

**JEWISH REFUGEES
IN SHANGHAI 1933–1947**

A Selection of Documents

Edited by Irene Eber

ARCHIVE OF JEWISH HISTORY AND CULTURE VOLUME 3



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Jewish Refugees in Shanghai 1933–1947
A Selection of Documents

by
Irene Eber

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This Book is Dedicated to my Beloved
Daniel, Brandon, and Tiffany

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Foreword

About twenty thousand Jewish refugees, mostly from Austria and Germany and later from Poland, reached Shanghai by the end of the 1930s and early 1940s. This refuge was available to them because unlike elsewhere there were no visa requirements at the port of entry. Shanghai's openness derived from the city's political status. Although under Chinese sovereignty until the summer of 1937 its port was an international treaty port until then administered by the treaty powers and Chinese. Other parts of Shanghai were divided among the treaty powers and there was also a Chinese area. The latter was conquered by the Japanese in 1937. However, since Japan was not at war with the Western powers, they did not conquer the port. Neither the Japanese nor the powers were controlling arrivals at the port. Therefore, any number of refugees could arrive in Shanghai without having to produce a visa, or even passport.

That the Jews were able to flee to Shanghai and there survive World War II despite considerable hardships and increasing harassment at the hands of the Japanese occupying power was due to a strange coincidence of global affairs: Despite the accord between the Axis powers – Germany, Italy, and Japan – the European and East Asian theaters of war remained essentially separate. While the Soviet Union was allied to Great Britain and the United States, it was not at war with Japan. In fact, the Soviet Union and Japan were bound by a so-called Neutrality Treaty in place since April 1941. This agreement held until August 8, 1945 – two days after the American nuclear strike on Hiroshima and one before that on Nagasaki. On that day, the Red Army finally confronted the Imperial Japanese Army in Manchuria. Up until then the two parties had been careful to stick to their arrangement, as neither wanted to become entangled in a two-front war.

That being said, a closer look shows that Japan and the Soviet Union had been involved in a military encounter immediately before the Second World War. From May to September 1939, a war raged in the Mongolian-Manchurian border region – downplayed as a “border incident” – from which the Soviet Union emerged victorious. The conflict had been simmering since Japan's occupation of Manchuria in 1931 and Tokyo's subsequent installation of the Manchukuo puppet regime.

When Nazi Germany signed the Molotov-Ribbentrop Non-Aggression Pact with the Soviet Union in August 1939 while the Soviet-Japanese war

was still ongoing, Japan viewed that surprising development with the utmost concern. And when German troops invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941 under “Operation Barbarossa,” the Japanese held back in the Far East.

The Japanese occupied Shanghai in 1937 in the course of their war with China. The territories under their control ran for the most part southwards along the coast. Following the fall of France in June 1940, Japanese troops permeated French Indochina, which was governed by Vichy loyalists. From there they invaded the British and Dutch possessions in Southeast Asia in December 1941, eventually leading to the fall of Fortress Singapore. The simultaneous attack on the American Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor was meant to provide cover for these operations. In Indochina itself, a previously established Franco-Japanese condominium prevailed until early 1945. The French Concession in Shanghai was controlled by Vichy as well.

The presence and survival in Shanghai of Jews from Austria, Germany, and Poland, as well as of Russian Jews who had lived there since the October Revolution, might seem negligible compared to the horrendous events that occurred during the war in Europe. However, their fate provides a perspective on the war that differs significantly from others. Jewish Shanghai demonstrates that World War II was a complex combination of events, mirroring a variety of entangled and disentangled configurations. Here, in Shanghai, Jews who escaped Nazi Germany found refuge in a location which came under the control of Japan – an Axis power.

While it is true that Japan committed monstrous war crimes of its own, it did not share the genocidal Nazis’ priorities or methods. The unique perspective of Shanghai, reflected in the experiences and observations of the Jews stranded there, helps refine historical judgment concerning the mass crimes both regimes committed.

The present edition, assembled by internationally renowned expert Professor Irene Eber, uses a variety and wealth of original documents to explore that very perspective. I am grateful to Professor Eber, as well as the volume’s executive editor, Dr. Frauke von Rohden, for the insight this collection provides.

Professor Dan Diner
Series Editor

Abbreviations

AD	Archives Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem
AO	Auslandsorganisation
AJJDC	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, New York
CAEJR	Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai
CAHJP	Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
CCR	Coordinating Committee for Refugees
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency, Washington
COMASSIS	Comissão Portuguesa de Assistência aos Judeus Refugiados em Portugal
CZA	Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem
DNB	Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, Frankfurt a.M./Leipzig
DÖW	Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes, Vienna
EJAS	European Jewish Artists Society
HCL	Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass.
HIAS	Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society
HUJI	Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel
IC	International Committee
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IKG	Israelitische Kultusgemeinde, Vienna
JDC	Joint Distribution Committee
JNUL	Jewish National University Library, Jerusalem
JRC	Jewish Recreation Club
LBI	Leo Baeck Institute, New York/London
LC	Library of Congress, Washington
NAC	National Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division, Toronto
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C.
NCDN	<i>North-China Daily News</i>
NLI	National Library of Israel, Jerusalem
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische deutsche Arbeiterpartei
OAV	Ostasiatischer Verein
OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht

ORT	Obshchestvo remeslennogo i zemledel'cheskogo truda sredi yevreev
PRO	Public Record Office (National Archives), Richmond/London
REC	Refugees Economic Corporation
RELICO	Relief Committee for the War-stricken Jewish Population
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt
SACRA	Shanghai Ashkenazi Collaborating Relief Association
SAJCA	Shanghai Ashkenazi Jewish Communal Association
SD	Sicherheitsdienst
SEPM	<i>Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury</i>
SMA	Shanghai Municipal Archive, Shanghai
SMC	Shanghai Municipal Council
SMP	Shanghai Municipal Police
THAZO	Theodor Herzl Allgemeine Zionistische Organisation
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington
YIVO	Archives of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York
YVA	Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem
ZOS	Zionist Organization of Shanghai

I. Introduction

General Introduction

Readers may ask, why read a documentary history? Its purpose is not to replace a narrative history in which the author interprets events and the participants' actions. The usefulness of this documentary compilation is primarily the presentation of a contemporary record. It provides glimpses of how participants and bystanders viewed a set of events beginning with the Jewish flight from Europe to Shanghai and ending with their departure after several years from the metropolis. It furthermore allows readers to see aspects of their reception by the powers in control of Shanghai at the time. Significantly, readers can also gain small insights into the confusion that overtook the refugees upon arrival, as well as the helplessness and frustration local power holders often expressed about the massive influx.

Various kinds of documents are included here. They consist of letters written from Shanghai, reports by officials at consulates and ministries on the spot, newspaper articles published at the time, memoirs, poems, and the like. The poetry, whether serious or flippant, is especially valuable. It contributes an emotional dimension generally and perforce lacking in reports and official letters. Finally, the selection of documents included here, chosen from something like two thousand documents in several languages, provides an opportunity to view a set of events from various perspectives. These are, to mention only a few, by leading members of the well established Jewish communities in Shanghai, the British in control of the International Settlement, Germans like Adolf Eichmann, men of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC),¹ and, of course, the newcomers. However, it is also important to understand more clearly what Shanghai was like and why it was to Shanghai that the Jews came and not to any other Chinese city.

1 The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC) is popularly referred to as the "Joint." The organization was established in 1914 in order to aid Jews that were affected by World War I, and has played a vital role ever since in Jewish life. Jews in many parts of the world have benefited from the Joint's aid and from its rescue and relief work. The American organization, which had its headquarters in New York, is abbreviated as both AJJDC and JDC, while its overseas branches are usually shortened to JDC. In this publication, the abbreviation JDC will follow the latter use, and AJJDC will be used only for the New York office.

Shanghai, the Context

Although the name Shanghai (“on the sea”) is mentioned as early as eight hundred years ago, the place did not become a walled town, that is a town of some importance, until centuries later. By the nineteenth century, Shanghai had evolved into a county seat, achieving some prominence due to its thriving cotton trade and lively junk (flat-bottomed Chinese ships) port.² Agents of the British East India Company did not fail to notice this and, following the Opium War (1839–1842) between the Chinese empire and Great Britain, Shanghai became a major treaty port.³ As such, it developed rapidly. Increasing numbers of foreign firms were established, the population grew by leaps and bounds, and ever larger numbers of foreign ships made port in Shanghai. Foreigners generally did not settle in walled Shanghai, but preferred living in the northern suburbs, which eventually became the International Settlement.⁴ The French Concession and Chinese areas similarly developed outside the walled town. The wall was demolished between 1912 and 1914, thus eliminating the division between within and without the walls.

The population influx was not composed only of foreigners, the Chinese population too increased rapidly. Chinese merchants from the adjoining provinces of Fujian and Guangdong came, as did simpler folk in search of

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- 2 George B. Cressey, *China's Geographic Foundations. A Survey of the Land and Its People*, New York/London 1934, 301; cf. also Hanchao Lu, *Beyond the Neon Lights. Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, Berkeley Calif./London 1999, 26.
 - 3 From the end of the Opium War, European colonial powers and the United States forced the weak East Asian empires to open their ports to foreign trade; Shanghai became a British treaty port in 1842. The following is largely based on Irene Eber, *Wartime Shanghai and the Jewish Refugees from Central Europe. Survival, Co-Existence, and Identity in a Multi-Ethnic City*, Berlin/Boston Mass. 2012, 7–21.
 - 4 The Shanghai International Settlement was established in 1863 when the British and American concessions merged. The Chinese had already handed their formal sovereignty over the concessions to the foreign powers in 1854, leading the British, American, and French to create the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC) as their administrative body. From 1862 on, however, the French Concession acted independently on behalf of its own interests. The Anglo-American domination of the SMC ended in December 1941 when Japanese forces occupied the International Settlement. In February 1943, British and the American authorities returned the International Settlement to the Chinese Nationalist Government – admittedly only on paper, as they were not in control of the area. The Japanese responded by mandating the SMC to the City Government of Shanghai, which was dominated by the pro-Japanese Wang Jingwei administration, in July, 1943. In 1945 the International Settlement was dissolved.

livelihood. The Taiping rebellion, which engulfed much of China's southern countryside between 1850 and 1864, swelled the population still further. Many came to reside not only in the Chinese areas, but in the International Settlement and the French Concession as well. According to Hanchao Lu, "[b]y the end of the Taiping rebellion well over 110,000 Chinese had moved into the foreign settlements."⁵

Shanghai thus grew and developed as a city consisting largely of newcomers, Westerners, and Chinese. Both were attracted to Shanghai by the opportunities to earn a living. For Chinese, however, there was an added attraction: the law and order that prevailed in the foreign enclaves. Shanghai was not a colony in the sense that large areas of Asia had become Western colonies. To be sure, Westerners occupied privileged positions, but Chinese entrepreneurship too could succeed. More than merely a flourishing city, Shanghai in time became an international metropolis, with a Chinese middle and even capitalist class.

Yet – and the significance of this must not be forgotten – Shanghai did not develop as a unified urban complex. It became a collection of interlocking, fragmented, and interrelated areas, each with its own administration. In the International Settlement the governing body was the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC), which was composed of British, American, Chinese, and Japanese officials. The SMC was responsible to the Consular Body, who in turn was responsible to each respective government. The French Concession in turn was governed by the French Consul-General. The Chinese Municipal Administration, set up only in 1927, was the third governing body in charge of the Chinese areas of Wusong, Jiangwan, Nandao, Pudong, and Zhabei. Each administration had its own police force, which occasionally cooperated with the others.

As a rapidly growing international metropolis, Shanghai had all the appearances of a Westernized city. Gas lighting, telephones, electricity, and running water appeared in the last decade of the nineteenth century, and tramways were introduced in 1908. But beneath the modernity the Chinese population led a generally traditional way of life. Being newcomers for the greater part, native place identities persisted. Familial relationships continued to be elsewhere.

If in the nineteenth century manufacturing and commerce were the dominant characteristics of Shanghai, this changed considerably in the 1920s and 1930s when the metropolis became also a cultural center. Intellectuals and writers flocked to Shanghai as existence became ever more precarious in the north of China. Institutions of higher education proliferated until there

5 Hanchao Lu, *Beyond the Neon Lights*, 36.

were twenty five universities, compared with Beijing's seventeen. Publishing of newspapers, journals, and books increased spectacularly, as did publishing houses like the Commercial Press. Numerous movie houses opened their doors where Chinese audiences could see the latest products of the Chinese film industry. Some forty movie theaters were in the Chinese areas alone. Nor was there a scarcity of Western films, or the latest motion pictures from Hollywood's film studios.

Shanghai's entertainment industry was a sign of its modernity, consisting of amusement centers, cabarets, dance halls, night clubs, and houses of ill repute. These establishments provided employment as well as opportunities for both Chinese and Westerners to make social and political contacts both within their groups and with each other.⁶

Amid prosperity and growth the ominous signs of lurking dangers were seemingly ignored. There was the Japanese occupation of China's three northeastern provinces, Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang (Manchuria) in 1931, and the establishment of a puppet government in Manchuria. Manchuria might have seemed a long way from Shanghai in 1931, but only some months later Japanese and Chinese armed forces clashed in Shanghai, leading to considerable destruction and casualties. Finally, in July 1937, the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, the so-called Undeclared War, first in the north, then spreading to Shanghai and its environs, brought calamity close to home. Although Shanghai's foreign enclaves were spared, the devastation in Zhabei and Hongkou was considerable. Countless numbers of Shanghai inhabitants were made homeless during the fighting and, in addition, the city was inundated by refugees from the countryside.

As a result of the war the Japanese now occupied all Chinese areas of Shanghai, although not the International Settlement or the French Concession. Officials and armed forces of the Nationalist (Guomindang) Government withdrew from Shanghai. This, in turn, led to the cessation of passport control at the port of entry. Foreigners and travelers of all kinds could thus arrive without showing passports, visas, or any kinds of documents. The foreign powers could have taken over control of passports, but then, they knew, the same right would have to be extended to the Japanese. And this they did not want.

The context of Shanghai has been discussed in some detail for the purpose of showing why it was Shanghai to which the refugees travelled, having acquired the reputation for easy landings. Its port facilities had developed together with its extensive commerce and these were especially suitable for

6 An excellent overview is provided by Andrew D. Field, *Shanghai's Dancing World. Cabaret Culture and Urban Politics, 1919–1954*, Hong Kong 2010.

ocean-going vessels. Similarly significant is the fact that when the refugees began arriving less than a year after the start of war they were confronted, on the one hand, by a city that had experienced the ravages of bombardment and the growth of an enormous Chinese refugee population. On the other, they found themselves in a modern city that had remained vibrant, a modern metropolis despite war. Neither like a Western city, nor like (an imagined) Chinese city, Shanghai was interesting as well as appealing, different yet also familiar.

The kind of city Shanghai was should be considered at least a factor in encouraging the refugees' creativity, as revealed in the documents in chapters six and seven. To be sure, some money, even if a pittance, could be earned by writing or acting. Still, the creative impulse would have lain fallow had there not been a readership and audience, and especially the need for cultural expression. We must, however, not forget that many, if not the majority of the refugees, were despondent or had lost all hope.

Shanghai's Jewish Communities

It was fortunate for the refugees that Shanghai had two well established Jewish communities who were able to assist the newcomers in their first efforts to settle. The refugees, especially in 1939 arrived for the greater part penniless with few possessions and much in need of help. The first community that had gradually constituted itself in the nineteenth century was that of the Baghdadi, or Iraqi, Jews, who had arrived mostly from India as merchants together with the British in the newly opened treaty ports.⁷ On the basis of their thriving business firms in Mumbai (Bombay), they established lucrative branches in Shanghai. Such prosperous families as the Sassoons, Kadoories, and Harpoons also generously contributed to Chinese causes and somewhat eased the extreme hardship of the newcomers. The Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai (CAEJR)⁸ was established as a result of a Baghdadi initiative. The Baghdadis had settled for the most part in the International Settlement. The Judeo-Arabic tongue which most of them spoke was rapidly replaced by English and, despite being clearly Jewish, they were generally accepted by the British community.

7 For an excellent account of the Baghdadis, cf. Maisie J. Meyer, *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Whangpoo. A Century of Sephardi Jewish Life in Shanghai*, Lanham Md. 2003.

8 For the CAEJR, see ch. 1, n. 5.

In contrast to the Baghdadis who numbered around one thousand persons, the Russian Jewish community was much larger, consisting of somewhere around seven thousand souls. Most of them had arrived after the October Revolution of 1917, although some had come as early as the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, having been drafted into the Russian army against their will. They had decided not to return to their country to which they felt no allegiance. Even if many Russian Jews became fairly well-to-do merchants in Shanghai, the affluence generally of the community did not compare with that of the Baghdadis. Moreover, they largely continued to be Russian speakers and did not integrate into the foreign community. Unlike the Baghdadis, many became domiciled in the French Concession.

The Russian Jews too created their communal institutions. Although they participated to some extent in relief work, they did not found a separate organization for that purpose. Generally speaking, relationships between Russian Jews and Baghdadis were cool, as they would be also with the German and Austrian newcomers. All this changed when after December 1941 full fledged war engulfed Asia and the Russian Jews became responsible for the German Jews.⁹ Nonetheless, it was fortuitous that organized Jewish communities existed in the metropolis, allowing newcomers to turn to them as needed.

By 1941 there were in Shanghai in effect five Jewish communities: the Baghdadis, Russians, and the three recent ones consisting of German and Austrian Jews – the majority arriving by ship in 1939 – and Polish Jews who were sent to Shanghai via Japan in 1941. Differences between German and Austrian Jews must be clearly understood. Although both were German speakers, German and Austrian expressions often differed. This, however, was a minor problem. Far more important was the fact that in Germany the process of persecution was more gradual, beginning with Hitler's ascent to power in 1933. This does not mean that the German persecution was easier to accept. Its only advantage compared with Austria in 1938, where persecution began immediately following the German "Anschluss," was that it was more gradual, leading to a false sense of security.

9 Japan was not at war with Soviet Russia until August 9, 1945, and the Russian Jews, unlike stateless Jews, did not undergo ghettoization. Relationships between German and Russian Jews became more strained after the Japanese created the SACRA (Shanghai Ashkenazi Collaborating [sometimes Communal] Relief Association) in 1943, which was in charge of the Jüdische Gemeinde.

The situation for Jews in Germany and Austria

In Germany, in 1933 and 1934, Jews were largely excluded from public and administrative life, causing many to lose their sources of income. This was followed in 1935 by the Nuremberg Laws. Persecution worsened in 1936 with the exclusion of Jews from the economy and the confiscation of assets and property. The aim was twofold: to finance German rearmament and to improve state capital by forcing Jewish emigration.¹⁰ Avraham Barkai writes that of 50,000 Jewish businesses, only 9000 remained in 1938.¹¹

But Jewish emigration was not a simple matter. At first, the Reich Deputation (Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland)¹² did not encourage emigration, and later preferred orderly emigration rather than precipitous flight. Emigration, moreover, was expensive. There were travel expenses and the German imposition of the flight tax (Reichsfluchtsteuer). However, after the “Kristallnacht” of November 9, 1938 German Jews could no longer remain where many had lived for generations and immediately made plans for emigration. Between November 1938 and September 1939, 115,000 Jews fled Germany,¹³ compared to over 20,000 earlier.

In Austria the situation was quite different, where the plunder of Jewish property began almost at once after the German armies marched into the country on March 12, 1938. Adolf Eichmann arrived four days later, on March 16, and immediately began organizing the systematic expropriation of Jewish property as well as the arrest of Jewish men, who then were sent to concentration camps.¹⁴ Their release was contingent on their families providing documentation that they would leave the country.

10 Peter Longerich, *Holocaust. The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews*, Oxford 2010, 52, 63, 67.

11 Avraham Barkai, *Der wirtschaftliche Existenzkampf der Juden im Dritten Reich, 1933–1938*, in: Arnold Paucker/Sylvia Gilchrist/Barbara Suchy (eds.), *Die Juden im Nationalsozialistischen Deutschland. The Jews in Nazi Germany, 1933–1938*, Tübingen 1986, 153–166, here 165.

12 The Reich Deputation was established in 1933. In 1939 the Reichsvereinigung (Reich Association of the Jews in Germany) was established. For a recent publication about the latter, cf. Beate Meyer, *Tödliche Gratwanderung. Die Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland zwischen Hoffnung, Zwang, Selbstbehauptung und Verstrickung (1939–1945)*, Göttingen 2011.

13 Konrad Kwiet, *To Leave or Not to Leave. The German Jews at the Crossroads*, in: Walter H. Pehle (ed.), *November 1938. From “Reichskristallnacht” to Genocide*, New York 1991, 140–146.

14 For an account of Eichmann’s activities in Vienna and the way he used the Kultusgemeinde for his purposes, cf. Doron Rabinovici, *Eichmann’s Jews. The Jewish Ad-*

The November pogrom in 1938 in Austria was if anything even more gruesome than in Germany. Not only did it consist of the excessive destruction of property, there was also much loss of life. Austrian Jews realized that they must leave by any means possible, and the sooner the better. At the time of the invasion there were approximately 180,000 Jews in all of Austria; by the end of 1938 this number had been reduced to 118,000, and by the end of July 1939, 72,000 Jews were left.¹⁵ The catastrophe that had overtaken Austria's Jews within something like one and one half years is obvious.

In contrast the Polish refugees suffered a rather different fate. Some of them, both secular and religious, fled from Poland as soon as the German armies arrived in September 1939 and went to neighboring Lithuania, which at the time was neutral. Although they had left their worldly goods behind, the friendly welcome they received from Lithuanian Jewry compensated, at least in part, for any hardships they had endured. Their hopes of having a safe sanctuary were soon dashed, however, when the Russian army occupied Lithuania. Fortunately, a friendly Dutch consul, Jan Zwartendijk, provided visas to Curaçao, a Dutch colonial possession, on the basis of which many were able to procure transit visas via Japan from Sugihara Chiune, the Japanese Vice-Consul in Kovno.¹⁶

Many Polish refugees were obviously quite charmed by Japan. As Lazar Kahan wrote in his diary on March 6, 1941, "At last I am in Japan, an interesting free country where we all ran to eagerly with so much hope."¹⁷ But as previously, their hopes of waiting out the war in Japan came to naught, and by mid-1941 they had been shipped off to Shanghai, where their reception was not wholeheartedly welcoming, as the documents in chapter three reveal. The stories of these three groups, German, Austrian, and Polish Jews, have been retold in considerable detail.¹⁸ The non-cohesiveness of Shanghai's Jewish

ministration of Holocaust Vienna, 1938–1945, Cambridge 2011.

15 These figures according to *ibid.*, 63.

16 Mordecai Paldiel, *Saving One's Own. Jewish Rescuers during the Holocaust*, Lincoln Neb. 2017, 78 f. About Sugihara, see ch. 3, n. 3.

17 Lazar Kahan, *Togbukh geshribn in Kobe*, 1941, Merts–Yuli [Diary written in Kobe, 1941, March–July]; handwritten fragment. I thank Rabbi Marvin Tokayer for making the diary available to me. About Kahan, see ch. 3, n. 2.

18 For an overview, cf. Marcia R. Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort. The Diaspora Communities of Shanghai*, Stanford Calif. 2001; Georg Armbrüster/Michael Kohlstruck/Sonja Mühlberger (eds.), *Exil Shanghai, 1938–1947. Jüdisches Leben in der Emigration*, Teetz 2000; Elisabeth Buxbaum, *Transit Shanghai. Ein Leben im Exil*, Vienna 2008; Steve Hochstadt, *Exodus to Shanghai. Stories of Escape from the Third Reich*, New York 2012; Eber, *Wartime*.

communities was due to several factors: differences in language and cultural background, as well as the greatly differing experiences that brought them to Shanghai. Each group, to be sure, lost its possessions and whatever assets they owned; there was, nonetheless, a difference between the Polish group's flight from the brutalized warfare of German troops and the German-Austrian Jews, who escaped deprivation of rights and increasing physical assault.

Continuing to identify with their co-sufferers rather than with the larger group of all Jewish refugees in Shanghai is not as surprising as it seems at first glance.

The Refugees' Achievements in Shanghai

Life in Shanghai was neither easy nor simple, and became even more difficult at the beginning of 1943 when all stateless Jews (German and Austrian) were forced to relocate to a small portion of Hongkou, the Designated Area. It was not like the kind of ghetto we know from Eastern Europe, but it was unbelievably crowded, and hunger and disease were rampant. The Shanghai Ashkenazi Collaborating Relief Association (SACRA), established by Russian Jews in spring 1943 with the objective of helping Jewish refugees – who were according to the Japanese not “enemy nationals” –, was made responsible by the Japanese for the stateless Jews. Considering the difficulties and hardships, it is most remarkable that some forms of cultural life continued. But cultural activities had begun earlier, in fact soon after the refugees' arrival. Here it is important to remember that not only writers, journalists, and actors were important, so were the readers of the papers in which writers wrote and the audiences who went to the theaters.

The exile press in German, as shown in chapter six, began almost at once after the first contingent of refugees came ashore in Shanghai. The newspapers were short-lived and nearly all ceased altogether after the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1942. But while they lasted they were an important part of refugee life.¹⁹ Besides newspapers, books by Jewish writers were being reprinted, many of these in Russian, due to the efforts of the journalist

19 A collection of Jewish exile newspapers and journals (*Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, *Shanghai Echo*, *8-Uhr Abendblatt*, *Shanghaier Morgenpost*, *Gelbe Post*, *S.Z. am Mittag*, *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, *Shanghai-Woche*) is accessible on the website of the LBI, <<https://archive.org/details/lbiperiodicals?&sort=-downloads&page=2>> (March 7, 2016). Most of these papers and a few additional ones can be found on the website of the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek <http://www.dnb.de/DE/DEA/Kataloge/Exilpresse/exilpresse_node.html> (March 7, 2016).

Yehoshua Rapoport.²⁰ In addition, Yiddish newspapers were also available.²¹ These were mostly in demand by Jews from Poland.

Especially impressive was the entertainment industry which existed in Shanghai both in German and in Yiddish, as is obvious in chapter seven. Theater performances might consist of no more than sketches, but there were also classical as well as modern dramas. Frequently these had to be written from memory in Shanghai. Hurried departures and limited baggage allowances prevented librettos from being brought along. There being no theaters, they were staged wherever possible in the refugee camps, schools, or movie houses. Yiddish plays were performed in the Shanghai Jewish Club.²²

Entertainment could be had also elsewhere. Gifted musicians gave piano performances in coffee houses or in roof gardens, where popular singers like Lily Flohr,²³ for example, also appeared. In the Hongkou area were several dozen coffee and cake shops, restaurants, and delicatessen stores. Many of these may have been short lived, but the fact was that the refugees tried to make a living every way possible. A considerable number of musicians had found refuge in Shanghai, and concert performances, though perhaps less frequent, could be heard occasionally. All this was much curtailed after most of the Jewish population was forced to move to Hongkou, but it did not cease altogether. However, whereas for the performers the loss of income was disastrous, for the audiences an important means of maintaining a semblance of cultural identity was curtailed. Even if they were not yet aware of it, for these middle class people a period of their lives was drawing to a close.

20 About Rapoport, see ch. 5, n. 110.

21 For Yiddish papers, see ch. 4, n. 13 and ch. 8, n. 48.

22 For the Shanghai Jewish Club, see ch. 3, n. 74.

23 About Flohr, see ch. 4, n. 64.

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Mendes-Flohr's unceasing interest in the progress of this project. Due to these good friends' constant concern with the project, this collection of documents finally sees completion.

Chronology¹

1933

- January 30 Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany.
- February 12 Founding of the Presidium of the Reichsvertretung der jüdischen Landesverbände Deutschlands.
- July 26 German Finance Ministry announces Reichsfluchtsteuer for Jews who emigrate.
- September 17 Founding of the new Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden as the central organization of all Jewish communities.
- November 7 First arrival of a group of German Jewish immigrants in Shanghai (a contingent of physicians).

1934

- February 5 Cancellation of examinations for Jewish medical and dental students.
- March 5 “Non-Aryans” forbidden to appear on the German stage by German law.
- May 17 “Non-Aryan” physicians and “Aryans” married to “non-Aryans” forbidden to practice in health funds by German law.
- June 30 Concentration camps established in 1933, henceforth under the jurisdiction of Heinrich Himmler.
Establishment of the Hilfsfond für deutsche Juden in Shanghai under Dr. Kurt Marx.

1 Until 1939 the chronology is largely based on Otto Dov Kulka (ed.), *Deutsches Judentum unter dem Nationalsozialismus*, vol. 1: *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden 1933–1939*, Tübingen 1997, 577–604.

1935

- September 15 Announcement of the Nuremberg Laws.
 September 22 Forced renaming from Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden to Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland.

1936

- March 7 German law abrogating Jews' right to vote in elections comes into force.
 November 25 Germany and Japan sign the Anti-Comintern Pact in Berlin.

1937

- July 7 Beginning of the Sino-Japanese War.
 August 13 Beginning of Japanese conquest of Shanghai.
 September 13 Himmler permits release of Jews from incarceration provided they show evidence of leaving Germany.
 December 13 Establishment of the Zentralstelle für die jüdische Auswanderung by the Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland.

1938

- March 12 German armies march into Austria.
 March 13 "Anschluss" annexing Austria to Germany.
 April 26 Law forcing Jews to submit statements of their capital assets exceeding 5000 RM comes into force.
 May 13 Law restricting the transference of personal capital upon emigration comes into force.
 June 13–18 Incarceration of Jews who had been previously imprisoned. 1500 Jewish men are imprisoned in concentration camps.
 July 6–15 Evian Conference.
 July 25 Law prohibiting Jewish doctors from treating "Aryans" comes into force.
 July 27 Forced reorganization of the Reichsvertretung into Reichsverband der Juden in Deutschland.

- August 8 Establishment of the International Committee for Granting Relief to European Refugees (IC) in Shanghai under Paul Komor. Also referred to as the Komor Committee.
- August 20 Establishment of the Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung in Vienna under Adolf Eichmann.
- September 27 Jewish attorneys are forbidden to practice in German courts by German law.
- September 28 Law that Jewish nurses may only be trained in Jewish institutions and that they are only allowed to care for Jewish patients comes into force.
- Autumn 1938 Beginning of mass arrival of Central European Jews in Shanghai overland and by sea.
- October 1–10 German troops occupy Czechoslovakia.
- October 14 Establishment of the Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai (CAEJR).
- October 28 15,000 to 17,000 Polish Jews are deported from Germany.
- November 7 Herschel Grynszpan assassinates Ernst Eduard vom Rath in Paris.
- November 9–11 “Kristallnacht” (November pogroms) in Germany and Austria.
- November 12 German Jews are charged compensation for the destruction during the “Kristallnacht” (November pogroms); Ordinance for the elimination of Jews from German economic life.
- December 12 According to Nazi law, Jewish emigrants are allowed to take only articles absolutely necessary for personal use.

1939

- January 7 According to Nazi law, Jewish dentists and pharmacists are only allowed to treat Jewish patients; Jewish veterinarians are only allowed to treat animals owned by Jews.
- January 24 Establishment of the Reichszentrale für jüdische Auswanderung under Reinhard Heydrich.
- February 17 Reichsvertretung announces its transformation into Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland (legally confirmed July 4, 1939).
- September 1 German armies invade Poland; beginning of World War II.

1940

June Italy enters war and joins Germany; end of Jewish escape via Italian sea ports.

1941

Summer Polish Jews arrive in Shanghai from Kobe, Japan.
December 8 The United States enter World War II after the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor.

1942

January 18 German, Italy and Japan sign a military agreement supplementing the Tripartite Pact of 1940.
September Organization of the Shanghai Foreign Pao Chia by the Japanese, a self-policing unit of the Jewish refugees.

