 Ibid., p. 13. Moreover, Israel became a target which the Chinese government constantly attacked. 9 Shijie Zhishi (World Knowledge), No. 1, Janu-

ary 1953, p. 30. 10 Abraham Rabinovich, "Israel's Man Behind the

Move," Points East, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 1. 11 Huang Hua, Speech at United Nations Assembly, July 30, 1977.

12. Xu Xin, "Return to Israel," Points East, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1994, p. 15.



SII MEMBERSHIP Country 13 China 12 **England** 9 Canada Hong Kong 6 Australia 4 2 Germany 2 Japan France Hungary Indonesia Italy Singapore South Africa Sweden Taiwan 63 Total **United States** 266 329 TOTAL:

Hong Jun, a well-known Chinese historian, a diplomat of the Qing Dynasty to Europe in the late 19th century, and the author of the very first essay addressing Jews of Kaifeng from a scholarly point of view a hundred years ago, says in his article: "I learned from the Westerners that now in Kaifeng of Henan, China, there are still Jews." ("A Study of the Names of Religions in Yuan Period," Annotations to the Chinese Translation of the Yuan Annals, Vol. 29, 1897.)