

中國-猶太學院

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The Sino-Judaic Institute is a non-denominational, non-profit, and non-political organization which was founded in 1985 by an international group of scholars and laypersons with the following goals:

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

Membership in the Institute is open and we cordially invite you to join in supporting our endeavor. Our annual dues structure is as follows:

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*Those who maintain membership at the Sponsor level will receive a free copy of Michael Pollak's *The Jews of Dynastic China: A Critical Bibliography*. Patrons will receive the above plus a free copy of *Sino-Judaica*.

I wish to become a member of the Sino-Judaic Institute and receive *Points East* three times a year. Enclosed is my check for \$ _____.

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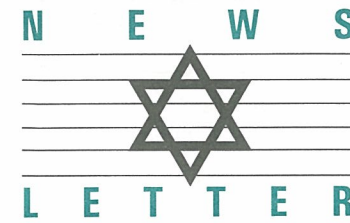
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Points East

中國-猶太學院

Vol. 12 No. 2
July, 1997

A Publication of the Sino-Judaic Institute

REPORT FROM THE PRESIDENT ON A TRIP TO CHINA

By Albert E. Dien

I recently led a tour to China for the Stanford Alumni Association, May 6 to 21, visiting Shanghai, Hangzhou, Beijing, Xi'an, Guilin and Hong Kong, during which time there were occasions relevant to the Sino-Judaic Institute. In Beijing I had the pleasure to meet for the first time with Prof. Xu Xin, and we had a long conversation concerning the summer workshop which he is organizing, and to which the Institute is making a contribution and offering other facilitative assistance. Prof. Xu was in Beijing to discuss with the authorities the publication of the second edition of the Chinese version of the *Encyclopedia Judaica*. Prof. Xu was accompanied by Dr. Kenneth Lubowich, who until recently had been on the Board of the Institute, and whom I met personally for the first time. Dr. Lubowich was in Beijing in connection with his work in arranging for the adoption of Chinese orphans by Americans.

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REVEALING THE HOLOCAUST THROUGH HISTORY: THE NECESSITY OF INTERVIEWING SURVIVORS

By Prof. Steve Hochstadt

Dr. Hochstadt has been working for the past 7 years on *The Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History project*. During this time he has interviewed former "Shanghaianders" in the U.S., Austria, Germany and in Israel. His main goal is the preservation of history through the transcription of interviews for the benefit of other scholars. A further objective is to eventually produce two books from this material. One is a historical study of the Jewish exodus from Europe to Shanghai in the context of anti-Semitic policies of the Nazis, the contemporary history of Shanghai or other destinations of Jewish immigration. This book is to be written after Dr. Hochstadt's investigation, including archival research, is complete. In the meantime, he is preparing collections of excerpts from these interviews, along with pieces of memoirs and diaries which he has gathered, as self-contained manuscripts, one in English and one in German.

The other book will result from Dr. Hochstadt's cooperation with Eva Ungar Grudin of Williams College. They are working on a volume in English focusing on German-speaking refugees in Shanghai, combining interviews, articles by scholars, photographs, pieces of diaries, and reproductions of documents. Dr. Hochstadt would be interested in hearing from anyone who would like to contribute to such a volume.

Rena Krasno

In the study of the Holocaust, oral history contributes to a transformation already in process for several decades: the shift from a history told by the perpetrators to one told also by the victims. Testimonies both oral and written have, for example, begun the work of recovering the myriad forms of resistance by Jews all over Europe, whose traces lie only in memories. I re-

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RADANITES, CHINESE JEWS, AND THE SILK ROAD OF THE STEPPES

By Nigel Thomas

It is with great sadness that SJI reports the loss of one of its most involved Board members, Nigel Thomas. Nigel died of a heart attack while visiting family in London in May, 1997. His research on the Radanites and the Chinese Jews appeared in the form of articles in various publications over the years, and we are indeed fortunate and pleased to present his most recent work in this issue of Points East, which Nigel submitted just a few weeks before he passed away. His involvement and enthusiasm for the work of the Institute will be greatly missed. We extend our deepest condolences to his wife.

1. The Radanites

The medieval Arab geographer Ibn Kburdâdhbih (c. 850) has left us an account of the travels of "The Jewish merchants called Râdhânites."¹ This group of traders is described as traversing Eurasia from Western Europe to China, both by land and sea, and four different routes across Islamic territory are itemized. Since their activities are said to be occurring in the 9th century, 400 years before the Mongol conquests opened the eyes of Latin Europe to the existence of East Asia, this text is surpris-

ing and puzzling, and is open to varying interpretations.

The very name "Râdhânite" has been the source of various philological guesses as to its origin, some rather strange. The 19th century translator of classical Arabic texts, Barbier de Meynard, chose, what, to me, seems the simplest and most direct interpretation. He identified the Râdhânites with the geographical district of Râdhân immediately N.E. of Baghdad, on the route to Hamadan.

This explanation has been amplified and

discussed in detail by Moshe Gil² in 1976. It implies that the Râdhânites were an Eastern Islamic group, whose predominant commercial interests would be expected to lie in or near their area of origin, rather than the Mediterranean.

This would seem to contradict Ibn Khurdahbih's description of these merchants using routes from the "lord of the Franks" (Italy or France) to Islamic territories in the Mediterranean by sea and (via N. Africa) by land. But the contradiction

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SJI MEMBERSHIP

Country	Total
United States	262
Israel	14
China	13
England	10
Canada	7
Hong Kong	7
Australia	4
Germany	3
Japan	2
Hungary	1
Indonesia	1
Singapore	1
South Africa	1
Sweden	1
Taiwan	1
TOTAL:	328

FROM THE EDITOR

While the Sino-Judaic Institute mourns the loss of its board member, **Nigel Thomas**, we are pleased to feature in this issue of Points East one of his articles on the Radanites and the Chinese Jews, and one by **Prof. Steve Hochstadt**, who has been working on an oral history project for the past seven years on Shanghai's European Jewish refugee community.

We are also pleased to welcome three new members of the Board of Directors, each of whom will bring to SJI their own area of expertise and involvement with Sino-Judaic matters: **Elyse Beth Silverberg, Mark Cohen** and **Prof. Steve Hochstadt**. Brief bio's about them appear in this issue of Points East.

Several important events are now underway which involve the Institute. SJI Founding President **Leo Gabow** has been coordinating efforts between SJI and the Albert L. Schultz Jewish Community Center of Palo Alto to create an exhibit on the Chinese Jews of Kaifeng, set to open on September 14th. The exhibit will run for a month and will present various guest speakers connected to SJI. Duplicates of the exhibit will then be donated to the Kaifeng Municipal Museum for its permanent display, and the exhibit itself will travel throughout the United States. We warmly welcome everyone to visit the exhibit while it is in the San Francisco area.

SJI Chairman **Arthur H. Rosen** will be leading a special tour of China from April 21-May 6, 1998, to include sites of Jewish interest. Art's own unique background as former President of the National Committee on US-China Relations, and former diplomat in Shanghai will be appreciated by tour participants during the special briefings on current political events in China and on Sino-Israeli relations which he will provide. The cost of the tour will include a tax-deductible donation to the Sino-Judaic Institute. A separate mailing on this tour will be sent out in September.

Finally, SJI's plans to create an Internet website are moving forward, spearheaded by **Rabbi Anson Laytner**. If anyone would like to help him in this endeavor, please contact him as soon as possible. We look forward to increasing awareness of SJI's mission and activities in cyberspace as we approach the 21st century.

Wendy Abraham

Points East

Anson Laytner, Publisher

Wendy Abraham
 Editor

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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 15th, May 15th and September 15th.

FINANCIAL REPORT AVAILABLE

SJI members interested in receiving a copy of the annual financial report should send a self-addressed envelope to: Shelton Ehrlich, Treasurer of the Sino-Judaic Institute, 755 Northampton, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

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SJI Member Andy Nulman Reports from Shanghai on the Hong Kong Handover

Friends: How is China during the handover of Hong Kong? The whole country is celebrating on a mass scale. The media is covering the event very well. Most channels have been reporting the event for days.

The country is on a special national holiday—a four-day weekend. State-operated work units are handing out pay bonuses that are larger than one month's salary in many cases. The phrase most frequently heard is "Hong Kong is Returning to the Motherland."

During the two-day holiday many streets here in Shanghai were closed off by police, so getting out was restricted. The TV showed caravans of thousands of People's Liberation Army soldiers entering Hong Kong. There was not much to do other than stay home and watch China Central Television and local coverage.

Most of the interviews are of government officials. There are also reporters all over China and foreign countries contributing reports. The spirit is 100% positive, and there seems to be no doubt that it is a good thing to reunite the Chinese people.

The event is full of dancing and cultural display. Tiananmen Square, even on Chinese New Year, is not so full of people and celebration as it has been these days, and it is the hottest topic on everyone's minds.

Points East welcomes SJI members presently in Hong Kong to send us articles and reports on activities concerning the Jewish community after Hong Kong's return to China.

THE NORMAN FISHMAN MEMORIAL FUND

The Sino-Judaic Institute has established a fund in honor of its late Treasurer, Norman Fishman, for the purpose of donating 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: Shelton Ehrlich, Treasurer, The Sino-Judaic Institute, 755 Northampton, Palo Alto, California 94303.

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE THROUGH THE SINO-JUDAIC INSTITUTE

Michael Pollak, comp. *The Jews of Dynastic China: A Critical Bibliography*. Hebrew Union College Press, in association with The Sino-Judaic Institute, 1993. (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, members \$9. Vol. 2 (1995) \$20, members \$15.

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 Yutai Chunqiu* (Annals of the Chinese Jews), in Chinese. Hardcover, \$5, soft cover \$2.

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.

Binney describes the two diaries left by Te Kooti, as well as the many songs he composed. What emerges is a complex individual, but essentially a Maori patriot. A New Zealand poet wrote:

"The pakehas come with their rum and their gold,
And soon the broad lands of our fathers were sold,
But the voice of Te Kooti said 'Hold the land! Hold!!'
Exult for Te Kooti, Yo-Hoo."

We can be grateful to Judith Binney for having given us an objective account of an extraordinary human being.

West Coast Exhibit on the Jews of Kaifeng

SJI Founding President Leo Gabow has been directing a collaborative effort between the Sino-Judaic Institute and the Albert L. Schultz Jewish Community Center of Palo Alto to put together an exhibit on the Chinese Jews of Kaifeng, set to open at the Albert L. Schultz Jewish Community Center on September 14, 1997. The exhibit will remain through October, 1997, and will include guest lectures by members of SJI, after which time duplicates of the exhibit will be donated to the Kaifeng Municipal Museum. The Albert L. Schultz Jewish Community Center is located at 655 Arastradero Road in Palo Alto, California. Phone: (415) 493-9400.

Shaul Eisenberg, "The Man Who Opened the Doors to China for Israel," Passes Away in Beijing

By Rena Krasno

Shaul Eisenberg, whom Yitzhak Rabin once toasted as "The man who opened the doors to China for Israel" passed away on March 27, 1997, in Beijing, from a sudden, massive heart attack.

I first met Mr. Eisenberg in the 1950's in Tokyo and later came to know him more closely when my husband worked for him in London, Seoul, Manila and Tel Aviv. His modest, almost shy, demeanor belied his creative mind, and a business aptitude that bordered on genius.

Shaul Eisenberg was a penniless 17-year-old when he fled from Nazi Germany to Shanghai and later Japan. There he was befriended by an Austrian artist who lectured at a Tokyo university, and his cultured Japanese wife. While still a teen-ager he fell in love with and married their young daughter who converted to Judaism. He worked very hard at odd jobs to survive. After World War II, he began dealing in steel scrap and surplus U.S. military equipment in Japan. He later built three factories making bathtubs, sinks and other housewares for the U.S. occupation forces. He soon became a legendary figure in Asia: coffee processing in Thailand, steel, railroads and atomic power in South Korea and the world's largest glass factory in China. His contacts with China started more than 20 years ago. He brought investors and manufacturers together for other non-military projects. His business ventures expanded to the U.S., Europe, Latin America and the Middle East.

In spite of his enormous wealth, Mr. Eisenberg always remained a modest man. He avoided publicity and even passed up business opportunities that would have put him in the limelight. In one of his rare interviews, Mr. Eisenberg summarized his work methods to the U.S. *Business Week*:

"We do the difficult business, not the easy business....Most of the business we create ourselves. Manufacturers and banks need traders to put the package together. We are the link, we close the circle...."

After the 1967 Six Day War, Mr. Eisenberg established a home in Israel, and built his company's headquarters in Tel Aviv. His office building was named **Asia House**, reflecting his objective to promote Israeli trade with Asian countries. One of the tenants of **Asia House** is the Japanese Embassy. Mr. Eisenberg donated so generously to various charities that the Israel government named a Galilee village **Kfar Shaul** after him. According to *Time Magazine*, "the Eisenberg story could easily inspire a movie."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

May, 1997

I am corresponding with your Public Affairs Officer, Rena Krasno, who was kind enough to send me a few issues of *Points East* which deal with the subject of Jews in Japan. This subject is very important to me because I am the son of Col. N. Yasue, who was closely related to the destiny of Jews in the Far East before and during World War II.

Regarding *Points East*, I have found almost all its articles very informative and instructive. I particularly would like to mention the article entitled "A Response to Michael Pollak's Article." I pay my respects to Mr. Nigel Thomas for his knowledge and understanding about Jewish affairs related to Japan and Japanese. To be frank with you, perhaps some of the other authors who have written on this subject, particularly about the periods just before and during the War, did not really understand the complicated circumstances surrounding Jews and Japanese who lived in Japan and Japanese occupied territories.

There is one remark I would like to make.

Mr. Thomas writes: "This kind of sentiment was responsible for the ideas of resettlement of European Jewish refugees in Manchuria arising in "Japanese official circles" in the 1930's.

Japanese official circles is not correct. The plan called "Israel in Manchuria" was created by Col. Yasue who had been entrusted with the formulation of a policy on the treatment of Jews in Manchuria and China by the Staff Department of the Japanese Army.