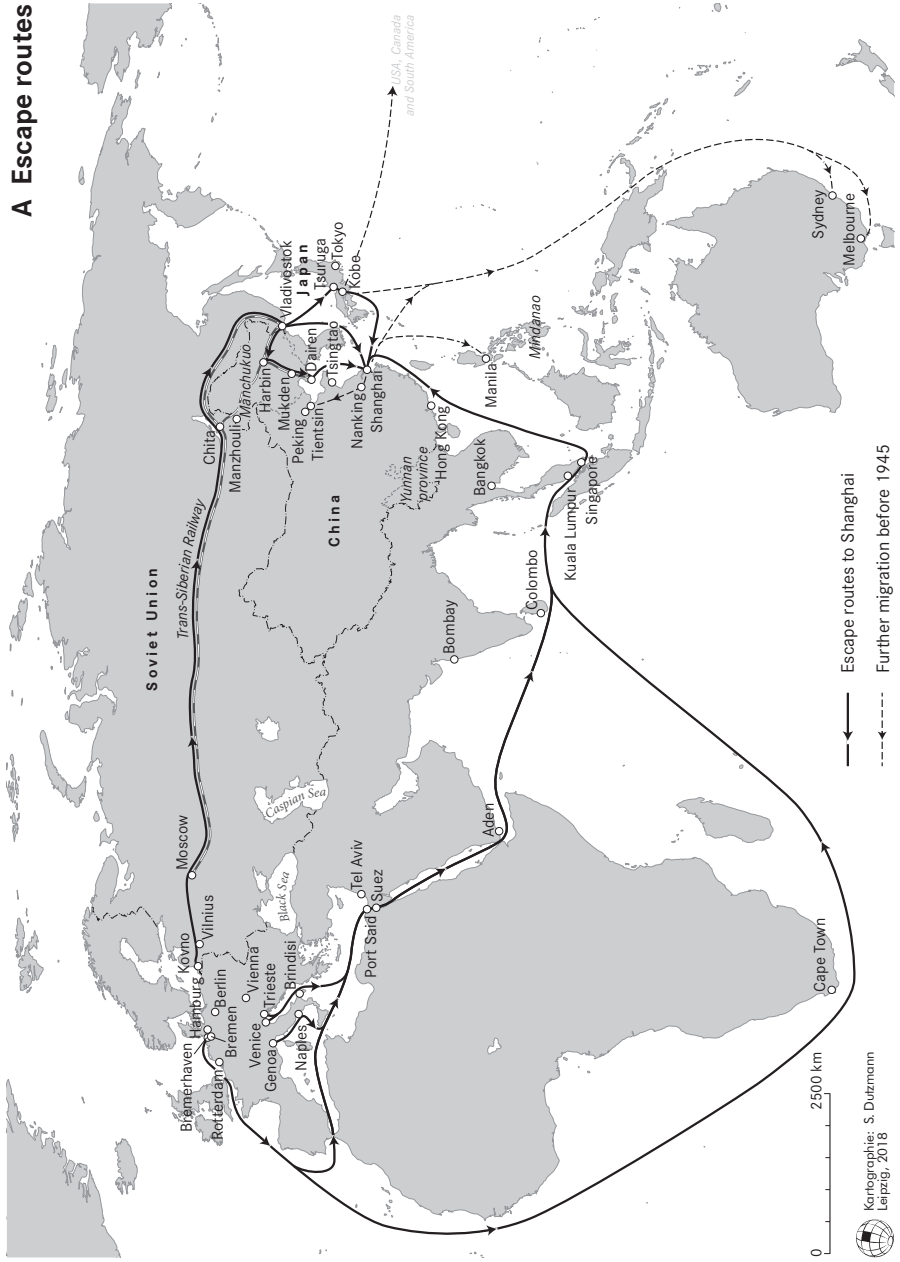
1943

February 18 Proclamation that stateless persons will have to move to a "Designated Area" of Shanghai.
February/
March Establishment of Shanghai Ashkenazi Collaborating Relief Association (SACRA) as the governing body of Jewish refugees.
Spring Incarceration of enemy passport holders.

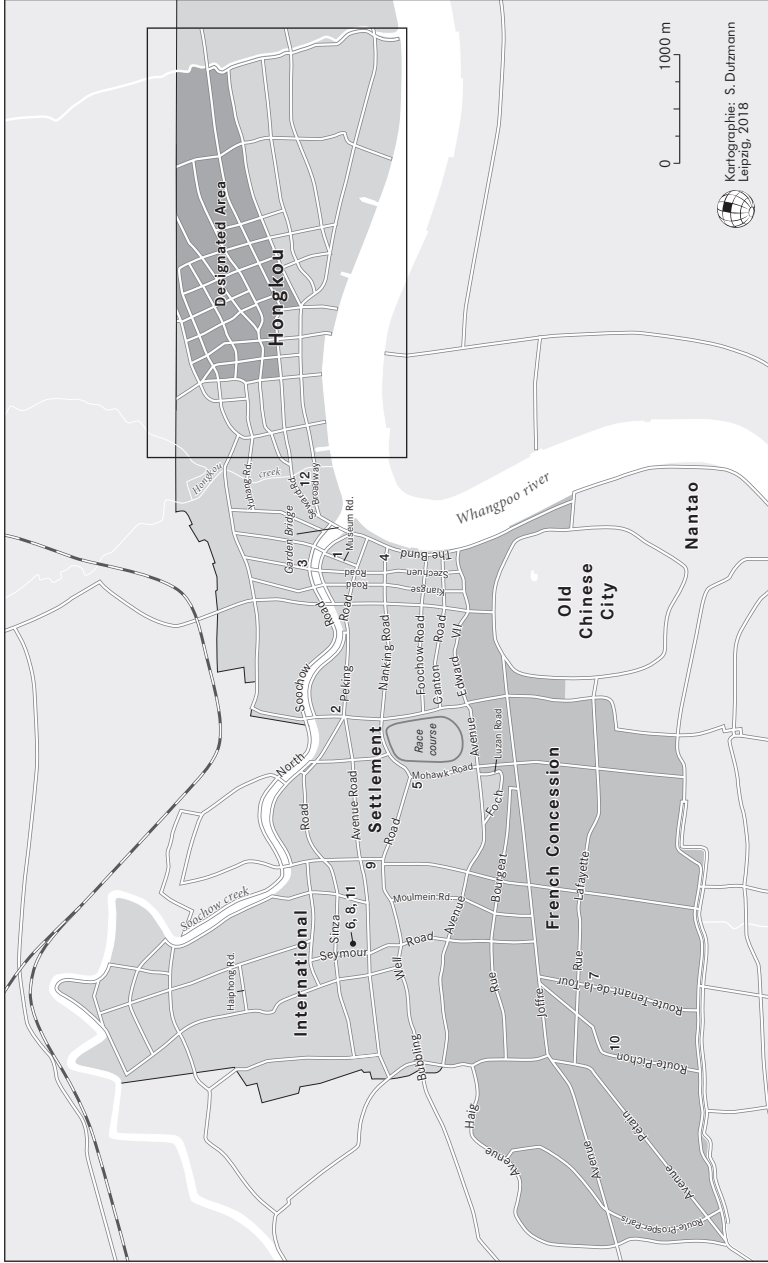
1945

April 12 Harry S. Truman succeeds the deceased President Roosevelt.
May 20 Japanese forces begin to withdraw from China.
July 17 American bombing of Hongkou.
August 23 The ban on Jews freely leaving the Designated Area is lifted.
August Japanese surrender in Shanghai.

Maps



B City of Shanghai



- 1 Beth Aharon Synagogue
- 2 Beth El Synagogue
- 3 CAEIR, Embankment Building
- 4 Cathay Hotel
- 5 Israel Cemetery
- 6 Jewish Club Ahduth
- 7 New Synagogue
- 8 Ohel Rachel Synagogue
- 9 Shanghai Jewish Club, 1942
- 10 Shanghai Jewish Hospital
- 11 Shanghai Jewish School
- 12 Shearith Israel Synagogue

C Designated Area



- 13 Alcock Road Camp
- 14 Baikal Road Cemetery
- 15 Chaoufoong Road Camp
- 16 Emigrants' Hospital
- 17 JDC office
- 18 Jüdische Gemeinde office, from 1943 on
- 19 Kinchow Road Camp
- 20 Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs
- 21 Ohel Moische Synagogue
- 22 ORT Center
- 23 Pingliang Road Camp
- 24 SACRA office
- 25 Seward Road Camp
- 26 SIYA School, from 1942 on
- 27 SIYA School, until 1942
- 28 Ward Road Camp
- 29 Wayside Road Camp

Kartographie: S. Dutzmann
Leipzig, 2018

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- 2 November 11, 1933: Report, F. A. Pitts (SMP); German Jews who recently arrived in Shanghai.
- 3 March 14, 1934: Report, M. Fischer (German Legation, Nanjing) to German Legation, Beijing; influx of Jewish physicians to China.
- 4 November 29, 1935: Letter, E. G. Price (Butterfield & Swire) to DALJEW-CIB; medical practice opportunities in Amoy.
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- 6 September 23, 1938: Letter, [Illegible] (IKG), to DALJEW-CIB; list of professionals available.
- 7 April (?) 1939: Memorandum, n. Peffer (Columbia University) to J. P. Chamberlain (Columbia University); poor prospects for the refugees due to the economic situation in China.
- 8 December 19, 1938: Letter, M. Birman (DALJEW-CIB) to Künstlerhilfe; emigration of musicians to Harbin.
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- 12 June 2, 1939: Letter, [Illegible] (SD) to SD-Hauptamt; sabotage of Jewish emigration.

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- 23 July 14, 1939: Note, Anonymous (SD); difficulties of Jewish emigration to Shanghai.
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- 31 August 1939: Statement, Refugee Admittance Committee; prohibition of entry of European refugees to foreign areas.
- 32 August 15, 1939: Article, Anonymous, Shanghai Municipal Council to Ban Jewish Refugees, *North-China Daily News*.
- 33 August 18, 1939: Letter, G. G. Phillips (SMC) to E. Hayim (CAEJR); limiting entry of refugees to Shanghai.
- 34 August 16, 1939: Letter, [Illegible] (Melchers & Co.) to G. G. Phillips (SMC); who is considered a refugee.
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- 38 July 10, 1940: Letter, E. T. Nash (SMC) to R. W. Yorke (SMP); who has authority to permit Jews to enter Shanghai.
- 39 June 28, 1940: Article, Anonymous, Entry of European Refugees, *Municipal Gazette*.
- 40 August 1979: Memoir, W. Deman, Ein Verlorenes Jahrzehnt. Shanghai, 1939–1949 (excerpts); account of his journey to Shanghai.
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- 44 March 30, 1939: Poem, E. Varro, Ja, das ist eben Shanghai, *Shanghai-Woche*.
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- 50 1948: Memoir, J. Rotenberg, *From Warsaw to Shanghai. Notes of a Refugee [Yiddish]* (excerpts); experiences in Kobe.
- 51 March 26, 1941: Letter, M. Speelman (CAEJR) to M. A. Leavitt (AJJDC); Polish refugees.
- 52 March 13, 1941: Report, F. A. Pitts (SMP); Jewish refugees arriving from Japan without permits.
- 53 March 31, 1941: Letter, L. Szczupakiewicz, Z. Warhaftig to M. Speelman (CAEJR); new EASTJEWCOM committee.
- 54 April 5, 1941: Letter, M. Speelman (CAEJR) to L. Szczupakiewicz, Z. Warhaftig; problems of Polish refugees.
- 55 April 5, 1941: Letter, M. Speelman (CAEJR) to M. Troper (JDC); problems of Polish refugees.
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- 58 July 14, 1941: Report, F. A. Pitts (SMP); Polish Jewish refugees.
- 59 August 12, 1941: Letter, Anonymous (Jewish Community of Kobe) to L. Margolis (JDC); Kobe refugees arriving in Shanghai.
- 60 September 4, 1941: Letter; E. Hayim (CAEJR) to G. G. Phillips (SMC); Japanese authorities do not permit Polish refugees to live in Hongkou.
- 61 September 6, 1941: Letter; Anonymous (EASTJEWCOM) to B. Topaz (SAJCA); EASTJEWCOM's cooperation with CAEJR in Shanghai.
- 62 September 10, 1941: Letter, L. Margolis (JDC) to R. Pilpel (AJJDC); difficulties of re-organizing the refugee aid.
- 63 October 2, 1941: Letter, A. Oppenheim (EASTJEWCOM) to M. Speelman (CAEJR); organization of EASTJEWCOM and its relation to CAEJR.
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- 148 April 17, 1942: Article, M. Lewkowitz, Bunter Abend im Seward Road Heim, *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*.
- 149 June 6, 1942: Article, W. Fischer, Raja Zomina, *Shanghai-Woche*.
- 150 October 16, 1942: Article, M. Flakser, The Jubilee Performance of D. Ma-bas [Yiddish], *Unzer lebn*.
- 151 October 30, 1942: Article, J. Rotenberg, About Yiddish Theater in Shanghai [Yiddish], *Unzer lebn*.
- 152 1942: Leaflet, Anonymous, Exhibition of Paintings by J. Fein.
- 153 May 5, 1943: Report, G. Schaie (SMP); about a lecture by Rabbi Sober on “Judaism of To-Day.”
- 154 May 7, 1943: Article, T., EJAS und wie weiter?, *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*.
- 155 November 26, 1943: Article, A. Kornik, “Pygmalion” by Bernard Shaw Staged by Fritz Melchior “Ensemble,” *Our Life*.
- 156 December 3, 1943: Article, Anonymous, Gala-Konzert der Foreign Pao Chia, *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*.
- 157 December 10, 1943: Article, A. G., Theatre in the Designated Area, *Nasha zhizn*.
- 158 December 14, 1943: Article, E. Felber, S.M.A. Orchesterkonzert, *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*.
- 159 January 7, 1944: Article, A. K., A Light Opera – The Bayadere, *Our Life*.
- 160 March 20, 1945: Article, M. K in., “Cavalleria Rusticana” at the Eastern Theatre, *Our Life*.
- 161 April 11, 1946: Article, E. Pollak, Die Masken fallen, *The Shanghai Herald*.
- 162 April 7, 1946: Article, L. Brieger, Emigration und kuenstlerische Produktivitaet, *The Shanghai Herald*.

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- 163 1963: Memoir, Th. Friedrichs, Geschichte unserer Auswanderung aus Deutschland (excerpts); events of July 17, 1945.
- 164 1949: Diary, R. Sh. Kahan, In Fire and Flames [Yiddish] (excerpts); events of July 17, 1945.
- 165 July 27, 1945: Article, E. Pollak, Der Herr hat gegeben, der Herr hat genommen ..., *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*.
- 166 September 12, 1945: Draft, H. Levin, Kriegsende im „Distrikt fuer staatenlose Fluechtlinge“ in Shanghai.
- 167 September 7, 1945: Article, Jocundus, How Refugees Took It. A Diary Record, *Our Life*.
- 168 August 3, 1945: Letter to the editor and poem, L. Markus, The Voice of Youth, *Our Life*.
- 169 August 22, 1945: Announcement; Anonymous, Notice; special passes for Designated Area no longer needed.
- 170 August 31, 1945: Article, P. Kohn, Und neues Leben blueht ..., *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*.
- 171 August 26, 1945: Letter, M. Siegel (JDC) to M. A. Leavitt (AJJDC); report on refugee life and the Jewish aid institutions mainly in 1944 and 1945.
- 172 September 21, 1945: Article, Anonymous (Executive Committee of Polish War Refugees in Shanghai), Polish Refugees Demand Punishment, *Our Life*.
- 173 December 28, 1945: Article, Anonymous, A Bolt out of the Blue, *Our Life*.
- 174 January 17, 1946: Article, Anonymous, Petition an das Ministerium des Aeusseren in China, *Shanghai Echo*.
- 175 March 1946: Article, Anonymous, Die Herren von der „S.A.C.R.A.,“ *The Shanghai Herald*.
- 176 January 10, 1946: Article, Anonymous, Kurzer Ueberblick ueber das Emigranten-Problem, *Shanghai Echo*.
- 177 March 1946: Article, A. Schwarz, Auch wir wollen leben, *The Shanghai Herald*.
- 178 April 1946: Article, B. B. Heinsius, Es gibt keine Rueckwanderung!, *The Shanghai Herald*.
- 179 May 31, 1946: Article, EST., Emigration in Process of Disbandment, *Our Life*.
- 180 February 5, 1946: Article, ARI, Weiterwanderungsfragen, *Shanghai Echo*.
- 181 March 12, 1946: Article, UP, Refugees keine Feinde, *The Shanghai Herald*.

- 182 October 31, 1947: Letter, W. Deman et al. to President H. S. Truman; request to re-integrate the Austrian and German quotas for U.S. immigration.
- 183 February 8, 1946: Article, Anonymous, Das erste Zertifikat fuer Shanghai, *Shanghai Echo*.
- 184 1947 (?): Poem, A. M. Maass, Gesang der 5000.

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List of Shanghai Street Names, Old and New

A International Settlement / French Concession

<i>Old</i>	<i>New</i>
Avenue Edward VII	Yanan Lu
Avenue Foch	Yan'an Lu
Avenue Haig	Huashan Lu
Avenue Joffre	Huaihai Lu
Avenue Pétain	Hengshan Lu
Avenue Road	Beijing Lu
Broadway	Daming Lu
Bubbling Well Road	Nanjing Lu
Foochow Road	Fuzhou Lu
Haiphong Road	Xinfeng Lu
Kiangse Road	Jiangxi Lu
Luzan Road	no longer exists
Mohawk Road	Huangpi Lu
Moulmein Road	Maoming Lu
Museum Road	Hu Qiu Lu
Nanking Road	Nanjing Lu
North Soochow Road	Souzhou Lu
Peking Road	Beijing Lu
Route Pichon	Fenyang Lu
Route Prosper Paris	Tianping Lu
Route Tenant de la Tour	Xiangyang Nan Lu
Rue Bourgeat	Changle Lu
Rue Lafayette	Fuxing Lu
Seward Road	Dongdaming Lu
Seymour Road	Shaanxi Bei Lu
Sinza Road	Xinzha Lu
Szechuen Road	Sichuan Lu
The Bund	Zhongshan Lu
Yuhang Road	Dong Yuhang Lu

*B Designated Area**Old*

Alcock Road
 Baikal Road
 Chaoufoong Road
 Chusan Road
 Dalny Road
 Dent Road
 East Seward Road
 East Yuhang Road
 Jansen Road
 Kinchow Road
 Kung Ping Road
 Kwenming Road
 Macgregor Road
 Muirhead Road
 Paoting Road
 Pingliang Road
 Point Road
 Tongshan Road
 Ward Road
 Wayside Road
 Whashing Road
 Yangtsepoo Road
 Yulin Road

New

Anguo Lu
 Huimin Lu
 Gaoyang Lu
 Zhoushan Lu
 Dalian Lu
 Dantu Lu
 Changzhi Lu
 Dong Yuhang Lu
 Jingxing Lu
 Jingzhou Lu
 Gongping Lu
 Kunming Lu
 Lintong Lu
 Heimen Lu
 Baoding Lu
 Pingliang Lu
 Zhoujiazui Lu
 Tongshan Lu
 Chang Yang Lu
 Huoshan Lu
 Xuchang Lu
 Yangshupu Lu
 Yulin Lu

Document Selection and their Rendition

The documents contained in this volume were selected in accordance with specific criteria. One priority was to present scholars and interested readers an overview of the availability of various archival and similar collections in Israel, Europe, and the United States in order to encourage further study and reading. An attempt was made to provide documents that deal broadly with Shanghai as a destination to which the Jews escaped from persecution after Hitler came to power. Of special significance are those documents that help readers and scholars understand the creation and development of cultural life in the metropolis. Since these refugees came from several distinct areas of Europe, the available documents are in several languages, including Russian, Yiddish, German, Chinese, and English. The documents are reprinted in this volume in their original languages, as well as in translation.

Finally, there are also documents included here that deal with the departure from Shanghai in 1945 after the end of WWII. Departing Shanghai was no simple matter. Many no longer had homes to return to, and many countries were still closed to refugees without means. The selection of documents is intended to cover the entire period, from the arrival of the refugees in Shanghai to the beginning of their departure. In the introductions and the annotations, the transliteration of Chinese terms and names is according to the pinyin system (the standard romanization of Chinese). The transliteration of Yiddish words follows the YIVO standard version. For Hebrew the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* rules were used, and for Russian the Library of Congress rules.

Whenever possible, biographical data of persons and institutions mentioned in the document are supplied. However, in some cases these data could not be ascertained with accuracy and had to be omitted.

In the documents, spelling, grammar, and transliterations of Chinese, Hebrew, and Yiddish names and terms are frequently unsystematic and incorrect, but these errors have been retained in the transcribed documents here. Missing or erroneous punctuation has been corrected tacitly.

Two sources have been extremely helpful for identifying persons mentioned in the documents: Tess Johnston (ed.), *Emigranten Addressbuch für Shanghai* [1939], repr. Hong Kong 1995; and a CD-Rom containing the names, ages, addresses, sometimes occupations, and countries of origin of about 14 800 Jewish refugees in Shanghai, registered, not without errors, by

the Japanese police (dated August 24, 1944). This CD-Rom is included in Georg Armbrüster, et.al. (eds.), *Exil Shanghai, 1938–1947. Jüdisches Leben in der Emigration*, Teetz 2000. The use of these sources is generally not indicated.

II. Documents

Transcription Conventions

Legibility:

#	Single illegible letter
###	Illegible word
ẋ	Doubtful reading
[?]	Doubtful reading of a word or number
< >	Rendition of square brackets in the original document
◇◇◇	Decorative element on printed letterhead

Pagination:

x	Page break with page number appearing in original document
[[x]]	Page break with page number added by editor to unpaginated original

Corrections and insertions:

<u>Underline</u>	Typewritten text underlined by typewriter
<u>Underline</u>	Typewritten or handwritten text underlined by hand
Erasure	Handwritten strikethrough
{Insertion}	Text inserted by hand (including handwritten signature)

Corrections of obvious typographical errors made by the document authors (by hand or typewritten) are not indicated. Obviously incorrect or missing punctuation has been corrected or added tacitly.

Chapter 1

Destination China: Opponents and Proponents

Introduction

Shortly after Hitler assumed power in 1933, Jewish professionals were increasingly excluded from German public life and the possibilities of earning a living. Therefore, they began to search for countries willing to accept them where they could continue to exercise their professions. China was one such destination. But as early as August 1933, some members of the German bureaucracy voiced apprehensions. Was it advisable to have Jews, dissatisfied because they were deprived of homeland and livelihood, in foreign parts where they would give the new Germany a bad name? Nor were authorities in Shanghai – the treaty port toward which early arrivals aimed – as welcoming as one might have hoped. The Shanghai Municipal Police (SMP) kept track of German Jewish arrivals,¹ and even Chinese physicians were apparently concerned in 1934 about the new competition in their field.

The announced policy of the German regime was to speed up Jewish emigration from Germany (forced emigration was instituted later), but Jews were not leaving in large enough numbers to suit the regime. One reason was that over the years increasing numbers of restrictions on transferring valuables and funds abroad were imposed on the Jews. To this were added ever growing taxes for leaving Germany. In addition to the flight tax (Reichsfluchtsteuer), a special emigration tax was added in 1938 to finance the emigration of Jews who no longer had assets.² Only in 1938, after the “Anschluss” of Austria in March and especially after the “Kristallnacht” (November pogroms) in 1938, was there a notable increase even if the German authorities claimed that the Jews were sabotaging emigration (see Document 11).³ By then the problem

1 A large number of clippings from the *North-China Daily News* (NCDN), *China Press*, and the *Shanghai Times* on the subject of Jews arriving in Shanghai attests to the fact that someone at the Shanghai Municipal Police (SMP) was keeping track of the newcomers; cf. NARA (SMP Investigation Files, 1894–1944, Records of the CIA), RG 263, reel 18, file D 5422 (c).

2 Longerich, *The Nazi Persecution*, 120. To be sure, some people devised ingenious stratagems to protect and move their hard-earned funds, and some actually succeeded.

3 According to Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, 28, n. 159, in 1938, 9787 Jews left Germany. This number increased to 26 124 in 1939.

of finding places of employment in China for professionals and artists had become urgent. Jewish organizations like the Central Information Bureau for Jewish War Sufferers in the Far East⁴ in Harbin, Heilongjiang province, were eager to extend a helping hand, as is evident, for example, in Documents 4 and 8. Meanwhile in Shanghai, the CAEJR had been established in 1938.⁵ Consisting of well-off businessmen, these men had little experience dealing with the practical aspects of philanthropic work. Nonetheless, their status within the foreign community and particularly their relationships with the dominant British segment in the SMC⁶ were significant. Still, as the number of arrivals increased, so grew the attempts to stop their continued unobstructed landing.

Due to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in July 1937, passport control at the port of entry, which had been exercised by officials of the Chinese Nationalist Government, ceased altogether. How to stop the influx of increasing numbers of refugees who were arriving without visas became a major concern especially of the British but also of the Japanese authorities. Anguished communications were sent abroad, and at least one Chinese expert warned against the unchecked immigration to China. Meanwhile the Jewish authorities in Berlin declared their helplessness to stop the exodus.

The so-called Permit System, instituted in Shanghai in October 1939 and revised in June 1940, tried to administer the uncontrolled influx of refugees. According to its regulations, the SMC issued Permits to potential immigrants on the basis of certain criteria. The permits were to be obtained through

4 The Central Information Bureau for Jewish War Sufferers in the Far East was founded in 1918 in order to care for Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe attempting to reach the United States or other countries via East Asia. The main office was established in 1923 in Harbin, with main branches in Yokohama and Vladivostok. The aid organization became generally known under the name of its cable address DALJEWICIB. The Harbin representative Meir Birman (see below, n. 79) moved to Shanghai in 1939, where he continued his work in close cooperation with the New York-based HIAS (Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society). This organization was experienced in aiding Jewish refugees who fled the pogroms in Eastern Europe.

5 The CAEJR (sometimes abbreviated CFA) was established under Shanghai Baghdadi leadership, its objective being charitable work for the refugees. Its Public Relations Committee was effective in establishing relations with political and Jewish relief institutions in Shanghai and abroad. The most prominent and actively engaged in its work until the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941 were Michel Speelman (see ch. 2, n. 94) and Ellis Hayim (see ch. 2, n. 18).

6 For the SMC, the governing body of the International Settlement, see the General Introduction, n. 4.

the CAEJR.⁷ What concerns us here are the futile attempts of the British in Shanghai and elsewhere to stop the influx at its source, even while the Japanese too were investing much effort to control the refugee flow.

It is not clear to what extent, if at all, the German authorities dealing with Jews were aware of these efforts. However, it is clear that the SD (Security Service), with Adolf Eichmann⁸ in charge of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration⁹ in Vienna (1938–1939) and subsequently as head of the Jewish section (Judenreferat) at the RSHA in Berlin, was determined to explore all possible avenues for sending Jews to China. Heinrich Schlie,¹⁰ head of the Hanseatisches Reisebureau in Vienna and Berlin, was the willing tool. Having chartered a ship, the *Usaramo* of the Deutsch-Ostafrika Linie, Schlie did manage to dispatch one shipload with either over 300 or over 400 passengers.¹¹ The ship arrived in Shanghai June 29, 1939. The *Usaramo*'s success

7 Many immigrants produced the required US\$ 400 per adult (US\$ 100 per child) to circumvent procedure and obtain the Permit. The revision of June 1940 stipulated that future immigrants needed to produce both the permit and the money; see also the introduction to chapter 2. For further information, cf. Eber, *Wartime*, 98–110.

8 Eichmann (1906–1962), after having started his Nazi career in 1932, became head of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna in 1938, and head of the Jewish Section at the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA) in 1939. In these positions, he was responsible for the deportation and the extermination of Jewry in much of Europe. After the war he went into hiding and fled to Argentina. He was found and brought to Israel in 1960, and after a widely publicized trial he was executed in 1962.

9 The Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung operated from August 1938 to March 1943 in Vienna. It was a department of the SS, headed by Adolf Eichmann until he was succeeded by Alois Brunner in October 1939. Its goal was to speed up the forced emigration of Austrian Jews. Until October 1941, the Central Office was authorized to issue official leave permits for Jews from Austria. However, it also organized and carried out deportations of Jews from Austria to Eastern Europe from October 1939 until the end of 1942.

10 Schlie (1879–?) was the owner of the travel office Hanseatisches Reisebüro in Berlin along with its Vienna branch. He actively pursued attempts to further Jewish emigration, and seems to have reaped ample profits doing so – he maintained a Swiss currency account, according to a list of Swiss bank accounts; cf. Anonymous, *Swiss Banks Commence Global Claims Process to Identify Owners of Dormant World War II-Era Accounts*, in: *Jerusalem Post*, July 25, 1997, 6 f. For some of Schlie's activities, cf. Theodor Venus/Alexandra-Eileen Wenck, *Die Entziehung jüdischen Vermögens im Rahmen der Aktion Gildemeester*, Vienna/Munich 2004, 49–57.

11 The *China Press* (June 28, 1939, 2) reported the arrival of 339 passengers on the *Usaramo*. An SMP report noted that 459 passengers would land, cf. *Police Reports on Ship Arrivals, January–July 1939*, NARA (SMP Investigation Files, 1894–1944; Records of the CIA), RG 263, reel 18, file D 5422 (c). According to Claus Rothke,

was to be followed up with more shiploads, but this unfortunately did not materialize. Ships had to be chartered with foreign currency, since German ships by that date used imported fuel that could not be paid for with German Reichsmark. Germany was not about to invest valuable foreign exchange on behalf of Jews.

The gravity of the situation and the impending threat to German Jewry were also completely misjudged by the AJJDC in New York. At an AJJDC meeting in October 1940 it was decided not to finance further travel on Japanese ships. The reason given was that Jews were better off in Germany than in Japan.¹² To be sure, as loyal Americans, any decisions they took had to consider American interests and political aims. Continuing to finance Jewish travel on Japanese ships at a time of increasing U. S.-Japanese tension leading eventually to full-scale war between the two countries was not exactly advantageous as far as American aims were concerned. Yet deciding not to finance further travel on Japanese ships in the fall of 1940 was another disastrous step.

By all accounts, the unchecked influx of mostly destitute refugees created enormous problems in Shanghai. The newcomers competed with old timers and also Chinese for jobs, cheap and affordable housing, and for provisions and commodities. Thus a number of suggestions for alternative destinations were put forward to ease the pressure on Shanghai. Among these, Manchukuo¹³ seemed often tempting in Europe, especially because it had an active Russian-Jewish community in Harbin.

However, of major interest is the hand of friendship extended by the Chinese Nationalist Government then in exile in Sichuan province. The Nationalist Government controlled both Sichuan and Yunnan provinces, the latter in China's sparsely populated southwest. Resettling refugees there, perhaps in and around the urban center of Kunming, may have seemed a good idea to the men in far-away Chongqing.¹⁴ But what motivated the government in exile to consider settling foreigners in Yunnan province? Was it humanitarian considerations? Or were there other, perhaps political and economic reasons? These questions are not easily answered, for Yunnan in the late thirties was

Deutsche Ozean-Passagierschiffe, 1919 bis 1985, Berlin 1987, 47, the *Usaramo* generally carried 250 passengers in all classes and 126 ship personnel.

12 Meeting of the Administration Committee of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, October 9, 1940, AJJDC Collection, RG 33-44, file 59.

13 For the fate of the three Manchurian provinces in the 1930s and 1940s, then called Manchukuo, see the General Introduction.

14 Chongqing, in Sichuan province, was the capital of the Chinese government in exile during the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945.

not strategically important and was remote from Sino-Japanese hostilities. On the other hand, historical precedents existed for settling border regions with non-Han (Chinese) peoples. The refugees were known to be educated and enterprising and might, so it was perhaps thought, introduce progress to an underdeveloped area.

It is not certain whether Jakob Berglas¹⁵ or the National government first conceived the idea,¹⁶ but it appears that officials in the AJJDC, when presented with it by Berglas, were singularly unenthusiastic. On the other hand, in China the widely publicized plan in the English language press was cautiously praised. Unfortunately, nothing came of it; although a few refugees were apparently able to settle in Kunming, Yunnan's capital,¹⁷ mass immigration never materialized.

15 Berlin-born Jakob (Jacob) Berglas (1884–1963) was a banker and textile industrialist, cf. Ernst Cramer, *The Berglas plan for Jewish settlement in China*, in: *LBI News* 62 (1995), 1–5. He visited China several times from the middle of the 1930s on before settling in Shanghai, where he became active in the Jewish community. For more details on his biography and on his work in the United States for the implementation of his settlement plan, cf. Eber, *Wartime*, 66 f.; 69 f.

16 We might note the dates of the documents concerning the Yunnan plan. The results of the government's deliberations were issued March 7, 1939. Those engaged in the discussions must have known of the plan before that date. Berglas introduced his plan several months later, on June 15, 1939.

17 Max Kanner and Michael Nothmann are known to have settled in Kunming, cf. a letter by M. Birman to HICEM, Marseille, August 1, 1941 (CAHJP, file DAL 99). The physician Dr. Viktor Karfunkel was also there for some time. For more information on the Karfunkels, cf. Eber, *Wartime*, 221–224.

Document 1

*Friedrich Wilhelm Mohr*¹⁸ to *Günther Altenburg*¹⁹

August 8, 1933

Typewritten letter (copy), 2 pages.

Microfilm, YVA, JM 11701

Ostasiatischer Verein Hamburg-Bremen E.V.²⁰

Hamburg 1, Alstertordamm 14/15 II.

den 8. August 1933,

An Herrn Legationsrat Dr. Altenburg

Auswärtiges Amt, Ostasienabteilung, Berlin.

Lieber Herr Dr. Altenburg!

Ich möchte Ihnen hiermit eine Sache unterbreiten, weil ich der Ansicht bin, dass man gegebenenfalls deutscherseits Schritte dagegen unternehmen sollte:

Der hiesige Professor Dr. Jacobsthal,²¹ ein Facharzt für Bakteriologie, ist wegen nichtarischer Abstammung abgebaut worden. Er wurde in diesen Tagen aufgesucht von einem Vertreter des Völkerbundes in Genf, einem Südsla-

18 Mohr (1881–1936) was a senior civil servant, and had worked from 1907 to 1914 as a German-Chinese translator in China. In 1922, he became general secretary of the “Ostasiatischer Verein” and editor of the *Ostasiatische Rundschau*; he campaigned for the development of the political, economical, and cultural ties between Germany and China; cf. Mechthild Leutner/Andreas Steen (eds.), *Deutsch-chinesische Beziehungen 1911–1927. Vom Kolonialismus zur „Gleichberechtigung“ – Eine Quellensammlung*, Berlin 2006.

19 Altenburg (1894–1984), a German diplomat, started working for the foreign office in 1920. In 1934, he became legation councilor in Vienna. From 1935, when he joined the NSDAP, he served in several positions in the Department of Foreign Affairs (Auswärtiges Amt) in Berlin. From 1941 to 1943, he was Reich plenipotentiary for Greece (Bevollmächtigter des Reiches für Griechenland).

20 The Ostasiatischer Verein Hamburg-Bremen (OAV) was founded in 1900 in order to promote German trade interests in East Asia; cf. Ostasiatischer Verein (ed.), *Ostasiatischer Verein Hamburg-Bremen. Zum 60-jährigen Bestehen*, 13. März 1900 – 13. März 1960, Hamburg 1960.

21 Erwin Jacobsthal (1897–1952) took over the Serological-Bacteriological Department of the Institute of Pathology at the St. Georg Hospital in Hamburg in 1912, and later taught at the medical school at the University of Hamburg. In 1934, he emigrated to Guatemala; cf. Matthias Andrae, *Die Vertreibung der jüdischen Ärzte des Allge-*

ven [sic], der im Auftrage des Völkerbundes für chinesische Universitäten in Nanking, Shanghai und Peking drei deutsche Professoren vorschlagen sollte. Wie ich von ihm des weiteren höre, hat dieser südslawische Vertreter in Berlin mit zwei anderen Professoren verhandelt, die ebenfalls Juden sind. Er soll überhaupt nur Verhandlungen mit jüdischen Ärzten [sic] geführt haben. Geboten wird eine freie Hin- und Rückreise, ferner ein Gehalt von 800 Dollar mex.²²

Bei allem Mitgefühl, das man bei einzelnen abgebauten jüdischen Professoren haben kann, scheint mir eine Auswahl nach diesen Gesichtspunkten doch äusserst bedenklich. Diese Professoren sollen ja schliesslich Deutschland [2] repräsentieren, ebenso wie es die Professoren anderer Länder tun, die nach draussen berufen werden. Da scheint es mir doch nicht gerade zweckmässig zu sein, dass nur abgebaute jüdische Professoren berufen werden, die sicherlich nicht als Freunde Deutschlands hinausgehen und die ja schliesslich auch nicht das neue Deutschland repräsentieren können. Diese Herren sollen bis zum 10. August ihre Bewerbungen in Genf einreichen. Von hier ist der Jude Slawe nach Dänemark abgereist. – Im Zusammenhang damit darf ich bemerken, dass ein hiesiger chinesischer Student, der bei dem abgebauten Professor Kaestner gelernt hat, diesem geraten hat, er sollte nach China gehen, dort würde man ihn sicherlich gern anstellen, ihm jedenfalls mit grösster Hochachtung begegnen.

Ich teile Ihnen dieses mit für den Fall, dass Sie in Genf Schritte unternehmen wollen, falls Sie meine Auffassung teilen, dass derartige, nur auf Juden beschränkte Berufungen nicht im deutschen Interesse liegen. – Abschrif[t]²³ dieses Briefes habe ich Herrn Dr. Linde²⁴ zugehen lassen.

Mit freundlichen Grüssen verbleibe ich

Ihr ergebenster

gez. Mohr

meinen Krankenhauses Hamburg St. Georg im Nationalsozialismus, Hamburg 2003, 40–45.

22 Mexican Dollar; currency increasingly used in China since the 1850s due to trade relations between China, California, and Mexico.

23 The word is at the end of the line, it is unclear whether it was forgotten, it faded, or it was cut off.

24 Max Linde (1881–1945) worked from 1902 as a translator in Qingdao. He took a position in 1920 as general secretary of the Verband für den Fernen Osten, and was editor of the *Ostasiatische Rundschau*, sometimes simultaneously with Mohr; cf. Leutner/Steen, *Deutsch-chinesische Beziehungen*, 45, 595.

Document 2

*Frederick Arthur Pitts*²⁵ (SMP)

November 11, 1933

Typewritten report, 5 pages; each page contains a stamp (“SECRET”) and a printed header, the subject and author were filled out by hand and typewriter on the first page (header reproduced only on page 1).

Microfilm; NARA (SMP Investigation Files, 1894–1944; Records of the CIA), RG 263, reel 17, file D 5422 (c)

File No.

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE

..... Station

REPORT *Date 19 ...*

Subject (in full) Germans of the Jewish faith who have recently arrived in Shanghai

Made by D. S. Pitts *Forwarded by* ... {D. B. Rû D. I.²⁶}

With reference to the endorsement of the Officer d/c Special Branch appearing on the attached translation from “Journal de Shanghai” dated November 7, 1933, I have to report that two batches of Germans of the Jewish faith have arrived in Shanghai recently. The majority of these persons are physicians or surgeons who have come here with the object of escaping from what they term the “harsh” regime at present existent in Germany, and to {###} set up practices in some of the larger towns in China. Without exception these gentlemen all appear to be fairly well off financially and some of them hope to commence business in the near future.

It has been learned that a further draft of German physicians of the Jewish faith contemplate proc[eed]ing²⁷ to China, but the local German Consu-

25 Pitts (1901–?) was a British production manager at a Shanghai baking plant. He served as Detective Sergeant (D. S.) at the Shanghai Municipal Police (SMP) until 1942; cf. Robert Bickers, *Empire Made Me. An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai*, New York 2003, 323; cf. also the list *Shanghai Municipal Policemen (c. 1854–1945)* by Robert Bickers, <<http://eis.bris.ac.uk/~hirab/smpmnp.html>> (January 14, 2016). The SMP was the official police force of the SMC.

26 Detective Inspector.

27 The page has a small hole; therefore here and in the following word (“authorities”), some letters are missing.

late-General a[ut]horities have cabled Berlin that it would be unwise for any further Jewish practitioners to come here since there are too many doctors of all nationalities striving to make a living at present.

The following is a list giving some more details of the newly arrived German doctors, etc. of the Jewish faith:

– ex s. s.²⁸ “Conte Rosso” – October 2, 1933 –

Max DAHLE, aged 32, physician, travels on German Passport No. 263/30 issued by the Police at Zudenscheid²⁹ on July 29, 1930, and which bears the visa of the Chinese Consulate-General at Berlin dated August 4, 1933. Is accompanied by his wife Gerda DAHLE, aged 23.

[2] Adolf WAGNER, aged 41, born at Darmstadt, apothecary, travels on German Passport No. 3 issued on August 1, 1929 (Issuing office unknown), gives as reference ‘Kornatz,³⁰ 138 Kiangse Road,’ accompanied by his wife Erna, aged 42, and a son aged 6.

Ernst MANNHEIM,³¹ aged 26, born at Berlin, physician, German passport 104 issued by the Police at Freiburg on May 8, 1929 and bearing visa of Chinese Consulate-General at Berlin dated August 22, 1933. Accompanied by wife Ruth MANNHEIM.

Walther NEUBAUER, aged 39, born at Rothenditwold³² (?) on February 15, 1894, specialist in women’s diseases, passport No. 16786 issued by Police at Hamburg on August 8, 1930 and bearing visa of Chinese Consulate-General at Hamburg dated August 2, 1933. Gives as reference ‘C. C. Chiu, Vice-President of Ministry of Education, Nanking.’

Horst LANGE, aged 31, born at Danzig, German passport No. 281R/114/33 issued by Police at Berlin on April 6, 1933 and bearing visa of the Chinese Consulate-General at Berlin dated August 21, 1933. Gives as reference ‘Dr. F. Reiss,³³ 21 Museum Road, Shanghai;’ is accompanied by his wife Gertrud, aged 33 and his son Klaus, aged 3.

28 Steamship.

29 This is most likely Lüdenscheid.

30 Pharmacist and chemist Dr. Walter Kornatz owned a German pharmacy in Shanghai, cf. *Asiatisches Jahrbuch*, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Deutsch-Asiatischen Gesellschaft von Dr. Vosberg-Rekow, Berlin 1914, 261.

31 Mannheim was a general practitioner who eventually settled with his wife in Tianjin (Tientsin); cf. Albrecht Scholz/Caris-Petra Heide (eds.), *Emigrantenschicksale. Einfluss der jüdischen Emigranten auf Sozialpolitik und Wissenschaft in den Aufnahme-ländern*, Frankfurt/Main 2004, 178.

32 Rothenditwold, today a district of Kassel.

33 Frederic(k) Reiss (1891–1981) was not a refugee. Born in Hungary into a Jewish family, he studied Medicine in Budapest, Vienna, London, Paris, and other cities. He

[3] – ex s. s. “Conte Verde” – November 6, 1933 –

Herbert WUNSCH, aged 25, born at Berlin, dentist, German Passport No. R122/288 issued by the Berlin Police on April 12, 1933 and bearing visa of the Chinese Consulate-General at Berlin dated October 5, 1933. Gives as reference ‘Max Perleberg, 112 Route Vallon.’

Hugo JACUBOWSKI, aged 41, dentist and specialist of jaw and mouth surgery, German Passport No. 576/27/28 issued by Berlin Police on December 18, 1928 and bearing visa of Chinese Consulate-General at Berlin dated September 28, 1933. Gives as a reference ‘A. de Kryger,³⁴ 344 Rue Bourgeat.’ Accompanied by his wife Horsha, aged 38 and his son Heinz Joachim, aged 10.

Wolfgang HESS,³⁵ aged 49, born at Halberstadt in 1884, physician and medical practitioner, CZECHO-SLOVAKIAN PASSPORT No. 21025 issued by Police at Prague on August 31, 1933 and bearing visa of Chinese Consulate-General, PARIS, dated September 8, 1933. Is now residing at No. 1776 Avenue Joffre.

[4] Heinz BRUHL,³⁶ aged 32, born at Berlin in 1901, physician and Doctor of Medicine, German Passport No. 365 issued at Marburg and bearing Chinese visa of Consulate-General at Berlin dated September (?), 1933. Gives as reference ‘Dr. Kornatz.’

Rudolf STEINLE, aged 20, born at Hankow, China, medical student, German Passport No. 14 issued by Berlin Police on September 8, 1933, and bearing visa of Chinese Consulate-General at Berlin dated September 15, 1933. Is intending to proceed to Nanking and gives as a reference ‘Dr. Hou You-ing,

had already come to Shanghai in 1922, where he had a successful career as professor of dermatology and president of the Shanghai Medical Society; he also co-founded and chaired the Medical Board of the CAEJR in Shanghai. He left the city in October 1941 and became a professor of dermatology in New York; cf. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ed.), *Handbuch österreichischer Autorinnen und Autoren jüdischer Herkunft*, 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert, Munich 2002, 1114.

34 A. de Kryger lived since probably 1918 in Shanghai; in the 1930s, he was conductor in the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra; cf. *The Directory and Chronicle for China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China, Straits Settlements, Malay States, Siam, Netherlands India, Borneo, the Philippines, and etc.*, Hong Kong 1938, A 272.

35 The gynecologist Wolfgang Hess from Dessau emigrated in 1933 via Strasbourg to Shanghai; cf. Bernd G. Ulbrich, *Antisemitismus in Dessau. Eine Spurensuche in den Jahren 1924 bis 1939*, Dessau 2004, 69 f.

36 Heinz Brühl was a pediatrician at the children’s hospital in Marburg until 1933; cf. Michael Bernhard, *Der Pädiater Ernst Freudenberg, 1884–1967*, Marburg 2000, 34 f.

House No. 98, Lane 214, Yates Road.' Is at present staying at Hotel Victor, 46 Range Road.

Walther EICHENGRUN,³⁷ aged 33, born at Dortmund, physician, German Passport No. 2640 issued by the Police at Hamburg on March 30, 1933 and bearing visa of Chinese Consulate-General at Hamburg dated October 1933. At present residing at the Foreign Y.M.C.A. 150 Bubbling Well Road.

Richard LOVENBERG,³⁸ aged 35, born at Hamburg, physician, German Passport 20177 issued by Hamburg Police on September 18, 1930 and bearing visa of Chinese Consulate-General at Hamburg dated September 30, 1933. Accom- |5| panied by wife Sophie aged 30 and son Peter aged 4. At present residing at the Astor House Hotel.

Fritz Otto HEIM, aged 33, born at Wilda Posen, doctor of Medicine, German Passport issued at Klein Macenow [sic]³⁹ on March 31, 1933 and bearing visa of Chinese Consulate-General at Berlin dated May 1933. Intends to proceed to Nanking.

All ships from Europe will be watched and should any of these steamers be carrying further Germans of the Jewish faith who intend to settle down in China in the hope of setting up businesses, a further report will [sic] submitted.

{F. A. Pitts}

D. S.

Officer i/c Special Branch.

37 Walter Eichengrün (1900–?); cf. Barbara Schmitt-Englert, *Deutsche in China 1920–1950. Alltagsleben und Veränderungen*, Gossenberg 2012, 565.

38 Richard Löwenberg (1898–1959); cf. Hendrik van den Bussche (ed.), *Medizinische Wissenschaft im „Dritten Reich.“ Kontinuität, Anpassung und Opposition an der Hamburger Medizinischen Fakultät*, Hamburg/Berlin 1989, 54.

39 Kleinmachnow.

Document 3

Martin Fischer⁴⁰ (*German Legation, Nanjing*) to *German Legation, Beijing*⁴¹
 March 14, 1934

Typewritten report (copy, 3 pages) and cover letter (1 page). On the bottom of the first page of the report appears the original addressee (“An die Deutsche Gesandtschaft, Peping”). According to the addressee on the bottom of the cover, a copy of the report was sent by Ambassador Trautmann to the German Foreign Office (“An das Auswärtige Amt, Berlin”).

Microfilm; YVA, JM 4857

Durchschlag

DEUTSCHE GESANDTSCHAFT

Peping, den 17. März 1934.

N^o. 259.

Aktz. 3510/2835/34.

1 Berichtsabschrift mit

3 Anlagen.

4 Durchschläge.

Inhalt: Zustrom jüdischer Aerzte nach China.

Mit meinem Drahtbericht N^o. 187 vom 4. Dezember 1933 hatte ich bereits vor dem Zustrom jüdischer Aerzte nach China gewarnt. Mir ist nicht bekannt, ob dem Telegramm eine Folge gegeben worden ist, oder ob nach wie vor die Pässe deutscher jüdischer Aerzte vom Auswärtigen Amt bei der Chinesischen Gesandtschaft für die Erteilung der Visa nach China befürwortend vorgelegt werden.

Aus dem abschriftlich beigefügten Bericht des Botschaftsrats Fischer geht hervor, dass der Zustrom der jüdischen Aerzte hierher eine sehr nachteilige Wirkung auf die ärztliche Betätigung Deutscher und auf unsere eigene Kul-

40 Martin Fischer (1882–1961) first came to China in 1907 as a translator, having studied Chinese in Germany. Although he was legation counselor in a number of Chinese cities and Consul-General in Shanghai from September 1939 on, he never rose to the position of Ambassador. He retired in January 1945; cf. Astrid Frey Eisen, *Shanghai und die Politik des Dritten Reiches*, Würzburg 1998, 82f.; Mechthild Leutner, *Deutschland und China 1937–1949. Politik, Militär, Wirtschaft, Kultur. Eine Quellensammlung*, Berlin 1998, 524.

41 The German main diplomatic mission in China was the German Legation in Beijing (in German sometimes “Peping”). From 1934 to 1938, the Ambassador was Oskar Trautmann (1877–1950), a diplomat who served in China since 1931.

turarbeit in China haben kann, abgesehen davon, dass die neue Konkurrenz der jüdischen Kollegen, die sogar in die Universitäten eindringen, den bisher in China gut arbeitenden deutschen Aerzten die Existenz untergräbt.

Ich wäre dankbar, wenn in Zusammenarbeit mit der dortigen Chinesischen Gesandtschaft hier Abhilfe geschaffen werden könnte. Ferner wäre eine Mitteilung darüber erwünscht, wievielen jüdischen Aerzten Pässe nach China erteilt worden sind.

Im Konzept gez.⁴² Trautmann.

Für die Richtigkeit.

gez. M. Fischer

[1] Anlage zum Peping-Bericht N^o. 259 v. 17.III.34. – Aktz. 3516/2835/34.

DEUTSCHE GESANDTSCHAFT

Nanking, den 14. März 1934

II Ku 7/1709/34

3 Anlagen.

Inhalt: Jüdische Aerzte in China.

Der Leiter des chinesischen Gesundheitswesens Dr. I. Heng Liu⁴³ fragte mich kürzlich, ob wir nähere Mitteilungen hätten über Zahl und Namen der in letzten Monaten zugewanderten jüdischen Aerzte. Als ich verneinte und mich nach dem Grunde seiner Frage erkundigte, sagte er, dass der Zustrom jüdischer Aerzte ein solches Ausmass angenommen hätte, dass die Chinesische Regierung Abwehrmassnahmen in Erwägung zu ziehen anfangte; ihm liege zur Stellungnahme eine Liste vor, die über 300 Namen enthalte.

Aus der Einsichtnahme in die Liste und den zugehörigen Schriftwechsel ergab sich folgender Sachverhalt.

Der Bürgermeister⁴⁴ in Shanghai hatte dem Reichsamt für Exekutive⁴⁵ über die zunehmende Zahl einwandernder jüdischer Aerzte berichtet und dazu bemerkt, dass die sozialistisch-kommunistische Einstellung der Betref-

42 Gezeichnet.

43 Heng Liu Jui (Ruiheng Liu; 1890–1961) was a Harvard-trained medical doctor and senior administrator of the Chinese health system, and spent most of the war years in the United States as Medical Director of the China Defense Supplies Corporation. He became a medical coordinator of the UNRRA; cf. Suping Lu, *A Dark Page in History. The Nanjing Massacre and Post-Massacre Social Conditions Recorded in British Diplomatic Dispatches, Admiralty Documents, and U.S. Naval Intelligence Reports*, Lanham Md. 2012, 197.

44 This was between 1932 and 1937; Wu Tieh-cheng (1888–1953).

45 The Executive *Yuan* (power; branch) was one division – and the most influential – of the Chinese nationalist government, implemented in 1928 under Chiang Kai-shek.

fenden die Erschwerung der Einreise dringend nahe lege. Der daraufhin zur Aeusserung aufgeforderte Leiter des Gesundheitswesens hatte dem Reichsamt berichtet, dass es sich bei den Beobachtungen des Shanghaier Bürgermeisters wahrscheinlich ausschliesslich um deutsche Aerzte handele, denen kommunistische Einstellung generell nicht zum Vorwurf gemacht werden könne; Verweigerung der Zulassung zur Praxis wäre nur nach Aenderung der geltenden [2] Vorschriften möglich und werde sich nicht auf eine bestimmte Gruppe – deutsche Juden – beschränken lassen. Das Gesundheitsamt werde zunächst durch Aufklärung den Zustrom einzudämmen versuchen und empfehle ferner durch Einführung von Lizenzbeschränkungen Abhilfe zu schaffen.

Der Bürgermeister versuchte darauf die von ihm geäusserten Befürchtungen durch Vorlage einer Liste der „in den Monaten November, Dezember 1933 zugewanderten jüdischen Aerzte deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit“ zu substantiieren. Es genügte ein kurzer Blick in die Liste, um festzustellen, dass sie keineswegs enthielt, was sie vorgab. Es fanden sich Namen darin wie beispielsweise Paul Scharffenberg,⁴⁶ G. Scheffler,⁴⁷ Stark,⁴⁸ v. Sick,⁴⁹ Tiefenbauer, Gräfin Rantzau⁵⁰ usw. Offenbar hatte der Bürgermeister einfach eine Abschrift der Passkontrollliste vorgelegt.

Der Leiter des Gesundheitsamts machte sich entsprechende Notizen und wollte für die notwendige Richtigstellung Sorge tragen. Aus seinen weiteren Aeusserungen ergab sich, dass auch er jetzt mehr, als im Anfang der Fall war, der Gefahr übermässiger Einnistung jüdischer Elemente im Aerztestande Chinas Verständnis entgegenbringt und die Frage nicht mehr nur unter dem Gesichtspunkt billiger Arbeitskräfte beurteilt. Er erwähnte die Tätigkeit des englischen Juden Esra⁵¹ [sic] in Shanghai, der eine eifrige Tätigkeit in der Unterbringung seiner Rasse in China entfalte.

46 Paul Scharffenberg (1873–1938) was an employee of the German embassy in Nanjing; cf. Schmitt-Englert, *Deutsche in China*, 510, 631.

47 Georg Scheffler, cf. *ibid.*, 363, 365.

48 Paul Stark was chancellor at the German General Consulate in Shanghai, cf. Frey-eisen, *Shanghai*, 165.

49 Kuno von Sick (?–1934) was chief associate for Siemens in Shanghai in the 1930s; cf. Sabine Dabringhaus (ed.), *China auf dem Weg in die Moderne aus globaler Perspektive*, Münster/Hamburg/London 2005, 19.

50 Maria von Rantzau (1905–1979); cf. Schmitt-Englert, *Deutsche in China*, 507.

51 N. E. B. (Nissim Elias Benjamin) Ezra (1883–1936), a Baghdadi Jewish merchant living in Shanghai. Born in Lahore (British India), he was British subject. Ezra had established the Shanghai Zionist Association in 1903, and in the following year (together with Moshe Myers and Isaac A. Levis) its bi-weekly, and later monthly publication, *Israel's Messenger*, whose chief editor he was from 1904 to 1936. The paper closed in 1941. In 1933, Ezra suggested to the Japanese government the settling of Jewish

Das im Ausschnitt beigefügte Interview, das Esra kürzlich mit dem Englischen Gesandten hatte, dürfte in diesem Zusammenhang von Interesse sein.

Dr. Liu fragte am Schluss unserer Besprechung, ob ich ihm eine Liste der jüdischen Aerzte besorgen könne, die durch Vermittlung des Generalkonsulats in Shanghai ihre Zulassung nachgesucht hätten. Ich habe mir die Liste in Shanghai besorgt und |3| werde sie Dr. Liu unter der Hand zur Verfügung stellen. Ich füge Abschrift bei.

Dr. Liu gab mir ein Merkblatt, das nach seiner Angabe demnächst hier und durch die chinesischen Vertretungen im Auslande verbreitet werden soll. Ich lege es im Original anbei vor.

gez. M. Fischer.

Document 4

E. G. Price (Butterfield & Swire)⁵² to DALJEWICIB⁵³ (Harbin)

November 29, 1935

Typewritten letter, 2 pages. The first page has a printed letterhead.

CAHJP, file DAL 24a

BUTTERFIELD & SWIRE
 HONG KONG CHINA AND JAPAN
 Telegraphic Address: "SWIRE"
 Amoy, 29th November, 1935.
 Daljewcib,
 P.O. Box 480,
 Harbin

Dear Sirs,

I refer to your letter no. 49203 of 21st Nov.

refugees from Europe in Mandchuko; cf. Gao Bei, Shanghai Sanctuary. Chinese and Japanese Policy toward European Jewish Refugees during World War II, Oxford/New York 2013, 95–96 and passim.

52 Price (biographical information not available) was employed by the trading company Butterfield & Swire (Chinese *Taikoo*), which was founded in Shanghai in 1866. The company later became the agent in China for several British businesses, including leading shipping and insurance companies.

53 For DALJEWICIB, see above, n. 4.

I cannot answer your enquiry in my official capacity as Agent for the China Navigation Co. Ltd.,⁵⁴ but am pleased personally to give you such information as I can.

The foreign community of Amoy⁵⁵ totals some 150 souls, men, women, and children. There is not a single German citizen resident here, nor is there any German consular representation. The medical needs of the foreign community are more than adequately catered for ~~the~~ by the resident British and American Port doctors. Mission doctors are also present. There is a large, well-staffed Japanese hospital to cater for the large Japanese and Formosan community. The big firms' custom is to contract with the resident doctor of their nationality for all staff requirements. I can state definitely therefore that the possibility of a new doctor building up a general foreign clientele of any consequence is nil. A dentist would have a far better chance.

As to the chances of building up a Chinese practice, it must be borne in mind that, while you are correctly informed that western medicine is in great demand in this and other emigrant centres, this demand is already largely catered for by western-trained Chinese doctors whose standards are high and whose reputation and popularity are established. The several doctors of the Chinese Govt. National Quarantine Service⁵⁶ are all completely western-trained and there are numerous other local practitioners whose competence is acknowledged. I am not saying that a man of personality and perseverance, particularly one with specialist knowledge, could not eventually find a living, but there is certainly no obvious opening, and without local knowledge, influence, or considerable capital to venture the task of a new man would be a very formidable one.

Cost of living in the style necessary to establish standing in the eyes of the Chinese could hardly be less than Mex. \$ 300 per month for a single man or, say, \$ 500 for a family man, and I should say that an initial capital of \$ 3000 (£ 250) [12] would at least be required to tide over the first months, apart from advertising costs. I am not personally very familiar with conditions in

54 Founded in 1872 by John Swire, the company traded in China's interior and the Chinese coastal areas, and in later years also in Southeast Asia, Japan, and Australia.

55 Amoy (today Xiamen) was a major port city in Southeastern China. After the First Opium War, the city's port became a treaty port in 1842, and it gained special importance for the tea trade. A European community was established on an offshore island close by.

56 The National Quarantine Service (NQS) was established in 1930 by the Chinese Nationalist Government which had been in contact with the League of Nations about the health and quarantine issue since the mid-1920s. The NQS headquarters were based in Shanghai.

Swatow,⁵⁷ but am inclined to believe that prospects there might be slightly more favourable.

I trust that the above will be of use to you.

I am, dear Sirs,

Yours faithfully,

{Price}

E. G. Price

Mgr.,⁵⁸ B & S.,

AMOY.

Document 5

Anonymous

December 22, 1938

Typewritten newspaper article (3 pages), originally printed in: Algemeen Handelsblad,⁵⁹ evening edition, December 10, 1938. The initials at the bottom of p. 3 suggest that the transcript, or even the translation, was prepared by Arnold Horwitz.⁶⁰ The pagination on the bottom of the pages, starting with “2,” suggests that the article was accompanied by a cover letter (not reproduced here); from the second page onwards there is a second pagination at the top of the page. CAHJP, file DAL 76

Abstract

Since neither the powers nor Japan nor the Chinese Nationalist Government exercise sovereignty in Shanghai, anyone can land here as long as he can pay the ship fare. As a result numerous German immigrants have been arriving here recently, most of them without funds. They don't realize that they have run into a trap. There is no way to earn a living and half the city was destroyed in the recent war. Commerce is on a disastrous decline, and Shanghai is rapidly deteriorating. Although many refugees were tempted to Shanghai in hopes of visas to elsewhere, this too was illusory.

57 Today Shantou, on the coast south of Amoy. From 1860 onwards it served as a trade port.

58 Manager.

59 The liberal *Algemeen Handelsblad* was one of the biggest Dutch daily papers.

60 About Horwitz, see below, n. 181.

Shanghai kann deutschen Flüchtlingen keine Zukunft bieten.

Eine Falle, aus der man nicht mehr entkommen kann.

(Aus: Allgemeines Handelsblad, Abendausgabe, v. 10.12.1938)

Während der letzten Monate landeten in Shanghai so viele Auswanderer aus Deutschland, dass die Anzahl der deutschen Staatsangehörigen hier mehr als verdoppelt wurde.

Für diese Menschen wurde so viel getan, wie überhaupt nur getan werden konnte. Man hat Hilfskomitees gegründet und Geldsammlungen veranstaltet; für viele dieser Menschen wurde für vorläufiges Obdach gesorgt, und einzelne haben kleine Arbeitsmöglichkeiten – meistens zeitlich beschränkte – erhalten.

Die Grenze dessen, was Shanghai in dieser Hinsicht tun kann, ist bereits erreicht und doch bringt beinahe jedes hier einlaufende italienische oder deutsche Schiff neue Flüchtlinge aus dem deutschen Reich.

Was führt diese Emigranten nach Shanghai? Der wichtigste Grund ist die Tatsache, dass Shanghai keine Einwanderungsschwierigkeiten bietet; nicht einmal ein Visum⁶¹ ist nötig. Die internationale Niederlassung und die französische Konzession in Shanghai besitzen nämlich keine Souveränität; diese steht vielmehr China zu. Die chinesische nationale Regierung kann diese jedoch nicht ausüben, denn Shanghai liegt weit hinter der japanischen Frontlinie. Die durch die Japaner eingesetzten Scheinregierungen⁶² können ebensowenig eine Souveränität ausüben, denn sie haben hierzu nicht die Macht und werden durch die Niederlassung und die Konzession nicht anerkannt. So übt hier zur Zeit keiner die Souveränität aus, und darum kann praktisch jeder, der nur will und die Einreise hierher bezahlen kann, nach Shanghai hineinkommen.

Die Deutschen in Österreich und im Sudetengebiet, die im Nationalsozialismus nicht aufgehen und ihr Vaterland verlassen müssen, werden auf diese Zustände hingewiesen, als ob dies eine Tatsache wäre, die grosse Vorteile bietet.

Während nun diejenigen, die auswandern wollen, bei allen ausländischen Konsulaten auf grosse Schwierigkeiten stossen, wenn sie ein Visum haben wollen, bildet Shanghai die einzige Ausnahme.

Kein Wunder, dass Shanghai eine unerhörte Anziehungskraft auf die Flüchtlinge ausübt. Dazu kommt noch der sprichwörtliche Ruf des Fernen Ostens und die Legende über das Wohlergehen der Europäer, die dort bereits seit Jahren leben.

61 The writer here, like many authors since, is mistaken. The lack of passport control at the port of entry allowed easy entrance.

62 The Japanese controlled the population by means of local Chinese puppet regimes.

Zahllose deutsche Emigranten haben ihr letztes Geld daran gesetzt, ein Billet dritter Klasse nach Shanghai zu kaufen, und sie kommen dann hier völlig ohne Unterhaltsmittel an; ein Einzelner bringt vielleicht ein paar Spargroschen mit; doch von „Kapital“ kann fast niemals die Rede sein. Es gibt nur sehr wenige, die einen Arbeitskontrakt von der einen oder anderen Firma in Shanghai besitzen oder die etwas anderes Greifbares in der Tasche haben oder die spezielle Fachkenntnisse besitzen, welche durch die ortsansässigen Arbeitgeber gerade gesucht werden.

[2] So kommen die meisten auf Gutdünken nach Shanghai. Viele der Flüchtlinge sind so optimistisch und noch derartig unvertraut mit den wirklichen Zuständen, dass sie es bei der Ankunft gar nicht merken, in eine Falle gelaufen zu sein, aus der sie kaum je wieder entkommen können.

Shanghai ist nicht schuld an der „Shanghai-Propaganda“, welche diese Emigranten hierher lockt. Die Behörden der Niederlassung und der Konzession sollten einen jeden, der nach Shanghai gehen will, ohne die nötigen Unterhaltsmittel zu besitzen, dringend abraten.