Through my conversations at the time with my father, I believe his purpose was:

1. To give Jewish settlers and refugees a land where they could live without fear and danger for their life. (At that time no countries including the U.S. were ready to accommodate Jewish refugees).
2. To avoid a war with the U.S.

I should like to point out that the question of money or finances was never mentioned by my father.

Prior to the said planning, Col. Yasue persuaded Seishiro Itagaki, Minister of the War Department, to propose a plan, which was

very favorable to Jewish settlers and refugees. This took place at the Five Ministers' Conference which was attended by the Prime Minister, the Ministers of Army, Navy, Finance and Foreign Affairs. The plan was formally approved as a policy of the Japanese government as of December 6, 1938.

However, regrettably, shortly after the signing of the Tripartite Treaty between Japan, Germany and Italy, Hedeki Tojo (then Minister of the War Department and later Prime Minister) dismissed Col. Yasue from active service and, at the same time, ordered the cancellation of the 4th Far Eastern Jewish Conference scheduled for December 1940, in Dairen.

After the outbreak of the war against the U.S. and its Allied Forces, Japan toughened its policy toward Jews under the pressure of Nazi Germany. Nevertheless, the lives of Jews in Manchuria remained fairly safe owing to the influence which Col. Yasue could still exert on the "Kantogun" (Japanese army stationed in Manchuria), while Jews in China, and Shanghai in particular, had to face many difficulties.

Mrs. Krasno's book, *Strangers Always - a Jewish Family in Wartime Shanghai*, which I am reading with much interest, shows the effects of the Japanese occupation in Shanghai from the aspect of a young eye-witness.

Yours sincerely,
Hiroo Yasue

SJI SPEAKERS AVAILABLE

Planning a fundraising event? Organizing a meeting or celebration? If your Jewish 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 Jews of Kaifeng
- The Jews of Shanghai
- Jewish Life in Harbin and Tianjin
- Sino-Israeli Relations

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

For more information, contact:
SJI President, Prof. Al Dien
(415) 323-1769

232 Lexington Drive, Menlo Park, CA 94025
e-mail: aldien@leland.stanford.edu.

From The President's Desk

(continued from page 1)

I had a long conversation by phone with Elyse Silverberg whom we hope will join the Board of the Institute, concerning the role she could play as a Board member. In Shanghai I visited the Ohel Moshe Synagogue Museum, and discussed with its caretaker, Wang Faliang, what the Institute could do to enhance the exhibits displayed there. I had the opportunity to meet with Seth Kaplan, who has undertaken the task of organizing the Jewish community in Shanghai. He very kindly supplied me with a list of the over 60 Jews thus far involved in that effort. Prof. Pan Guang dropped by the hotel one evening and we had a long conversation about his work and that of others. He is a very active person, and always has much information to impart. Finally, I had time to visit the graves of some of the Sassoon family and one member of the Hardeen family in the Song Qingling Cemetery, which Wendy Abraham had put me on to. In Hong Kong, Board member Dennis Leventhal appeared not to be in the city, but I did talk briefly with Rabbi Kelman, who will be leaving Hong Kong this summer, and with long-time resident Robert Dorfman. There was no time to do more than this, but I will be returning to China on another tour in November, and would hope to meet with other members and friends of the Institute.

THE SHANGHAI SOCIETY FOR THE RESCUE OF THE CHINESE JEWS

The following letters from the archives of the Shanghai Society for the Rescue of the Chinese Jews were kindly supplied by Leo Gabow for special inclusion in Points East. They represent some of the earliest pieces of correspondence extant between the Sephardi Jews, then living in Shanghai, and the Kaifeng Jews who were at that point clinging to the last semblance of Jewish community life. Efforts aimed at rebuilding the synagogue in Kaifeng with financial help from the Shanghai Society ended as attention and funds were later diverted to help the Jews facing pogroms in Russia. The Shanghai Society's efforts were the last which could have conceivably resulted in the resurrection of Jewish religious life in Kaifeng.

Shanghai, 21st Heshvan 5661.
13th November 1900

To our Brethern in faith in Kai-feng-fu:

We have a few months ago addressed you a letter in Hebrew signed by members of our Community and forwarded it to you with its translation in Chinese, but it was unfortunately lost in transmission before reaching you. As soon as we became aware of the fact we sent you copies of the letter and its translation. The messenger returned some two weeks ago bringing a letter addressed to him by some of your members asking him to carry a message to us that the writers intend to come and see us as soon as the disquietude which is now raging in some parts of the country has disappeared. You cannot imagine how welcome was the news received by every one of us. We write now this letter to inform you that a Society has recently been formed for the purpose of considering the best means of reviving the religion of our Fore-fathers among your Community. The members of the Committee of our Society are anxiously awaiting the arrival of some of your members so that they can discuss with them as to the best method to attain the aim in view. In order that no more precious time be lost we ask you again to send two or three of your members to Shanghai with as little delay as possible so that some steps may be taken for your early relief from your present state of lack of knowledge of our religion.

By order, and on behalf of the Committee, J. Solomon, Hon. Secretary, Society for the Rescue of the Chinese Jews

The above is a copy of a letter which has been kindly translated into Chinese by the Rev. Dr. J. Edkins. Both letter and translation have been forwarded to Kai-feng-fu with the same native messenger who brought a letter from the Jewish Community of that place. He left Shanghai on the 17th November 1900 at night for Kai-feng-fu.

Since the departure of Mr. Li King Cheng and his son Li Tsung May back to Kai-feng-fu on the 7th Ayar 5661 (26th April 1901) nothing has been heard of them, until Saturday last the 10th Shebat 5662 (18th January 1902), when a letter in Chinese was handed to me, the translation of which is:—

... My brother Solomon, I started from Shanghai on the 5th day of the 4th Moon for Kai-feng-fu, and in a few days we safely arrived home. I always think of you and feel grateful for your kind treatment. I have been sick for sometime past and I am now alright. I have lately been very busy. I intend to start for Shanghai after the Court leaves Kai-feng-fu. I met Mr. .. on the 8th day of the 11th Moon and he advised me not to start from here before the next spring. In the meantime I understand that there a few (tens) of copies of the Holy bible in the TUNG DAH ZE (Temple) about which I will explain to you personally when I will arrive in Shanghai. I have met four of our co-religionists, ZA, KING, TSANG & NGAN, who intend to come with me to Shanghai next Spring. Address your reply HUNG YING E., North Road. I am making further enquiries about the Bibles and I will let you know the result of my enquiries. With best regards to brother Solomon and the other co-religionists.

Yours respectfully,
LI KING SHENG.

From S. J. Solomon, Hon. Secretary, Society for the Rescue of Chinese Jews Shanghai, Tuesday 13th Shebat 5662 (21st January 1902).

The Center of Jewish Studies in Shanghai

The Center of Jewish Studies in Shanghai (CJSS), the most influential research institution in China on Jewish and Israeli Studies, was founded in 1988. It carries out research on Jewish history, Jewish culture, Jews in China and contemporary Israel, with a focus on Jews in China, especially the history of the Sephardic (Baghdadi) community, Russian Jews and Jewish refugees from Nazi Europe in Shanghai. The album, *The Jews in Shanghai* (in English and Chinese), edited by Prof. Pan Guang, Dean of CJSS, was published not long ago. This book is available through CJSS.

CJSS has sponsored and organized many nation-wide and international conferences, reunions of former Jewish residents in Shanghai, and exhibitions about the Holocaust, famous Jewish figures and modern Israel. It has also sponsored, for the first time in China, Children's and Adult's Hebrew Courses. Suggestions for cooperation and information about material relating to our research are warmly welcome.

CJSS is situated in the building of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences in the very heart of Shanghai and has a permanent photo exhibition on the history of Shanghai Jewry. CJSS can also arrange for tourists to make a one-day "Jewish Sites Tour" in Shanghai with Hebrew or English-speaking guides, including meeting with the scholars and graduate students from CJSS. If arrangements for visiting CJSS or making a one-day tour are needed, please contact CJSS at least two weeks in advance.

Contact person: Professor Pan Guang;
Address: 622-7 Huai Hai Road (M) Suite 352, Shanghai 2000020, China; Tel: 86-21-64313464 or 63272651; Fax: 86-21-637541446 or 63270004; e-mail: guangpan@fudan.ac.cn.

CHINA MEMOIRS REQUESTED

SJI members who lived in China before and during World War II are cordially invited to share their written memoirs with us at *Points East*. Please send all memoirs to: Dr. Wendy Abraham, c/o Asian Languages Dept., Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305, or e-mail to: wabraham@leland.stanford.edu.

1876, has generated a host of books, films and plays. The Battle of the Little Big Horn," usually presents Custer and his Cavalrymen in heroic terms, bravely fighting off a numerically superior Indian force, and the Indians themselves as blood-thirsty savages.

Welch and Stekler found it productive to interview the grandsons and granddaughters of the Lakota and Cheyenne warriors. They developed a portrait of the event quite at variance with the official white man's version. They discovered that there was an Indian perspective to "Custer's Last Stand," that sharply contradicted the official version.

The authors, it is apparent, quite agree with the Indian perspective, and discount much of the documentation supplied by the white side.

If the Welch-Stikler version has validity, and we are persuaded that it is indeed valid, much history can be reexamined with fruitful results. One such history is the relationship between the Maoris of New Zealand and the "Pakehas," (European settlers and British Colonialists).

The New Zealand wars, or more accurately the Maori rebellion against the British, was inspired, among other reasons, by the Maori disenchantment with Christianity. When it was decided to colonize New Zealand, the question arose as to which Christian group should have the opportunity of persuading the Maoris to forego their "heathen" religion and adopt Christianity. It was clear that some kind of unity or cooperation was necessary. The accusation of satanic alliances each Christian group flung at the other could no longer be tolerated. By agreement, The Church of England and the Wesleyan Societies divided up the territory of New Zealand. Each group was to have absolute control of their respective areas to spread the gospel without concern over theological poaching. The Church of England evangelized in the northern half of North Island and the Wesleyans evangelized in the southern half.

This "civilized" arrangement worked for some years until the Church of England appointed a new Bishop who proceeded to invade the territory of the Wesleyans, and in addition proceeded to castigate them as "errant Christians," and advised that they had no right to baptize. One writer opined that the Maoris joined one

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

Hauhauism, or the Maori name "Pai Marire," translated as "The Good and the Merciful," is usually described in New Zealand literature as a vicious, fanatic and blood-thirsty religion. Modern writers, however, have begun to treat the Hauhau more sympathetically, much as current American literature treats the American Indian.

A new religion evolved out of Hauhauism and became known as the Ringatu Church. The Prophet of this new religion was Te Kooti Rikirangi. In a roundup of Hauhau Maoris, Te Kooti was jailed along with others. There is evidence that Te Kooti was not in any way a part of any rebellious group, but was "railroaded" because of a personal dislike from one of the white settlers. Te Kooti, along with other Maoris, was exiled to the cold and barren Chatham Island.

It was in exile that Te Kooti revealed his talents as an organizer, propagandist and preacher. It was in exile that he developed his theology. And it was here that the Ringatu Church was fashioned. Te Kooti followed the precepts of Te Ua, the founder of the Hauhau by calling his followers Israelites, and he viewed his exile to Chatham Island as the equivalent of Moses in Egypt. He introduced the Passover holiday into Ringatu ritual and declared that it be celebrated on July 12th. He also decreed that the Sabbath was to be on Saturday, NOT Sunday. And finally, "The Sign of the Upraised Hand," which was the symbol of the Hauhau, remained the symbol of the Ringatu Church.

Te Kooti and his followers seized and captured a British ship which had put into Chatham Island, and escaped. Their escape was also likened to the Israelite escape from Egypt. From the time of their escape from Chatham Island in 1868, Te Kooti and his followers were a scourge to the Pakehas (white settlers), who Te Kooti reiterated, had stolen Maori land. For more than a decade all efforts to capture him were foiled, despite the heavy bounty placed on his head, and despite overpowering military forces sent out to get him dead or alive. It was finally recognized that an injustice had been committed in exiling Te Kooti without a trial, and he was pardoned in

1882. When he died a decade later, he had become a venerated Prophet to his followers in the Ringatu Church.

Of the many millenary movements that sprang up in new Zealand in the 1880's, the Ringatu Church alone survived. Most of these movements sought inspiration in one form or another in the Hebrew Bible. The Ringatu Church is now officially recognized by the New Zealand Government and receives perquisites offered other religions.

But it was not always that way. Te Kooti was considered to be a fanatic, and a dangerous one at that. He was the author of the "Poverty Bay Massacre," otherwise known as "Black Monday." This tragedy occurred on November 9th and 10th in the year 1868, in which Te Kooti and his warriors descended on the town of Turanga (later to become Gisborne) in Poverty Bay, and killed 33 white settlers and 37 Maoris. These killings have been vividly described by the New Zealand writer Hugh Ross in his work "Te Kooti General and Prophet." He wrote, "The death toll of this massacre amounted to some seventy souls. By dusk next day...nothing human lived upon that plain of smoking ruins, except blood-crazed, drink-maddened Maoris galloping hither and yon, howling their war cries and looting in an orgy of ferocity."

But Paul Clarke, in his book "Hauhau," maintains that most New Zealand literature assumes a wholly negative view of the Maori. He raises the cogent point that most writers depend on totally biased sources. Even where an attempt is made to be objective, the tone is frequently "condescending."

Now along comes a book by an Associate Professor of History at the University of Auckland, Judith Binney. She is no stranger to the subject, having written widely and authoritatively on Maori history. Her book, "Redemption Songs, a Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki," for the first time, exhaustively treats the life of Te Kooti. She points out persuasively, that Te Kooti's war against the Pakeha, was really over the alienation of Maori lands. Binney went to sources not used or known by other writers. She was given access to documents by Maori leaders, documents hitherto unknown. She paints Te Kooti as a man interested in restoring Maori pride...and the hitherto biased reporting of this extraordinary man is put to rest by Binney's account of Te Kooti's motivation.

he was the first member of her community to be called up to read the Torah when the "white" Jews finally relented. One learns about the unique way in which the Jews of Cochin celebrated various holidays both at home and in the synagogue, their devout observance of Shabbat and fast days, the special songs accompanying all rituals. Ghosts were an accepted part of life in this tightly knit community. Ruby herself acknowledges that this was borrowed from the Hindus. The spirits of dead relatives inhabited houses and everyone had stories of encounters with them.

Some of the members of Ruby's family pioneered in literacy for Jews, and as Ruby proved to be a very good student, she was given opportunities for education that few other girls of her community had. Her accounts of her experiences in primary and secondary school make for interesting reading. "A little rebel in the closely knit society," Ruby calls herself as she explained how she was the first Jewish woman of her community to attend college and work in the government. Those concerned with the movement of Indian women from the private sphere into public space will appreciate Ruby's discussion of her jobs with the government service as a teacher and in the judicial, registration, political, medical and military departments as well as of her stint with the Royal navy during World War II, which her mother encouraged her to join, although most Cochin families did not want to send their girls. During this period, she was able to travel to Calcutta and visit the Ezras, the important Baghdadi Jewish family who led the community there. She describes the teas and Shabbat Open Houses the Ezras held for foreign Jewish soldiers who found themselves in Calcutta during the war.

Marriages in Cochin were usually arranged, but Ruby chose not to marry and mentioned that in her mother's generation, there were 72 men and women in the Paradesi community (a large percentage of a community that may have numbered no more than 300 at the time) who remained single, largely because of the many restrictions about inter-group or inter-class marriage. Ruby observes that the community would have been much larger if they had all married.

The Malayalam songs of the Cochin Jewish women, most of which were preserved by Ruby's beloved grandmother Docho, and which first drew Johnson to Ruby Daniel, are well represented. Ruby's trans-

lations of the songs, blending Jewish and South Indian cultural elements, that were sung for weddings or births, or those describing events of Cochin Jewish history such as the building of a synagogue, or honoring Israel, are both woven into the context of the narrative and given special place.

Ruby stresses that it was their devotion to their Jewish background and to Israel, their desire for economic mobility, and their concern for the future of their children, not persecution, that led the Cochin Jews to make *aliyah*. Most of the "white" Paradesis did not go until the 1970s, but Ruby and her young sister left in 1951. Her account of her life and that of other Cochin Jews in the early years on the kibbutz is poignant. The observant Cochin Jews did not feel comfortable in this secular kibbutz where there was no kosher meat. They also missed their rice. Eventually they were given separate facilities to cook their own food. But they also experienced unexpected discrimination due to their different color and culture. "They thought we have come from some jungle," Ruby writes of the European kibbutzniks. The Cochins were segregated and tended to be given the more menial tasks: Ruby, the ex-government employee, spent ten years peeling potatoes, and was never given the opportunity to take the cooking course as she was promised. She finally opted for an easier job in the laundry, where she worked for 26 years. Eventually the rest of the Cochin Jews left Neot Mordechai (and most of the other kibbutzim where they had been initially placed) and settled in moshavim in the north, south and in the Jerusalem Corridor with other members of their community. Only Ruby and her sister remained, to be joined by their mother. Interestingly, Ruby admits that it was difficult for the Jews of India, who had never known discrimination, to understand the behavior of European Jews who had suffered so much in their homeland.

This book is not a traditional oral history, explains Johnson in her introduction, because it is grounded in Ruby's written memoirs, with supplementary material from recorded interviews. In a brief discussion of how the book relates to the expanding field of "Life story scholarship," she observes that critical scholars of life story methodology have begun to note the perils of transforming an oral narrative into a written text as it often results in an "imbalance of power between the narrator and

the interviewer/editor and the alienation of ownership." She has certainly avoided this pitfall: this is Ruby's book, in her own style and her own Malayalam-influenced English, with its frequent tense-shifting. Johnson's careful weaving and arranging of the oral stories (which she transcribed) and Ruby's written materials, her elucidating of more information through questions, and her editing for clarity remain behind the scenes. Ruby had final say over the written text.

This book deserves wide readership. Ruby's pioneering effort will be appreciated by scholars in Judaic, Indian, and women's studies, by anthropologists and by historians concerned with the developing field of history and memory. Those who know something of Cochin Jewish history and the cast of characters who appear will particularly relish Ruby's story, for her woman's perspective adds a new dimension to our understanding. Johnson mentions that many of Ruby's orally transmitted tales dovetail with historical documents. Although the focus is on the Paradesi community and particularly on one family, the book also contains material on the Malabari, or "black" Jews of Cochin. Ruby's views on the *meshuhrarim* have caused Johnson to reexamine her thinking of this issue as well as on how the Hindu caste system influenced Jewish social structure in Kerala: she believes that although the Jews did view themselves as a separate caste, or *jati*, vis-a-vis Hindus, Muslims and Christians, they did not regard their internal divisions as constituting separate castes or subcastes. Students of the field will want to read this account within the context of other work on Cochin, including earlier writings by Johnson herself and that of Nathan Katz and Ellen S. Goldberg. Yet the book is accessible enough for assignment to college and perhaps even high school students. Fine photos (some by Johnson), a map, a genealogical table of Ruby's family and a glossary add to the enjoyment and usefulness of the work.

Redemption Songs, A life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki

By Judith Binney
Auckland University Press, University of Auckland, New Zealand
Reviewed by Leo Gabow

A recent book entitled "Killing Custer," by James Welch and Paul Stekler, deals with "The Battle of the Little Big Horn, Custer's Last Stand." This event which occurred in

NEWS CLIPPINGS

Next Year in Lhasa

By Susan Josephs
The Jewish Week, Saturday, April 18, 1997

Although they ate Tibetan dumplings instead of gefilte fish and matzah stuffing, the Seder guests said Psalm 126 before reciting the *birkat hamazon*. And when they sang the line about "when the Lord returned the captives of Zion, we were like in a dream," a tear formed in the eye of a Tibetan monk.

"Next year in Lhasa!" they all chanted, just as the Jews have been chanting "next year in Jerusalem" for more than 2,000 years.

Unlike all others, that particular Seder took place two weeks before Passover last year in Dharamsala, India, attended by Tibetans and Jews. And from that experience grew the latest example of contemporizing the Passover story.

Rodger Kamenetz, author of *The Jew and the Lotus*, the chronicle of a trip by a handful of prominent Jews to meet the Dalai Lama, had "wanted to show the Tibetans what a Seder was like" and found the experience to be "very beautiful." Later that year, Kamenetz attended a meeting of the Interfaith Action Network for Tibet on how to raise awareness of the Tibetan struggle in religious communities.

"It occurred to me that we could do Seders for Tibet," he says. "And that would be the Jewish part of this interfaith movement."

This year, Seders for Tibet will be held throughout the country in various shapes and sizes. At the Religious Action Center for Reform Judaism in Washington, the Dalai Lama, the exiled Tibetan leader, will attend a Seder on the fourth night of Passover with some 50 guests. At upstate Ithaca College, a Seder on the second night will be held for Jewish students and members of the Tibetan refugee community that live in the neighborhood. At Elat Chayim, the Jewish Renewal retreat center in Accord, N.Y., a Seder will be held on the seventh night that will include Jewish meditations informed by Buddhist tradition.

Kamenetz also wrote an article in *Reform Judaism* magazine suggesting how people can incorporate mention of the Tibetan struggle into their family Seders. "My suggestion is, do a Seder and at the obvious

points where it connects to Tibet, bring in mention of it," he says.

The story of Tibet losing its autonomy 46 years ago, and the dispersal and persecution of its citizens, contains some striking parallels to the ancient story of Jews forced to leave their homeland and survive as a people without their Temple in Jerusalem. In his dialogues with rabbis and Jewish scholars, the Dalai Lama has observed that "the Tibetan people have learned about the secrets of Jewish spiritual survival in exile: one secret is the Passover Seder," he wrote in a recent statement. "Through it, for 2,000 years, even in very difficult times, Jewish people remember their liberation from slavery to freedom."

Furthermore, the Passover story, while uniquely Jewish, is also universal, says Blu Greenberg, an orthodox Jewish feminist writer and activist. "The Haggadah teaches empathy for suffering and the Tibetan people deserve and need sympathy for their suffering."

Greenberg had been part of a Jewish delegation who traveled to Dharamsala in 1992 to dialogue with the Dalai Lama. She intends to raise awareness of Tibet at her family Seders.

"A formal reading of the Seder text doesn't do justice to the intention of the rabbis who had meant for the Seder to encourage impromptu discussions," she says. "This is not a violation of sacred text but an enrichment of it."

While plenty of other issues and causes could certainly be discussed at the Seder, it seems that Jews, like Hollywood celebrities, feel a special pull toward championing Tibetan suffering. "So many Jews have sought a spiritual path through Buddhism and meditative practice, which has made them more aware of Tibet," says Rabbi Elias Lieberman of the Falmouth Jewish congregation in East Falmouth, Mass., who has participated in dialogues with the Dalai Lama.

As a result, this exposure to Judaism has caused "a profound reawakening of the spiritual side of Judaism," says Rabbi Arthur Waskow, who directs the Shalom Center of Aleph: Alliance for Jewish Renewal.

While Rabbi Waskow intends to guide his

Seder guests through different meditations and make use of a written statement by the Dalai Lama, Rabbi Lieberman simply knows he wants to make references to Tibet when he leads his congregational seder on the second night of Passover.

In Ithaca, one of several designated Tibetan refugee communities in the U.S., Michael Faber, the Hillel director and Jewish chaplain at Ithaca College, expects "a real interfaith crowd" at his Seder. "There is really an opportunity not only to talk about liberation but to enlighten each other about our cultures," he says.

Kamenetz sees multiple entry points for incorporating the Tibetan story into the Seder. During the recitation of the Four Questions for example, "We may wish to remember the world's youngest political prisoner," he says, referring to 8-year-old Gedhum Choekyi Nyima, the Panchen Lama designated by the Dalai Lama, whom the Chinese have placed under house arrest, "Or when experiencing the tastes of salty and bitter, remember that the Tibetans also teach that you can't understand joy unless you experience suffering."

But at the Religious Action Center in Washington, the Seder won't really be about Tibet, says Rabbi David Saperstein, director of the center, who explains that the Dalai Lama had simply wanted to attend a Passover Seder. Still, parallels will be made between the Passover story to "the struggle of people in exile. Since we are a historic center for civil rights and have a long connection with the Dalai Lama, it seems very appropriate to hold such an event," he says.

While the Freedom Seder of 1969 — an event that celebrated black-Jewish relations — ushered in a new era of contemporizing the Passover story, Rabbi Saperstein points out that "contemporary issues have been applied to the Seder for the past 2,000 years. "There's been a long tradition of this."

There's a saying in the Talmud that when the Messiah comes, "we will remember not just the liberation of Jews but the liberation of all people," Kamenetz says. "We're bringing that day a little closer to us by doing these seders."

The Seder for Tibet web site is <http://www.allcorp.com/TIBETSEDER>.

Photo Show on Rabin Opens in Shanghai

Xinhua English Newswire,
December 17, 1996

A photo exhibition opened today in this East China metropolis to commemorate the first anniversary of the assassination of former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

Titled "The Memory of Rabin," (see p. 25) the show is sponsored by the Israeli Consulate in Shanghai and the Shanghai Jewish Research Center. It was held in the Zhu Qizhan Art Gallery, which is named after a prominent local painter.

On display were 32 pictures representing the political career of Rabin, especially his efforts to promote the peace process in the Middle East.

The exhibit includes a photo of Rabin with U.S. President Bill Clinton and PLO leader Yasser Arafat on the lawn of the White House after the signing of the peace agreement. Another shows Rabin with Shimon Perez and Arafat, after Rabin won the Nobel Peace Prize, and one features Rabin with Chinese leaders Jiang Zemin and Li Peng during his visit to China.

The photo show has traveled to four other East China cities, Suzhou, Nanjing, Hangzhou and Ningbo.

Hong Kong Synagogue Saved from Demolition

By Jane Moir
South China Morning Post,
January 4, 1997

The crumbling Ohel Leah Synagogue is once again being spared from demolition after experts guaranteed the 96-year-old temple could be restored.

Temple trustee Michael Green said yesterday that after lengthy reports it was agreed the synagogue could be restored and renovated.

Age and decay had left the temple in Robinson Road, Mid-Levels, in a precarious state, and at one point in mid-1995, trustees feared they would have to demolish it and build a modern replica.

This sparked outrage among the Jewish community and conservationists, who in

1989 had fought a bitter battle with the trustees and the Government to save the temple from destruction.

Plaster had been falling off, the roof needed replacing and parts of the building had sunk by up to 28 centimetres by the time the trustees called in building experts from Britain and Australia.

The Hong Kong Government had been asked to get involved in the battle to save the temple but it agreed only to monitor the situation.

Archaeological Society chairman William Meacham hailed the good news.

"Finally they saw the light, they did the right thing. It was clear all along that it could be preserved, no thanks to the Hong Kong government," he said. The exact cost had yet to be worked out.

Shadows on the Horizon for Dwindling Flock

South China Morning Post,
January 5, 1997

Wander through the markets and residential districts of central Rangoon and you find a striking mix of races and religions living cheek by jowl.

Hindus serve steaming plates of the capital's famous chicken biryani to Buddhists; Sikhs sell bundles of cheroots to Muslims.

Burmese, Chinese and Indians live together in old British apartment blocks and offices.

There are none of the ethnic quarters and few of the unofficial boundaries that dominate other cities and religious freedoms remain untouched by Burma's military rulers.

And at the heart of it all on 26th Street lies the centre of the smallest minority of them all, the synagogue of the last Burmese Jews.

There are now just eight Jewish families estimated to be left scattered across the country, the last remnants of a band of men and women who traveled from Iraq to England to India and finally to Burma, where they settled as traders, merchants and factory owners.