Die Stadt bietet keinen Raum für Einwanderer. Sie hat noch nicht einmal einen nennenswerten Teil der ersten Gruppe von deutschen Einwanderern, die bereits vor einigen Jahren hierher kamen und die inzwischen – zum Teil unter grossen Entbehungen und Schwierigkeiten – die nötige Ortskenntnis erworben haben, einen geregelten Lebensunterhalt zusichern können. Wie wird sie den neuen Strom von deutschen Flüchtlingen Lebensunterhalt und Obdach bieten können?

Shanghai hat entsetzlich durch den Krieg gelitten. Die halbe Stadt ist buchstäblich vernichtet. In der anderen Hälfte drängen sich deshalb die Einwohner beider Hälften zusammen. Auf wirtschaftlichem Gebiet herrscht eine unerhörte Depression. Sicher machen auch heute noch einige bereits lang ansässige Firmen gute Geschäfte, und auch ein paar Dutzend kleine Kriegsgewinnler können von Zeit zu Zeit einmal ein gutes Geschäft machen – aber das sind Ausnahmen.

Die Geschäftswelt von Shanghai steht im allgemeinen unter dem Zeichen des Konkurses und des Verfalls. Liquidationen finden in unerhörtem Umfange statt. Eine grosse Zahl von Handelsfirmen, Fabriken und Reedereien sind bereits verschwunden oder werden bald verschwinden. Hunderte kleiner Kaufleute, die nicht imstande waren, regelmässig wieder neues Geld zuzuschliessen, haben Shanghai bereits verlassen und sind nach Dairen,⁶³

63 The Chinese city of Dalian, north of Shanghai, had an important port generally known as Port Arthur; the city was also the terminus of a branch of the Trans-Siberian Railway. As a result of the Japanese-Russian war, from 1905 on the city was controlled by the Japanese, who called the city Dairen.

Hongkong, Manila, Singapore und Ban{g}kok verzogen, um dort aufs neue ihr Glück zu versuchen. Nirgends hört man von neuen Geschäften sprechen, überall nur von Ende und Auflösung, und die Kosten des Lebensunterhalts steigen rapide.

Die deutschen Flüchtlinge kommen nach Shanghai, in eine Stadt, die ihrem Untergang entgegengeht. Sie sind übrigens nicht die erste Kategorie von Emigranten, die hier eine Heimat sucht. Die Russen kamen ihnen um 15–20 Jahre voraus. Diese bilden die grösste Kolonie von Ausländern in Shanghai. Es gibt hier immer noch ungefähr 11 000 Juden gegen 7500 Engländer, 2600 Amerikaner, 15 Deutsche und ein paar Tausend Europäer, die anderen Nationalitäten angehören.

Von allen diesen Ausländern sind die Russen bei weiten die ärmsten. Nur einige unter ihnen, wahrscheinlich die Erstankömmlinge [sic] und diejenigen mit Kapital, haben sich einen Lebens- |3| unterhalt erobert, der Rest lebt von der Hand in den Mund, weit unter dem Lebensstandard der anderen Ausländer und auf einem noch viel tieferen Niveau als der durchschnittliche Berliner Arbeitslose im Winter 1932/1933. Im Winter sieht man in Shanghai zahllose Russen, in Lumpen gehüllt, die blossen Füsse in zerschlissenen Schuhen, von Haus zu Haus gehend, um ein Stückchen Brot zu erbetteln. Beinahe 20 Jahre lang haben die 11 000 Russen in Shanghai neben den besser situierten anderen Ausländern gelebt, ohne dass es ihnen trotz aller Anstrengung gelungen ist, ihren Lebensstandard zu verbessern.

Den anderen Ausländern geht es im allgemeinen gut, abgesehen allerdings von den Folgen des heutigen Kriegszustandes. Die Arbeitszeit in der ausländischen Niederlassung dauert ungefähr 5–6 Stunden pro Tag; die Arbeitsbedingungen sind günstig: zahllose Ruhetage, Sommerferien, alle 4–6 Jahre längerer Urlaub u.s.w. Die freie Zeit wird in Klubs oder in guten modernen Wohnungen verbracht. Billiges Hauspersonal steht zur Verfügung, und beinahe jeder geniesst grosse Bewegungsfreiheit. Wer aber einmal seine Chance verpasst und nicht über Reservefonds verfügt, scheidet schnell aus dem Kreis der „Begnadeten“ aus und gerät meistens nie wieder in ihn zurück. Die goldene Zeit, da jeder nicht gerade arbeitsscheue Europäer hoffen konnte, durch gutes Betragen und schwere Arbeit in kurzer Zeit einen Lebensunterhalt zu finden, liegt bereits 30 Jahre zurück. Gegenwärtig ist alles anders.

Die deutschen Flüchtlinge haben es hier besonders schwer. Beim deutschen Konsulat finden sie keine Unterstützung; sie werden von deutschen Firmen nicht angenommen und von den deutschen Klubs boykottiert. Die Europäer der anderen Nationalitäten sehen zudem keine Möglichkeit, ihnen ausreichend zu helfen, denn sie haben selbst ihre Probleme. Laufen zur Zeit in Shanghai nicht zahllose Engländer und Amerikaner arbeitslos herum?

Ein aussergewöhnlich umfangreiches Problem ist das der mittellosen Europäerin im Fernen Osten. Vor dem Weltkrieg hatte sie hier günstige Heiratschancen, doch jetzt ist ihre einzige Zukunft einen „job“ als Bar-, Taxi- oder Tanzmädchen in einer der Matrosenkneipen oder Kabarets. Der Gouverneur von Malakka⁶⁴ tut im Augenblick alles, was er kann, um wenigstens die gestrandeten englischen Frauen in seinem Gebiet auf Staatskosten nach ihrem Vaterland zurückzusenden.

Viele deutsche Auswanderer haben sich nach Shanghai verleiten lassen, in der Hoffnung, dass sie von dort wahrscheinlich bequem wo anders hin kommen können, doch für die meisten von ihnen dürfte kein Entkommen aus Shanghai mehr möglich sein. Die Konsulate der anderen Länder dürften hier noch weniger Visa als in Deutschland erteilen, und kein einziges Schiff wird sie ohne diese Visa mitnehmen, während die Japaner ihnen den Landweg versperren.

22.12.1938

Hor/Du.

Document 6

[Illegible] (IKG)⁶⁵ to DALJEWCI⁶⁶ (Harbin)

September 23, 1938

Typewritten letter (English) and attached listing (German), 2 pages; the cover letter has a printed letterhead and bottom (including telephone number, telegram-address, and post bank account; not reproduced here), the date and the subject were inserted by typewriter; on the bottom is a stamp of the IKG.

CAHJP, file DAL 76

64 Malacca (today Melaka, Malaysia), a Portuguese, Dutch, and eventually (until 1957) British colony.

65 The Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Vienna (IKG) was forced by the Nazis to establish an emigration section (Auswanderungsabteilung) in 1938. This included several bureaus, called Fachberatung, that offered emigration help for various professional groups, e.g. engineers, chemists, and technicians; cf. Herbert Rosenkranz, *Verfolgung und Selbstbehauptung. Die Juden in Österreich 1938–1945*, Vienna 1978, 138, 192.

66 About DALJEWCI, see above, n. 4.

ISR. KULTUSGEMEINDE WIEN
AUSWANDERUNGSABTEILUNG

WIEN, 23rd Sept. 38
I., Seitenstettengasse 2–4

Central Information Bureau “Daljewcib”
Charbin; P.O.B. 480.

Betrifft Professional councils for engineers and Technicians.

Dear Sirs,

The Advising Committee for engineers, architects and men with technical training of the Jewish Community of Vienna (Germany) has as per enclosed list a number of skliful [sic] and experienced engineers, architects and men with technical training on hand, who are obliged to emigrate on account of the changed situation here.

We ask you kindly to let us know which possibilities are in your country for these people. In the affirmative kindly get into touch with the respective firms and please let us know the conditions under which an emigration of the said workers could be promoted.

Thanking you in advance for all the troubles and looking forward to your favourable reply at your earliest convenience, we are, dear Sirs,

Yours faithfully

ISR. KULTUSGEMEINDE
AUSWANDERUNGSABTEILUNG
FACHBERATUNG⁶⁷
{Gu#ttm###}

[[2]] Liste:

Bauingenieure:	Hoch- u. Eisenbetonbau	19
	Stahlhochbau u. Brückenbau	4
	f. Statik	4
	Strassen (insbes. Betonstrassen)	5
	Eisenbahnbau	2
	Wasserbau	2
	Kanalisation	1
	Vermessungswesen	3
	Kulturtechn. u. Meliorationen	1
	Architekten:	Allgem. Hochbau
Siedlungsbau		5
Innenarchitekten		7

⁶⁷ Stamp.

	Industriebau	6
	Städtebau	1
	Gartenarchitektur	2
Maschinenbauer:	Allgem. Maschinenbau	6
	Holzbearbeitungsmaschinen	2
	Zentralheiz- (Klima- u. Kühl-) anlagen	8
	Textilmaschinen	2
	Dampfkessel- u. Behälter	7
	Lokomotivbau	5
	Motorenbau	2
Chemiker:	Ledergerberei, Pelzzurichtung	1
	Bierbrauer	1
	Oele, Fette, Petroleum	2
	Chem. techn. Produkte u. Vertrieb	2
	Allgem. chemische Betriebe	2
	Textilchemie (Wäsche, Bleiche, Färb., Druck, Appretur etc.)	3
	f. Laboratorien	3
Elektrotechnik:	Installationen	11
	Radio, Hochfrequenz. Kurzwellen	6
	Motoren u. Kleinmotoren	4
	El. Kraftzentralen u. Anlagen	8
	El. Bahnen und Strassenbahnen	2
	Starkstromanlagen u. Transformatoren	2
	Hochspannungs-Leitungsbau	1
	Beleuchtungstechniker	2
	Glühlampenerzeugung	1
	Trockenbaterien [sic]	1
Diverse Techniker:	Weberei-Techniker	4
	Sägewerks "	1
	f. Techn. Physik u. Physikal. Laborat.	4
	Zeichner u. Konstrukt. f. techn. Patente	1
	f. Dentalfabrikation	1

Derzeit in Vormerkung.

Document 7

Nathaniel Peffer⁶⁸ (Columbia University) to Joseph P. Chamberlain⁶⁹ (Columbia University)

April (?) 1939

Typewritten memorandum (copy, undated), 2 pages; the memorandum is attached to two letters: The first is a letter from Joseph P. Chamberlain to Joseph C. Hyman,⁷⁰ dated April 5, 1939, in which Chamberlain announces the attachment of the memorandum by his “colleague Professor Peffer,” the second is a copy of a letter by Theodore C. Achilles⁷¹ to George L. Warren,⁷² dated March 31, 1939, in which Achilles quotes from a letter by “Mr. Pell”⁷³ on the difficulties of German Jews escaping from Germany. Neither letter is reproduced here.⁷⁴ Each document has a receipt stamp (April 6, 1939).

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 457

Abstract

Peffer suggests shutting off the refugee influx to Shanghai because of the lack of employment opportunities for Europeans. The consuls have already undertaken steps and have urged their governments to stop refugees from travelling to China. Jews may sink to the status of “coolies”⁷⁵ or worse.

68 Peffer (1890–1964) was a journalist and expert on Chinese and Asian affairs. He had lived many years in China and taught at Columbia University until his retirement.

69 Chamberlain (1873–1951) was from 1923 to 1950 professor of public law at Columbia University. From 1933 to 1936, he served as a member of the High Commission for Refugees Coming from Germany, established in 1933 by the League of Nations.

70 Hyman (1899–1949) was secretary (since 1925), executive director (since 1937), and executive vice-chairman (since 1939) of the AJJDC. He resigned from his position in early 1947.

71 Achilles (1905–1986) was an American diplomat who served in the Departmental Committee on Political Refugees in 1938.

72 Warren (1890–1981) was a senior authority on migration and refugee issues in various American and international organizations. In 1938, he became adviser to the League of Nations Temporary Committee on Indigent Aliens in Geneva, and served as executive secretary of the President Roosevelt Consultive Committee for Political Refugees at the Évian Conference in July 1938 on the emigration of Jews from Germany.

73 Robert T. Pell (1902–1969) was assistant chief of the European Affairs Division of the State Department in 1939; he had also served as technical advisor at the Évian Conference.

74 Partially reproduced in Eber, *Wartime*, 83.

75 The term coolie was used in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for unskilled workers, often miners or field workers of mainly East Asian and South East Asian

COPY
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
in the City of New York
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC LAW AND GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM TO PROFESSOR J. P. CHAMBERLAIN

I write to call your attention to some conditions obtaining in China with reference to European, especially Jewish, refugees which I think, call for some action by those dealing with the refugee question.

Of the recent influx into Shanghai [sic] you no doubt know. I do not know whether refugee committees, especially in Europe, know of the danger this carries and of the necessity of shutting off the influx at any cost.

China always has been hopeless as an area for the absorption of large numbers of Occidentals. The opportunities for employment for Occidentals are at the best scant. All except the few most highly skilled occupations are filled by Chinese. Office work is confined to Eurasians or Chinese; only executive positions are open to Europeans. And these are reduced, markedly reduced, by the combined effects of the depression and the China-Japan war, since Shanghai is now largely cut off from the hinterland.

In recent years, further, there has been the added complication of the Russian refugees from Siberia and, later, Manchuria. Those who have not gone down in the struggle – and starved or died of malnutrition – have managed to win for themselves a precarious footing as moderately skilled workers or small shopkeepers. But it should be emphasized that all except a very small proportion are not far above subsistence level. A sub-executive or office worker can be had now for Chinese \$ 75 or \$ 90 a month – on which one can live on a sort of Oriental proletarian standard. This is a standard on which Russians might maintain life and self-respect but not, I think, Central Europeans. And since the outbreak of the war in 1937 many of these Russians have sunk below the standard since they have lost even such jobs.

Now comes the Jewish influx. For them I see no prospect except degradation to a kind of Occidental coolie status until they die of deprivation or shame – except for the few specially chosen who have special qualifications and who are fortunate. A few doctors, a few technical men, may find a normal place for themselves. For the others there is no hope. They cannot go into

origin. Coolies, contracted by employers, carried out heavy physical work, often under miserable conditions, and they lived mostly in great poverty. From the middle of the nineteenth century on, Chinese coolies were traded into the Caribbean, especially to Cuba, and other places in the Americas, where their status often was that of slaves.

business; established concerns are barely holding their own. They cannot find skilled employment. There is no unskilled employment.

Perhaps more serious, there are already [sic] signs of disquiet in Shanghai [sic] as a result of the influx. Ill-feeling could easily be generated if there were a continuance. Late in December there were rumors that the China General Omnibus Company, which operates the city busses, was going to [2] discharge the Russian employes [sic] and replace them with Jews. Letters to the editor, a symptom in Shanghai, had already begun to appear in the *North-China Daily News*.⁷⁶ It was finally necessary for the Bus Company to issue a disclaimer and for the *North-China Daily News* to print an editorial (January 4, 1939) laying the report at rest. Significantly it felt obliged to say in the editorial:

“It is unfortunate that the rumor was ever allowed to gain currency, for it is quite clear that the best interests of Shanghai lie in doing everything to prevent any outbreak of anti-Jewish sentiment in this city ... Of late there has been much speculation concerning the possibility of the replacement of Gentile labour by some of the Jewish refugees. It should be made quite plain from the outset that this proceeding is wholly undesirable, and that any employer doing such a thing is rendering a definite disservice to the community as a whole ...”

On February 10 there was made public a letter from L. Neyrone,⁷⁷ Italian Consul-General and senior Consul, to the Chairman of the SMC⁷⁸ in answer to the Council's formal request that the various Consulates take steps to ensure that their governments stop the flow of refugees to China. He says that the consuls have already made such representations. The governments, he says, are being urged to do everything they can by way of newspaper notices, posters, etc., to warn prospective refugees bound for China that there are no

76 The NCDN appeared from 1864 on, when its predecessor, the weekly *North-China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette* (founded in 1850 by a British publisher), was turned into a daily paper. The NCDN was Shanghai's largest and most influential English language paper. On December 8, 1941, it suspended its circulation, but resumed after the Pacific War until it was finally closed down in March 1951 by the Chinese Government.

77 Italian diplomat Luigi Neyrone (1877–?) was at that time dean of the diplomatic corps in Shanghai; cf. Marino Viganò, *Il Ministero degli affari esteri e le relazioni internazionali della repubblica sociale italiana 1943–1945* [The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the International Relations of the Italian Social Republic, 1943–1945], Milano 1991, 285.

78 Until March 1939, the chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Council was Cornell S. Franklin, followed in April 1939 by William Johnstone (Tony) Keswick.

opportunities for employment and that relief funds are already well-nigh exhausted (as a result of the Chinese war refugees).

I hope the refugee committees here and in Europe will follow the same course. Unless the influx can be stopped the outlook is ghastly. One does not like to think of the prospect of middle-class Europeans sinking to the status of coolies and beachcombers, which is, I myself think, the prospect for three out of every four Jews who go to China.

Nathaniel Peffer.

Document 8

*Meir Birman*⁷⁹ (DALJEWICIB) to *Künstlerhilfe* (Berlin)⁸⁰

December 19, 1938

Typewritten letter, 1 page; the page has a printed letterhead in English and Russian and a big, circular stamp which bears the English association name “The Far Eastern Jewish Central Information Bureau, Harbin,” as well as its translations into Yiddish, Russian, and Chinese.

CAHJP, file DAL 76

Tel. address: DALJEWICIB Harbin. Тел. адрес: ДАЛЪЕВЦИВ Харбин.

December 19th [193]8

Re: A Band of 30–40 Musicians under Prof. Pruewer⁸¹

79 Birman (Meyer Eliash; 1891–1955) was born in Panevėžys, Lithuania and came to Harbin in 1917. There, the journalist became manager of the DALJEWICIB and edited the Yiddish paper *Der vayter mizrekh* (see ch. 6, n. 27.). In September 1939 he moved to Shanghai, where he managed the local HIAS office. His support of the Central European refugees was of paramount importance, as can be seen from the thousands of letters he both received and wrote on their behalf. He left Shanghai in 1948 for the United States; cf. Jonathan Goldstein, *Jewish Identities in East Asia and Southeast Asia*. Singapore, Manila, Taipei, Harbin, Shanghai, Rangoon, and Surabaya, Berlin/Boston Mass. 2015, 50; Matthias Messmer, *Jewish Wayfarers in Modern China*. Tragedy and Splendor, Lanham Md./Plymouth, 2012, 27 f.

80 The association *Künstlerhilfe* (artist relief) was created in 1933 as a special department of the Welfare Section at the Jewish Community in Berlin to aid Jewish artists.

81 Julius Pruewer (1874–1943) was a Vienna born and trained conductor and piano player. After engagements at several German orchestra houses, he was appointed professor at the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin in 1924. He lost his job in 1933 and started teaching at a private Jewish music school. In 1939, he emigrated to the United

Kuenstlerhilfe
 der Juedischen Gemeinde,
 Kantstrasse 159,
 Berlin-Charl.⁸²

Dear Sirs,

We have duly received your following telegram of the 9th inst.:
 “Drahtet ob Unterbringung Konzert und Unterhaltungsorchester[r]⁸³ der
 Kuenstlerhilfe 30 bis 40 Musiker Dirigent Professor Pruewer in Tanzkapellen
 aufteilbar moeglich. Kuenstlerhilfe Kantstrasse 159.”

We have spoken with many persons here and yesterday telegraphed you
 as follows: “Musicians may come separately own responsibility Daljewcib.”
 Although there are no chances for whole bands to find employment here
 at present, due to the fact that Mr. Schwarzleder⁸⁴ with his orchestra is ex-
 pected here in a few day [sic], Harbin being rather a small place (there is
 already here Mr. Singer’s band from Berlin), – separate musicians may find it
 possible to get work, on more or less favourable terms and conditions. That
 is why we gave you the telegram, also not to discourage you overmuch. In
 our No. 5777{0}0 of Oct. 2nd addressed to the Juedische Gemeinde of your
 city we stated what musicians may find employment in the local symphonic
 orchestra, i.e. 3 violinists, 1 trombonist (Posaunist), 1 contrabass, 1 kettle-
 drummer, 1 trumpeter, 1 oboeist, 1 clarinet, 1 French horn. However, they do
 not want to stand in any way responsible and are unwilling to give and esp. in

States, cf. Ch. Harten, Prüwer, Julius, in: Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon
 1815–1950, vol. 8, Vienna 1982, 311 f.

82 The borough Charlottenburg.

83 The word is at the very end of the line, therefore the last letter is missing.

84 Boris Schwarzleder (1890–?) hailed from Odessa. He studied in Berlin at the
 Stern’sches Konservatorium and worked for several years as a violinist and band
 leader. In 1938 secured a contract for his band in Harbin through the DALJEW-
 CIB. He and the twelve members of the band, some with their families, boarded the
Hakusan Maru in Naples in November 1938 heading for Shanghai; however, since
 they could not obtain exit visas, they were forced to stay in Shanghai, and accepted
 a commitment in a Chinese dance hall there. When they lost this commitment after
 only two weeks the band broke up; cf. Anonymous, Boris Schwarzleder, in: Claudia
 Maurer Zenck/Peter Petersen/Sophie Fetthauer (eds.), *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker
 und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, University of Hamburg 2005 ff., <[https://www.lexm.
 uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00006172](https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00006172)> (February 4, 2016); Sophie
 Fetthauer, Walter Manes, in: *ibid.*, <[https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_
 lexmperson_00003371](https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00003371)> (February 4, 2016).

writing any promises. The orchestra does not play every day, so that the musicians will not be employed full time, the salary being in accordance not high.

Up to now not one musician for this orchestra has come. In general, there are not many establishments left, mostly second class, where musicians could hope to get employment here, i.e. in Harbin. As to the ports of China, prospects are better there.

We wish to add that even under present circumstances enterprisers and employers, asda [sic] rule, are actuated by the desire of gain and not by any idealistic motives.

Yours sincerely,

M. Birman

Manager

Document 9

*Franz I. Bischofswerder, Arthur I. Prinz, Victor I. Löwenstein (Hilfsverein, Berlin)*⁸⁵ to JDC, Paris⁸⁶

February 10, 1939

85 The Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden e.V. was established in 1901 in Berlin as an agency to develop Jewish schools in North Africa and help poor Eastern European Jews. After 1933 it served mainly to organize the emigration of German Jews. It was liquidated in 1939. In 1935, after the Nuremberg laws went into force, its name was changed to the Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland e.V. In 1939 it was integrated into the emigration section of the Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland; cf. Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, 485 f. The economist Dr. A. Prinz (1898–1981) was head of the Hilfsverein's press department. From 1936 on, he was editor of its bulletin, *Jüdische Auswanderung*. Prinz emigrated to Palestine in 1939; cf. Susanne Heim (ed.), *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933–1945*. Vol. 2: *Deutsches Reich 1938 – August 1939*, Munich 2009, 289. Bischofswerder (1888–?), later Frank Bishop, was a lawyer from Berlin who managed to emigrate to the United States. Löwenstein (1885–1942/43) was a lawyer from Munich who began to work for the Hilfsverein in 1938; from the following year on, he worked for its Wanderung section. Löwenstein died during an air raid on Berlin.

86 The JDC's European headquarters were in Berlin until April 1933, when it was closed after anti-Semitic attacks. Shortly thereafter, the JDC offices moved to Paris, where it was active right up to the German occupation in June 1940. After a short break, the office reopened in Lisbon. In 1939, the manager of the Paris JDC office was Morris Troper (see ch. 2, n. 206).

Typewritten letter (copy), 2 pages. The original letter by the Hilfsverein was addressed to the Council for German Jewry.⁸⁷ The copy reproduced here was made by the JDC in Paris for the AJJDC.⁸⁸

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 457

COPY

HILFSVEREIN DER JUDEN IN DEUTSCHLAND e.V.

Berlin, Feb. 10th, 1939.

American Joint Distribution Committee

Paris.

Dear Sirs,

We beg to acknowledge your letter of February 6th contents of which we have noted carefully. We have discussed here once more the whole question of Shanghai and have come unanimously to the following conclusions:

1. In the present plight of German Jewry it would be probably impossible for us to stop the emigration to Shanghai even if we absolutely wanted to do this. We ask you to be aware of the fact that the Hilfsverein controls effectively only a part of the emigration of German Jews – the other and larger part proceeding spontaneously without any kind of control by Jewish authorities. The situation being what it is, no Jewish organisation in Germany is able to prevent their emigration to any place they can get to.

2. Quite apart from the above mentioned considerations, we are convinced that most of the emigrants are far better off in Shanghai – in spite of all the drawbacks of the situation – than they would be in Germany. A great many letters we are receiving from Shanghai and especially from such places as Harbin (in Manchukuo) prove that there are still considerable possibilities for suitable people. (We shall be gald [sic] to send you the most notable of these letters in a few days). Of course we do not deny that there is very great

87 This becomes clear from the content of the letter. The Council for German Jewry (CGJ) emerged from the Jewish Rescue Committee in March 1939. Its members were leading representatives of the British Jewish community and American Jews; the AJJDC was also a formal member. It designed settlement plans for German Jews in and out of Europe. However, the CGJ helped almost 100,000 Jews leave Germany between 1938 and 1940, and it assisted German Jewish refugees in Britain.

88 Another copy of this letter is held at the CAHJP, file DAL 76.1 (2 pages, incomplete). Its first page has the printed letterhead and footer of the Hilfsverein. According to the pagination, it was accompanied by a cover letter. This copy has no addressee.

misery and unemployment among the refugees in Shanghai – but we do believe that within an efficient organisation and the most indispensable financial assistance of [a] great part of the refugees could be helped comparatively cheaply to gain their livelihood.

3. We know very well that the mass emigration to Shanghai and similar places is nothing but an unavoidable emergency measure. We probably would not be in so desperate a need of such solutions if there would have been in time some really comprehensive colonization scheme. And we have now the very greatest misgivings whether those plans which the Sub-Committee in London⁸⁹ is studying now might not take such a long time for preliminary work that the practical realization might come too late for a very great part of German Jewry. Therefore we cannot but repeat our most urgent request that – notwithstanding the study of such great schemes as British Guiana, Northern Rhodesia⁹⁰ etc. – an immediate start ought to be made in such countries as Paraguay or Bolivia, the general conditions of which are fairly well known and where it is certainly possible to settle at least a few hundred families in a very short time.

We believe, dear Sirs, that it is an English principle to trust the man on the spot. Please trust us when we tell you that we are unable to diminish the emigration from Germany and that the only possibility to prevent our people from going to such places as Shanghai lies in the finding of some more constructive opportunities for their emigration.

We beg to remain, dear Sirs,

Sincerely yours,

HILFSVEREIN DER JUDEN IN DEUTSCHLAND

Dr. Franz Israel Bischofswerder

Dr. Arthur Israel Prinz

Victor Israel Löwenstein

[2] This letter has been sent to the Chairman, the Rt. Hon. Viscount Samuel,⁹¹ the Council for German Jewry.

89 This was the Sub-Committee of the Coordinating Committee for Refugees (CCR, see below, n. 132). It consisted of members of several Jewish and non-Jewish organizations and members of the CCR.

90 These were described among the possible emigration destinations, in Norman Bentwich, *Wanderer between Two Worlds*, London 1941, 288. Bentwich was a leading member of the CGJ (see below, n. 129).

91 Right Honorable. Herbert Samuel (1870–1963) was a British Jewish politician. A member of Parliament since 1902, he became the first High Commissioner of Pales-

Copies have been forwarded to:
 Mr. Stephany,⁹² Mr. Otto Schiff⁹³ and some foreign organizations
 (American Joint Distribution Committee, Paris. Hicem,⁹⁴ Pais [sic].
 Refugees Economic Corporation,⁹⁵ New York.)

Document 10

*Herbert Hagen*⁹⁶ (SD)

May 31, 1939

Typewritten administrative note, 1 page. The page has two illegible handwritten signatures, one across paragraph II., and one at the end of the page.

Microfilm; YVA, RG 0.51.OSO, file 41

tine and Transjordan (1920–1925). In 1916 and 1931–1932 Samuel served as Home Secretary, and in 1937 he was ennobled. He was chairman of the British Section of the CGJ and supported the Kindertransporte.

92 Maurice Stephany was Joint Secretary of the CGJ.

93 Otto M. Schiff (1875–1952) was active in the CGJ. Before that he presided over the Jew's Temporary Shelter in London, which had assisted Jewish refugees from Russia since the 1880s.

94 HICEM was established in 1927 when three Jewish organizations concerned with emigration merged; its name is an acronym of these organizations: HIAS, JCA (Jewish Colonization Association, Paris), and EMIGDIREKT (Berlin). HICEM had offices in several European countries. During the war, the main office was initially in Paris, and moving to Marseille and Lissabon when Paris was occupied. It was dissolved in 1945.

95 The REC was set up by the AJJDC to inquire about settlement possibilities for Jewish refugees. It also organized agricultural and industrial training programs for them in the United States, Australia, Bolivia, and Palestine, and negotiated with British Honduras and the Philippines to establish similar programs there.

96 Herbert Hagen (1913–1999) was head of the office “Juden” at the Sicherheitsdienst (SD) from 1937 to October 1939. Shortly after the RSHA was established in September 1939, he rose to the head of Office VI H 2 (Judenfragen und Antisemitismus). In the 1940s, his major activity was in France. He had a successful career in post-war Germany and was tried in 1979 and sentenced; cf. Gerhard Paul, “Von Judenangelegenheiten hatte er bis dahin keine Ahnung.” Herbert Hagen, der Judenreferent aus Neumünster, in: Informationen zur Schleswig-Holsteinischen Zeitgeschichte 33/34 (1998), 63–78.

Berlin, den 31.5.1939

II 112⁹⁷ o

C 15

Hg/Be

Betr.: Auswanderung nach China.

I. Vermerk:

RR.⁹⁸ Lischka⁹⁹ als Beauftragter der Reichszentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung teilt am 26.5. mit, das Auswärtige Amt habe sich an die Reichszentralstelle gewandt, um eine klare Entscheidung in der Frage der weiteren Förderung der Auswanderung nach China herbeizuführen. Es sei zu entscheiden über die Weiterführung der jüdischen Auswanderung nach China oder aber – nach Meinung des Auswärtigen Amtes – den Verlust der Wirtschaftsverbindungen Deutschlands nach China.

Die Angelegenheit wird durch SS-Staf.¹⁰⁰ Müller¹⁰¹ mit dem Chef der Sicherheitspolizei¹⁰² besprochen. RR. Lischka wurde von II 112 gebeten, hierbei gleich die Gesamtfrage der Situation in der Auswanderung im alten Reichsgebiet anzuschneiden zu lassen, da im Falle einer Sperrung Chinas Massentransporte überhaupt nicht mehr möglich sein würden.

II. II 1 – Stbf. m. d. B.¹⁰³ um Kenntnisnahme und Vorlage Ltr. II.¹⁰⁴

{###}

97 II 112 was the code of the office “Juden” at the SD.

98 Regierungsrat.

99 Kurt Lischka (1909–1989) was a member of the SS since 1933 and rose to the rank of a SS-Sturmbannführer; he was active in the Gestapo since 1935. He intermittently headed the Reichszentrale für jüdische Auswanderung, established in early 1939 in Berlin in order to accelerate the emigration of Jews from Germany; despite its name, it organized the deportation of Jews from late 1939 onward. Lischka held various high posts in the Nazi establishment in Germany as well as in France. He managed to extricate himself from every judicial proceeding against him in the postwar period, and retired peacefully in 1975.

100 Standartenführer.

101 The reference is obviously to Heinrich Müller (1901–?), who was for a short time head of the Reichszentrale für jüdische Auswanderung before he became head of Department IV at the RSHA from 1939 to 1945. Toward the end of World War II he disappeared without a trace.

102 The chief of the Sicherheitspolizei at that time was Heinrich Himmler.

103 Sturmbannführer mit der Bitte.

104 Until September 1939, the head of Section II was Franz Six (1909–1975).

III. Durchschrift II 112 1¹⁰⁵ zur Kenntnis und Unterrichtung der Zentralstelle
Wien nach Vorliegender Entscheidung von C.¹⁰⁶

II 112

{###}

Document 11

[Illegible] (Gestapo, Berlin)¹⁰⁷ to SD¹⁰⁸

March 20, 1939

Typewritten letter, 2 pages. The first page has a printed letterhead, the date and registry number were inserted by typewriter; on the bottom is the typewritten addressee (“An das SD-Hauptamt, Berlin SW 68”). The first page has a receipt stamp (March 22, 1939), and a handwritten section number (“II 112”) with an illegible signature below. On the bottom of the second page there are four different signatures (illegible) and a section number (“II 1120/ C 15”), all handwritten.