At its height, the community was thought to be more than 2,500 strong, but the nationalisation of business in the early 1960s drove many to Israel, the United States and Hong Kong.

Now there are so few left practising that formal sessions at the synagogue are, at best, infrequent since Jewish tradition requires at least 10 males to be present for prayers to start. An Indian Muslim family acts as caretakers of the 110-year-old building.

"We don't even have a rabbi and none of us can speak Hebrew," says Moses Samuels, trustee of the Mumeah Yeshua Synagogue. "But we do our best."

A question mark, however, hangs over the community's 150-year-old cemetery in a nearby suburb.

The city authorities are eventually hoping to empty all the old cemeteries for development, burying people instead some 20 kilometres out of town. Already they will not allow any more burials at the Jewish cemetery in three months' time, although the last burial was in 1985.

The Chinese and Iranian plots have been exhumed and cleared.

With burial a key part of the Jewish faith, Mr. Moses has so far avoided having to dig up graves and move them to the new cemetery, but worries that final decisions are not far off.

In the stillness of dusk the cemetery evokes a strong sense of the old Rangoon. A fading sea breeze from the Bay of Bengal sways the coconut palms that line the plot of 700 closely packed coffin-like tombs.

Mangy dogs sprawl across them, seeking the last warmth of the day. Buddhist monks slowly cut flowers for offerings next door in a rambling teak mansion now used as a monastery.

But take it all in for a few moments and you can feel the modern pressures encroach. Songs from the Australian hard rock band, AC/DC, blare out of some apartment behind the trees, and discarded movie billboards touting the latest production from Belgian beefcake Jean Claude Van Damme have been thrown nearby.

Look out towards the river and the last rays of the sun are blocked by a recently completed 20-story hotel.

BOOK NOOK

Ruby of Cochin: An Indian Jewish Woman Remembers.

By Ruby Daniel and Barbara C. Johnson
Philadelphia and Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1995.
Reviewed by Joan Roland, Pace University, New York

"I told you more than that," wrote Ruby Daniel to Barbara Johnson in 1985, after reading Johnson's dissertation on the transition of Cochin Jewish community life from India to Israel. This, and other comments Ruby made on Barbara's work impelled the anthropologist to urge her informant and friend to write her own book, and that is exactly what she did. The result is not only the first book written by a Cochin Jewish woman, but also one of the very few memoirs to come out of any of the Indian Jewish communities. Ruby's story adds considerably to our understanding of Jewish life in Cochin and Kerala in general and documents the contributions of women in the construction of South Indian society in the late nineteenth and first half of the 20th century. It is also a new voice in the growing literature dealing with the intersection of gender, color and culture being produced by and about *Mizrachi* women in Israel. One that needs to be heard. The story is preceded by illuminating introductions by both Ruby and Johnson, who compiled and edited the book.

"This book is a Cochin cake, full of secret goodies and unexpected surprises and mysterious tastes, exotic and familiar," writes Johnson in her introduction. She should know, as she has been involved with Cochin and its Jewish community for almost twenty-five years. In 1977, she began to tape record Cochin Jewish women singing their own traditional folk songs in Malayalam and photocopying the old, handwritten notebooks from which they sang. She and Shirley Isenberg, an anthropologist living in Israel who had done similar work on the Bene Israel, contacted Ruby Daniel, then living in Kibbutz Ne'ot Mordechai, who was able to translate many of these vernacular songs. As one of the few people with the experience and sufficient knowledge of both Malayalam and English to carry out this project, Ruby thus made an important contribution to the preservation of this material. Isenberg and Johnson then persuaded her to write down

the stories of her own life in Cochin as well as those that had been passed down to her.

Part One, "The Life Story of Ruby Daniel," consists of nine chapters in which she recounts traditional stories of Cochin's history and discusses her childhood in Jew Town, her secular and Jewish education, the community's belief in spirits, the situation of women in Cochin, her years in the government service, the period of World War II (including an account of the experiences of Cochin Jews living in Burma when the Japanese invaded), her eventual *aliyah* to Israel and her life in the kibbutz. Part Two, whose title "The pampered Jews of Malabar" refers not so much to their material well-being as to their excellent relations with the Hindu authorities and the secure environment in which they lived, includes more tales from Cochin Jewish History, and accounts of the celebration of Jewish festivals, births and weddings. "It is important for people today to know about what happened before they were born, to know about the lives of ordinary women, people who were not known in the world. Wildflowers who bloom in the forest. Nobody sees them and they fade," writes Ruby, now 83, in her own introduction. In her richly detailed contribution to Indian and Jewish ethnography, she has insured that neither she nor the women of her community will be forgotten.

In her introduction, Johnson explains that Ruby was a member of the small congregation of the Paradesi synagogue, which was dominated by the so-called white Jews of Cochin. But her family and a few other Paradesi families were not considered "white." Rather, the "white" Jews referred to them as *Meshuhrarim*, freed slaves, claiming that their ancestors were converts or the children of white Jewish men and slave or servant women, and for generations, denied them equal rights in the Paradesi synagogue. Ruby's family, however, did not view themselves as *Meshuhrarim* because they never considered their ancestors to be slaves, and Johnson states that part of Ruby's motivation in writing the book was to "set the record straight about her family's origins." One of the themes recurring throughout this book is the discrimination suffered by Ruby and her family at the hands of the

"white" Jews. She discusses her feelings of inferiority in the town in general and at school, and those of her family at the synagogue, where for generations they were made to sit separately and were not called up to read the Torah. Those familiar with Cochin Jewish history know the story, which is further documented here. Ruby states quite openly that the discrimination she felt on the part of some of the "white" Paradesi Jews was one of the factors motivating her to make *aliyah* to Israel—where she then encountered prejudice on the part of European Jews. Ironically, Ruby has thus been exposed to discrimination emanating much more from other Jews than from gentiles. Indeed, another theme that comes out is the overall tolerance and respect that Jews, Hindus, Muslims and Christians had for one another in Cochin. In fact, when Ruby first started writing her stories, her "first intention was to show how good the people of Kerala were, how they welcomed the Jews and treated them well..."

The Muslims and Christians as well as the Jews have stamped the Hindus as idolaters. But if you want to know what is humanitarianism you must go to them. You must look at a group of Jews who lived under the regime of these Hindu rajas for the last two thousand years without knowing discrimination...The Jews of Cochin should be grateful to those Hindu rajas and the people of Cochin for their very existence as Jews in their country forever and ever.

In discussing their close relations with their Muslim neighbors she points out that nobody minded the middle-of-the-night prayers or wedding celebrations of other communities. " 'Disturbance' is the word the Indians learned only in Israel," she writes.

But this book is not just about discrimination and tolerance. Life in the first half of the twentieth century in Cochin is richly described. The warmth of Ruby's extended family, their prestige in the community because of the Hebrew learning of the grandfather, the relations with parents, grandparents and aunts are lovingly recounted. Ruby's grandfather, (who also knew the Koran and New Testament, it appears) acted as Hebrew tutor to the children of the Koders, the leading "white" family, and corrected the Siphrei Torah;

For many movie-goers packed into Berlin's downtown Delphi Cinema, it was like seeing a drama unfold again. Audiences applauded as former wartime Shanghai residents Geoffrey Heller and Rena Krasno, who feature in the film, both participated in discussions after its successful showing here. They had flown to Berlin from the United States to attend the premiere.

Heller relived his 1941 arrival in Shanghai as if it were only yesterday. To a 17-year-old teenager fleeing Nazi Germany, the teeming port seemed a riot of color and activity, a haven from the horrors of the past. "It was like the coming of age for me in chaotic times," he recalled in Berlin, the city he'd been forced to leave almost 60 years ago. "Shanghai confronted me with an enormously multi-national, multi-cultural road that, as a young man, and even today, I find extraordinarily exciting and hopeful." Heller added: "I'd felt for some years after the war that my father and I might be active participants, in a modest way, in helping to rebuild China after the Communist takeover. But it was not to be." The family moved to the United States.

Rena Krasno, whose father was once a leader of the Shanghai Ashkenazi Jewish Community, was born in Shanghai in 1923. In Berlin, she recalled the waves of European refugees arriving in the port after 1937. "The whole picture in Shanghai changed in those years," she says. Refugees who arrived from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Germany in the late 1930's brought with them a "feel of their home countries." But life became distinctly tougher after Japanese occupation, with the forced internment of Allied nationals and the 1943 restriction of Jewish refugees within the teeming Hongkew district in often appalling conditions. "While it was depressing, it was also somehow optimistic because in spite of the misery, people were able to recreate some form of cultural life and a European ambiance," Krasno noted.

Movie-maker Ottinger, who has her film production company in Berlin, says she was inspired to make the film in the 1980's after getting to know several elderly Jews in Beijing who had remained in the country after World War II. They told her stories about Shanghai's Jewish community.

Exile Shanghai will be seen at the Jerusalem Film Festival this coming summer. According to Ulrike Ottinger, she receives

daily invitations requesting participation of Exile Shanghai in other Film Festivals in various countries.

Tokyo Symposium Examines Israel-Asia Relations

By Jonathan Goldstein
State University of Georgia

On September 20, 1996, a two-panel symposium on Israel-Asia relations was held in Japan. The occasion was a joint convention of the Japan Association for International Relations with its United States-based counterpart, the International Studies Association. All meetings were held in the Makuhari Conference Center in Chiba Prefecture, suburban Tokyo. The two panels were organized and chaired by Japanese international relations scholar Maruyama Naoki, of Meiji Gakuin University, and myself.

The first panel was entitled "Fresh Perspectives on East Asian Relations with the Islamic Middle East." It did not deal with Israel directly, but rather set a context for examining Israel's relations in Asia.

A second panel specifically dealt with Sino-Israeli relations as well as the broader regional implications of those relations since 1948. Isador A. Magid, Israel's second Consul General in Shanghai submitted a detailed memoir on the origins of Sino-Israeli relations. Mr. Magid was unable to attend, so I read his account by way of introduction. It was followed by papers by Pan Guang, of Shanghai's Academy of Social Sciences, on "A Chinese Perspective on the Frozen Period, 1948-1982"; Aron Shai, of Tel Aviv University, on "The Israeli Communist Party's Policy Toward the People's Republic of China" (Professor Shai included scintillating excerpts from his interview with former Israeli Communist Party General Secretary Meir Wilner, on the ICP's role in Sino-Israeli relations); P. R. Kumaraswamy, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, on "The Establishment of Sino-Israeli Diplomatic Relations: its Impact on India and Pakistan"; and Yakov Zinberg, of Tokyo's Kokushikan University, on "The Establishment of Sino-Israeli Diplomatic Relations: Its Impact on Japan and the Two Koreas."

The audience included Viatcheslav P. Moussikhin, Counsellor at the Embassy of the Russian Federation in Japan, and Chaim Chosen, Counsellor at the Embassy of Is-

rael in Japan. I am in the process of editing many of the Tokyo papers (and others) for inclusion in a published volume tentatively entitled *Israel and China: A Fifty Year Perspective, 1948-1998*. Dr. Moshe Yegar, Deputy Director Emeritus of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the architect of much of Israel's relations with East, Southeast, and South Asia, has most generously agreed to write the preface to that forthcoming volume.

Publications of Note

The Jews in Shanghai (Album in English and Chinese), Pan Guang, Editor. Shanghai Pictorial Publishing House and Center of Judaic Studies in Shanghai, 1995. USD \$40.00 (including postage).

Shanghai Jews Memoirs (Chinese), Pan Guang, Editor. Center of Judaic Studies, Shanghai, 1995. USD \$10 (including postage.) Please send cash, check or bank draft to: Pan Guang, 1331 Fuxing Road (M) #32, Shanghai 200031, PRC.

"Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Jews in India", by Ashe A. Bhende and Ralphy Jhirad. Cost of publication \$18. Postage and handling \$2. *"David Sassoon - The Great Philanthropist"*, a documentary video (19 minutes and 25 seconds long) is available for \$50 plus \$15 postage and handling for individuals, \$75 including postage, for Institutions and Libraries. Please indicate PAL or NTSC format. Make checks out to "O.R.T. India" and send by registered mail to Mr. Ralphy Jhirad, Director, O.R.T. India, 68 Worli Hill Road, Behind Worli Dairy, Worli, Mumbai 400018, India.

Encyclopedia Judaica (Chinese version), Xu Xin et al., comp. Contact: Prof. Xu Xin, c/o English Dept., Nanjing University, 22 Hankou Rd., Nanjing, PRC 210008.

Reception Honors Sino-Israeli Relations

Xinhua English Newswire,
January 22, 1997

The Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries held a reception here this evening to mark the fifth anniversary of the forging of Sino-Israeli diplomatic ties.

The president of CPAFFC, Qi Huaiyuan, spoke on bilateral friendship and cooperative relations and how the two countries have developed and yielded results in every area in that five-year period.

The Chinese and Jewish peoples are two great nations, he noted, saying that the desire of both nations is to strengthen bilateral cooperation.

Israel's Ambassador to China, Ora Namir, said that continuous advancement in Israeli-Chinese friendly relations has been scored during the past five years.

Israel's Foreign Minister David Levy is expected to visit China in the near future, she said, and this will help further promote the development of bilateral relations.

Present at the occasion were Shoul Eisenberg [recently deceased], President of the Council for the Promotion of Israel-China relations, and Buhe, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National people's Congress, along with other Chinese officials.

Rangoon to Halt Relocation of 700 Jewish Graves: Israeli Ambassador

Agence France-Presse,
February 4, 1997

Bangkok, Feb 4 (AFP) - The relocation of 700 Jewish graves from a cemetery in Rangoon earmarked for city development has been stopped after Israel voiced concern over the plans, the Israeli ambassador said Tuesday.

The city mayor, Ko Lay had given assurances that the graves, which date back 160 years, would not be moved, said Ambassador Nathan Gad, speaking by telephone from the Burmese capital.

Currently maintained through the support of the tiny Jewish community of eight families that remain in Burma, the cemetery

sits next to Moslem and Chinese cemeteries also under threat of relocation.

Gad raised the issue during a meeting with the mayor about one month ago. "I hope it's a final decision," he said.

At its peak, the Jewish community in Burma numbered over 2,000, mostly Indians and Persians who acted as suppliers of foods and goods for the British colonialists, said Gad.

A synagogue in downtown Rangoon, the "Matzmiach Yesuha," which was established by the original settlers is still maintained by the remaining, mostly elderly Jewish community, he said.

Fighting Over a Guitar as The Chinese Move In

By Hirsh Goodman
The Jerusalem Report,
March 20, 1997

"So what's going to be on July 1, 1997?" you ask three dozen people. The question pertains to the future of Hong Kong and no one has a clear answer. Only expressions of hope.

The Jewish community numbers anywhere from 1,500 to 3,000. Only 50 were actually born in Hong Kong; the rest are mainly transients, sent out by companies in Europe, the U.S., Canada and Australia that use Hong Kong as a base for doing business with Asia. Some have been here for many years, having gone from working for someone else to working for themselves, finding lucrative trade and investment opportunities that have made many of them extremely wealthy. In general, the caliber of the community is extremely high. You cannot be mediocre and make it in Hong Kong.

Jewish life started on the island eight years after the Treaty of Nanking opened Chinese ports to outside settlement in 1842. Among the first to arrive, via Baghdad and India, were the Sassoons and Kadoories. The Kadoorie name was made famous by a string of Jewish schools throughout the world, including Israel, while the Sassoons donated the land on which Ohel Leah, the principle synagogue, was built.

It is thanks to them that the Hong Kong Jewish community is probably the wealthiest in the world. A few years back, the

community's trustees (these are six self-elected, long-term residents) leased part of the synagogue's grounds for 99 years to a developer, who built 650 apartments in two towers on the site. How much the community received in cash is a closely guarded secret, but estimates are in the hundreds of millions. It also got 36 apartments (each worth well over the six-figure mark and renting for over \$10,000 a month); three floors of one building to house the Jewish Community Center (complete with indoor pool, plush lounges, a first-class restaurant, auditorium, school-rooms, office space and dining hall); and parking for the community, plus parking concessions on other floors (a premium asset in bustling Hong Kong). Best of all, a bylaw stipulates that the proceeds can be spent only on the local Jewish community of Hong Kong, for now and forever.

The Community Center has 1,500 registered members. Synagogue membership automatically entitles one to enjoy the center's facilities at no additional cost. Ohel Leah and the Reform synagogue charge around 4,000 Hong Kong dollars a year for membership. Chabad, however, charges only \$1,000; so if you want to enjoy the facilities of the center at the cheapest possible price, Chabad is the synagogue for you.

Though there are only 1,500 registered Jews there are five synagogues, mostly at loggerheads with one another. In addition to the three mentioned above, there is a breakaway Sephardi synagogue with several dozen families that will have nothing to do with the rest of the community, and a congregation on the Kowloon side of the island, about which Hong Kong's Jews profess to know little. The oldest synagogue, Ohel Leah, is a gorgeous structure built in 1901, now being restored with money from the land deal.

Chabad has its synagogue on the sixth floor of the Furama Hotel in the center of the city. Chabad apparently got the synagogue space for nothing in return for a promise to provide the hotel with clientele and, indeed, most of the synagogue's patrons seem to be Jewish businessmen, mainly diamond dealers, visiting the city for short periods.

Chabad is run by a dynamic rabbi. Mordechai Avtson, who served at Ohel Leah for a year and antagonized everyone in the process. Yet his relationship with the community remains symbiotic and his

influence continues to be felt, both through his fundraising activities (mainly among Israeli residents who have no affiliation with the formal community) and through his wife. *Rebbetzin* Avtson, who remains the Jewish studies teacher at the Carmel day school (founded by her husband in 1991), where she has several children sporting *peyot* and *tzitziot*, though they come from non-observant homes. And she controls the curriculum with an iron hand, to the point where she ordered all pictures of dinosaurs to be torn out of the textbooks, lest the children be tempted to ask about evolution. The dinosaur issue was resolved, with the pages being reluctantly pasted back into the books, but only after a fight.

Orthodox dominance in the community is unquestioned. The constitution of the Jewish community center, for example, stipulates that "the Board shall not permit activities to be conducted on the premises which are not consistent with commonly accepted rules of Shabbat, Festivals and Kashrut observance." The constitution of the Carmel day school specifies that, while the school is not identified with any particular branch of Judaism, it "will be governed by halakhic concepts."

The adherence to orthodoxy as the basic tenet of Jewish life in Hong Kong is a compromise that has led to several interesting phenomena, including the hiring of probably the highest-paid kashrut supervisor in the world, Rabbi David Zadok from Bnei Brak, who recently caused a storm when he decided that broccoli (a Chinese staple) was not kosher "because you never know what unwanted worms could be found inside." This ruling was considered ridiculous by Rabbi Shmuel Lopin, the outgoing orthodox rabbi of Ohel Leah, who wanted to know where it would all end — "with lettuce and cabbage as well, I suppose."

The real anomaly, however, is the Reform synagogue — which holds services in the community center's auditorium, has 300 member families, but does not quite exist. It has no eternal lamp, *ner tamid*, above the portable ark, and worshipers must enter through a side door from an alley and not through the center itself, so that technically the center's bylaws stipulating strict adherence to Orthodoxy are not contravened.

The United Jewish Congregation, as the Reform synagogue is called, came into

being in 1988, when one of the pillars of the community, the Green family, was about to celebrate a bar mitzvah. Shortly before the event, Ohel Leah's rabbi announced that he had learned that Mrs. Green had not been halakhically converted, and so the bar mitzvah was off. Outraged, Green and several other affluent members of the community brought in their own rabbi, first part time and now full time, to "advocate the cause of Reform, Liberal, Conservative and other non-Orthodox Jews in Hong Kong" — a battle that continues and continues uphill.

In November, for example, the incumbent rabbi, Levi Weiman-Kelman, on a one-year sabbatical from Jerusalem's Kol Haneshama congregation, wrote the following memorandum to his board of directors: "On Friday 1st November, at 6 p.m., the bar and bat mitzvah students of the UJC and their parents gathered in the King David room for our first formal session. As I was starting the class, the Kashrut supervisor, accompanied by a Gurkha (responsible for security at the center), entered the room and asked to speak to me. The class was already in session, therefore this was not the appropriate time for us to speak. He then threatened to call the police if I played guitar. Since my papers for the class were in the guitar case, I reached in to take them out. The kashrut supervisor then ordered the Gurkha to confiscate my guitar. The Gurkha was most visibly embarrassed and confused. He had to choose between insulting the Rabbi of the UJC, in a room full of teenagers, and disobeying the Kashrut supervisor.

"Not wishing to put the Gurkha in a more difficult situation, and to minimize the disruptive influence on the class, I said 'You do what you have to do.' The Gurkha took my guitar and followed the Kashrut supervisor out of the room. Since I use the guitar to lead services in the auditorium, members of the UJC board had to approach the Kashrut supervisor and negotiate the release of my guitar"

The rabbi's guitar was eventually "released," but the incident brought into focus underlying tensions in the community and required 14 pages of correspondence between trustees, board members, rabbis and lay people before a *modus vivendi* was reached, culminating in a joint statement from rabbis Zadok and Lopin addressing the minimum standards of Shabbat and festival rules to be observed at the Community Center, including banning all bat-

tery and electrical appliances and the use of elevators, writing, deliveries, music of any kind, payments, lighting of fire and, obviously, smoking.

Yet, denominational feuds notwithstanding, the community remains essentially cohesive—despite it being comprised of people from over 20 nationalities and its leadership divided between Sephardim and Ashkenazim.

Shabbat service at Ohel Leah is in the Ashkenazi tradition, the Torah scroll encased in silver and typically Sephardi. Communal Friday night dinners and a Saturday Kiddush are open to all, and Reform and Orthodox Jews mingle, eat a traditional meal and say the traditional prayers. There is a Sunday school, a midweek school and the Carmel day school which has 90 children through to the age of 9, with a new grade being opened each year.

The center itself seems to attract young and old, much of the activity taking place in a rather excellent kosher restaurant run by a Swiss chef.

There's a Sunday evening kosher barbecue which brings families and singles together, a library, a historical society and voluntary *hevrah kadisha* and benevolent society.

Quite a few of the Jews have Chinese wives, mostly converted according to halakhah. There are also 25 Chinese currently undergoing conversion classes with the Reform rabbi. In some cases the union came about in "office relationships." For others a mixed marriage made commercial sense.

In China, family ties and personal contacts, not contracts, seal deals.

Hong Kong does about \$800 million a year in trade with Israel, \$600 million of that in diamonds.

Outside the gem trade, business ties between Hong Kong's Jews and Israeli firms have been minimal. And while certain individuals have been philanthropic toward Israel, the community's overall potential seems to have been overlooked by the fundraising arms of the Jewish Agency. Chabad, incidentally, is said to be doing fine.

With China opening up to Hong Kong, people expect a boom.

CONFERENCES, EXHIBITIONS AND FILMS

Conference on Jewish Refugees in Shanghai, July-August, 1997

By Georg Armbruster

Two hundred-ninety-five Germans, mostly Jews supported by UNRRA (United Nations Relief & Rehabilitation Association) returned from their refuge in Shanghai to Berlin on August 21, 1947. This was an unusual event, as only few refugees who had survived the Shoah away from Germany would decide to return. The group that arrived in Berlin was the largest one so far. Their reasons for re-emigration varied and contributing factors may be attributed to age, profession, political interests, family ties, and longing for the native home.

About three weeks after 650 German and Austrian refugees left Shanghai on the Marine Lynx they reached Naples (Italy) from where a special train brought the German group to Berlin. There they were welcomed by the Vice-Mayor. The re-emigration of these people played a decisive role in the formation of a new Jewish Community in Berlin.

On the 50th anniversary of the return of Jews to Berlin, a seminar will take place in the Memorial "Haus der Wannsee-Konferenz." The themes will be exile in Shanghai of refugees who had escaped the Nazi terror and landed in the Far East, how these refugees fared after the war, to which countries they went and what impact their Shanghai exile had had on their future lives. During the seminar organized in cooperation with the "Council on the Jewish Experience in Shanghai" (Philadelphia), former Shanghai refugees and historians will give their views on these subjects. At the same time, an exhibition will take place at the Jewish Museum in Berlin whose focus will be on three main aspects: refuge in Shanghai, further emigration and return to Germany.

Both the seminar and the exhibition are being organized by the "Aktives Museum Faschismus und Widerstand in Berlin," a political organization dealing with the history of National Socialism in Berlin. It was founded in 1983, to coordinate different projects which took place in Berlin that year to commemorate "50 Years After the Nazis Seized Power." Since that time the Aktives Museum has been organizing vari-

ous seminars on questions about the Shoah, the installation of memorial plaques to mark places where people were martyred by the Nazis, and visits to former concentration camps.

People interested in the seminar or able to contribute photographs and documents for the concurrent exhibition are requested to write to: **Aktives Museum e.V., Chaussestr. 8, 10115 Berlin, Germany; Tel and Fax 030-281-5198.**

Among Seminar participants are listed: Dr. Francoise Kreissler (Paris), Herta Shriner (a former refugee in Shanghai), Prof. Xu Buzeng (Shanghai), Zhou Chun (Berlin), Astrid Freyeisen (Wuerzburg) and Dr. Steve Hochstadt, a historian at present working on an oral history of European refugees in Shanghai.

"Rabin Remembered" Photo Exhibition in Shanghai

By Deng Xinyu

At the time of the first anniversary of Yitzhak Rabin's assassination, "Rabin Remembered" photo exhibition was held in Shanghai, jointly sponsored by the Center of Jewish Studies Shanghai (CJSS) and the Israeli Consulate General at Shanghai. Prof. Pan Guang, Dean of CJSS, presided over the opening ceremony. The Vice-Mayor of Shanghai and the Israeli Consul General at Shanghai were present and spoke at the ceremony. Thousands and thousands of Shanghai people visited the exhibition. They were moved by Rabin's lifetime and glorious deeds. One young man said: "Rabin was a soldier (see p. 8), but he realized peace. Herein lies the greatness of a politician." Prof. Pan Guang, who had met Rabin several times, firmly believed that the Middle East Peace Process is irreversible and the peace cause for which Rabin fought in his life will eventually be fulfilled.

Lecture by Rabbi Adin Steinsaltz in CJSS

By Deng Xinyu

World-renowned Talmudic expert Rabbi Adin Steinsaltz recently visited the Center of Jewish Studies Shanghai (CJSS) and de-

livered a lecture, "The Relationship between Knowledge and Deed in the Jewish and Chinese Philosophies." More than fifty Chinese scholars attended the lecture and joined a very interesting discussion with Rabbi Steinsaltz.

The Governor of the Oxford University, Dr. Felix Posen, accompanied Rabbi Steinsaltz to visit CJSS. The Dean of CJSS, Prof. Pan Guang, presided over the lecture.

Dr. Zorach Warhaftig Returns to Shanghai

By Deng Xinyu

After 56 years, Dr. Zorach Warhaftig returned to Shanghai. In 1940, as the representative of the Jewish Agency, he worked successfully in Shanghai to rescue the Polish and Lithuanian Jewish refugees who remained stranded in Japan. Today, the Israeli Government plans to make a film of the life of this eminent person, who is among those who signed the Proclamation of the State of Israel. With a film production team starting from his birthplace Poland, he traveled through Lithuania and Russia and finally to Shanghai before going on to Japan and the United States.

Exile Shanghai

By Clive Freeman
British Journalist, Berlin

The world premiere at the Berlin International Film Festival of *Exile Shanghai* by German director Ulrike Ottinger, aroused much interest at the recent movie jamboree in the German capital. The marathon, 230-minute-long production won high praise for its depiction of Shanghai's flamboyant, if odd-ball, colonial history earlier this century, and for bringing to life on the screen, via interviews and skillful photography, the pulsating port's extraordinary role as a haven for thousands of European Jews fleeing Nazi persecution from 1937 onwards. Ottinger, who has made a trio of films in China in the past decade, returned to Shanghai in the early 90's to shoot the movie, and capture fascinating film sequences in the city's bustling former Jewish quarters.