Microfilm; YVA, RG 0.51.OSO, file 41

Geheime Staatspolizei

Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt

B.-Nr. II E 1 – 330/39.

Berlin SW 11, den 20. März 1939

Prinz Albrecht Strasse 8

Fernsprecher: 12 00 40

Betrifft: Jüdische Kapitalverschiebung nach dem Ausland.

Aus zuverlässiger vertraulicher Quelle wurde mir folgendes mitgeteilt:

105 From 1937 onward, the head of Office II 112 at the SD was Theodor Dannecker (1913–1945). Since late 1939 he served in Office IV D 4 at the RSHA; from 1942 onward, he organized the deportation of Jews from France, Bulgaria, Italy, and Hungary. He cooperated closely with Eichmann.

106 Organizational signature for Reinhard Heydrich (1904–1942) who became, after a rapid ascent in the SS and in the Sicherheitsdienst, head of the Sicherheitspolizei in 1936.

107 The Gestapo, founded in 1933, had extensive competences in combating political opponents. From the end of September 1939 it was part of the RSHA as Division IV, but it also generally retained its old tasks. The notorious Judenreferat under Adolf Eichmann was the Gestapo office IV B 4 within the RSHA, where anti-Jewish measures were coordinated.

108 For the SD, see above, n. 96.

„Anfang März wurde in einer Zeitung angekündigt, dass in nächster Zeit 12 000 Juden aus Deutschland nach Schanghai kommen. Überhaupt kommen mit jedem grösseren Schiff in kurzen Abständen – etwa 2–3 Wochen – hunderte von Juden an. Da die Wohnungsnot hier sehr gross ist und kaum noch eine Unterbringungsmöglichkeit vorhanden ist, sieht sich die Stadtverwaltung gezwungen, so schnell wie möglich Baracken für die neuankommenden Juden zu bauen. Honkow [sic], ein kleiner Stadtteil, der von den Japanern besetzt ist, ist mit hunderten von Juden angefüllt. Zur Zeit leben in Schanghai rund 5000 Juden und die Neuankömmlinge bemühen sich sofort, ein Geschäft, ein Café oder sonst einen Laden einzurichten, z.T. versuchen sie, in chinesischen Geschäften unterzukommen. Viele Juden kaufen für billiges Geld ballenweise [2] chinesische Seidenstoffe und ziehen damit von Haus zu Haus. Ihre Frechheit in der Öffentlichkeit zeigt sich ganz besonders den Chinesen gegenüber. Der Chinese wird es kaum verstehen können, dass es sich bei den Neuangekommenen nicht um Deutsche, sondern um Juden handelt, denn diese Juden geben sich als Deutsche aus. In der letzten Woche sind Gerüchte umgegangen, dass neuangekommene Jude{n} ihr ganzes Vermögen an Geld und Wertsachen – trotz der scharfen deutschen Kontrolle – mitgenommen haben. In einem Falle wurde verlautet, dass ein Jude sein ganzes Vermögen an seinem Kraftwagen hatte, nämlich die Kotflügel seines Wagens liess er aus Gold herstellen, die dann mit einer Lackschicht überzogen worden seien. In Genua soll er dann einem Bekannten triumphierend den Trick bewiesen haben, indem er mit seinem Taschenmesser etwas Lack von dem Kotflügel abkrazte und dabei geäussert haben [sic], dass Hitler schlau sei, aber wir Juden sind eben doch schlauer. Sein Wagen soll bei der Durchsuchung von Zollbeamten vollkommen zerschnitten worden sein, auf die „goldenen“ Kotflügel sei man aber nicht gekommen.“

Im Auftrage:

{#. G#k#opf}

Document 12

[Illegible] (SD-Oberabschnitt Elbe)¹⁰⁹ to SD¹¹⁰

June 2, 1939

Typewritten letter, 2 pages. The first page has a printed letterhead; the sender (department, name signatures) and the place are typewritten, the date is stamped. The first page contains a receipt stamp (July 27, 1939).

Microfilm; YVA, RG 0.51.OSO, file 41

Der Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführers-SS
 Der SD-Führer des SS-Oberabschnittes Elbe
 Hauptabteilung II, II 112 – SA: II 112 0, C 312 Leipzig, den 2. Juni 1939
 Kle/Ks.

An das
 SD-Hauptamt, Abtl. II 112,
Berlin.

Eilt sehr!¹¹¹

Betr.: Sabotage der jüdischen Auswanderung.

Vorg.: Ohne.

Wie in mehreren Fällen festgestellt wurde, geben jüdische Stellen über auswanderungslustige Juden schlechte Auskünfte. Dadurch wird es den betreffenden Juden unmöglich gemacht, ihre Auswanderungsabsichten in die Tat umzusetzen, da sich naturgemäss jeder Staat weigern wird, Juden, die selbst von ihren eigenen Rassegenossen als minderwertig, kriminell belastet usw. hingestellt werden, aufzunehmen.

Diese Arbeitsweise gewisser jüdischer Stellen soll nunmehr, wie aus dem Rundschreiben der Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland, Abtlg. Wanderung, A Nr. 244 vom 19.5.1939, hervorgeht, allgemein eingeführt werden. Die Folge davon wäre, dass in Deutschland tatsächlich letztenendes nur das Minderwertigste, was das Judentum überhaupt hervorgebracht hat, übrig bleibt.

Es wird deshalb gebeten, durch das Gestapa-Berlin¹¹² eine Verfügung zu erwirken, durch die es möglich wird, alle Juden in ein Konzentrationslager

¹⁰⁹ The SD was divided into several regional sections and sub-sections.

¹¹⁰ For the SD, see above, n. 96.

¹¹¹ Stamp.

¹¹² Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt.

zu überführen, die von einer jüdischen Stelle nach irgendeiner Richtung hin schlecht beurteilt werden.

[[2]] Erfahrungsgemäss wird die Auswanderung inhaftierter Juden von allen jüdischen Stellen besonders eifrig betrieben, sodass diese dadurch zuerst mit zur Auswanderung kommen.

Durch den SD-Unterabschnitt Leipzig wurde die Staatspolizeistelle Leipzig über diese Angelegenheit bereits unterrichtet, die sich ihrerseits mit dem Gestapa-Berlin in Verbindung gesetzt hat.

1 Anlage!

Der SD-Führer des SS-Oberabschnittes Elbe
i.V.

{#. ##lt# i.V.}

SS-Sturmbannführer u. Stabsführer¹¹³

Document 13

*Eduard Kann*¹¹⁴ (CEAJR) to unknown¹¹⁵

November 11, 1939

Typewritten report, 3 pages; each page has a typewritten header mentioning the CAEJR. On the first page is handwritten "(By Mr. E. Kann)," on the bottom is a receipt stamp (January 22, 1940). The report was obviously accompanied by a cover letter because the pagination on the bottom starts with "2;" the second sheet has pagination on the bottom ("3") and the top ("2") of the sheet, the third sheet is paginated only on the top ("3"). All paginations are typewritten.

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 458

113 Except for the illegible signature, the last 4 lines are stamped. "I. V.," meaning "In Vertretung."

114 Kann (1880–1962) was born in Austria and was well known as both a banker and a leading authority on Chinese coins and Chinese monetary systems. He came to China in 1901, working for several banking houses in Manchuria and Tianjin before coming to Shanghai in 1925. During World War II, he acted as vice-chairman of the CAEJR. After the war, he settled in the United States.

115 According to the filing in the AJJDC archives, the report was very likely prepared for the American Joint.

Abstract

Due to the housing shortage, by August 1939 the Japanese proposed stopping further entry of European refugees. At a meeting of the three political authorities governing Shanghai, the French, the Japanese, and the British (SMC), certain conditions for entering Shanghai were agreed on, but were not accepted by the French. After the beginning of World War II the Japanese too refused to accept the regulations, and only the SMC adhered to them. Emigrants wanting to come to Shanghai needed to submit applications for permits to reside in one of Shanghai's three areas. In addition to the entry permits, possession of funds was required.

COMMITTEE FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF EUROPEAN JEWISH
REFUGEES IN SHANGHAI

Shanghai, 11th November 1939

REPORT on the Problem of Immigration
into China on the part of European Refugees.

Until August 1939, the entry of foreigners into China, or rather into Shanghai, took place unhindered [sic] and without control on the part of anyone of the existing authorities. It was not even necessary to have one's passport visaed by Chinese Consulates abroad because since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War (August 1937) no inspection of passports held by immigrants of any nation took place here.

On August 9, 1939, the Japanese Consulate General of Shanghai wrote to our Committee, stating that while the view was maintained that all races were equal and that, due to sympathy with the plight of the Jewish people, the Japanese authorities had thus far placed no restrictions upon their coming into the area controlled by the Japanese forces. As the housing question there had become precarious, also for the numerous Japanese coming here, "the Japanese authorities had reached the conclusion that they should take such steps as are within their power to stop temporarily a further increase of European refugees to the existing number, pending the study of the possibility of accommodating a greater number of refugees in Shanghai." Simultaneously registration by means of special forms of all emigrants domiciled in the Japanese-controlled areas were ordered by the authorities.

This measure brought forth direct reactions from the other two administrations, namely the Shanghai Municipal Council and the French Concession.

Our Committee succeeded in arranging that at least all those emigrants who had embarked in any of the home ports for China until 19th August

should be permitted to land in Shanghai without hindrance. At the same time a committee was formed, consisting of representatives of the three authorities governing Shanghai.¹¹⁶ Meetings took place at once, in order to determine whether and on what terms limited immigration into Shanghai could take place. Our Committee delegated one of its members, Mr. E. Kann, to take part in these deliberations and to generally represent and protect the interests of the refugees.

After carefully gauging the views held by the representatives of the three authorities and cautiously sensing eventual possibilities for concessions on behalf of future immigrants, Mr. Kann submitted the following proposals in writing:

[2] (1) People in possession of £. 50 (or its equivalent) could enter Shanghai without permit, the said sum to hold good also for married couples. For each child £. 10 extra.

(2) Near relatives could enter without special monetary reserves, provided they had obtained a permit from the authorities governing the district in which the immigrant was to reside. This meant parents, children, brothers, and sisters.

(3) Emigrants, on whose behalf a contract for engagement by a reputable Shanghai firm for at least one year was issued, ought to obtain an entry permit.

(4) Fiancées, provided they undertook to get married within one month after landing here.

(5) Emigrants, passing through here, but whose final destination is not Shanghai (for instance, Manchuria, North China, Japan, etc.).

After long bargaining Mr. Kann's suggestions were adopted, though in a modified form, namely:

ad (1) The amount was raised to £. 100 per person (not couple) and to £. 10 for every child.

ad (2) Immediate relatives were to be admitted, but not sisters or brothers. Admittance was tied to the condition that the applicant was already a resident of Shanghai and that he could prove to the satisfaction of the Admittance Board¹¹⁷ that he is financially strong enough to maintain the near relatives claimed for entry into Shanghai.

116 The members of this committee, established on August 8, 1939, were the French vice-consul Georges Cattand for the French Concession, Ernest T. Nash (see ch. 2, n. 50) for the SMC, and Japanese consul Ishiguro Shirō (see ch. 2, n. 28). Kann was delegated by the CAEJR as observer and consultant.

117 Also Refugee Admittance Committee; see Document 31.

ad (3) and ad (4) no alterations were effected, while (5) was accepted in principle.

When all conditions were agreed upon, and on the eve of their intended publications, the French authorities stated that they preferred not to be bound by any rules; instead they were willing to consider every single application upon its merits. Then the Japanese authorities (at a successive meeting) said that paragraph (1), relative to the possession of funds when landing in Shanghai, would have no meaning as far as the areas under their administration was concerned, but the other conditions would stand as agreed upon. [3] Meanwhile war had broken out in Europe. The French authorities now declared that they would not accept any application relative to the entry of Central European refugees into their Concession. While they would continue to allow existing emigrants to continue living there, they were determined to refuse further immigration into their district, or even to grant permission to refugees already domiciled in Shanghai, to take out licenses for carrying on a trade or profession in the French Concession.

Soon thereafter the Japanese Consulate General also stated that the authorities (probably military) had resolved that they would not be bound by any regulations pertaining to immigration. They will receive applications, without, however, being bound to grant entry permits. It was made clear to us that very few would be granted.

The only official body that stuck to the original agreement is the Shanghai Municipal Council. Applications are received in a most humane spirit and attended to with the utmost despatch.

Until November 11, when this report is being drawn up, over 700 applications were sent in to our Committee and carefully examined as to their bona fides by a special staff consisting of two employees. Then they are sent for final approval to Mr. E. Kann, who attends to them under all circumstances the same night on which they reach him, putting on his recommendations or, if essential, returning them to the applicants with appropriate remarks. Then the applications are ready to be placed before the proper authorities.

So far the Shanghai Municipal Police has granted numerous entry permits. As a rule these are deposited here with the shipping company, which informs its home office accordingly, so that the emigrants can embark. A fairly large number of applications has been sent to the Japanese Consulate General, and, though altogether 112 such applications were submitted (the first lot on November 8, 1939) only two permits were granted up to now; and these referred to people who were marooned at Bombay. From private sources it is evident that the French authorities have granted four permits.

The possession of an entry permit (in force for four months) does not solve the entire problem, because the question of the passage money has

to be attended to. Same is no more payable in marks, but in U.S. currency, which emigrants rarely possess. From apperances [sic] one must come to the conclusion that about 75 % of the applicants in possession of entry permits might not be able to utilize same for lack of funds.

Document 14

Anonymous (SMP)¹¹⁸

December 13, 1938

Typewritten report, 1 page. The page has a stamp ("SECRET") and a printed letterhead; the date and the subject are filled in by typewriter.

Microfilm; NARA (SMP Investigation Files, 1894–1944, Records of the CIA), RG 263, reel 17, file D 5422 (c)

File No.

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE.

Section 1, Special Branch¹¹⁹ .. ~~Station~~,
REPORT Date ... December 13, 1938

Subject ... Alleged attitude of the Japanese Authorities towards Jewish refugees
Made by Forwarded by

It would appear from information received from Mr. A. Pourin during the course of a casual telephone conversation to-day that the Japanese Authorities express deep concern regarding the continued influx in Shanghai of Jewish refugees from Europe, among whom they suspect the presence of communistic and pro-communistic elements. According to Pourin, North China and Japan have been closed to these refugees, and measures are being discussed as to what could be done in Shanghai in this respect. Among the measures suggested was the establishment of a passport examination system on ships arriving in Shanghai. It was also suggested that Jewish refugees residing in the

¹¹⁸ For the SMP, see above, n. 25.

¹¹⁹ This was the intelligence unit of the Shanghai Municipal Police; cf. Gao, Shanghai, 86.

area North of [the] Creek¹²⁰ must be in possession of certificates of “political reliability” from the local German Consulate or other Consulates concerned.
 Certified true copy.¹²¹
 {H. C. Eardley}

Document 15

*G. Godfrey Phillips*¹²² (SMC) to AJJDC¹²³
 December 24, 1938
 Typewritten cable, 1 page.
 Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 416¹²⁴

SHANGHAI
 December 24, 1938
 NLT
 JointDisco
 New York

MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT SHANGHAI IS GRAVELY PERTURBED BY ABNORMAL INFLUX OF JEWISH REFUGEES SHANGHAI IS ALREADY FACING MOST SERIOUS REFUGEE PROBLEM DUE TO SINOJAPANESE HOSTILITIES IT IS QUITE IMPOSSIBLE TO ABSORB ANY LARGE NUMBER OF FOREIGN REFUGEES COUNCIL EARNESTLY REQUESTS YOUR ASSISTANCE IN PREVENTING ANY FURTHER REFUGEES COMING TO SHANGHAI COUNCIL MAY BE COMPELLED TO TAKE STEPS TO PREVENT FURTHER REFUGEES LANDING IN INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT.

PHILLIPS SECRETARY COUNCIL

120 The area north of the Creek was part of the International Settlement with flourishing industry and commerce.

121 Stamp.

122 George Godfrey Phillips (1900–1965) was appointed secretary to the SMC in 1936 and Commissioner General in 1940. He returned to England in 1942, after the start of the Pacific War.

123 For the AJJDC, see the General Introduction, n. 1.

124 Text partly published in Eber, *Wartime*, 87.

{copies to PB JNR HHL Geo. Backer WR Alex. Kahn DWB JBW IEG Mrs. F. M. Warburg Ed. M M. Warburg Mrs. Goldstein Mrs. Razovsky}¹²⁵

Document 16

*George Ogilvie Forbes*¹²⁶ (*British Embassy, Berlin*) to *Viscount Halifax*¹²⁷ (*British Foreign Secretary*)

January 17, 1939

Typewritten letter, 1 page; on the bottom appears the recipient (“The Right Honourable, The Viscount Halifax, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., etc. etc. etc.”). The letter is preceded by a registrar’s form mentioning the sender’s name and displaying several registry initials and names (not reproduced). It also has a typewritten subject summary (reproduced in full). Both pages have a receipt stamp (January 19, 1939).

PRO, FO 371/24079 (22652)

Jewish Refugees in Shanghai.

Refers to Foreign Office telegram No. 1 of 3rd January (W 17001/104/48).

A circular was addressed to British consular officers in Germany informing them of the position in Shanghai and instructing them to warn local Jewish organisations and local steamship companies and agencies. It was not considered that the German authorities could usefully be approached in the matter.

125 The recipients of copies of this letter were leading members of the AJJDC and private individuals closely affiliated with it: Paul Baerwald (see ch. 3, n. 102), James n. Rosenberg, Herbert H. Lehmann, George Backer, William Rosenwald, Alexander Kahn, DWB (?), Jonah B. Wise, I. Edwin Goldwasser, Edward M. M. Warburg, Frieda Warburg, Harriet Goldstein, Cecilia (Davidson) Razovsky.

126 Ogilvie Forbes (1891–1954) was Counselor and Chargé d’Affaires at the British Embassy in Berlin from early 1937 until September 1939. In this function, he wrote several reports to the British government and to the Foreign Secretary; cf. Louise London, *Whitehall and the Jews, 1933–1948. British Immigration Policy and the Holocaust*, London 2003, 97–99.

127 Edward Wood, Viscount Halifax (1881–1959), British Foreign Secretary from 1938 to 1940.

Encloses copies of replies from his Majesty's consular officers at Hamburg and Bremen together with copy of a minute by the Passport Control Officer.

[[1]] No. 65
(22/30/39)

British Embassy,
Berlin,
17th January, 1939

My Lord,

I have the honour to report that on receipt of your telegram No. 1 of January 3rd regarding the influx of Jewish refugees into Shanghai, I addressed a circular to British consular officers in Germany informing them of the position and instructing them where possible to warn local Jewish organisations and also, at their discretion, local steamship companies or agencies of the situation. I also requested His Majesty's Consular Representatives in Bremen and Hamburg to report, if possible, the number of refugees sailing for the Far East from German ports in their consular districts. I did not, however, consider that it would serve any useful purpose to approach the German authorities in the matter.

2. I now have the honour to forward herewith copies of despatches which I have received from Mr. Robinson and Mr. Wildman and also a copy of a minute which has been addressed to me by the Passport Control Officer.

I have the honour to be,

With the highest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

humble Servant,

{###}

Document 17

Walter Roberts¹²⁸ (*British Foreign Office*) to Norman Bentwich¹²⁹ (*Council for German Jewry*)

January 20, 1939

Typewritten letter (copy), 3 pages (stamped pagination 7–9); on the bottom of the first page appears the typewritten recipient's address ("Norman Bentwich, Esq., Council for German Jewry, Woburn House, Upper Woburn Place, W.C.1."). PRO, FO 371/24079 (22652)

(W 519/519/48)

Foreign Office, S.W.1.
20th January, 1939.

Sir,

I am directed by Viscount Halifax to refer to your letter NB/DLM of the 6th January, regarding the position of destitute refugees from Germany at Shanghai.

2. In reply I am to explain that there is under the existing regulations no system of passport inspection or immigration control at Shanghai, so that it is impossible to diminish the flow of refugees to that city by measures taken locally. Such a result can only be obtained by bringing home to refugees proposing to travel to Shanghai the extreme gravity of the position there and by taking all possible steps to dissuade them while still in Europe from any attempt to proceed there. It is understood that the Jewish organisations in London and Paris have in fact been endeavouring for some time past to deter further refugees from going to Shanghai. His Majesty's Representatives at Berlin, Rome and Prague have now been requested to take any action they may think possible to the same end. Furthermore His Majesty's Consul-General at Shanghai has been requested to take all possible steps locally with a

128 Roberts (1893–1978), a British diplomat, served as head of the Western (Europe) Department at the Foreign Office in London; cf. Paul Preston/Ann L. Mackenzie (eds.), *The Republic Besieged. Civil War in Spain 1936–1939*, Edinburgh 1996, 14.

129 Norman de Mattos Bentwich (1883–1971) was a British expert on international law and a leading Anglo-Jewish Zionist. He was appointed attorney general of Mandatory Palestine in 1922 and served as Deputy High Commissioner of the Committee for Refugees at the League of Nations from 1933 onward and Director of the CGJ for several years; cf. Richard Breitmann/Barbara McDonald Stewart/Severin Hochberg (eds.), *Advocate for the Doomed. The Diaries and Papers of James G. McDonald 1932–1935*, Bloomington Ind. 2007, 114.

view to obtaining admission for individual refugees to the United States and the British Dominions and to enlist the help of other Jewish communities in the Far East. The League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Director of the London Inter-Governmental Committee have been kept informed of the position.¹³⁰

3. Nevertheless His Majesty's Consul-General at Shanghai now reports that the Committee for the assistance of European Jews [sic] in Shanghai have no more funds in hand and from this week onwards will be unable to make any provision not only for such new refugees as may arrive but also for those already in Shanghai. This account of the seriousness of the position is fully confirmed by His Majesty's Ambassador in China,¹³¹ who requests that the attention of the Jewish organisations in London may be called to the urgent need for relief.

4. So far as action by His Majesty's Government is concerned, it is feared that no further steps can usefully be taken beyond those mentioned in paragraph 2 above. It will be understood that no Government funds are available for the settlement of refugees, and that the schemes of settlement in colonial territories will provide no openings for any appreciable number of refugees for many months, so that there is no possibility of any immediate alleviation of the present conditions from this direction.

5. In the circumstances it appears that the problem can only be solved with the co-operation of the voluntary organisations, by whom the real gravity of the position at Shanghai can best be brought home to individual refugees. I am accordingly to request that you will give all possible assistance with a view to achieving this object and thereby dissuading refugees from proceeding to Shanghai.

6. A similar request for co-operation is being addressed to the Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees, 5 Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.,¹³² and the League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Director of the London Inter-Governmental Committee are being informed of the present correspondence.

130 The High Commissioner was Herbert W. Emerson (1881–1962). He also served as director of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, whose creation was a result of the Evian Conference in 1938.

131 Archibald Clark Kerr (1882–1951) was a British senior diplomat and ambassador in Shanghai from 1938 to 1942.

132 The Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees was a subsidiary body of the British Home Office, granting financial support to voluntary organizations that helped Jewish refugees, cf. London, Whitehall, 67 f. and passim.

I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant
 (Sd.)¹³³
 Walter Roberts

Document 18

*Heinrich Schlie*¹³⁴ (*Hanseatisches Reisebüro*) to *Herbert Hagen*¹³⁵ (SD)
 February 17, 1939

Typewritten letter, 1 page; on the printed letterhead, the date was inserted by typewriter; the bottom of the page has an illegible handwritten addition of c. 12 words. Microfilm; YVA, RG 0.51.OSO, file 41

Hanseatisches Reisebureau
 Heinrich Schlie

Wien IV	Berlin W 30
Prinz Eugenstraße 16	Eisenacher Straße 113,
Telefon: U 46 497	Telefon: 27 27 78
Telegramm-Adresse: Schliebureau	

Wien IV, den 17. Februar 1939
 Prinz Eugenstr. 16

Herrn
 Ostuf.¹³⁶ Hagen
 S.-D.-Hauptamt
Berlin SW. 68.
 Wilhelmstrasse 105.

In Verfolg der vor ca. 1 Woche gehaltenen Besprechung hatte ich sofort eine eingehende Verhandlung mit der japanischen Botschaft. Ich möchte nicht verfehlen, Ihnen anliegend einen Durchschlag meines Briefes an die japanische Botschaft zu überreichen, der den ganzen Inhalt meiner Besprechung wiederholt und hoffe, Ihnen baldigst den gewünschten Bericht erstatten zu können.

Allgemein besteht auf japanischer Seite keine Begeisterung für die jüdische Einwanderung, angeblich hauptsächlich deshalb, weil sich mehrfach

133 Signed. The following name is stamped.

134 About Schlie, see above, n. 10.

135 About Hagen, see above, n. 96.

136 Obersturmführer.

in der Umgegend von Shanghai jüdische Einwanderer den Chinesen zu Spionagezwecken zur Verfügung stellten. Die übrigens wirtschaftlichen Argumente, dass europäische Handwerker etc. der höheren Lebensansprüche wegen den einheimischen Handwerkern gegenüber nicht konkurrenzfähig seien, wurden ebenfalls vorgebracht.

Heil Hitler!

1 Anlage!

HANSEATISCHES REISEBUREAU

{Heinrich Schlie}

Document 19

*Heinrich Schlie*¹³⁷ (*Hanseatisches Reisebüro*) to *Japanese Embassy, Berlin*¹³⁸

February 17, 1939

Typewritten memorandum (copy), 2 pages; two typewritten cover letters (each 1 page) show that one copy was forwarded to Herbert Hagen, SD (dating March 22, 1939: the sender is illegible) and another copy was sent by the SD to Kurt Lischka, Gestapo (no date, the receipt stamp dated April 21, 1939). While the latter cover letter has several registry marks, stamps, and illegible handwritten signatures, the first one has, except for the illegible signature, none of these.

Microfilm; YVA, RG 0.51.OSO, file 41

Wien, den 22. März 1939.

An

SS-H'Stuf.¹³⁹ Herbert Hagen,

Berlin SW 68,

Wilhelmstrasse 102.

Lieber Herbert!

In der Anlage schicke ich Dir den Bericht von Schlie, der vermutlich seinerzeit irrtümlicherweise nicht in den Briefumschlag, den ich Dir anlässlich meines Aufenthaltes in Berlin übergab, mit eingelegt wurde.

Heil Hitler!

{#####}

137 About Schlie, see above, n. 10.

138 At the time, the Japanese ambassador to Germany in Berlin was Ōshima Hiroshi.

139 Hauptsturmführer.

[[1]] II 112 oVFG.¹⁴⁰

C 15

Dö/Pi

1. Schr.¹⁴¹

An den Chef der Sicherheitspolizei,
S-PP¹⁴² (II Rz)
z.H.v.¹⁴³ Regierungsrat Lischka

Berlin SW 11

Betr.: Jüdische Auswanderung nach Ostasien
Vorg.: Dort. A.Z.¹⁴⁴ S-PP (II Rz) Nr. 6439 v. 3.4.39
Anliegend wird der erbetene Bericht des Hanseatischen Reisebüros v. 17.2.39
in Abschrift übersandt.

1 Anlg.¹⁴⁵2. zdA:¹⁴⁶ s.o.

[[1]]

Abschrift!

17. Februar 1939

Verehrl.¹⁴⁷

Kaiserl. Japanische Botschaft

Berlin W. 62.

Ahornstrasse 1.

Wir bestätigen die gelegentlich der Anwesenheit des Unterzeichneten in
Berlin mit Ihrem sehr geehrten Herrn Botschaftsrat gehabte eingehende Be-
sprechung bezüglich der Einwanderung von Juden aus Deutschland in die
unter japanischer Verwaltung stehenden chinesischen Gebiete.

140 Verfügung.

141 Schreiben or Schriftstück.

142 Politische Polizei. An office of the Security Police in the RSHA, section II of the Political Police was responsible for the "fight against enemies" of the regime; the head of this section was Heinrich Müller.

143 Zu Händen von.

144 Dortiges Aktenzeichen.

145 Anlage.

146 Zu den Akten.

147 Verehrliche.

Wie Ihnen dargelegt, ist es unser Bestreben, die gegenwärtige wilde Auswanderung nach Shanghai in die richtigen Bahnen zu lenken. Es muss notgedrungen zu einer Katastrophe führen, wenn der starke Zustrom von solchen Auswanderern nach Shanghai allein ungehemmt andauert und zwar sowohl für die Einwanderer selbst als auch für das Gebiete [sic] von Shanghai. Wir begreifen, wenn bei Ihren Verwaltungsstellen hier und da Bedenken gegen einen solchen Zuzug bestehen, wenn sich unter diesen Einwanderern tatsächlich Menschen befunden haben, die sich für Spionagezwecke hergaben, die gegen die japanischen Interessen gerichtet sind. Es dürften dies aber immer nur Ausnahmefälle sein, denen für die Beurteilung des Gesamtproblems keine ernste Bedeutung zukommt. Wir unterstellten in unserer Besprechung mit Ihnen, dass die Juden an sich immerhin als wertvolles Aufbauelement angesehen werden dürften, die für die Wiederbelebung der Wirtschaft in den vermutlich recht grossen devastierten Kriegsgebieten erwünscht seien. Wie Ihnen mündlich dargelegt, erachten wir es als dringend erwünscht und zwar im Interesse aller Beteiligten, dass der Auswandererstrom von Shanghai ab und in andere geeignete Gebiete umgeleitet werde. Wir regten deshalb an, dass Ihre verehrliche Regierung auch die Auswanderung solcher Menschen nach Tientsin,¹⁴⁸ Laitschou,¹⁴⁹ Tschifu,¹⁵⁰ Tsingtao,¹⁵¹ Tschingkiaug¹⁵² etc. etc. zulassen möchte. Eine Entlastung Shanghais dürfte unbedingt notwendig sein. Wir betonten in unserer Besprechung wiederholt, dass wir in der ganzen Angelegenheit nur im Einverständnis mit Ihnen bezw. Ihren Verwaltungsbehörden in den chinesischen Gebieten vorgehen möchten und wiederholen deshalb unsere Bitte, unsere Anregung zu überprüfen. Wenngleich die bestehenden internationalen Verträge jedem Inhaber [[2]] eines deutschen Passes erlauben, in den unter japanischer Verwaltung stehenden Gebieten zu landen, so möchten wir doch verhindern, dass Juden aus Deutschland planlos in irgendwelche japanischen Gebiete auf dem Festlande einwandern. Wir legen vielmehr grössten Wert darauf, bei unseren Bestrebungen auf die Unterstützung der japanischen Behörden rechnen zu dürfen und wären Ihnen deshalb sehr zu Dank verbunden, wenn Sie uns gütigst unsere Bemühungen erleichtern und uns Richtlinien geben wollten, wohin wir die jüdische Auswanderung nach Ostasien zum Nutzen der unter japanischer Verwaltung stehenden Gebiete als auch der Auswanderer selbst leiten sollen.

148 Tianjin.

149 Laizhou, south of Tianjin.

150 Cheefu, today Yantai.

151 Qingdao.

152 Misspelling; probably Chenkiang, pinyin Zhenjiang.

Einer baldigen Rückäusserung von Ihnen sehen wir mit Interesse entgegen und empfehlen wir uns Ihnen mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung
HANSEATISCHES REISEBUREAU

Document 20

*Heinrich Schlie*¹⁵³

March 5, 1939

Typewritten report, 3 pages; the first page has a printed letterhead, the date was inserted by typewriter; it has several handwritten corrections and underlines. The report is preceded by a typewritten cover letter (1 page, dated March 6, 1939) by Adolf Eichmann (Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung, Vienna) to Herbert Hagen (SD); it has a printed letterhead, the date and the registry number was inserted by typewriter. The cover letter has two stamps; one is from the Zentralstelle, the other is a receipt stamp from the Gestapo (March 11, 1939). The page has several handwritten initials. Microfilm; YVA, RG 0.51.OSO, file 41

Zentralstelle

für

jüd. Auswanderung

Wien, IV., den 6. März 1939

Prinz Eugenstraße 22

Fernsprecher U 45-4-40 und U 45-4-45

S. 1 - 629/39 Ech/L

An das SD-Hauptamt,
II 112, z.H. SS-H' Stuf. Hagen,
Berlin SW 68,
Wilhelmstrasse 102

Betrifft: Jüdische Auswanderung nach Ostasien.

Vorgang: Ohne

Anlage: 1

In der Anlage wird zur dortigen Kenntnisnahme ein Bericht von Schlie über die in Betreff genannte Angelegenheit übersandt.