SJI Chairman Art Rosen to Lead China Tour April 21 - May 6, 1998

SJI Chairman Art Rosen, former President of the National Committee on US-China Relations and former US diplomat in Shanghai, will lead a special Jewish interest tour to China next Spring. A portion of the proceeds will be donated to the Sino-Judaic Institute, and all Institute members are cordially welcome to participate.

The 16-day tour will include stops in Beijing, Xi'an, Kaifeng, Shanghai and Hong Kong, and will feature special lectures by Mr. Rosen on current political and economic issues facing the People's Republic as it approaches the 21st century. Jewish architectural landmarks will be visited in Shanghai, and tour participants will have the opportunity to meet some of the Chinese Jewish descendants while in Kaifeng. A visit to the historic Ohel Rachel Synagogue in Hong Kong will also be made while exploring Hong Kong's Jewish history.

Anyone interested in the tour should contact Dr. Wendy Abraham at Jewish Historical Tours of China, P.O. Box 9480, Stanford, CA 94309. Phone: (415) 968-1927. E-mail: wabraham@leland.stanford.edu. Brochures will be available in late August.

JOIN THE SINO-JUDAIC INSTITUTE

The Sino-Judaic Institute is a non-denominational, non-profit, and non-political organization which was founded in 1985 by an international group of scholars and laypersons.

Membership in the Institute is open and we cordially invite you to join in supporting our endeavor.

Introducing Our New Board Members

Mark Cohen is a China specialist, with business interests in China, where he resides most of the time. He is an associate member of the US Commission for Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, a non-profit organization, principally concerned with preserving Jewish heritage sites.

Steve Hochstadt is Professor of Chinese history at Bates College, Lewiston, Maine. He has been researching the history of the Jewish community in Shanghai, about which he has published a number of articles and presented papers at seminars abroad. For the last seven years he has been working on the Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History Project, in order to preserve this history through the transcription of interviews carried out in the U.S., Austria, Germany and Israel, for the benefit of other scholars.

Elyse Beth Silverberg is co-founder and executive vice-president of US-China Industrial Exchange, Inc., Beijing and Bethesda, MD. After obtaining a degree in Chinese Studies at the State University of New York at Albany, Elyse attended the Beijing Language Institute (1979-80) and Peking University (1980-81). She has remained a resident of Beijing, and her son was recently bar mitzvahed there. She is the founding president of the Beijing Chapter of Hadassah, and the key organizer of the Jewish community in Beijing.

SJI MEMBER NEWS

SJI Chairman **Art Rosen** will be leading a special Jewish interest tour to China from April 21-May 6, 1998. The cost of the tour will include a tax-deductible contribution to the Sino-Judaic Institute. Information about this tour will be mailed soon to all members of SJI. Anyone wishing further information in the meantime contact Dr. Wendy Abraham at Jewish Historical Tours of China, (415) 968-1927.

SJI Founding President, **Leo Gabow**, was recently honored by the Palo Alto Jewish Community Center for a lifetime of service to the Jewish community. He continues his work organizing the upcoming SJI co-sponsored West Coast exhibit on the Jews of Kaifeng.

SJI Vice President, **Michael Pollak**, is currently editing his masterful work, *The Torah Scrolls of the Chinese Jews*, originally published in 1975 by Bridwell Library at Southern Methodist University, for the Internet, and anticipates a release by September 1997. Copies can then be downloaded by contacting Bridwell at: <http://www.smu.edu/~bridwell/>.

SJI Board member and *Points East* Publisher, **Rabbi Anson Laytner**, is presently creating a homepage and web site for the Sino-Judaic Institute. Any SJI members who wish to contribute their time, expertise or ideas to this endeavor should contact Anson as soon as possible. Without volunteers it will cost approximately \$2,000 to set up a website. All donations are appreciated.

SJI Board member, **Prof. Donald Daniel Leslie**, has begun work on a new book, *Islam in Traditional China: A Bibliography*. He will also be presenting a paper at the upcoming Monumenta Serica Conference in Germany this Fall on the Chinese Jews.

SJI Public Affairs person **Rena Krasno** has just published a children's book on the history, legends and festivals of the Philippines: "Kneeling Carabau and Dancing Giants," by Pacific View Press, Berkeley.

SJI member and scholar of Chinese literature, **Prof. Haun Saussy**, has recently been appointed Chairman of the Asian Languages Department at Stanford University. Congratulations!

Congratulations to new SJI members, **Freda and Evan Eisenberg**, on the recent adoption of their daughter, **Sara Xing Eisenberg**, from Wuhan, China.

New SJI member and Oberlin College student, **Joshua Singer**, has just completed a major research paper on the Chinese Jews of Kaifeng. His "Honors in Religion" project will examine the effects of the Kaifeng Jews on the international political and religious world, compared to their role in China.

SJI member **Andrew Nulman**, who regularly supplies *Points East* with news clippings downloaded from the Internet, has recently divulged that he has acted on Chinese television several times, including the historical mini-series "The Great Tempest of Shanghai" which aired nationally on CCTV. He will be spending the summer in Shanghai and plans to volunteer at the newly created, Joint Distribution Committee sponsored "Sunshine House" in the Hongkou District.

The Israeli Consul General, Zohar Raz, is convinced that Israel has only scratched the surface in terms of business potential. But the trend is changing. More and more Israeli companies are sending out permanent representatives, despite the horrendous overheads involved.

What the changeover will actually bring remains an enigma. There is no doubt that civil liberties will be curtailed, but as long as Hong Kong's real religion—money—is not affected, one can expect stability. As for the Jews? The community has little to fear that freedom of worship will be curtailed. "The Chinese respect the Jews for having done so well. Also, we are not a proselytizing religion and, therefore, pose no threat," says Michael Green, chairman of the board of trustees.

That opinion was shared by all spoken to, including many who have made their way to Hong Kong by fleeing change in other parts of the world. Wishful thinking? Perhaps. At the time of the Second World War, there were some 30,000 Jews in China. By 1976, only 30 remained. Let's hope that history is not about to be repeated.

SJI Website to be Created

Donations and Volunteers Sought

The Sino-Judaic Institute is planning to create a website on the Internet in order to reach a wider audience. Rabbi Anson Laytner is heading this endeavor, and is actively seeking volunteers to help set up a website. Anyone with expertise or ideas is invited to contact him at: (206) 322-9141 or via e-mail at: layt@seattleu.edu. Those wishing to make donations (the cost of the website is estimated at \$2,000) should contact him as well for further information.

Revealing the Holocaust

(continued from page 1)

turn to the significance of this shift in focus at a later stage in this essay. At this point it is important to note the limits on the ability of historical researchers to widen the social basis of Holocaust sources. It is doubtful that survivors represent a random sample of victims. Furthermore, those survivors who make themselves available for interviews do not necessarily represent all survivors. Barely any of those Shanghai refugees who write memoirs or do interviews come from the substantial minority who survived in China on the charity of Jewish welfare organizations, living in communal *Heime*, eating in mass soup kitchens.¹ Oral methods extend the reach of the historian much further down the ladder of social status, but some social groups may still escape our notice. Those who find their experience the most humiliating may avoid the interviewer.

Published Shanghai memoirs, while stressing the significance of the leave-taking in Europe, cannot match the power of speech in this description of how one nuclear family escaped after Kristallnacht:

... there are three tickets available, but of course they want extra money. So, as I said, at that time we still had some money, so my father paid it, and we got the passages to Shanghai. And we had to, whatever, I mean, the store was destroyed and whatever we had, our furniture, we had beautiful furniture, we had to sell it for next to nothing. And we were allowed anyhow to take ten marks out. That's all. Ten marks. And then we went to Shanghai. And we were the only ones from my family. All my other family, from my father's side, my mother's side, stayed there, and they are gone in the Holocaust. None of them got out. Not one. I'm the only survivor of my family.²

Virtually every Shanghai interview contains a section on the brutal treatment meted out to refugees by a Japanese administrator in the ghetto, Kanoh Ghoia. Ghoia had the authority to grant passes to refugees so they could leave the ghetto during the day to work. He was capricious, excitable, and occasionally brutal.³

But in order to get the passport, that was a different story. We had to apply for that passport, and the opportunity

to work outside of the ghetto, at an office, standing in line, queue-type, until it was our turn. And sometimes he would grant us the passport, and other times he would say, "Why do you want to work in Shanghai? You don't have to. You stay in Hongkew. Get job in Hongkew. Refused." And that was it. . . . And I was lucky, he just said that in a very firm, stern voice, very loud, very rude, but that was all. But in some other instances, with some of the men, he verbally, he really abused them. He hit them and beat them, it happened, too. Not too often, I believe, but at times.⁴

Herbert Moss, who was able to put his German training as an exterminator to good use in Shanghai, remembered this incident:

Mr. Ghoia called me to, I should come to him, he wants to see me. So I went there and there was another guy sitting and he came down the stairs at me and he started to cuss me in perfect English, he was educated in the United States. Cuss me out and then cussed me and cussed me and cussing, cussing, and stopped and then finally I said, "I don't know what you are talking about. I haven't the faintest idea what you're talking about." "You tell me something about teaching to play the violin." "I don't play the violin. I have never played the violin in my life. How can I teach someone how to play the violin?" "What's your name?" And I told him, he said, "Oh sorry, the other guy." [laughs]⁵

In these descriptions of Ghoia's extremes of behavior, typical of many others, anti-Semitism plays no role. Ghoia did not threaten the lives of Shanghai refugees, although his outrageous treatment of some Jews, especially those much taller than he, did make it much more difficult for them to scrape together a livelihood. What can be gleaned from Ghoia's ubiquitous appearance in spontaneous recollections and from the deep resentment that his name brings up, is that the face-slaps represented the brutal extreme in Japanese treatment of most Jewish refugees.⁶ Otto Schnepf analyzed the psychological wounds, which the Nazis opened and Ghoia perpetuated.

And then I had to go to that police station. You know, of course, I had, I'd been scared silly of this, of these Japanese, I must say. And I had to go there

to get issued a pass, and so forth, and it was always a very traumatic experience (unintelligible). And then that time I was very frightened, for once I was frightened (unintelligible). I don't think it's specifics. The important thing is when you face, I had had that, of course, in Vienna, and then again here. You see, when you face sort of a power, where you're completely powerless, you're completely in their hands, you know, that is something that goes very deep, and I have great trouble with that, just great trouble, accepting that. And so I, that's a lot, I have very deep impressions from that. Now, of course, one says that these things are so important, depending on what happened in my early childhood and so on, you know, who knows. But this is a big thing. And I felt that very, very strongly again there. At that time, already, of course, I was no longer a child, I was already, you know, reasonably grown up. And so I really felt very, very upset about that, very frightened also.⁷

These transplanted Europeans were able to preserve their sense of indignation at non-lethal physical violence throughout their Shanghai experience. That indignation is as much a fact of their historical experience as the physical incidents themselves.

Another facet of that experience mentioned in nearly every interview deepens this insight: the accidental bombing by American planes of some houses in the section of Shanghai where the Japanese military authorities ghettoized Jewish refugees between 1943 and 1945. Raids by American bombers on Japanese military targets in 1945 were welcomed by European Jews in Shanghai as a signal that the war was nearly over. But on July 17, 1945, bombs fell into the ghetto, killing about thirty refugees and hundreds of Chinese.⁸ Fifty years later Shanghai survivors invariably recall this incident, even when they were not physically present at the site.⁹ Walter Schnell was describing the kitchen at one of the communal *Heime* in Shanghai when suddenly the deep memory of the bombing broke in:

I mean, they didn't eat, they didn't eat there. And they came there and also, they had also in the same place service on Saturday, but what happened one day was a terrible air, air, air raid. As a matter of fact, every day we got the alarm at, at nine o'clock in the morn-

manuscripts at Dunhuang and in the Taklamakan desert.⁹ They have been dated to the 8th century. More recently, Lin Meicun¹⁰ has examined a Nestorian Christian manuscript from Dunhuang, dated to 641, which contains certain references to the "shihu" people, identified as Jews. The Russian archaeologist Tolstov, in his discussion of Khorezm, quotes a passage by the Arab historian al-Tabāri stating that invading Moslems in Khorezm (c. 710) found the "learned men" of the area to be Jewish rabbis! Finally, the Arab traveler ibn-al-Muhā'il (c. 943), describing Xinjiang of N.W. China, mentions Jews living along his route.¹¹

The oral traditions of the Kaifeng Jewish community support the idea that they arrived in China over the Silk Road. However, it should be recognized, from Ibn Khurdādhbih's account, that the Rādhānites circulated within Islamic territory along land and sea routes used by Moslem merchants, probably to distribute goods obtained from outside Islam. The sea route to China, used by the Arab traders, was also used by them.

The Rādhānite traders, who established the beginnings of the Jewish Diaspora in China appear, in retrospect, as one of three major cross-cultural trading groups in early medieval times, the others being the Sogdians and the Scandinavians. As such, their economic significance was considerable, and they may well have helped to provide the impetus to transform Islamic Jewry into a society of traders and artisans. Of course, this economic activity was not peculiar to the Rādhānite trade with China, and it is likely that this only accounted for a small fraction of their total trade volume. In one respect, though, the China component of the Rādhānite trading network was unique, namely, in its role as a transmitter of Chinese technology to Europe. Whereas Chinese technology transmitted to the Islamic world had to filter past the barriers created by Christian-Moslem hostility before it reached Europe, the Rādhānites provided a direct path to Europe for Chinese innovations, bypassing the Islamic world. A detailed discussion of these transmissions of technology is given elsewhere,¹² but the major items transmitted seem to be these: (1) the blast furnace for iron-smelting, with some knowledge of steel manufacture; (2) the crossbow and the collar harness for horses; (3) the compass and related navigational and cartographic techniques. It is possible, but uncertain, that the true gun may have

been transmitted in this way.