153 About Schlie, see above, n. 10.

Der Leiter der Zentralstelle
für jüdische Auswanderung:
{i.V. Eichmann}¹⁵⁴

(8.3.39):

1. Hauptregistratur zum Verbuchen
2. Urschriftlich unter Rückgabe an die
Geheime Staatspolizei
Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt, II B,
Reg. Rat Lischka,
Berlin
II 1/2
{xxx}

[|1|] Hanseatisches Reisebureau
 Heinrich Schlie

Wien IV	Berlin W 30
Prinz Eugenstraße 16	Eisenacher Straße 113,
Telefon: U 46 497	Telefon: 27 27 78
Telegramm-Adresse: Schliebureau	

Wien IV, den 5. März 1939.
Prinz Eugenstr. 16

Betr. jüdische Auswanderung nach Ostasien.

Auf Grund meiner vorangehenden Verhandlungen mit der Japanischen Botschaft erhielt ich den Bescheid, dass die Verhältnisse sich noch nicht soweit entwickelt hätten, um meiner Anregung bezüglich der jüdischen Einwanderung nach anderen ch{in}esischen Plätzen, als Shanghai nähertreten zu können. – Ich werde deshalb die Verhandlungen mit der Japanischen Botschaft {b}innen kurzem neu aufnehmen.

Bei meinen Verhandlungen mit der Chinesischen Botschaft bekam ich den Eindruck, auf mehr Entgegenkommen rechnen zu dürfen.¹⁵⁵ – Unabhängig von der tatsächlichen Einwanderung nach China wurden mir pro forma-Visa zugesichert für eine illegale Auswanderung nach Palestina [sic]. –

154 Eichmann signed “i. V.” (in Vertretung) because until June 1939, Walter Stahlecker was the official head of the Central Office, even if Eichmann was its de facto director.

155 In effect, Chinese consulates in Europe such as those in England, Sweden, and the Netherlands, were granting visas without difficulties, cf. AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 732, letter from I. Valk, Vilna, to HICEM, Lisbon, and HIAS New York, October 7, 1940.

Die Gebührenfrage, wie das Schmiergeld für den vermittelnden Kanzler im Passbüro wird bis zu meinem nächsten Aufenthalt in Berlin festgesetzt werden und bedang man sich absolute Diskretion aus. Deshalb sollen die Verhandlungen nur zwischen dem erwähnten Kanzler und mir unter vier Augen geführt werden.

Soweit es sich um die tatsächliche Einwanderung nach China handelt, verlangt man für Kaufleute und ähnliche „unproduktive Berufe“ ein Landungsgeld pro Kopf in Höhe von Dollars 500,—. Wenn es sich um Aufbau-Elemente handelt, wie Ingenieure, Maschinenbauer, Elektrotechniker, Architekten etc., sowie Ärzte ~~handelt~~{,} will man das Visum mit einem Landungsgeld von Dollars 200,— pro Familie gewähren. – Man hatte auch nichts dagegen, wenn ich Auswanderer in grösserer Zahl nach Tientsin, Canton¹⁵⁶ etc. bringen würde und wehrte sich auch nicht dagegen, als i{ch} andeutete, dass ich evtl. Sonderdampfer organisieren möchte. – Ich kann mich aber nicht dazu entschliessen, solche grossen Transporte durchzuführen solange die Japaner noch die Verwaltung durch ihre Militärbehörden in Händen haben, weil ich befürchte, damit diese Abwanderungsmöglichkeit zu unterbinden. – In kleineren Trupps dürfte die Einreise auch weiter noch geduldet werden, ohne dass die Japaner eine Abänderung der internationalen Verträge verlangen, wonach die beiden Länder Inhabern deutscher bzw. japanischer Pässe die freie Einreise gegenseitig gewähren.

[|3|] Als ich die Frage des in Vorbereitung befindlichen Auswanderertransportes mit dem Sonderdampfer „USARAMO“ anschnitt, wurde mir erklärt, dass nach den vorliegenden Berichten die Japaner die Teilnehmer an diesem Transport nicht in Shanghai, sondern in Wusung¹⁵⁷ landen lassen und dann mit Strassenbauarbeiten beschäftigen würden.

{Heinrich Schlie}

156 Guangzhou.

157 Wusong, at the time a separate port town on the Whangpoo river, is now a northern part of Shanghai.

Document 21

*Heinrich Schlie*¹⁵⁸ to *H. Hagen*¹⁵⁹ (SD)

June 2, 1939

Typewritten report, 1 page; the page has a printed letterhead, the date was inserted by typewriter; on the bottom of the page is a handwritten registry sign of the "Juden" office of the SD.

Microfilm; YVA, RG 0.51.OSO, file 41

Hanseatisches Reisebureau

Heinrich Schlie

Wien IV

Berlin W 30

Prinz Eugenstraße 16

Eisenacher Straße 113,

Telefon: U 46 497

Telefon: 27 27 78

Telegramm-Adresse: Schliebureau

Wien IV, den 2. Juni 1939.

Prinz Eugenstr. 16

Betr. Shanghai-Auswanderung

Im Verfolg meiner früheren Besprechung wegen meines Vorschlages, durch Einbau von Notbetten in die regelmässigen Liniendampfer eine zusätzliche Beförderung von Juden nach Shangahi [sic] zu ermöglichen, besuchte ich heute Direktor Zar, den Leiter der hiesigen Generalvertretung der Vereinigten italienischen Linien.¹⁶⁰

Dir. Zar erklärte mir, dass seine Direktion im Prinzip ohne weiteres bereit sei, solche Schlafsäle [sic] einzurichten und die Beförderung solcher zusätzlichen Judentransporte gegen Reichsmarkzahlung zu übernehmen. – Nachdem die gehaltenen Verhandlungen mit dem RWM¹⁶¹ aber nur eine teilweise Entlastung des Clearingkontos, das zuletzt auf italienischer Seite ein solch' enormes Guthaben aufgewiesen habe, gebracht hätte, könne sich seine Direktion noch nicht entschliessen, das italienische Konto mit den grossen Beträgen zu belasten, die sich durch die Buchung von jeweils 200 zusätzlichen Passagen pro Dampfer ergeben würde. – Angeblich wurde deutscherseits eine Zahlung von eine Million in Devisen monatlich zugebilligt. – Das sei wohl

158 About Schlie, see above, n. 10.

159 About Hagen, see above, n. 96.

160 The Italia Flotte Riunite was founded in 1932 after the fusion of the three principal Italian shipping lines.

161 Reichswirtschaftsministerium.

eine Erleichterung, bedeute aber noch keinen befriedigenden Ausgleich des Kontos. – Wenn es möglich sei, über das RWM solche Zugeständnisse zu machen, dass das deutsch-italienische Clearing-Konto einigermassen ausgeglichen werde, dann würde seine Direktion ohne weiteres die Beförderung von 200 Juden zusätzlich für jede fahrplanmässige Abfahrt übernehmen.
{Heinrich Schlie}

Für Herrn SS-H'Stuf. Hagen, Berlin.
{II 112 o / C 15}

Document 22

*Adolf Eichmann*¹⁶² (Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung, Vienna) to *Herbert Hagen*¹⁶³ (SD)

June 1, 1939

*Cable, 2 pages; the first page has the printed letterhead of the "RFSS*¹⁶⁴ *Sicherheits-Dienst Nachrichtenübermittlung" (not reproduced here) and two registry stamps, one with a date (June 2, 1939) and an illegible signature.*

Microfilm; YVA, RG 0.51.OSO, file 41

SD DONAU¹⁶⁵ 3704 1.6.39 1715 TR = = ECH/L. = =
= DRINGEND, SOFORT VORLEGEN = = =
= AN DAS SD.H. AMT, Z. HD. V. SS HSTUF. HAGEN, BERLIN = =

= BETR.: AUSWANDERUNG NACH CHINA = =

= NACHSTEHEND WIRD AUSZUGSWEISE EIN BERICHT SCHLIE'S
UEBER SEINE BESPRECHUNG MIT DEN BOTSCHAFTEN VON CHINA
UND JAPAN ZUR DORT. GEF.¹⁶⁶ KENNTNISNAHME WIEDERGEGEBEN:
= = = = = DER BOTSCHAFTSRAT IN DER JAPANISCHEN O [sic] BOT-
SCHAFT LIESS DURCHBLICKEN, DASS JAPAN SICH AUS JURIDISCHEN

162 About Eichmann, see above, nn. 8, 9.

163 About Hagen, see above, 96.

164 Reichsführer SS.

165 Eichmann formally belonged to the SD Department Oberabschnitt Donau, where he had been transferred in 1938.

166 Dortigen gefälligen.

GRUENDEN NOCH NICHT DAZU ENTSCHLOSSEN HABE, GESETZMAE-
SSIGE VORSCHRIFTEN, INSBESONDERE MIT BEZUG AUF DIE EINWAN-
DERUNG ZU ERLASSEN, WEIL ES SICH AUF DEM CHINESISCHEN GE-
BIET NICHT UM EINE JAPANISCHE REGIERUNG, SONDERN NUR UM
EINE BESATZUNGSARMEE HANDLE. JAPAN HABE ABER MIT BEZUG
AUF DIE EINWANDERUNG D [sic] FUER DAS BESETZTE CHINESISCHE
GEBIET DIE GLEICHEN VORSCHRIFTEN ERLASSEN, WIE SIE FUER JA-
PAN SELBST GELTEN. DAS BEDEUTET, DASS JEDER INHABER EINES
DEUTSCHEN PASSES, GLEICHVIEL WELCHER RASSE ODER RELIGION
ER IST, UNGEHINDERT EINREISEN KOENNE. HINZUGEFUEGT WURDE
DABEI, DASS KEIN EINWANDERER ARBEIT ANNEHMEN DUERFE, WO-
DURCH EINEM EINHEIMISCHEN, ALSO CHINESEN, WIE JAPANER, DIE
STELLUNG BEZW. DER VERDIENST GENOMMEN WERDE. =

ALS ICH DANN DARAUF HINWIES, DASS DIE JAPANISCHE LINIE NIP-
PON [[2]] [Y]USEN KAISHA¹⁶⁷ ANDAUERND AUSWANDERER NACH
SHANGHAI BEFOERDERE, GAB DER BOTSCHAFTSRAT ZU, DASS BIS
AUF WEITERES DIE EINWANDERUNG NAMENTLICH NACH SHANG-
HAI, ALS INTERNATIONALE NIEDERLASSUNG UNBEHINDERT SEI =
= = IN DER CHINESISCHEN BOTSCHAFT UNTERHANDELTE ICH
MIT DEM KANZLER BEZW. LEITER DES PASSAMTES. DERSELBE ERK-
LAERTE MIR, DASS AN UND FUER SICH DIE EINWANDERUNG VON
AUFBAUELEMENTEN, WIE INGENIEUREN, KONSTRUKTEUREN,
WIRKLICHEN HANDWERKER [sic], ABER AUCH AERZTEN ERWUEN-
SCHT SEI. WOGEGEN MAN OPPONIERE, SEIEN ELEMENTE WIE
HANDLUNGSREISENDE, BANKBEAMTE, KJUFMAENNISCHE [sic] AN-
GESTELLTE T [sic] ETC. DESHALB HABE MAN FUER DIE LETZTERE
KATEGORIE VON EINWANDERERN DIE ERSCHWERENDE AUFLAGE
GEMACHT, DASS JEDER ERWACHSENE EINE [sic] VORZEIGEGELD
VON S. 500 = BEI DER LANDUNG VORWEISEN MUESSE. FUER DIE
EINWANDERER, DIE MAN ALS AUFBAUELEMENTE ANSIEHT, WURDE
DIESES VORZEIGEGELD AUF S. 200 = PRO FAMILIE FESTGESETZT. AUF
DER CHINESISCHEN BOTSCHAFT WURDE MIR WEITER ERKLAERT,
DASS MAN VON CHINES. SEITE UNTER DEN OBWALTENDEN UM-
STAENDEN JA EIGENTLICH XXX [sic] PRAKTISCH KEINERLEI MOEG-
LICHKEIT HABE, AUF DIE EINWANDERUNG EINEN EINFLUSS AUS-
ZUUEBEN = WEIL NAEMLICH IN ALLEN CHINESISCHEN [sic] HAEFEN
DIE JAPANER SITZEN = = = ZUSAMMENGEFASWT [sic] KANN MAN

167 The Nippon Yusen Kaisha was a major Japanese shipping line which served several routes between European ports and destinations in East Asia, as well as routes within East Asia.

SAGEN, DASS DIE AUSWANDERUNG ANCH [sic] S [sic] CHINA BIS AUF WEITERES OHNE SCHWIERIGKEITEN MOEGLICH IST, BIS NAEM- LICH DIE JAPENISCHEN [sic] BESATZUNGSBEHOERDEN EINMAL PROHIBITIV WIRKENDE VORSCHRIFTEN OD. GESETZE ERLASSEN. = = = PRAKTISCH DUERFTE ABER VERMUTLICH DEM DAS INTER- NATIONALE ABKOMMEN ZWISCHEN DEUTSCHLAND UND JAPAN ENTGEGENSTEHEN, DASS FUER DIE ANGEHOERIGEN DER BEIDEN LAENDER DIE VISUMFREIE EINREISE VORSIEH [sic] WOBEI ZWEI- FELSEHNE KEINE AUSNAHME FUER JUDEN MIT DEUTSCHEN PAES- SEN GEMACHT WURDE. = = = SHANGHAI NIMMT INSOFERN EINE SONDERSTELLUNG EIN, ALS ES UNTER INTERNATIONALER VERWAL- TUNG STEHT UND SEINE EIGENEN GESETZE HAT. ES IST NOCH VON KEINER SEITE BERICHTET WORDEN, DASW [sic] SHANGHAI SICH GEGEN DIE EINWANDERUNG VON JUDEN STRAEUBT. VON JUED. SEITE WURDE IM GEGENTEIL IN DEN LETZTEN TAGEN BERICHTET, DASS IN SHANGHAI BARACKEN GEBAUT WUERDEN, DIE IN LETZ- TER ZEIT VIELFACH IM CHINESISCHEN VIERTEL VON SHANGHAI WOHNUNG NEHMEN MUSSTEN.¹⁶⁸ = = = GEZ. EICHMANN, SS HSTUF = = = = =

Document 23

*Anonymous (SD)*¹⁶⁹

July 14, 1939

Typewritten note, 1 page; across the left margins there is a handwritten addition (two lines, partly illegible). The back of the sheet has a notation which was writ- ten by a different hand than the addition on the front.

Microfilm; YVA, RG 0.51.OSO, file 41

II 112 o

C 15

Dan/Pi

Betr.: Schwierigkeiten bei der Judenauswanderung nach Shanghai

1. Vermerk:

¹⁶⁸ The last sentence is grammatically faulty.

¹⁶⁹ For the SD, see above, n. 96.

In seinem Schreiben vom 7.7.39 teilt der V-Mann¹⁷⁰ Schlie mit, daß der Weg nach Shanghai immer noch offen sei und daß die Ansicht bestehe, mit größter Beschleunigung dem soeben durchgeführten Transport mit dem Dampfer „Usamaro“ einen weiteren von 1000–1500 Juden folgen zu lassen.

Es ergibt sich nun die Schwierigkeit, daß einerseits bei Reichsmarkbezahlung die Charterung ausländischer Dampfer unmöglich ist und daß zum anderen von deutschen Reedereien nur Motorschiffe in Frage kommen, für die wiederum Treibstoffe aus dem Ausland beschafft werden müssen. Daher verlangten auch die deutschen Reedereien einen Großteil der Passagekosten in Devisen.

Schlie regt deshalb an, mit der zuständigen Zuteilungsstelle für Treibstoffe Verbindung aufzunehmen, um auf diesem Weg eine Ölzuteilung an die in Frage kommenden Reedereien zu erwirken.

Anläßlich eines am 14.7.39 mit SS-H'Stuf. Günther¹⁷¹ von der Zentralstelle für jüd. Auswanderung geführten Gesprächs brachte dieser auf Befragen zum Ausdruck, daß es nicht erwünscht sei, mit der Angelegenheit an die Reichszentrale für jüd. Auswanderung heranzutreten. Diese Auffassung wird auch von II 112 i.V. geteilt.

2. Vorschlag: Eine Bereinigung der Angelegenheit ist unerläßlich. Es wird daher vorgeschlagen, über II 23¹⁷² die notwendigen Verhandlungen unter Zuziehung eines Vertreters der Abt. II 112 einleiten zu lassen.

3. II 1 Stbf. m.d.B.u.¹⁷³ Entscheidung zu 2).

4. II 112 zur evtl. ~~Verhandlungsaufnahme~~ {Besprechung} mit II 23.

II 112 i.V.

{###.}

{Diese technische u. verwaltungsmäßige Angel.¹⁷⁴ für ### ### der SD. ### ist ### die Zentralstell[e] eingesetzt. / ###}

170 Verbindungs-Mann. In an SD-document written by Herbert Hagen (June 1938), Schlie was called a “Zuträger” (informer) who could be used to control the actual success of Jewish emigration. Hagen expressed his concern that Schlie should in no way have the ability to “unfair enrichment” by organizing the emigration; cf. Heim, *Die Verfolgung*, 171.

171 Hauptsturmführer Rolf Günther (1913–1945?) was at the Zentralstelle in Vienna (see above, n. 9) from 1938 on; in 1941, he was appointed deputy to Adolf Eichmann in the Office IV B 4 at the RSHA.

172 The former SD main section II 23 Materielles Leben was transformed into the section Wirtschaft III C at the RSHA, from 1941 onwards III D.

173 Sturmbannführer mit der Bitte um; this refers to Lischka, see Document 10.

174 Angelegenheit.

[|v|] {Vermerk

Auf tel. Anfrage wurde Schlie am 20.7.39 mitgeteilt, daß das S.D.-Hauptamt nicht zuständig sei, sondern die Zentralstelle für jüd. Auswanderung.

II 112

###

20.7.39

z.d.A.^{175}}

Document 24

*Hans Karfunkel*¹⁷⁶ to *Hilfsverein (Berlin)*¹⁷⁷

December 19, 1938

Typewritten letter (copy), 1 page.

CAHJP, file DAL 76

Abschrift

Dr. Med.h. Karfunkel

Berlin-Pankow, 19.12.1938

Esplanade 1

An den Hilfsverein

Berlin

Měint [sic] seit 1933 in China ansässiger Bruder, Zahnarzt Dr. Leo Karfunkel und sein Sohn, der Arzt Dr. Viktor Karfunkel, beide chinesische Staatsbürger, wohnhaft in Jünnanfu¹⁷⁸ teilen mir folgendes mit:

„Die Insel Hainan¹⁷⁹ an der Strasse von Hainan ist etwa 60 000 qm gross

175 Zu den Akten.

176 Hans (Johannes) Karfunkel (1875–1948) was a general practioner from Berlin and a well known tuberculosis specialist; cf. Rebecca Schwoch, *Jüdische Kassenärzte rund um die Neue Synagoge*, Teetz 2006, 48. His brother Dr. Leo Karfunkel (1879–?) left Germany in 1933 or 1934 for Harbin and settled in 1935 in Nanjing where, in 1936, he was granted Chinese citizenship. Leo's son Viktor Karfunkel (1906–?) joined his father in 1936, and Hans joined them in 1940. The family immigrated to Israel after the war. For a biographical sketch of this interesting family, cf. Eber, *Wartime*, 221–224.

177 For the Hilfsverein, see above, n. 85.

178 Yunnan.

179 Hainan Island is located in the South China Sea. The tropical island is rich in resources and today forms a separate province of the People's Republic of China.

und sehr schwach bevölkert. Die Insel liegt etwa 8 Std. von Hongkong entfernt und hat einen herrlichen Strand.

Man könnte mit Leichtigkeit auf dieser Insel 20–30 000 Juden ansiedeln [sic], Hongkong, das viel kleiner ist, war eine öde, felsige Insel, und was haben die Engländer darauf gemacht ... eine moderne Stadt mit allem Comfort der Neuzeit, sogar mit Universität. Heute müssen die chinesischen Studenten ins Ausland gehen. Tausende von ihnen würden nach Hainan gehen, wenn dort eine Universität nach europäischem Muster entstehen würde. Es gibt keine Industrie, die China nicht braucht u.s.w. Wäre es nicht möglich, ein Konsortium für dieses Projekt zu interessieren? Der Boden im Lande ist billig. Die chinesische Regierung hat natürlich z.Zt. ihren Kopf voll, aber der Krieg muss ja mal ein Ende nehmen. Entweder die chinesische Regierung interessiert sich für das Projekt und stellt uns Land etc. zur Verfügung, oder sie interessiert sich, verlangt aber, dass wir das Land kaufen. In China dürfen nur Chinesen Grund und Boden erwerben. Viktor und ich können also so viel Land kaufen wie wir wollen.

gez. Dr. Karfunkel

Document 25

Franz Bischofswerder,¹⁸⁰ *Arnold Horwitz*¹⁸¹ (*Hilfsverein, Berlin*)

January 27, 1939

Typewritten circular, 4 pages. It was preceded by a cover letter (1 page, January 1939).

CAHJP, file DAL 76.1

Abstract

The circular provides a useful description of how to reach Manchukuo both overland and by sea, how to obtain a visa, and what the country is like. A description of the population includes the Jewish inhabitants, as well as Manchukuo's major cities and their inhabitants. This circular contains the minimum information a person intending to settle in Manchukuo might require.

180 About Bischofswerder, see above n. 85.

181 Horwitz (1914–2006, later Arnold Raphael Horwell) received a Ph.D. from the law faculty in Berlin in February 1937. He was active in the Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland until 1939 when he left for England; cf. Werner Röder/Herbert A. Strauss (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933*, vol. 1: Politik, Wirtschaft, Öffentliches Leben, Munich 1980, 317.

Betr.: Mandschukuo
 Januar 1939
 (dazu Rundschreiben
 B 292, B 307)

RUNDSCHREIBEN B NR. 367

An alle Sachbearbeiter im Hause und die Beratungsstellen im Reich.

Betrifft: Einwanderung nach Mandschukuo.

Wir geben Ihnen anschliessend eine Darstellung der gegenwärtigen mandschurischen Einwanderungsbestimmungen, eine Schilderung des Landes und der Wirtschaft Mandschukuos, sowie eine kurze Darstellung der beruflichen Einordnungsmöglichkeiten.

Wir betonen, dass die Aussichten jedes Einwanderungsfalles gemäss Rundschreiben B Nr. 292 und 297 durch Korrespondenz mit dem DALJEWICB, Harbin, vorher zu klären sind.

Ein Land für Masseneinwanderung ist Mandschukuo nicht; immerhin rechnet jedoch das DALJEWICB mit Einordnungsmöglichkeiten für mehrere hundert Personen. Sowohl von mandschurischer Regierungsseite wie seitens der japanischen Behörden betrachtete man bisher die jüdische Einwanderung durchaus nicht unfreundlich. Gegenwärtig befindet sich jedoch die Visafrage im Stadium der Erwägung. Voraussichtlich wird die Einwanderung in Zukunft nur für solche Personen möglich sein, deren Existenz in Mandschukuo gesichert erscheint.

Einem den japanischen Behörden vorliegenden Projekt zur Durchführung einer ausgewählten Einwanderung von 5000 Auswanderern aus Deutschland dürfte kaum Erfolg beschieden sein.

HILFSVEREIN DER JUDEN IN DEUTSCHLAND E.V.

gez. : Dr. Franz Israel Bischofswerder

gez. i/A.: Dr. Arnold Israel Horwitz

Anlage

Berlin, den 27.¹⁸² 1939

Hor/Dr. Gu¹⁸³/Du.

182 Date incomplete.

183 Obviously the statistician Dr. Alexander Gutfeld; he wrote a memoir, *Erinnerungen an die Arbeit im "Hilfsverein"* about his time at the Hilfsverein (LBI, New York, ME 744).

[|1|]

Mandschukuo.¹⁸⁴I. Reiseweg und Einreisebestimmungen.

Die Einreise nach Mandschukuo ist auf dem Landweg und auf dem Seeweg (für Staatenlose nur auf dem Seeweg) möglich. Stets ist ein Visum erforderlich.

a) Der Landweg (zur Zeit nicht gangbar).

Der Landweg führt via Polen (bezw. Litauen, Lettland), UdSSR, Sibirien mit dem Transsibirischen Express bis zur russisch-mandschurischen Grenzstation Mandschuria (japanisch: Manchouli).

An der Grenzstation Mandschuria erhalten die Einreisenden ein mandschurisches Transitvisum, welches zu einem Aufenthalt bis zu 20 Tagen in Mandschukuo berechtigt. Gelingt es dem Auswanderer, sich innerhalb dieser Zeit in Mandschukuo einzuordnen – das heisst, eine Stellung zu finden, oder sich eine Existenz zu gründen – so erhält er die Genehmigung zur dauernden Niederlassung. Bei der Einordnung ist ihm das Zentralkomitee in Harbin, das DALJEWICIB, behilflich.

Ausser diesem Transitvisum wird an der Grenzstation Mandschuria auch ein Einreisevisum erteilt, welches zum Daueraufenthalt berechtigt, sofern ein Kapital von 200 Yen (ca. RM 138,-) nachgewiesen werden kann.

Bei der Ankunft jedes Europa-Expresszuges in Mandschuria ist ein Vertreter des DALJEWICIB, Herr Dinaburg, zugegen, der umgehend dem DALJEWICIB telegrafisch Namen und Personalien der ankommenden Auswanderer übermittelt und bei Erledigung der Formalitäten behilflich ist.

Aus bisher nicht geklärten Gründen weigert sich jedoch die russische Eisenbahngesellschaft, Fahrkarten an Personen auszugeben, die nicht bereits bei Buchung der Passage ein Visum der mandschurischen Vertretung in Europa vorweisen können (siehe I c). Daher ist zur Zeit eine Auswanderung auf dem Landwege nicht möglich.

b) Der Seeweg.

Der Seeweg nach Mandschukuo führt via Shanghai bis Dairen.¹⁸⁵ Ab Dairen ist die Eisenbahn zu benutzen (20 Stunden Fahrt bis Harbin).

Die mandschurischen Einreisesevisa werden in diesem Falle vom Japanischen Generalkonsulat in Dairen durch Vermittlung der dortigen Jüdischen Gemeinde erteilt. Voraussetzung ist, dass der Antragsteller im Besitze eines Einladungsschreibens oder Empfehlungsbriefes des Komitees in Harbin oder

184 Manchuria was renamed Manchukuo after the Japanese installed the last scion of the Manchu dynasty there as head in 1932.

185 For Dairen, see above, n. 63.

einer Anforderung eines in Mandschukuo Ansässigen ist, oder 200 Yen nachweisen kann.

Unter den ähnlichen Bedingungen wird auch das Mandschurische Generalkonsulat in Shanghai, das dieser Tage eröffnet wird, mandschurische Visen erteilen. Jedoch bestehen zu dieser Stelle anscheinend nicht so gute Beziehungen von jüdischer Seite wie zu der mandschurischen Vertretung in Dairen.

[2] c) Visa-Erteilung bei den mandschurischen Vertretungen in Europa.

Die mandschurischen Vertretungen in Europa (das Mandschurische Generalkonsulat in Hamburg und die Mandschurische Gesandtschaft in Berlin) erteilen zur Zeit keine Visen an Juden. Wir haben unser Komitee in Harbin gebeten, bei den dortigen Regierungsstellen zu intervenieren und sie zu bitten, ihren europäischen Vertretungen Instruktionen über Visaerteilung zugehen zu lassen. Bisher ist noch keine Entscheidung gefallen.

d) Einreise-Technik.

Der einzig brauchbare Weg nach Mandschukuo ist deshalb zur Zeit der unter Ib) bezeichnete Seeweg. Für geeignete Bewerber sind sämtliche Unterlagen, wie in Rundschreiben B Nr. 292 angegeben, dem DALJEWICIB, Harbin, zu übersenden. Werden die Petenten bestätigt, so muss die Passage auf dem Seewege via Shanghai gebucht und die Jüdische Gemeinde in Dairen direkt oder ebenfalls via Harbin über die Ankunft der Passagiere informiert werden. Es empfiehlt sich gleichzeitig eine Avisierung in Shanghai (siehe Rundschreiben B Nr. 365).

II. Das Land.

Mandschukuo wird im Westen von China begrenzt, wobei die Grenze zum Teil am Grossen Chingan-Gebirge verläuft; im Norden und Osten grenzt es an Russland, wobei der Amur und der Ussury auf „grosse [sic]“ Strecken die Grenze bilden; im Süden ist es von Korea und dem Gelben Meer begrenzt.

a) Bevölkerung.

Das Land ist 1,4 Millionen qkm gross, also mehr als doppelt so gross wie Deutschland. Die Bevölkerung umfasst 38 Millionen Menschen, von denen ca. 1,2 Millionen auf der Halbinsel Kwantung,¹⁸⁶ die verwaltungsmässig erst 1937 Mandschukuo angegliedert wurde, leben. Die Bevölkerungsdichte ist im Süden wesentlich grösser als im Norden.

Die Bewohner Mandschukuo sind zum weitaus grössten Teil (insgesamt 35 Millionen) Chinesen, die erst im Laufe der letzten drei Jahrzehnte – in einer der grössten Völkerwanderungen der Geschichte – in das bis dahin nur von einigen Nomadenstämmen bevölkerte Gebiet einwanderten. Ausser dieser eingeborenen Bevölkerung leben in Mandschukuo ca. 935 000 Koreaner

186 Guandong.

und 592 000 Japaner; die Zahl der letztgenannten ist dauernd im Wachsen begriffen. Die Zahl der sonstigen Ausländer beläuft sich auf 67 000. Hierunter befinden sich 46 000 staatenlose Weissrussen,¹⁸⁷ 5000 Weissrussen mandchurischer Staatsangehörigkeit und mehrere Tausend Sowjetrussen. Die Russen leben zum überwiegenden Teil in Harbin (s. IIc).

[3] b) Jüdische Bevölkerung.

Die Jüdische Bevölkerung Mandschukuos betrug während der 20er Jahre ca. 18 000 Personen, meist russischer Herkunft, von denen ca. 12 000 in Harbin lebten.¹⁸⁸ Damals war Harbin die führende jüdische Gemeinde des Fernen Ostens. Die grossen jüdischen sozialen Einrichtungen, wie das Komitee DALJEWICB, das grosse jüdische Krankenhaus und die jüdische Schule in Harbin, entstanden in dieser Zeit. Als 1935 Russland die ostchinesische Eisenbahn an Japan verkaufte und seinen grossen Beamtenstab nach Russland zurückzog, verloren Tausende von Juden die Grundlage ihrer Existenz. Gerade der minderbemittelte Teil der jüdischen Bevölkerung machte deshalb von der ihr gebotenen Gelegenheit, nach Russland zurückzukehren, Gebrauch oder wanderte nach dem Süden (Dairen, Shanghai, usw.) weiter.

Seitdem in China der Kriegszustand herrscht, hat sich der Einfluss der Jüdischen Gemeinde Harbin unter den Gemeinden des Fernen Ostens wieder verstärkt; dies gilt umsomehr, als immer mehr jüdische Gemeinden innerhalb der japanischen Einflusszone zu liegen kommen. Deshalb ist Harbin heute wieder der Tagungsort des Nationalrates der Jüdischen Gemeinden des Fernen Ostens, dessen Vertreter jährlich in Mandschukuo zusammenkommen. Der Nationalrat ist sowohl von der mandchurischen Regierung wie von den japanischen Behörden als repräsentative Vertretung der Judenheit des Fernen Ostens anerkannt.¹⁸⁹

c) Wichtigste Städte.

Die Hauptstadt Mandschukuos ist Hsingking¹⁹⁰ (335 000 Einwohner, davon 65 000 Japaner). Hsingking ist Sitz des Kaisers von Mandschukuo,

187 In September 1920, China severed its diplomatic ties with Russia and rescinded all extraterritorial rights of Russians living in China, who therefore became stateless.

188 For Harbin, see above, n. 4.

189 The Far East Jewish National Council was founded in late 1937 as a result of a conference of Far Eastern Jewish Communities, where representatives from Harbin, Mukden, Hailar, Dairen, Tianjin, Qiqihar, and Kobe were gathered. The communities of Qingdao, Manzhouli and Shanghai were represented at the National Council only later; cf. Boris Bresler, *Harbin's Jewish Community, 1898–1958. Politics, Prosperity, and Adversity*, in: Jonathan Goldstein (ed.), *The Jews of China*, vol. 1: Historical and Comparative Perspectives, Armonk N.Y. 1998, 200–215.

190 Hsinking (pinyin Xincheng), today Changchun.

der mandschurischen Regierung und der japanischen Zentralbehörden. Die weisse Bevölkerung ist minimal.

Die wichtigste Industriestadt Mandschukuos ist Mukden¹⁹¹ mit einer Bevölkerung von 709 000 Einwohner [sic], darunter ca. 90 000 Japaner. Mukden war, unter dem chinesischen Regime, das politischen Zentrum Mandschukuos. Es besteht eine kleine jüdische Gemeinde.

Harbin, das jüdische Zentrum Mandschukuos, hat 470 000 Einwohner, darunter 43 000 Japaner und Koreaner und mehr als 25 000 Russen; es lebt also in Harbin mehr als ein Drittel der gesamten weissen Bevölkerung Mandschukuos. Auch das Strassenbild ist durchaus europäisch und dem Vorbild russischer Städte nachgebaut. Harbin kommt in erster Linie für die Unterbringung unserer Auswanderer in Mandschukuo in Frage, was vor allem der Aktivität des Fernöstlichen Zentralkomitees DALJEWICIB zu verdanken ist. Das jüdische Gemeindeleben ist sehr rege; die jüdische Bevölkerung ist von grösster Hilfsbereitschaft.

Document 26

*Chinese National Defense Supreme Council (Chongqing)*¹⁹²

March /April 1939

Official dispatch, 4 pages.

The Chinese text was published by Bi Chunfu (ed.), Chongqing guomin zhengfu anzhi taowang Youtairen jihua chou yi shimo [A Full Discussion on the Plan of the National Government in Chongqing to Settle Jewish Refugees], in: Minguo dang'an shiliao [Archives of the Republican Period], vol. 3, 1993, 17–21.

The transcript follows the English translation of the above mentioned Chinese publication by Di Jin, Diane Rabinowitz and Michael Rabinowitz, published by Harold Kahn/Albert Dien (eds.), A Plan to Settle Jewish Refugees in China, in: Sino-Judaica. Occasional Papers of the Sino-Judaic Institute, vol. 2 (1995), 67–84.¹⁹³ The brief introductory paragraph by the editors and an additional dispatch were omitted here.

¹⁹¹ Today Shenyang.

¹⁹² After Nanjing was occupied by Japanese troops during the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the Chinese Nationalist Government moved to Chongqing. Its National Defense Supreme Council was established in 1939, a large organization with broad executive powers headed by Chiang Kai-shek. It drafted a proposal to be considered by the Executive Yuan ("Court").

¹⁹³ Reprinted with the permission of the Sino-Judaic Institute.

Abstract

The proposal concerned the resettling of Jewish emigrants in Yunnan.¹⁹⁴ The president of the Legislative Yuan enumerated several reasons for supporting the proposal. Wealthy British and American Jews would be impressed, and Jews are financially talented. The Ministry of the Interior believed that it was not a good idea to settle foreigners in a border area. They should be resettled in open commercial habitations. The Foreign Affairs Ministry thought that resettlement ought to only be for stateless Jews because of the problem of consular jurisdiction for those Jews who have citizenship. The area of resettlement should be small and far from ports and international routes lest it give rise to movements of self-determination. The Finance Ministry proposed full Chinese citizenship before the Jews have full rights to the land.

重慶國民政府安置逃亡猶太人計畫籌議始末

中國第二歷史檔案館

1938 年納粹德國併吞奧地利後，掀起了新一輪排猶浪潮，歐洲猶太人紛紛出逃。1839年3月，重慶國民政府接受了孫科的提議，籌議在中國西南邊區劃定寄居區域，安置逃亡來華的猶太難民。由於缺乏經費，這項計畫最後沒有全面實施，但從中我們可以看出當時中國人民對猶太民族的深切同情與援助之心。

現由中國第二歷史檔案館檔案中輯出一組資料，披露這項計畫的籌議過程。

1. 國防最高委員會致國民政府文官處公函
(1939年3月7日)

國議字第025號

國防最高委員會公函

中華民國二十八年三月七日發

本會第一次常務會議，孫委員科提議：請在西南邊區劃定猶太人寄居區域，以容納窮無可歸之該國人民，詳陳理由並擬具辦法四項，請公決一案，經決議：「原則通過，交行政院籌議進行辦法候核。」等因。又本案討論時，在席各委員僉以此事宜為廣大之宣傳。行政院辦理此案，其理由應如何措辭並由該院妥慎擬定。相應錄案，並抄同原提案函達，請煩查照轉陳密飭行政院遵照辦理為荷！此致
國民政府文官處

194 For the Yunnan Plan, see the introduction above.

附抄原提案一份

立法院院長孫科提議擬在西南邊區劃定猶太人寄居區域以容納窮無可歸之該國人民案為擬在西南邊區劃定猶太人寄居區域，以容納窮無可歸之該國人民，是否可行，敬候公決。

理由

竊世界猶太人口約有一千六百餘人，留美者最多，近四百萬，波蘭、蘇俄次之，約皆三百餘萬，其餘則散處各國，蹤跡幾遍全球。此項民族受亡國之苦痛最深，二千六百餘年來轉徙流離，備受各方之壓迫。最近歐洲法西斯勢力之張盛，猶太民族更飽受無情之虐待，以德國為最甚，自希特勒併奧後，屠殺奧猶，變本加厲，最近更藉口德駐法大使秘書為猶人殺害，發動大規模之排猶運動，其手段之毒辣亙古未聞。英美對此頗感義憤，英國欲以巴勒斯坦為猶太人建一永居之所，竟引起當地阿拉伯人激烈之反對，戰事至今未戢。美國對希特勒之高壓，尤致憤慨，因是而援猶運動風起雲湧，在今日美國報紙竟成最重要之新聞。上海最近因被逐猶人洶湧而至，苦於無法容納，正計劃限制入口之法。今擬在西南邊區劃定猶人寄居之區域，有如下之理：

- 一. 就國策言，聯合並援助弱小民族，為總理遺教所規定。
- 二. 就對英言，援助猶人可以增進英國一般民眾對我之同情。更有進者，英國之遠東政策實取決於在遠東之巨商與銀行家，英國對經濟援助最初之阻撓與最近之實現，實皆此巨商與銀行家操縱之，而此巨商與銀行家則以猶太人為多，故此案實施當可影響英國對我態度進一步之好轉。
- 三. 就對美言，美國援猶運動，近已獨佔全國人民之注意，援華運動受其影響甚鉅。此案實施之後，不獨能獲得美國一般人民之好感，且足以移美國注視猶太之目光轉向而我，宣傳上必可得巨大之收穫。
- 四. 就建設前途言，猶太人財力豐盛、人才尤多，若能結其好感，得其協助，實足為我莫大之臂助。

辦法

- 一. 在西南邊區接近國際路線之外，劃定若干方里，為猶太人寄居區域。
- 二. 由中央指定中央及地方該管長官組織委員會，負責籌劃該區域建設及管理事宜。
- 三. 由上述委員會負責發動國內外有地位聲望之猶太領袖，一致響應並參加推動此項計劃。
- 四. 另設猶太人失業技術人員登記機關，盡量介紹其專門人才，為我後方建設各部門之用。

提議人：立法院院長 孫科
二十八年二月十七日

2. 國民政府致行政院訓令稿 (1939年3月9號)

訓令

令行政院

為令遵事：按據本府文官處簽呈稱：「准國防最高委員會秘書廳二十八年三月七日國議字第二五號公函開：『本會第一次常務會議，孫委員科提議請在西南邊區劃定猶太人寄居區域云云，請煩查照轉陳密飭行政院遵照辦理等因。附抄原提案一件，准此。理合簽請鑒核。』」等情。據此應即照辦，除飭處函覆外，合行檢發原附提案，令仰該院遵照辦理。此令：

計檢發原附提案一件（照抄一份存檔）

中華民國二十八年三月十日¹⁹⁵

3. 孔祥熙致國民政府呈 (1939年4月22日)

案奉鈞府二十八年三月十日渝密字第一六號訓令轉發國防最高委員會交議劃定猶太人寄居區域辦法一案到院，經飭據內政、外交、軍政、財政、交通五部簽注意見後，發交本院政務處長蔣廷黻詳細研究，茲據擬具節略前來，經提出本院第四一零次會議，決議：「通過。送國防最高委員會。」除照案轉送核奪，並將各部意見清單附送參考及分行外，理合繕同原件呈請鑒核。謹呈國民政府計繕呈原節略一件，又各部意見清單一份。

節略

有國籍之猶太人保有其本國國民之權利與義務，如欲來華，必以某國國民之資格，其入境手續及入境後之居留地點，可照現行條約及慣例辦理。如欲予以特惠，在我受條約及政治、經濟各種困難之牽制，在彼又受其本國政令之阻礙，誠如內政、外交等部所言，諸多不便。是以關於有國籍之猶太人，似無特訂辦法之必要。

無國籍之猶太人則情形特殊。我國素重人道，先總理亦常以人類大同之義訓誨同志，無人理應盡力之所能，予以協助。但猶太人問題複雜，我方對彼輩所表示之好感，頗易引起他方之誤會。茲就國內及國際情形所許可之範圍，擬協助猶太人之辦法三項：

（一）入境之協助

凡國聯之救濟機關或國際著名之慈善團體讓為品行端正而確為無國籍之猶太人，我國駐外使領館得給予特別護照，許其入我國國境，惟享受此種特殊權利之猶太人，應先向我具呈志願書，聲明兩點：（甲）入境後遵守我國法律並接受我國法庭之約束。（乙）入境後不作任何政

195 此系發文時間。

治活動或主義宣傳，不批評或反對三民主義，如有違者，我國得驅逐出境。

（二）入境後之居留

無國籍之猶太人入境後應暫寄居於通商口岸，不得雜居內地，其願入我國籍者，依照我國法律手續辦理，入籍後與一般國民享受平等權利，絕不因種族與宗教之差別而有所歧視。

（三）職業之介紹

現在無國籍之猶太人多處境困難，職業上有予以協助之必要。無人在建國過程中，所需各種專門技術人員頗多，如科學家、工程師、醫生、機械修理員等，政府機關應各就主管範圍調查需要情形，開具詳細清單，註明所需要之人員及所擬之待遇，由外交部轉發使領館注意延聘，並請國聯協助羅致，如覓得適當人員而能自備川資，或由國聯或國際慈善團體代備川資來華者，各使領館於得國內任用機關許可後，得與簽訂服務契約。其無契約自動來華者，我國雖不負任何職業上之義務，政府似可訓令各省市指定機關舉行失業登記，並在可能範圍之內介紹職業。

以上辦法如蒙通過，政府似應訓令駐國聯代表，將辦法正式通知國聯，並同時在重慶發表聲明。至於宣傳之措辭，即以本辦法為根據。

一. 內政部意見

一、劃定西南邊區不與國際路線接近之商埠為寄居區域。

國際路線如任多數久居之外人住此，不免洩漏我國際及國防上之秘密，萬一防範不周，且有滋生事變之虞。又猶太雖已亡國，其人民多入他國國籍，與我訂有條約者有之，此種寄居地依據條約規定（外人租地以通商口岸為限）及避免宗教衝突，仍以較開發之商埠為宜。依上述兩項觀點，其區域似應指定與英屬緬甸接近之雲南騰越（即騰衝）商埠。

二、由政府自建住宅為寄居之所。

此等猶太人如皆無國籍、不受領判權之保障，完全服從我國法律，自與外人地權問題無關，可經國民政府之特許為建寄居住宅，但當繼續辦理歸化手續，如此則寄居區域只需西南邊區較開發之地，均可適用。

三、劃定西南邊區接近國際路線之商埠為寄居區域。

如能避免第一項之顧慮，亦可就接近國際路線之商埠劃定寄居區域，但須視國防佈置力量及外交上情況如何而定，並須加強治安機關力量（尤其警察機關力量之加強及基幹部人員之健全），似可指定與法屬安南接壤之雲南河口商埠。

五. 寄居區域之管理。

該區域之管理，應加強其組織，並應以警察機關為基幹，其組織體系似可參照廬山管理局、雞公山管理局及漢口特三區市政局等規模而設置之。

二. 外交部意見

一、國籍問題

來華之猶太人，其法律地位因有無國籍而不同，其有國籍者，亦因其所屬國在華是否享有領事裁判權而各異。蓋無國籍之猶太人管理易，而有國籍之猶太人管理難。依此解釋，劃定寄居區域似應僅以無國籍之猶太人爲限。

二、領事裁判權問題

享有領事裁判權國家之猶太人，如義大利猶太人之類，在內地居住，則其區域內增加多量不受我法律及法院管轄之外人，殊非所宜。德國雖無領判權，而德籍猶太人在內地寄居，德國仍可藉外交保護，從事干涉。

三、內地居住問題

外人居住我國向以工商口岸爲限，即在華無領判權國家之人民，如蘇聯人及德人，我國亦未同意其內地雜居，一旦允許猶太人寄居內地，其他國家必將根據條約援例要求。

五. 寄居區域問題

猶人刻苦耐勞，善於經濟，劃定區域過廣，初期固易於管理，但聚處日久，萬一發生民族自決及要求自治呼聲，將不易統治，且該區域如接近通商口岸或國際路線，易受外力誘惑，於我不利。

六. 國際宣傳問題

敵人及法西斯國家每誣我國爲共產，此時收容大批猶太人，雖免不予敵人以反宣傳口實，蓋法西斯主義理論中，共產主義與猶太人往往相提並論。最近德大使館秘書康培曾以聞有此項擬議，來部表示？德政府雖未便提出異議，但猶太人對德向懷仇視，應請特予注意云云，足證德人重視此事。至扶助弱小民族一點，素爲擁有殖民地之英法所不喜聞，似亦不便加以宣傳。

如此案期在必行，根據上述各點，似應注意下列原則：

- 一、無國籍猶太人可令寄居特別指定區域，此種區域宜小不宜大，宜分散不宜集中，並宜選離通商口岸及國際路線。
- 二、有國籍猶太人應限居於通商口岸。
- 三、國際宣傳措辭應側重人道主義及貧窮救濟。

三. 軍政部意見

- 一. 對於無國籍之猶太人准予居留，不予授與居住權及特定區域，以重國土主權。
- 二. 如有劃定居留地區之必要，須在我能充分行使權力區域內，以不接近國境線爲宜（如蒙自當滇越鐵道中心，可供選擇參考）。
- 三. 爲實施便利計，似可由駐外使館辦理紹介、諮詢等手續，或於通國際路線之商埠設立招待所與救濟會等，予以便利。

四. 財政部意見

一. 指定適宜地區給予墾殖

此項猶人如原系耕農或具有森林學識者，可就接近內地交通線之處擇定地區，給予墾殖，並限制在未歸化我國以前不得享有墾地所有權。若接近國際路線劃定寄居區域，恐不免發生流弊。

二. 變通入境手續酌予便利

此次被迫猶人多系倉皇出走，即具有國籍者，恐在德、奧等國亦未便能辦理出國手續，其未持有入境護照者，如何予以變通，似應由外交部擬定辦法，以便飭關遵辦。

三. 入境時酌免稅捐

凡許可入境之猶人，隨身攜帶物件除違禁品應予取締以及大宗貨物仍應徵稅外，其餘生活上之用具以及零星物品，似可酌予免稅，以示矜恤。

五. 交通部意見

猶太人生長於生活設備完善之國，是否願移內地居住，似可派員先向上海猶太人團體徵詢意見，關於地點及居住區內一切設備問題，均可先行接洽後再為進行。

4. 國民政府文官處致國防最高委員會秘書廳公函 (1939年5月2日)

公函 渝密字第一六二號

逕啟者：貴廳二十八年四月三十日國議字第一零五零號公函，為關於孫委員科提請在西南邊區劃定猶太人寄居區域案，准行政院通過辦法，請轉陳核？。經陳奉國防最高委員會常務會議決議：辦法通過，不必正式通知國聯，錄案並抄件函達查照轉陳密飭遵辦等由。准此，業經陳奉國民政府密令行政院遵照辦理矣。相應函覆查照轉陳為荷。此致

國防最高委員會秘書廳

國民政府文官處印

5. 孔祥熙致國民政府函 (1939年5月3日)

奉鈞府二十八年五月渝密字第四九號訓令，以協助猶太人辦法三項經國防最高委員會第五次常務會議議決，仰遵照辦理等因，奉此。除令飭內政、外交、軍政、財政、經濟、教育、交通各部分別遵辦，並密令各省市政府遵照外，理合呈覆鑒核。國民政府
行政院院長 孔祥熙印

- 編選者：畢春富（責任編輯 馬振犢）

Translation

A PLAN TO SETTLE JEWISH REFUGEES IN CHINA*¹⁹⁶

SELECTOR AND EDITOR: BI CHUNFU

(RESPONSIBLE EDITOR: MA ZHENDU)

The Entire Account of the Discussion of the Plan by the Chungking Nationalist Government to Settle Jewish Refugees

Second Historical Archives Office

[...] ¹⁹⁷

- * What follows is an unofficial English translation of five official documents written in May 1939 which deal with plans for a settlement district for European Jewish refugees in China. Recently, these historical documents were published in Chinese in a scholarly journal called *Minguo dang'an shiliao* (Historical Material from the Archives of the Nationalist Period), vol. 3 (1993), pp. 17–21. These five documents, some of which were marked “secret,” have been brought together by Bi Chunfu of the Second Historical Archive of China, in Nanjing. At the time of their writing, the wartime capital of China was in Chungking (Chongqing), which was under Japanese terror bombing attacks. Shanghai had fallen to the Japanese in November 1937. The text was translated [into English] by Di Jin, Diane Rabinowitz and Michael Rabinowitz and edited by Profs. Harold Kahn and Albert Dien. Translators’ notes appear in parentheses.

196 Footnotes in the Bi Chunfu/Ma Zhendu publication have been rendered with asterisks. Other Chinese documents by the Central Executive Council and the Highest National Defense Council on plans to accommodate the Jews in China have been published by Shao Minghuang (ed.), *Kangzhan shiqi guomin zhengfu rongliu youtairen jihua dangan yizu* [Collection of Documents Concerning the Nationalist Government’s Plan to Accommodate Jews during the Sino-Japanese War], in: *Jindai Zhongguo* [Modern China], 147 (2002), 168–189. Documents from the Executive Yuan and the Chinese Foreign Ministry on the settlement plans by Sun Ke and Berglas can be found in the National Archives of Taiwan and in the archives of the Institute of Modern History (Academia Sinica) in Taiwan.

197 The short introduction has been omitted here.

[68] 1. Official Dispatch of the National Defense Supreme
Council to the National Government's Civil Affairs Office
(March 7, 1939)

National Deliberations #25
Issued on March 7, 1939

Official Dispatch of the National Defense Supreme Council

During the first regular session of this council, Council Member Sun Ke 孫科**

proposed: A request to designate a residence area for Jews in the southwest border region to take in the said people who absolutely have no way of returning. He explained in detail the reasons, proposed four steps to be taken and asked that a decision be made. It was resolved, "This is accepted in principle, and is to be sent to the Executive Yuan to consider and plan the manner of carrying it out and to await approval." Moreover, during the discussion of this matter, the council members unanimously felt that said matter ought to be widely publicized. Further, when the Executive Yuan [69] deals with this case, whatever the phrasing of the reasons, it ought to be drafted with appropriate care by the said Yuan. Accordingly, we have drawn up a formal statement of the case, and when the copy of the original of the proposal arrives, we would be obliged if the trouble were taken to note and send on this confidential instruction to the Executive Yuan to deal with this accordingly. This is sent to Civil Affairs Office, National Government.

** Sun Ke, better known as Sun Fo, was the son of Sun Yat-sen.¹⁹⁸ He held the presidency of the Legislative Yuan from June 1932 to November 1948, and soon after retired from public life to live abroad, before going to Taiwan, where he held a number of other posts in the Kuomintang government.

198 Sun Fo (1891–1973) served for a short time as government premier in early 1932 when he became, until the end of 1948, President of the Legislative Yuan. His father Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), the "father" of the Republic of China, was the Republic's Provisional President after its foundation in 1912. He later acted as Premier of the Guomindang from 1919 until his death.

Attachment: One true copy of the proposal

The President of the Legislative Yuan Sun Ke proposes to designate a temporary residence area for Jews in the southwest border region to take in the said people who absolutely have no way of returning.

<We>¹⁹⁹ respectfully await a decision on designating a temporary residence area for Jews in the southwest border region to take in the said people who absolutely have no way of returning.

The Reasons:

There are some 16 million Jews in the world. Most of them are settled in America, about four million, followed by Poland and the Soviet Union, about three million each. Others are scattered in different countries, their traces being almost everywhere in the world. These people suffer the most from being without a country, and for more than 2600 years they have moved about homeless, and have to a full measure suffered from oppression everywhere. Most recently, with the growing power of the fascist movement in Europe, the Jewish people have suffered even more ruthless persecution, especially so in Germany. After Hitler annexed Austria, he executed Jews. The situation became further intensified when, very recently, using the pretext that the secretary of the German ambassador to France was assassinated by a Jew, the Germans launched a large-scale campaign to exterminate the [70] Jews.²⁰⁰ The brutal measures they have taken are unheard of in history. The British and Americans have reacted in anger. The British want to set up a permanent settlement in Palestine but this has provoked vehement opposition from the Arabs there, and the violence has not yet died down. The United States is particularly angry about Hitler's high-handedness and there the movement to rescue the Jews is in full force, and at the present time it has become headline news in the American media. Recently, Shanghai has been overwhelmed by Jewish refugees and is suffering from unregulated entry, so just now regulations are being devised to limit the entry. Now, we propose to designate a temporary residence area for Jews in the southwest border region, with the following reasons:

- 1) With regard to national policy, the bequeathed teaching of <Sun Yat-sen, the late> premier is to unite and support weak nations.
- 2) With regard to Britain, the support of the Jewish people would enhance the sympathy of the ordinary British people toward us. Furthermore, the

199 The angle brackets represent square brackets in the original document.

200 The text refers to the assassination of German Ambassador Ernst vom Rath by Herschel Grynszpan on November 7, 1938 in Paris.

British Far Eastern policy actually hinges on the large merchants and bankers in the Far East. So the initial obstruction and most recent realization of British economic support <for China> was in truth manipulated by these large merchants and bankers, and since many of these large merchants and bankers are Jewish, therefore this proposal would influence the British to have an even more favorable attitude toward us.

3) With regard to America, the American movement to support the Jewish people has monopolized the attention of the American people, and the movement to assist China has been seriously affected. So, by instituting this plan, we would not only obtain a favorable impression from ordinary Americans, but we could shift the focus of Americans from the Jews toward support of China. In terms of propaganda, there would certainly be much to gain.

[71] 4) With regard to the future building up <of China>, the Jewish people have a strong financial background and many talents. Should we be able to obtain a favorable impression from them and obtain their support and assistance, it would be of an enormous help to us.

The specific measures:

1) At the southwest border close to international routes, to designate an area of several square *li*²⁰¹ as a settlement for the Jews.

2) The Central Government is to assign officials of the central government and local government to form a committee to take responsibility to plan and prepare for the construction of the area and to manage the appropriate arrangements.

3) The aforesaid committee is to take responsibility to mobilize high-placed and famous Jewish leaders at home and abroad to respond unanimously and to take part in promulgating this plan.

4) In addition to organize a registration department for the unemployed Jewish technicians to do the utmost to introduce their specialized abilities to be utilized by various departments for construction in our rear areas.

Proposer: President of the Legislative Yuan Sun Ke

February 17, 1939

201 A Chinese unit of measure which varied over time, now standardized at 500 meters.

[72]

2. Draft of the Directive sent by the
Nationalist Government to the Executive Yuan
March 9, 1939
Directive

Directive to the Executive Yuan

This is a directive for compliance: The Civil Affairs Office of this Department of the Government has signed off and reports: We acknowledge dispatch of confidential document No. 25, dated March 7, 1939 from the Secretariat of the Highest Council of National Defense, which begins: "During the first regular session of this council, Council Member Sun Ke proposed a request that there be designated a residence area for Jews in the southwest border region, etc. We would be obliged if the trouble were taken to note and send on this confidential instruction to the Executive Yuan to deal with this accordingly. We attach a copy of the proposal; acknowledge this. As a matter of course, sign off and attend to this." Accordingly, then you ought to follow through with it. Aside from drawing up a reply, at the same time examine and dispatch the originally attached proposal, and instruct the said Yuan to deal with this matter in compliance with it. This is an order.

Herewith we examine and dispatch the originally attached proposal (a copy is placed in the archives).
March 10, 1939.

[73]

3. A statement from Kong Xiangxi 孔祥熙*** to the
Nationalist Government
(April 22, 1939)

Having received your document dated March 10, 1939, Chungking, Confidential, No. 16, ordering the circulation of the National Defense Supreme Council plan to designate an area as a settlement for Jews, as soon as it reached our Yuan, we instructed five ministries, Internal Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Mil-

*** Kong Xiangxi, or H. H. K'ung (1881–1967), banker and businessman, was married to one of the Soong sisters, and thus was an in-law of Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kaishek. He succeeded to the post of President of the Executive Yuan in 1938 when Chiang Kaishek resigned in order to give all of his attention to military affairs. When Chiang resumed that office in December, 1939, Kong became vice president, as well as continuing as minister of finance, where he made his greatest contribution to the war effort. At the end of the war he retired and eventually moved to the United States where he died.

itary Affairs, Treasury and Transportation, to attach their opinions, then dispatched it to our Chief of Government, Administration Section, Jiang Tingfu 蔣廷紱****

for him to examine it carefully, and on the basis of this we drew up a summary which was submitted to the 410th meeting of our Yuan, which made the decision, "Approved. Send to the National Defense Supreme Council." Aside from circulating the documents to decide on the merits of the case according to regular procedures, and also attaching the statements of opinion of each ministry for your consideration and distribution, as a matter of course we have transcribed and standardized the original documents [74] and present them for your consideration. Respectively submitted to the Nationalist Government.

Herewith are transcribed and submitted the original summary, one copy, and the statement of opinion of each ministry, one copy.

Summary

Those Jews who are citizens of some state maintain their rights and duties as citizens of their original country, and if they wish to come to China, they must use their status as citizens of that country, and the procedures for entering China and their place of residence after arriving ought to accord with the current treaties and customary law. If we were to extend preferential treatment, we are constrained by those treaties as well as by all sorts of administrative and economic difficulties, and they also would receive impediments from the regulations of their own countries, so it is truly as the ministry of Internal Affairs and of Foreign Affairs say, it would be ill-advised on many accounts. Therefore in regard to those Jews who have a standing as a citizen of some country, there is no necessity for special provisions.

As for Jews without citizenship then the circumstances are special. Our country has always emphasized humanitarian principles. The late Premier always instructed us comrades on the principle of the unity of mankind, and we by right ought to exert ourselves to the utmost to extend our assistance. But the case of the Jews is complex. If we on our side were to extend to them our sympathy, it would easily give rise to misunderstandings

****Jiang Tingfu (1895–1965), a scholar and diplomat. From February 1938 he served as director of what was in effect the political department of the Executive Yuan. He was named permanent representative to the United Nations and ambassador to the United States in 1961, in which office he served until shortly before his death.

on the part of others. Considering what is possible within the sphere of internal and external conditions, we have drawn up three measures to aid the Jews:

[75] 1) Assistance for entry

To those Jews whom the relief agencies of the League of Nations or well-known international charitable organizations recognize as being of upright character and authenticate as being stateless, our overseas consulates should give special passports enabling them to enter China, but those Jews who enjoy this sort of special privilege ought first to submit to us an application stating two points: a) that after entering China they will abide by our laws and accept the judgments of our courts, and b) after entering China they would not engage in any political activity or disseminate any ideology, or criticize or oppose the Three Principles of the People;²⁰² if they violate these conditions, they should be expelled.

2) Place of residence after entering China

Stateless Jews after entering China ought to reside temporarily in the trading ports, and should not live amidst the Chinese in the interior. Those who wish to become citizens should be processed according to our laws, and after obtaining citizenship, they would enjoy the same privileges as the ordinary citizen, and will absolutely not be discriminated against because of their ethnic or religious differences.

3) Placement of employment

At present many of the stateless Jews are in difficult straits, and require assistance in being given employment. We are in the process of building the nation and we need many specialists of all sorts, such as scientists, engineers, doctors, mechanics, and so forth. The governmental agencies should survey what they need in the areas of responsibility, write out a detailed account, giving clear indication of what personnel they require and salaries. These will [76] be circulated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the consulates to engage such persons, and request the assistance of the League of Nations. If suitable persons are located and they are able to pay their own travel expenses, or if the travel expenses are furnished by the League of Nations or by international charitable organizations, the consulate, after obtaining the permission of the domestic organization which would make the appointment, should have the contract of employment signed. For those who come on their own to China without such a contract, while our state would not assume

202 The Three Principles of the People (*san min zhuyi*) were formulated by Sun Yat-sen in 1912, referring to nationalism, democracy, and livelihood.

any responsibility concerning employment, the government could instruct designated organizations of the various provinces and cities to organize unemployment registers and within the realm of possibility, find employment for them.

If the above stated procedures are approved, the government ought to instruct the delegate to the League of Nations to formally inform the League of Nations of these procedures and at the same time a statement should be published in Chungking. As for the wording of the announcement, it should be based on these procedures.

(1) Views of the Ministry of Interior

1. To designate an area in the southwest as a place of settlement which is not a commercial entrepot near the international routes.

If a large number of long-term foreigners live on international routes, one cannot avoid having our secrets concerning international and defence matters leaking, and if by chance we are not completely alert, this could result in some unfortunate incident. Further, there is no longer a Jewish state, and they have for the most part become citizens of other countries, among [77] whom are those with whom we have treaties. For this sort of settlement to accord with the provisions of the treaties (foreigners may rent land only at the treaty ports) and to avoid religious conflicts, it would be best to have them in the relatively open commercial entrepots. In accordance with the two above stated opinions, that settlement area ought to be designated at Tengyue 騰越, Yunnan (that is, Tengchong 騰沖 – transl.) near the British dependency of Burma.

2. For the government to construct dwellings as a place of settlement.

If these Jews are all stateless, and would not receive consular protection, but would entirely be subject to our laws, then this has no connection with the question of territorial rights for foreigners; they can live in the settlements especially established by the government, but they ought to continue to go through the procedures of becoming citizens, and if so, then the settlement area need only be in a relatively open place in the southwest, and any will do.

3. To designate the settlement area in the southwest near a commercial entrepot on an international route.

If it were possible to avoid the first misgiving, one could designate the settlement area to be a commercial entrepot near international routes, but it must be decided by observing the disposition of forces for national defense and international diplomatic concerns, and also must increase the strength of the public security organizations (especially an increase in the strength of the police organization and the soundness of the basic cadre personnel),

then one might designate the entrepot of Hekou 河口, Yunnan, near French Annam.²⁰³

[78] 4. Management of the settlement area.

As for the management of the said area, its organization ought to be strengthened with the police organization as its core, and the structure of that organization could be modeled after the administrative bureaus of Lushan 廬山 and of Jigongshan 雞公山, and the city administration bureau of the three special districts of Hankou 漢口.²⁰⁴

(2) Views of the Foreign Affairs Ministry

1. The question of citizenship.

The Jews who have come to China have different legal statuses depending on whether or not they have citizenship in some country. For those who are citizens, they also differ depending on whether or not their country enjoys consular jurisdiction. The management of the stateless Jews is an easy matter, but it is difficult for those who have some citizenship. For these reasons, the designation of a settlement area ought to be limited to those Jews who are stateless.

2. The question of consular jurisdiction.

If those Jews who enjoy consular jurisdiction, such as the Italian Jews, were to live in the interior, then this area would expand many times the foreigners who are not subject to our laws or to our courts, which is certainly not suitable. While German Jews have no such consular jurisdiction, still if the German Jews were to live in the interior, Germany could interfere with our affairs by relying on their diplomatic immunity.

[79] 3. The question of dwelling in the interior.

Foreigners living in China have heretofore been limited to those in the treaty ports, and as to people of those countries without consular jurisdiction, such as the Soviets and Germans, we have not yet agreed to their living mixed together with Chinese in the interior. If we were suddenly to permit the Jews to live in the interior, other countries will certainly make demands based on provisions of treaties.

4. The question of the settlement area.

Jews have suffered distress and endure hardships, and are excellent at managing affairs. If the designated area is too broad, while at first they will

203 Annam refers to the French protectorate (1883–1945), consisting of the central region of Vietnam.

204 Lushan (northern Jiangxi region), where a police training center and a military academy was located; Jigongshan (Henan province) and Hankou (Hubei province) were located in different parts of China.

be easy to govern, after they dwell together for some time, if by chance there develops ethnic self-determination coming to the point of a demand for autonomy, it will not be easy to control, and further, if that area is adjacent to the treaty ports or to international routes, they will easily receive enticements from outside forces which will not be to our advantage.