This unique characteristic of the incipient Chinese Jewish Diaspora would seem to be its really significant contribution to the economic and cultural development of medieval Eurasia. The contrast with later periods of Chinese isolation, from the 15th century onward, when the Kaifeng community had become an interesting historical curiosity, is remarkable. In present-day China, with its "open-door" economic policies, some features of the medieval trading relations, modified to suit modern conditions, seem to be reappearing.¹³

[This is a condensed and updated version of a paper published in *Sino-Judaica* 1, pp 1-25 (1991).]

I should like to thank Professors Al Dien, Gong Fangzhen, and Donald Leslie for providing some essential reference material and for helpful criticism.

¹ Ibn Khurdādhbih, "Kitāb al-Masālik w'al mamālik." Translation and commentary in M. Gil, below: *The "four routes" of the Rādhānites, except the fourth, are the standard Mediterranean routes of Islamic traders, except that they originate in Christian areas. They then go overland to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf to connect with the sea route to India and beyond, and overland through Iran to India. The fourth route "round Rome" through Khazaria is only vaguely described, since it lay outside Islamic territory. Its continuation from Iran is through Balkh to the Pamirs and Xinjiang. The products traded (furs, swords) are Rus' and Scandinavian, spices (Chinese), silk (Chinese, perhaps Byzantine "from the West"), slaves (Rus', French). All imports into the Islamic world, paid for by silver coins!*

² Gil, Moshe, "The Rādhānite Merchants and the Land of Rādhān," in *Journal of Economic, and Social History of the Orient* 17 (3), 1976, p. 299.

³ On Khazaria, see Dunlop, D. N. *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton, 1954; N. Golb and O. Pritsak *Khazaian Hebrew documents of the 10th Century*, Cornell, 1982.

⁴ Goitein, S. D. *Jews and Arabs, Schocken*, 1954. On p. 107 is a note on the Rādhānite, pointing out that no direct reference has been found in the Cairo Geniza documents. This is at least consistent with an Eastern Islamic-centered activity.

⁵ Xia Nai: "A Byzantine Gold Coin Discovered in a Sui Dynasty Tomb near Xian." *Kaogu Xuebao* 3, p. 67 (1959). Later work reviewed in Su Bai "Zhongguo jingnei faxian di Dong Luoma Yiwu," *Zhongguo dabaikue chuanshu'-Kaogujuan*, pp. 676-77: *Beijing* 1986. These Byzantine coin finds do not, of themselves, prove that Jews were the

transmitters.

⁶ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed C. de Boor (*heipzig* 1883), p. 357, under year 817 C.E., refers to "Jews living Fhanagoria," The Kerch-Taman area.

⁷ *Earlier Russian archaeological work in Khorezm is described by S.P. Tolstov Po sledam drvnei Khorezmiskoi tsivilizatsii in Academy of Sciences: Moscow, 1948. A recent review of work in Kazakhstan is by K. M. Baibakov "The Great Silk Way: Studies in Kazakhstan" Archeological Studies: No. 16, p. 89. Academy of Sciences: St. Petersburg. 1994.*

⁸ On the Kaifeng Jews, see Mandarins, Jews and Missionaries by M. Pollak, *Jewish Publication Society*, 1983. The most recent English work, gives references to earlier works by Leslie, White and others. Jews in Old China edited by Sidney Shapiro, *Hippocrene Books*, 1984, contains abridged translations of the Chinese works by Chen Yuan and Pan Guangdan on this topic. A popular account of the oral traditions of the Kaifeng Jews appears in Xu Xin's *Legends of the Chinese Jews of Kaifeng*, KTAU, 1995.

⁹ Sir Marc Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 306. This discovery and Pelliot's are discussed by Michael Pollak, above.

¹⁰ Lin Meicun: *Survey of Jews Immigrating into China*, Wenwu 6, pp. 74-80 (1991). A translation by Prof. Al Dien, will be published in a forthcoming issue of *Sino-Judaica*.

¹¹ Ibn-al-Muhā'il's report is translated in G. Ferrand, *Relations des Voyages a l'Extrême-Orient du 8-18 siècles*, Paris 1913, pp. 217-218.

¹² See my paper in *Sino-Judaica* (1991) where references are given to several works by Joseph Needham and his collaborators, also papers by R. F. Tylecote and D. B. Wagner on the transmission of the blast furnace from China to Scandinavia in the 8th century in a *symposium Medieval Iron in Society*, Norberg, 1985. Did this give rise to the Rādhānite trade in swords?

¹³ These include such things as the now-complete Beijing-Istanbul railroad link and Israeli technology transfer to China. The Hong Kong Jewish community, with its mainly transient makeup, may be considered the modern "Rādhānite trading station."

Dr. Morris Starkman

We are saddened by the death of our member, Dr. Morris Starkman. We would like to express our sympathy to his wife, Mrs. Betty Provizer Starkman, and thank her for her kind contribution to our Institute in his name.

Broadway toward the Garden Bridge and often completely alone. One day as I was near the Garden Bridge, suddenly I stood in front of my mother, and I tried to say something to her, and she did not react, and then I tried it again with her, she was very well dressed, and I don't know, if I looked too dirty to her or why, but anyway she did not react at all, and just ignored me completely and went on, and that hit me very, very hard, and from then on I really noticed that I was growing up without a mother, and I internally completely distanced myself from this woman, who had brought me into the world, I was truly angry at this woman, to whom I wasn't even worth a nod."

²³ Thompson, *Voice of the Past*, p. 8, stresses that the forced interaction with people, rather than with documents, can change and humanize the historian.

Radanites, Chinese Jews, and the Silk Road of the Steppes

(continued from page 1)

tends to fade when the background of commercial activity in this period is considered. The largest city, and greatest commercial center, in Christendom, and indeed the whole Mediterranean world, was Constantinople. Direct trade between Christian Byzantium and the Islamic world was small, but indirect trade must have flourished, using the route across the Black Sea, up the Don to the Volga, then down the Volga and across the Caspian to northern Iran. This route is described by Ibn Khurdādhbih as the one "round Rome" (i.e., the East Roman Empire).

At this time the areas of the North Caucasus, the Don-Volga region, the Crimea and much of the Ukraine were controlled by the Khazar Khanate. Its rulers, and part of its population, were Jewish³, and, through the river route up the Volga, it was in touch with Scandinavia, another center of trading activity at the time. Through contacts with Khazaria, the Rādhānites were able to control the trade from Islamic areas, across Khazaria, to Byzantium and Scandinavia. In my opinion, this provided the foundation for the growth of the trading network described by Ibn Khurdādhbih.

The background of this picture is provided by the evolution of the Islamic Jews into a society of traders and artisans, as pointed out by Goitien⁴ and others. These traders were afforded a unique opportunity by the prevailing Christian-Moslem hostility, which prevented Arab traders from enter-

ing Christian territory. The existence of Khazaria, a Jewish-ruled "buffer state" between Byzantium and Islam, helped expand these opportunities by providing contacts with Scandinavia, and, as will be seen below, with a branch of the Silk Road traversing modern Kazakhstan.

Through Byzantium, which then controlled South Italy, the Rādhānites could have been in contact with Jews in this area (Gil's "land of the Franks") trading with Moslem North Africa. They may have opened the overland route from Khazaria to Central Europe used by Hasdai ibn Shaprut's emissaries traveled from Spain to Khazaria in the 10th century. Thus they could have contacted, and perhaps collaborated with, other Jews trading between Islam and Christendom in the Mediterranean. This would account for the curious statement by Ibn Khurdādhbih about the linguistic abilities of the Rādhānites. He credits them with speaking six languages, an unlikely feat, for Jews of that time generally spoke Hebrew and the language of the country where they lived. The Rādhānites, dealing through Khazaria with Byzantines and Rus', may well have spoken Greek and Slavic, besides the Arabic and Persian of their Islamic base. But Spanish and the "language of the Franks" are more likely spoken by Jewish traders in the Western Mediterranean trading with Italy and France. It should be noted that the volume of trade in the Western Mediterranean was much less than that on the Eastern trade routes, for Latin Europe was at a low point economically, relative to Byzantium, Islam, and Scandinavia. To Ibn Khurdādhbih, then, the Jewish Western Mediterranean traders may well have appeared to be a subsidiary of the Rādhānites, they also being Jewish. At any rate, in the text they are lumped together as one group. Immediately to the east of Khazaria lay Khorezm, and the route along the Syr Darya to the Tien Shan range; which was a branch of the Silk Road. It is described by Russian archaeologists as the steppe route, for obvious geographical reasons. Its significance now merits a detailed discussion.

2. The Silk Road of the Steppes

Until 640, the East Roman Empire had access, through Egypt, to the Indian ocean and the sea route to India and beyond. The Islamic conquest of the Eastern Mediterranean cut off this access, providing a strong motive for Byzantium to look for an alternative route to the Orient.

Such a route provided by the westward advance of the Turks, reaching the Black Sea at the Taman Peninsula by 576. In 568, Byzantium had already sent a diplomatic mission to the Turkish headquarters in Eastern Kazakhstan. The motive here was not commercial, but to enlist the Turks as allies against the Persians. The development of a commercial route from Byzantium to China seems to have occurred quickly, for the Sui dynasty official history notes the development of such a route. Also, a number of archaeological finds of Byzantine coins have been reported by Chinese archaeologists, confirming this statement.⁵

The operation of this route might be expected to be in the hands of Sogdian traders, who were the dominant commercial group in Central Asia at this time. But, on the western portions of the route, at any rate, Jewish traders, perhaps initially from the existing Jewish communities in the Crimea and the Taman, seem to have predominated,⁶ and they, as suggested by Ibn Khurdādhbih, extended their activity all the way to the Uyghurs (Toghozghurs) and China. Archaeological evidence supports this.⁷

The path of the "Steppe Silk Road" across Kazakhstan into Eastern Europe has been traced by Russian archaeologists. Their work has shown that, from the 6th century on, the northern route through the Ili Valley or the Alatau Pass become more important than the older route over the Pamirs, and that it was used continuously up to the early Ming period.

Like the Christian-Moslem hostility in the West, Byzantium's need for a route to the Orient, outside Islamic control, provided another singular opportunity for the Rādhānite traders of the time.

3. The Chinese Diaspora and Trade

It seems reasonable to state that the autochthonous Jewish communities of China (and India) are outcroppings of the Jewish groups of the Eastern Islamic world, founded through trade and left isolated by subsequent events. Rather than trace their history, something already done quite thoroughly by others,⁸ we shall examine the trading connections responsible for their existence, and the influence of this trade on the outside world.

Early in this century, Aurel Stein and Paul Pelliot found Judeo-Persian and Hebrew

ing. They came, they bombed, they bombed Shanghai, the Americans. But what happened one day, they made a mistake and they bombed the ghetto. And that was the worst, the worst thing. I think it was June 14, 19—, when was this, -45, -44, and lots people got killed, many people got killed, they came to the kitchen, picked the food on the way to, from the kitchen to home. So that was the worst, worst thing what happened. Besides of it, it was not only Jews, a lot of Chinese also. They, and I just happened to be there. They didn't, they didn't bomb the, the kitchen wasn't bombed, but the people who was on the street, on the Broadway. And I was afraid that where I lived, you know, that, that this place, you know, where I had all my things, but they didn't, didn't bomb that place where I lived in the camp. So anyway, that was the worst thing what happened, many, many people also from the leaders of the community got killed. That was the, the blackest day in, in there.¹⁰

Schnell emphatically wants us to know that nothing he experienced could compare with this tragedy. Martin Beutler, eight years old at the time, defines this moment by noting that he and the children he knew were unusually frightened. He describes his shock at witnessing the Japanese beheading on the spot of two Chinese who tried to steal valuables from the corpses of bombing victims.¹¹ The impact of these sudden deaths reverberates through the intervening decades, becoming a talisman of unexpected mortality.

More than any other event, the bombing defines the physical limits of horror for Shanghai Jews, the conquering of survival by death. For the historian of the Holocaust, the discovery of this limit for the Shanghai experience serves to define the enormous gulf between Europe and Shanghai. The sudden death of thirty Jews in Shanghai in 1945 was shocking and unique; European survivors were surrounded by mass death. Judith Isaacson's description of her arrival in Auschwitz in an interview serves to demonstrate the distinction in experience.

On arrival, I noted that they threw down the dead right by the railroad tracks. We jumped off the train, but the dead were thrown by the railroad tracks. But they also took some of the old people and the sick and the one person in our wagon who went crazy

during that trip, they threw them with the dead in the path. I escaped my family for just a minute, because I had seen this, to see what was going on. And I saw this huge pile, as tall as this room, of dead and dying and sick and crazy. And I recognized my former professor of French and German literature there, who went crazy . . .¹²

We cannot recover Isaacson's immediate reaction to this nightmarish scene, for by the time she relates it many years later, she had been forced into deeper circles of the Auschwitz hell. She reserves her emotional emphasis for even crueler moments. Thus the flat affect in her description of piled up bodies contrasts with the regret in the voice of Walter Schnell. Fifty years later these reactions in the interview setting speak to us of different worlds of historical experience.

I do not intend to minimize the persecution directed only at Jewish refugees by the Japanese authorities. Forced ghettoization increased the death rate due to malnutrition and disease, and deprived Jews of their livelihoods and freedom of movement for two years.¹³ Coming on the heels of six years of brutal and deadly treatment by the Nazis before their successful escape, Japanese policy toward European refugees prolonged their feelings of homelessness and insecurity about survival to the end of the war. Yet the great majority did survive under a harsh military occupation, which displayed virtually no hostility to Jewish people as individuals or to Jewish religious practices. Ghoya, the most hated man in the ghetto, had the job of giving passes to Jews to leave the ghetto on a daily basis. He visited Jewish homes and schools, threatened people with his displeasure, and patted children on the head. He appeared at religious services, as did other Japanese officials.¹⁴

Much is made of the comparison of official German and Italian treatments of Jews, as well as the different popular attitudes and behaviors toward Jews.¹⁵ This is an important juxtaposition of two very different forms of fascism and anti-Semitism. It is instructive to include the Japanese in this comparison, as the third ally. Despite the existence of pockets of anti-Semitism in the government, the Japanese refused to submit to insistent German demands that they attack the Jews under their control.¹⁶ In view of Goldhagen's stress and consequently the renewed controversy over the nature of German popular anti-Semitism and its effects on the fate of the Jews, the

descriptions of precisely what the Japanese did do and therefore what they did not do take on significance. For Americans and historians of America, the comparison of state treatment and popular ideology as revealed in the Japanese ghettoization of European Jews and American incarceration of Japanese-American citizens is also instructive.

Listening to Otto Schnepf tell of the moment of farewell in Vienna offers, in turn, insight into the constructed significance of the moment of emigration. The emotional charge of the deaths of those left behind cannot be placed at the real time of their murder. Nor is there an appropriate moment of discovery, as the extent of genocide in Europe was gradually understood by emigrants at the end of and after the war. For the Shanghai survivor, the greatest personal tragedy occurred far away; the moment of farewell has become the signifier of this pain.

The significance of this moment is usually overlooked by treatments of the Jewish experience under the Nazis. Most European Jews, except for those who were murdered in their own villages, became refugees. For those who fled Europe, and even for many who stayed and survived, one of the most wrenching moments of this process was being torn away from home, out of the extended Jewish family. Although interviews repeatedly reveal the shock of the always too sudden destruction of home life, narrative accounts of the emigration process tend to treat this as simply a stage in a seamless continuum. Listening more closely to emigrants themselves, and not only to their words, might enable us to delve more deeply into the crucial moments of their shared experience.

Contrary to the fears of those who worry that too many survivors' accounts will produce a Holocaust history of the heroic few, careful listening to interviews reveals survivors unwilling to distinguish themselves from those who were killed.¹⁷ The stress on luck as the major factor in survival is well-known in camp survivors' stories. Emigrants take a similar stance when asked why they chose to go when others stayed behind. Rather than emphasize their good judgment or farsightedness, and thus the failings of those who did not leave, they explain the manifold reasons why thoughtful Jews might stay, even after Kristallnacht. Otto Schnepf's aunt was quite ill, so his uncle, his mother's brother, did not want

to leave; his grandmother stayed to be with her son. This concern for family members is typical of other stories, such as this from Melitta Colland:

My mother was the brightest woman you ever want to know in that respect, really. Because she already, long before Hitler came to Austria, kept saying, "I want you kids out of here. I want you kids out of here." And nobody could really understand how a mother could push her son to go into Panama, because in those days, from Vienna into Panama, or Vienna into China, was like sending your own children into Siberia. You know? It was unheard of. And her friends used to say, "How can you, how can you even think of sending your son to China? How can you even think to send him into the tropics, into Panama?" She said, "I don't care. Anywhere else but here." And we really owed her an awful lot in that respect.¹⁸

Just as the prescience of Colland's mother saved her children, the desire of others to protect their families ruled Shanghai out as a place of escape.

Many Jews believed that Nazi anti-Semitism was an aberration among the majority of decent Germans. This faith in the humanistic attachments of a well-educated, civilized European nation may seem blinkered in hindsight, but at the time Jewish faith in the German people was part of German Jewry's fundamental patriotism. Many older Jews, especially those who had served in World War I, continued to feel that their country could protect them, even if the government would not. Ralph Hirsch, the child of an educated Berlin family, explains:

I think for a long time until then, my parents and their circle thought that probably, either Hitler was sort of a temporary phenomenon or that the good Germans would put a stop to this kind of, this very sort of excesses. And when it seemed that that was a completely wrong hope, and they suffered these, vicariously mostly, these, these blows, because in a sense in my immediate family we were not affected, but we were affected through what had happened to other members of the family and various friends and colleagues. There was a lot of discussion.¹⁹

These discussions about emigration referred to by Hirsch are not yet part of our

histories, and can only be recovered in interviews.

By 1938 the alternatives to staying in Europe were not attractive. The favored destinations of emigration in North America, England, or Palestine were closed off to all but the wealthiest or the best connected. Rejection of emigration could be also a form of self-protection.

And my mother wasn't sure. No, she did not want to [go to Shanghai]. She, she had hardly any command of the English language. She didn't know what would lie ahead of us, for us in a strange orient-, oriental country, of which we didn't know anything about, whose language we didn't know, and the cultures and the, he whole customs, and everything sounded, not Chinese but very Greek to her, you know, as you way. And no, she, oh, tears were spilled, and please, I don't want to go, you go and leave me here, and that would of course be horrible. No, we would not hear of it. And then I had a chance to go to England, to London, with a children's transport, which would mean I would be separated from my parents. Again, they did not want that. We stay together.²⁰

Most maligned by the metaphor of sheep are those thousands of Jews who tried desperately to get out but could not. Holocaust histories tend to assume that only the successful tried to leave. Many Jews were able to get to Shanghai, the least desirable destination, only because their families had sufficient money to pay exorbitant round-trip fares, as well as bribes, to get ship tickets. The poorest Jews, the least educated, with no relatives in New York or London, were silenced by the Holocaust and then criticized for their inability to control their fate. We can hear the echoes of their actions and responses, not those of sheep, but of thinking human beings, only if we listen closely to survivors' testimony.

I remember standing on my feet for hours, in long queues, in long lines, trying to get up to the door, where you were either let in or told that "No visas, no more visas", and everybody turned around after six hours of standing there, cold weather, was still in the wintertime in February, and going home and trying another consulate the next day. Or all of a sudden, a rumor spread that the Cuban, somebody just

came from the Cuban consulate, they were all pretty much in the same area, it was consulate row, the Cuban consulate said that they were issuing visas, so in five minutes this row had dissipated at the Dominican and everybody ran over to the Cuban, and then found out that that was a bunch of you-know-what and so it didn't work out all that well. And after doing this for months on end, my mother and father had friends, obviously, who were doing the same thing, someone called my mother and said, you know, we're getting tired of this whole thing here and we seem to be going nowhere. There is one place we can go, we just found out, if you want to go to China, say where the hell's Shanghai, where's Shanghai? Well, the other end of the world, terrible conditions, I mean, disease and vermin and, well my God, should we take, well, long and short of it was that there was no other choice. We couldn't get to America, we couldn't get to England, we couldn't go anywhere. So my mother, I guess in desperation, said, okay, fine, we'll go to Shanghai, what the heck.²¹

Oral testimony recaptures the agonizing efforts to emigrate of those who succeeded and of the many who failed. The history of Jewish response to the Holocaust from the inside will be a different history than the conventional narratives we have accepted.

One more quotation can illustrate a final point about the need to embrace the subjectivities, not only of our interview partners, but also of our relationships with them, in order to do Holocaust history. Martin Beutler's parents separated soon after arrival in Shanghai. He pulls a childhood experience on the streets of the city out of deep memory:

. . . als Kind war ich eben viel mir selber ubelassen, vor allem dann in der Zeit als ich mit meinem dann Vater zusammengelebt habe in der Chusan Road, bin ich viel unterwegs gewesen in der Stadt, viel spazieren gewesen, alles angeguckt, immer den Broadway hochRichtung Garden Bridge und oft auch ganz alleine. Denn als ich eines Tages unerwegs war in der Nahe der Garden Bridge, stand ich vor meiner Mutter, und ich habe sie ansprechen wollen, und sie hat nicht reagiert und dann hab ich es also noch einmal ihr versucht, sie sah sehr gut gekleidet aus, und ich weil nicht, ob ich ihr zu schmutzig ausgesehen hab oder

warum, jedenfalls hat sie überhaupt nicht reagiert und mich praktisch, wie man, man umgangssprachlich sagt, links liegen lassen, also überhaupt nicht, weitergegangen, und das hat mich sehr, sehr betroffen und von da an hab ich eigentlich gemerkt, dal ich ohne Mutter aufwache und habe mich von dieser Frau, di mich zur Welt gebracht hat, innerlich vollkommen distanziert, war richtig bose, war auf diese Frau, die mich keines Blickes gewurdigt hatte.²²

Herr Beutler was about seven years old when this happened. This narrative, completely unedited, is quintessentially colloquial, umgangssprachlich, flowing over sentence breaks, action and description intermingled, with spontaneous but precisely calibrated emphases. It was not said merely in order to present a complete autobiography to the tape recorder, but also to explain himself to me, to bridge the human space between survivor and historian. Although we are only twelve years apart in age, Herr Beutler experienced a different planet in those twelve years. The experiential gap between us, while not as daunting as that between camp survivors and interviewers that Langer describes, is still too great to leap by force of will. It can be progressively narrowed only by the experience of the telling. Books are irreplaceable, but I believe that the interview is the most appropriate telling for closing that gap.²³ Only by meeting Herr Beutler, actually only by getting to know him for six months before our interview as a very controlled, precise, and formally correct man, could I be able to understand what he really means by "das hat mich sehr, sehr, betroffen", and "war richtig bose". The Holocaust interview has a wider purpose than to produce new evidence. It can also directly help historians to understand the meaning of all of our evidence.

¹ In the small world of Shanghai survivors, contacts between researchers and potential interview partners are typically made at the periodic reunions of the "China Hands." In my observation, those who suffered most in Shanghai, both in material and psychological terms, do not generally attend the reunions and are not as interested in discussing their years in Shanghai.

² Gerald Bigus interview, Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History project, Laguna Hills, California, June 9, 1990, p. 3. This excerpt can be compared to the same scene described in published memoirs: Ernest G. Heppner, Shanghai Refuge: A Memoir of the World War II Jewish

Ghetto (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), p. 30, and I. Betty Grebenschikoff, Once My Name was Sara (Venner, NJ: Original Seven Publishing Company, 1992), p. 39-40. Heppner's book is the best introduction to the entire subject of Jews in Shanghai.

³ Ghoya is described by Heppner, Shanghai Refuge, p. 114-115, and James R. Ross, Escape to Shanghai: A Jewish Community in China (New York: The Free Press, 1994), p. 205-207.

⁴ Martin and Susie Friedlander interview, p. 28. This is Susie Friedlander speaking. At this point Martin interrupted to offer his opinion that Ghoya was justified in being skeptical, since some refugees lied to him.

⁵ Herbert Moss interview, Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History Project, Sarasota, Florida, April 20, 1991.

⁶ In fact, there were some rare deaths of refugees due to the Japanese occupation. Several Polish Jews were deliberately jailed in disease-infested cells for disobeying the order to move into the Ghetto; they later died. Other instances of deadly Japanese brutality are described by Ross, Escape to Shanghai, p. 184-193.

⁷ Schnepf interview, p. 28.

⁸ It would be quite difficult to reconstruct this incident accurately from oral testimony. The number of Jewish deaths attributed to the bombing varies from interview to interview. The mixture of first-hand reporting and hearsay is impossible to disentangle, except with the most detailed and skeptical questioning. As Paul Thompson notes in Voice of the Past, p. 136, memories, and thus oral testimony, are most fallible on the specifics of the events, but best on questions of consciousness and atmosphere. In the case of the bombing, it is less useful to try to derive the specifics of the event from an interview than to probe the psychological reactions of refugees for clues about its meaning in their lives.

⁹ For example, in his interview Gerald Bigus recalled only two exact dates during his Shanghai years: his father's death and the American bombing. In the memoir of Grebenschikoff, the bombing is the only exact date provided: Once My Name Was Sara, p. 79.

¹⁰ Walter Schnell interview, Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History Project, Reseda, California, June 6, 1990. Schnell could not correctly recall the date.

¹¹ Martin Beutler interview, Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History Project, Berlin, June 29, 1995.

¹² Interview with Judith Magyar Isaacson, Holocaust Human Rights Center of Maine Oral History Project, Augusta, Maine, March 24, 1988, p. 34-35. Isaacson also depicts this scene

in Seed of Sarah: Memoirs of a Survivor (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990), p. 62-63.

¹³ The Japanese issued a proclamation on February 18, 1943, ordering all recent refugees (that is, Jews from Central Europe) to move into a one-mile-square section of Shanghai, named Hongkew, if they did not already reside there, with a deadline of three months. The Hongkew ghetto was liberated by the arrival of American forces in August, 1945. The text of the proclamation is reprinted in the standard history of the German-speaking exodus to Shanghai, David Kranzler, Japanese, Nazis and Jews: The Refugee Community of Shanghai, 1938-1945 (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV Publishing House, 1988), p. 489-490.

¹⁴ According to Henry Rossetty, a band leader in Shanghai, Ghoya took lessons from the violinist in his band: Rossetty interview, Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History Project, Laguna Hills, CA, June 8, 1990, p. 9. Ghoya invited another German musician to his home, sending a rickshaw to pick him up: Max Ackerman interview, Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History Project, Los Angeles, June 7, 1990.

¹⁵ See, for example, Susan Zuccotti, The Italians and the Holocaust: Persecution, Rescue and Survival (New York: Basic Books, 1987).

¹⁶ The best work on Japanese anti-Semitism, both inside and outside of the government, is David G. Goodman, Jews in the Japanese Mind: The History and Uses of a Cultural Stereotype (New York: Free Press, 1995).

¹⁷ It also reveals the humiliation of survival, which is a major theme of Langer's. He argues that survivors' testimony is one of the crucial correctives to the retrospective tendency to romanticize survival as heroism: see Holocaust Testimonies, especially ch. 5.

¹⁸ Melitta Colland interview, Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History Project, Portland, Maine, September 30, 1989, p. 4.

¹⁹ Ralph Hirsch interview, Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History Project, Shanghai, April 22, 1994.

²⁰ Martin and Susie Friedlander interview, Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History Project, Tamarac, Florida, February 21, 1990, p. 16.

²¹ Curt Pollack interview, Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History Project, Shanghai, April 22, 1989, p. 2.

²² Martin Beutler interview. Beutler says: "As a child I was often left on my own, especially then when I lived with my father in Chusan Road, I often hung around in the city, wandering around, looking at everything, always along