5. The question of international propaganda.

The enemy and fascist countries are constantly alleging that we are a communist state, and at this time to take in a large number of Jews will make it difficult to avoid giving the enemy a pretext for propaganda. In general, in fascist theory, communism and the Jews are frequently mentioned in the same breath. Most recently the secretary of the German embassy, Kangpei, having heard of this proposal, came to our ministry to make the point that while it was not convenient for the German government to object, still as the Jews have always harbored hostility toward the Germans, that he should request that this be given especial attention, and so forth, which is [80] adequate to demonstrate that the Germans view this matter most seriously. As for the point that we give support to small and weak peoples, this will not be happily received by the French and English who have colonies, so it would not be convenient to add it to the announcement.

If this motion is definitely going to be implemented, on the basis of the above points, one ought to pay heed to the following principles:

1. The stateless Jews can be ordered to settle in specially designated areas, but the area should be small, dispersed, and far from commercial ports and international routes.
2. Jews with passports should be restricted to the treaty ports.
3. The wording of the international announcement ought to give special emphasis to humanitarianism and to succor of the needy.

(3) Views of the Ministry of War

1. As for allowing the stateless Jews to settle, one ought not to grant permanent residence or a special area in order to emphasize territorial sovereignty.

2. If it is necessary to designate a settlement district, it must be within an area in which we are able to exercise to the full extent our authority, and so it would be best not to adjoin an international boundary (If Mengzi 蒙自 <about 70 miles from the border, latitude 23.20 north, long. 103.21 east – transl.> were to become the center of the Burmese-Guangdong Railway, [81] its selection could be given consideration).

3. A plan convenient for implementation would be to have the consulates abroad to process the procedures for introductions and enquiries, or to establish hostels and relief committees at commercial entrepôts connected to international routes.

(4) Views of the Finance Ministry

1. Designate an area suitable for agriculture.

If these Jews wish to engage in agriculture or if they possess knowledge of farming and forestry, one could designate an area adjacent to lines of communication in the interior to give them to farm, but also not give them full rights to the agricultural land before they have become citizens of China. If the area designated for settlement is adjacent to international borders, we fear that one cannot avoid the emergence of abuses.

2. Consideration should be given to make the procedures for entry more convenient.

The oppressed Jews this time for the most part have fled their countries in haste, and it is feared that even those who have citizenship in Germany, Austria and other countries they were not able to go through the procedures for leaving the country. Those who do not have visas, whatever accommodation we make, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ought to stipulate the measures in order to facilitate an orderly adherence to procedures.

[82] 3. Consideration of exemption from taxes at the time of entry.

As for the Jews who are allowed to enter, except for forbidden items which ought to be controlled or large quantities of goods which ought to be taxed, for the remainder of what they bring, consisting of items of daily use and miscellaneous materials, consideration should be given to exemption from taxation in order to show our sympathy.

(5) View of the Ministry of Transportation

To determine whether or not Jews who have grown up in countries which have excellent living facilities would be willing to move to the interior, one might first send some officials to seek the opinions of the Jewish community in Shanghai, and as for the questions of the place and the facilities within the settlement, one in all matters should first come to an agreement and only then carry it out.

Document 27

*Jakob Berglas*²⁰⁵ to *Morris Troper*²⁰⁶ (JDC)

June 15, 1939

Typewritten letter (copy), 4 pages; the first page has a receipt stamp (July 18, 1939) at the bottom.

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 458

Copy/lr.

Jakob Berglas

Cathay Hotel

Shanghai 15th June, 1939

To the Chairman of the
American Joint Distribution Committee
19, rue de Téhéran
Paris

Dear Sir,

May I place before you a scheme as per enclosure relating to the immigration to China. The scheme in question will shortly be published in the press. I shall be exceedingly grateful, if you are kind enough to bestow your attention on this matter.

Some weeks since I have been negotiating with the various members of the Chinese Government and the local authorities of the Yunan²⁰⁷ Province of West-China on the subject of immigration of one hundred thousand refugees to China. The provincial authorities of Yunan have already expressed their agreement and the Central Government of China is still negotiating the matter.

For your kind information I beg to state that the Chinese Government has been especially interested in developing West-China, which, being com-

205 About Berglas, see above, n. 15.

206 Morris C. Troper (1892–1962), an American Jewish lawyer, was engaged by the AJJDC to manage its European operations. He started out in the Paris office in 1938, then stayed briefly in New York during the Nazi occupation; from 1941 until 1942 he worked in Lisbon. After serving in the US Army from 1942 to 1946, Troper returned to Jewish communal work until his retirement in 1949.

207 For Yunnan province, see the introduction above.

pletely unaffected by the hostilities is still in the control of the Chinese Government.²⁰⁸

For the settlement of refugees I have tentatively selected Kunming, the capital of Yunan. Owing to its favorable climatic and economic conditions, the Province would be the ideal place for settlement of refugees and I am glad to say that the authorities of this Province have already expressed verbally [sic] their agreement to my scheme. The city of Kunming has nearly 300,000 inhabitants, eternal spring, beautiful landscape, rich mineral resources and [it is] adjacent to Szechuen²⁰⁹ Province in West-China. In one year from to-day the Province could possess some 10,000 kilometers of [2] highways, which are now under construction to be built by Chinese labourers. Both the Yunan and Szechuen Provinces together have about 80 millions inhabitants and will in future become the centre of the country.

As you will notice I have calculated in my scheme the cost of feeding at £ 3.– per head and month and I further contemplate to establish a colony or a town, which, as an extension of the City of Kunming should be built in the most beautiful and uniform style. At the same time it may serve as a home for all inhabitants irrespective of their nationality. The possibilities for the livelihood of immigrants will multiply with the increase of the number of the inhabitants as well as with the economic and industrial development of that section of the country.

The contemplated transportation company not only fulfils its mission of transporting the immigrants from Haiphong, Indo-China,²¹⁰ the landing port, to Kunming at a distance of about 800 kilometers but also offers the means of transportation for the requisite materials for use of immigration and withal establishes a regular lucrative commercial enterprise. At the present time the operation of one truck yields an income of some \$ 1500 to \$ 2000 Chinese currency per mensem (equivalent to £ 50.– to £ 60.–) and gives employment to at least three persons.

In a planned economy a portion of the available capital may be used for enterprises, which all employ whatever experts there are amongst the immigrants, thus affording employment to the individuals in particular and benefiting the community on the whole. The ever widening sphere of activity will continue to give employment to an increasing number of immigrants. Such a community makes it possible for a person of ordinary ability to earn a decent

208 By 1939, the Chinese government was located in Sichuan province. While most of China was occupied by the Japanese, Yunnan province remained under Chinese control.

209 Pinyin Sichuan.

210 Today Hai Phong, Vietnam.

living and it will be more so, if the immigrants should be given further training in their already specialized fields of endeavour. With efficient organization the great majority of the immigrants will be able in a period of |3| one or two years to establish themselves in one vocation or another.

In view of the fact that all the countries in the world have either entirely closed their doors to immigrants or have rendered their entry extremely difficult, the opportunity offered by this scheme, especially under the conditions outlined therein, should not be slighted [sic].

In many countries the refugees have been forced to live on charity and have no prospect for making an independent living in the near future. In America more than 100,000 affidavits have been issued and can not be used on account of the quota restrictions. The respective emigrants will not be able to avail themselves of the affidavits in many years to come. Needless to say, many immigrants will not be able to find employment after their entry into America. On the other hand nearly all the benefactors who have generously signed affidavits will be burdened with the support of the immigrants which will certainly cost more than £ 50.– per head without having any assurance of further employment of their protegés. Under my scheme the American guaranters [sic] of affidavits by making contributions ear-marked for the respective emigrants would be released from their obligations. Furthermore all other charitable persons could specify their contributions to be expended for the benefit of certain individuals.

Even if other countries, besides America, do grant entrance to refugees the sum of £ 50.– is likewise inadequate for the support (food and shelter) of one person for a period of approx. one year. Besides the prospects for finding employment are none too encouraging.

For all these reasons it may be not too presumptuous [sic] on my part to count on your valuable and ready cooperation and I wish to emphasize that only a campaign strated [sic] immediately and continued on a large scale will make the scheme a real success.

In consequence of the eminent position you are holding in your |4| country your cooperation will be of immense value to the achievement of this philanthropic enterprise. I therefore sincerely request you to make an earnest appeal through the press to the public for the cause of the refugees and to recommend this scheme. I am looking for your kind consent to serve in the world committee to be organized for the purpose of promoting and carrying out the same, under the name and style "League of Immigration to China."

Should this communication reach you before this scheme has been published in the press I beg you to treat it as a strict confidential matter.

Anticipating the pleasure of your favorable reply, I am,

Yours respectfully

Document 28

*Bernhard Kahn*²¹¹ (AJJDC)

November 15, 1939

Typewritten memorandum, 2 pages.

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 458

CONFIDENTIAL

November 15, 1939.

Memorandum on Conversations with Mr. Jacob Berglas
of China

I had several conversations with Mr. Berglas concerning his plan to bring 100,000 Jews to China. I asked him for details, but he spoke in very general terms about the plan. I told him that the settlement of 100,000 persons within one year, as he proposes, would seem a technical impossibility quite apart from other difficulties. He insists, however, that his plan has been well considered and is absolutely feasible according to his experience and knowledge of conditions in China.

I told him that we had entrusted some experts in Europe to investigate the possibilities for industrial and commercial settlements in China and in other non European countries and that we had much information in this respect. We were of the opinion, based on the experts' findings, that possibilities for such settlements existed for groups of not more than 1000 to 2000 people and this included workingmen which are excluded in the Berglas plan.

His plan is that 100,000 people should be brought to China to be established there in hundreds of industries of all kinds and in commercial enterprises. They should be the entrepreneurs and technical experts, the workers to be Chinese. Mr. Berglas emphasized that he has vast experience and that he has the support of the Chinese Government. He pointed out that 100,000 persons would immediately need all sorts of goods and commodities.

He told me that he had had conversations with Mr. Liebman²¹² and that

211 Bernhard Kahn (1876–1955) was born in Sweden. He devoted his life to Jewish welfare and relief activities, and was the European director of the JDC from 1924 to 1939, first in Berlin and from 1933 in Paris; cf. Max Kreutzberger (ed.), *Leo Baeck Institute, New York. Bibliothek und Archiv, Katalog Band 1*, Tübingen 1970, 426.

212 Charles J. Liebman (1877–1957) was an American philanthropist. For some time in the late 1930s, he was vice chairman of REC (see above, n. 95); cf. Vicki Caron, *Uneasy Asylum. France and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933–1942*, Stanford Calif. 1999, 151.

he would like to see Mr. Ittleson²¹³ and Mr. Edward Warburg,²¹⁴ before going to Washington where he will confer with the Chinese Division of the State Department and with others interested in his plan.

When I repeatedly asked him for more details as to how he would go ahead with the settlement, he referred me to his memorandum and said if he had £ 50 per head for 100,000 people, and the support of the Jewish organizations, he could surely carry through his plan. However, in the many hours' conversations I had with him, nothing concrete resulted, he gave me no outline of his program, how he would begin the work or how the plan was to be developed. I remarked that a general sweeping statement that 100,000 persons could readily be settled in China would not impress the Jewish organizations or official personalities who might examine his plan. I pointed out that we all know that each 250 persons need a shoemaker, a tailor, a baker, etc.; that 800 to 1000 persons require the services of a physician and a dentist; that teachers, rabbis, nurses are needed; also carpenters, mechanics, electricians and other kinds of artisans. And that if the 100,000 persons immediately have some power of consumption, about 10 % of their number would be engaged in satisfying the needs of these settlers, when industries and commercial enterprises are established. The only detail he mentioned was that he had in mind some transportation company which would transport all necessary goods machinery, etc. to the interior.

He spoke in generalities, I repeat, but made the statement that if he had \$ 1,000,000 he could put through his plan in Shanghai and make all the refugees there self-supporting, thus cleaning up that situation.

[2] As far as Mr. Berglas and his family are concerned, I know the following: Mr. Berglas and his brothers had large woolen and textile factories in Germany and had investments outside of Germany. They made a good deal with the Nazi Government and they have quite a considerable fortune outside of Germany. Mr. Berglas said he went to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government to be their financial advisor in some activities.

The family established a factory in England run by one of the brothers. The others came to the U.S. on immigration visas and are still trying to invest their capital in some profitable enterprise, but haven't found anything yet. He

213 Henry Ittleson (1871–1948) was one of the most important Jewish philanthropists in the 1930s; he was chairman of the board of the New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, honorary chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, and an active member of the AJJDC.

214 Edward M. M. Warburg (1908–1992), a son of Felix Warburg, was an active supporter of the arts in the United States. Both he and his uncle Max Warburg, mentioned below, were members of the well known Warburg German Jewish banking family.

is engaged in working in China and up to about a year ago he often traveled to Germany.

He was not conspicuous in social work in Germany. There is nothing that can be said against the family or Jacob Berglas, but in a conversation with Mr. Max Warburg,²¹⁵ the latter advised caution. Mr. Warburg thinks the family is given to overstatements and exaggerations, although nothing is known reflecting on their character. Besides the four brothers, there are two sisters, married, and it appears that the family holds together very much and all are anxious that the China plan materialize.

I informed Mr. Berglas that I could not tell him of the intentions of the J.D.C. except that the J.D.C. as such is not engaged in settlement schemes.

It might be advisable for ###-### members of the J.D.C. to meet with Mr. Berglas and stress the position of the J.D.C. in such matters, and thus avoid the publicity which is sure to come and which may be made less harmful if he hears the attitude of the J.D.C. from its representatives.

B. Kahn

BK:JO

Document 29

Anonymous

June 21, 1939

Newspaper article, in: North-China Daily News, page number unknown.

Microfilm; NARA (SMP Investigation Files, 1894–1944, Records of the CIA), RG 263, reel 18, file D 5422 (c)

100,000 Emigrants to Settle in Yunnan Province

National, Provincial Authorities Said Interested in Huge Economic Scheme

Having investigated the matter fully and having learned that the Chinese Government and the Provincial Government of Yunnan are prepared to allow 100,000 emigrants to settle in China under certain conditions, Mr. J. Berglas,

215 Max M. Warburg (1867–1946) was head of the well-established banking house M. M. Warburg & Co, founded in 1798 in Hamburg, which supported the emigration of Jews after 1933. He became chairman of the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden in 1928 and left Germany in 1938.

noted German industrialist, called a press conference at the Cathay Hotel yesterday afternoon in order to give more details on the proposed scheme.²¹⁶

The plan, which for the time being is in its infancy, would call for settling of certain parts of China, particularly Yunnan province, by emigrants of the whole world, irrespective of nationality, creed or political affiliations who, carefully selected as to their abilities and provided that they can furnish amounts sufficient for feeding and shelter over a period of one year approximately, would enjoy the same rights of residence and work as the Chinese, enjoying governmental protection with the same rights and responsibilities as Chinese citizens.

A co-operative banking institution and a committee consisting of all the presidents of emigration committees all over the world would supervise the scheme, which would be run according to an economic plan to be established, whilst the committees of all parts of the world would charge themselves with the intellectual advancement as well as special and physical training to prepare future settlers for their new sphere of interest.

Self-Supporting in One Year

According to the communal plan, it will be possible for the average emigrant to earn a decent living within a year, all the more so if efficient training is being afforded them. It is therefore presumed, according to Mr. Berglas, that the emigrants thus settled, should be able, over a period of one or two years, to establish themselves in some vocation or other.

In view of the fact that nearly all countries of the world have either closed their doors to emigrants entirely, or have rendered entry exceedingly difficult, the opportunities presented by this scheme, should not be belittled, according to Mr. Berglas, who is of the opinion that in China it is possible to attain a high standard of living with comparatively small means, whilst he opines that opportunities of reconstruction at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese hostilities will be even greater in this immense country.

China would also benefit by the scheme, Mr. Berglas continued, and would render a great service to those nations who are unable to give shelter to emigrants.

There are at least 500,000 persons who wish to emigrate from all over the world, Mr. Berglas added, and in view of the fact that everything in connection with the present plan is being built up without political or ulterior motives and that the economic interests of the entire community will be served, it should be encouraged wherever possible, all the more so, as world charity is bound to tire as the emigration problem can only be solved on an economic basis.

216 For further information about the resettlement plan, cf. Gao, Shanghai, 32–50.

Asked whether refugees at present in Shanghai would be eligible to settle in Yunnan, Mr. Berglas said that there was no reason why they should not.

Chinese Views Favourable

Another correspondent asked whether the Chinese Government had sanctioned the scheme, whereupon he was told that from information gathered at Chungking and other places, the Government is prepared to consider the scheme favourably.

All emigration groups in the various parts of the world were informed of the scheme a few days ago and their replies and suggestions are at present being awaited before any definite date will be set for the commencement of the settling of Yunnan province, the first colony being most likely established near the Burma frontier, although no definite site had as yet been chosen.

The German authorities, it was revealed, have been informed of the scheme and view it favourably, whilst it was believed likely that the Chinese Government would make known its official opinion about the proposed scheme in the not too distant future.

Mr. Berglas, it was pointed out at the meeting, at which several members of the local Refugee Committee attended in an official capacity, had gone to a great deal of expense to visit the various parts of China which would eventually be considered as sites and had the opportunity to discuss the whole plan with national and provincial authorities who were stated to view the plan with interest.

The financial problem which would have to be studied before these settlers could take up their proposed new spheres of activities, is a difficult one, but as Mr. Berglas pointed out, there are for example about 100,000 unused affidavits for the United States and many persons there would be pleased to be relieved of the responsibility of having to guarantee relatives who plan to make their home in the United States, by contributing a comparatively smaller amount to this new scheme, which would be almost certain to ensure a future to those in quest of a new country.

Questioned with regard to the sphere of activities most likely to be of interest to new settlers, it was pointed out that all skilled labour would be employed, whilst a huge field of activity lies practically unexplored in the transportation industry, which is steadily growing owing to the increased number of highways and other means of communications that are at present under construction.

Chapter 2

Journeys, Arrivals, and Settling In

Introduction

Fortunately, the refugees who arrived in Shanghai in 1938 and 1939 were unaware of the various efforts made to keep them out. Nor could they really fathom the hardships and difficulties that awaited them in the metropolis. Being for the most part of middle- or upper-middle class origin, they had been used to comfortable lives in their countries of origin and were unprepared for Shanghai's harsh conditions – they could indeed hardly imagine them. Of course, among the families were also a goodly number of single men recently released from various concentration camps.¹ These would have been less concerned with the problems found in Shanghai, or the difficult climate of extreme temperatures, as long as they could leave their painful past behind.

Although some refugees had distinctly unpleasant journeys, even suffering anti-Semitic insults from the crew, many sailed on Italian luxury liners, like the *Conte Rosso*, the *Conte Biancamano*, and the *Conte Verde*. The food was excellent, life on board was relaxing, there was entertainment, and there were even pleasant excursions in the ports where the ships docked. But for all, the arrival in Shanghai was in contrast a rude awakening. Egon Varro's poem (Document 44), despite its satirical presentation, is a graphic picture of the strange scenes that confronted the newcomer and the place where he now somehow had to live. At the same time, the refugees were equally bewildering to the Shanghai committees who had come to welcome them. For each the first impression was decidedly not positive and this, in many ways, influenced how they perceived one another in years to come.

Although many newcomers had reached a safe harbor, a new catastrophe loomed in the summer of 1939. The Japanese authorities in control of Hong-

1 Some of these experiences were included in the theater play *Die Masken fallen*, which deals with a person released from a concentration camp provided that he emigrates. Its authors, Schubert and Siegelberg (see ch. 4, nn. 81, 45), were incarcerated in concentration camps. The play was performed in Shanghai November 9, 1940, exactly two years after the "Kristallnacht" (November pogrom); cf. Michael Philipp/Wilfried Seywald (eds.), Hans Schubert, Mark Siegelberg: "Die Masken Fallen" – "Fremde Erde". Zwei Dramen aus der Emigration nach Shanghai 1939–1947, Hamburg 1996.

kou (usually referred to as Hongkew in the Shanghai dialect) threatened to close the entire area to further entrance of Central European Jews. Where were the hundreds on the high sea and the thousands still waiting for passage to find accommodations in Shanghai? Hongkou, partially destroyed in the recent fighting, was, after all, a much cheaper area than either the International Settlement or the French Concession. Then came the SMC announcement that it would also close the International Settlement to the refugees.

The Japanese had not taken the decision precipitously. How to effect a closure had been under discussion since spring 1939 among the branches of the army and government. The SMC had been forewarned earlier that some form of control was being contemplated by the Japanese. Thus the SMC decision, taken unilaterally and without consulting the Consular Body² to also close the International Settlement to European refugees, was a reaction to the Japanese move. Protests lodged by some consuls that they should have been consulted were half-hearted and did not change the situation. Both the Japanese and the SMC were determined to close Hongkou and the International Settlement – that is, the areas north and south of the Suzhou Creek – to Jewish refugees.³

But how to define a refugee, as asked in Document 34? Labeling them as Jews would not do as far as the British were concerned. Apparently “non-Asiatic foreigner” struck them as more elegant. However, how to implement not a total but a near total closure was a more vexing problem. To accomplish this, it was decided that the SMC would require Permits, called Certificates, or evidence of funds (*Vorzeigegeld*).⁴ The regulations for entry into Shanghai were promulgated October 22, 1939.

But soon a serious loophole was discovered. Those refugees who had managed to secure bookings preferred to arrive with evidence of funds rather than Permits. Having to be mailed from Shanghai, these took a great deal of time to arrive and often created further complications. Moreover, even if a refugee did not have the required funds, Jewish organizations were willing to advance the money, provided it was returned to the Shanghai HICEM office. Since money apparently did not act as a deterrent against the refugee influx, it was decided that Permits would have to be mandatory. The new regulations promulgated on June 1, 1940, therefore stipulated that refugees needed to arrive with *both* Permits and evidence of money.

Yet, it was not these seemingly insurmountable problems that brought the refugee traffic to a halt. In September 1939, Germany invaded Poland,

2 For the SMC and the Consular Body, see the General Introduction.

3 For further information, cf. Eber, *Wartime*, 6–16, 30–34, 98–110.

4 The French, the Japanese, and the SMC had slightly different requirements, though all three stipulated the possession of permits.

thus effectively eliminating German ships from sailing to Shanghai. When in June 1940 Italy joined Germany, Italian shipping too came to an end. French ships had never been plentiful, but after Germany invaded France in June 1940, the Marseille traffic to Indo-China (Vietnam) ports ceased for all practical purposes. Although the less used overland route via the Soviet Union was open until June 1941, when Germany invaded Russia all escape avenues were finally closed. In the end it was neither the Japanese nor British authorities who cut the lifeline of the desperate Jews, but the Germans and their war in Europe.

Financial help, whether from local Jewish sources or from the AJJDC, was never sufficient to shelter and feed the thousands of destitute people who crowded Shanghai. However, many did not wait or entirely depend on charitable contributions. Indeed, the refugees' ingenuity, inventiveness, and making the best of their difficult circumstances are admirable. There were those who tried their hand at various business ventures. Wives often became their family's main support. And even intellectuals found ways to make a living. We are fortunate to have a few firsthand accounts of their courageous attempts to make the best of a trying situation.

Following the first wave of refugees in 1938, by the beginning of 1939 the refugees' first stop was one of several shelters (usually called camps, in German *Heime*) established for the most part in renovated schools. These places were abominable by all accounts, but at least they provided a roof, and some shelters had kitchens where meals were prepared for the people, who were thrown together helter-skelter, old and young, single men and women and families. The shelters consisted, in fact, of dormitory facilities where as many as several dozen people were housed in one room. Privacy was impossible to come by, and sanitary conditions were indescribably bad. The administration of these homes left much to be desired, its inefficiency in large measure due to the inexperience of the people in charge. Most refugees tried to leave the shelters as soon as possible, renting accommodations no matter how humble, outside, and those who remained often succumbed to acute depression and an inability to manage their lives. A few more fortunate ones managed to avoid the shelters altogether.⁵

Despite the difficult conditions that the refugees encountered in Shanghai, journalists soon began to issue newspapers. German language newspapers (to be discussed in a later chapter) became available already in 1939. There were also radio broadcasts in German providing useful tips about

5 Cf. for example, Ora Janklowicz, Harold Janklowicz, *Riding the Waves*, Ra'anana 2008. The Janklowicz family was taken in by a friend, Werner Daniel, who had arrived with his family earlier.

the first steps a refugee needed to take in this strange place. The latter were mainly due to the initiative of Horst (Howard) Levin,⁶ who had arrived as a seventeen-year-old in Shanghai. An introduction to Roy Healey, manager of the American radio station XMHA, affiliated with NBC, landed him a job as a radio programmer.⁷ The German language broadcasts began on May 2nd or 3rd, 1939, in the afternoon and ran for ninety minutes each day except Sundays. News, music, commercials, lectures, and useful information were featured (Documents 49, 68, 146, 167).

It may strike one as bizarre, yet the German authorities, having finally rid themselves of the Jews, continued to watch them in Shanghai. The German Consulate General sent periodic reports, often running to as many as fifteen pages, about the refugees and other Shanghai Jews. These dispatches were far from complimentary, and some frequently outright stated that the Central European refugees contributed to giving Jews generally a bad name.

6 Levin (1917–2000) and his family, who came from Lötzen (in East Prussia), had lived in Berlin from 1935 on. He arrived in Shanghai on the *Conte Biancamano* in January 1939, soon after his release from Sachsenhausen. He worked as a reporter for several German language newspapers and for the American radio station, a job that ended at the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941. He next became a middleman for Chinese businesses purchasing medical supplies for Yunnan, which was under Chinese exile government control. At the end of the war, he worked for a Chinese chemical business. He married in Shanghai in 1946, and in 1948 he emigrated to the United States, where he pursued a successful business career.

7 James R. Ross, *Escape to Shanghai. A Jewish Community in China*, New York 1994, 82f.

Document 30

*Ibusuki*⁸ Hidehiko (SMP) to G. Godfrey Phillips⁹ (SMC)

July 3, 1939

Typewritten letter, 1 page; the letter was written on a printed form; the file number has been inserted by hand, the subject and addressee by typewriter; on the top of the page is the Chinese stamp of the SMA. Below the handwritten signature is a handwritten addition, obviously made by the recipient.

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/86

File No.

{K 38/1}

Subject: Jewish Refugees in the Yangtsepoo Area.

To: The Secretary: –

In view of the large influx of Jewish refugees in the Yangtsepoo District especially in the neighborhood of East Seward Road, I have been informed by letter under date of June 28th, 1939 from Captain Matsubara, Chief of the Shanghai Naval Rehabilitation Corps, to the effect that in future the right of residence of these refugees will be controlled in favour of Japanese interests and also in favour of those Chinese desiring to return to that area.

For your information, please.

July 3rd 1939.

{H. Ibusuki}

{Noted with considerable interest. ### 3-VII-39}

8 The Japanese Ibusuki (c. 1882-?) studied law in the United States. From 1937 on he was Deputy Secretary at the secretariat of the SMP, retiring from the post in 1941. Special thanks to Robert Bickers for his help deciphering the name, and for information on Ibusuki.

9 About G. G. Phillips, see ch. 1, n. 122.

Document 31

*Refugee Admittance Committee*¹⁰

August 1939

Typewritten statement draft, 3 pages; each page has the Chinese stamp of the SMA. Several corrections and interlinear additions have been made by hand, including the paragraph numbering.

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/86

SHANGHAI, August 1939.

Prohibition of entry of European Refugees into Shanghai.

The council of the International Settlement, the French Concession Authorities, and the Japanese Authorities, have approved this statement, which has been drawn up by the Refugee Admittance Committee appointed by these Authorities, defining the aims; object and scope of the prohibition of entry of European refugees into the International Settlement North and South of the Soochow Creek and into the French Concession at Shanghai.

The prohibition in question is a course of parallel action taken by the Authorities concerned, which in inception has no racial, national, or religious basis whatever; economic and social considerations alone being involved, and the general public interest being the paramount concern.

The local economic market is unable to absorb an unlimited foreign population; nor is local municipal, public or private philanthropy able entirely to support those who cannot thus be absorbed. The housing problem has a direct relation to the absorptive economic capacity, the unabsorbed seriously taxing the housing supply; and, being unable to pay rent, having to be provided with free housing on humanitarian grounds. The Settlement Authorities have already been generous in this regard.

These economic considerations have in fact always been basic in Shanghai, in determining the arrival and settlement in Shanghai of its foreign population. Shanghai has never offered scope for immigration, as the term is popularly understood. Simply put, foreigners arriving here, if not tourists contemplating return, are customarily those whose economic absorption here is assured by prior guarantees of employment or by their own financial substance. The prohibition in question is thus an endeavour to prevent the

10 For this committee, see also Document 13. The draft was discussed by the members of the committee, who decided not to use the expression "Jewish refugees" but rather "European refugees," which also appeared in the final version of September 1939.

aggravation of an abnormal situation seriously affecting the economic and social life of the community.

[2] Accordingly, the fundamental criterion in any determination of the definition “Refugee” for the purposes of application or non-application of the exclusion policy, is whether the prospective entrant has prior guarantees of local employment or sufficient financial resources of his own. Those qualifying in the former respect, i.e. having prior guarantees of employment are, from an economic viewpoint, more welcome than those who have limited money but are yet in search of employment. Therefore, and since Shanghai offers no scope for “settlers” or “immigrants,” in the accustomed sense, monetary qualifications far more exacting than those permitting immigration into countries abroad should be demanded of prospective entrants into Shanghai who are without prior guarantees of employment.

It is in consideration of the foregoing statement of general principles that the following “Preliminary Regulations for the Entry of European Refugees into Shanghai” are promulgated, subject to any modification or expansion thereof that may hereafter be determined upon:

Preliminary Regulation for the Entry
of European Refugees into Shanghai.

1. The term “Refugee” has application irrespective of race, nationality or religious faith; having a purely economic connotation.
 2. The term “Refugee,” within the meaning of these regulations, is a non-Asiatic foreigner desiring to take up residence in the International Settlement or French Concession at Shanghai.
 3. Refugees may be permitted or denied residence in the International Settlement or French Concession at Shanghai, in accordance with the following prescribed regulations.
 4. These regulations will have application to all refugees who on the date August 18, 1939, had not already shipped or entrained for Shanghai.¹¹
- [3]
5. These regulations will not have application to refugees whose final destination is not Shanghai and who do not intend to stay in Shanghai for a longer period than one month, ~~and~~ {or ### #if #} ¹² provided passages from Shanghai to another destination have been paid for and their tickets to Shanghai indicate the name of the vessel by which they are departing from Shanghai.

¹¹ The two following lines of point five have been crossed out by hand and repeated on p. 3.

¹² Addition on the left margins.

6. Except as provided for under Clauses 8 {7} and 9 {8} hereof, no refugee will be eligible for residence in the International Settlement or French Concession at Shanghai unless he {or she} can produce satisfactory documentary evidence guaranteeing ### employment in Shanghai for a period of at least one year, or evidence showing the possession of a sum of not less than U.S. Dollars {or the foreign currency equivalent} available ~~to him~~ in Shanghai, i.e. a sum sufficient to maintain him {or her} without other support for a period of a year.
7. The immediate family of a refugee resident in Shanghai, and who is registered, shall be eligible for residence, provided the registered resident is certified by the Refugee Admittance Committee as financially competent to maintain such family. A “family” means parents, husband or wife, and children.
8. Entry will be permitted to those contracting marriage to registered residents in Shanghai, subject to the resident producing satisfactory evidence of such intention on the part of the prospective entrant and to the resident being certified by the Refugee Admittance Committee as financially competent to maintain the prospective entrant.
9. Refugees leaving Shanghai who do not possess a certificate of financial competency {or continued employment} and who desire to resume residence must qualify for such residence in accordance with these regulations.

Document 32

Anonymous

August 15, 1939

Newspaper article, in: North-China Daily News, page number unknown.

Microfilm; NARA (SMP Investigation Files, 1894–1944; Records of the CIA), RG 263, reel 18, file D 5422 (c)

Shanghai Municipal Council to Ban Jewish Refugees Consulates and Shipping Companies Notified That Emigrés Will Not be Allowed to Land here

Dramatically curtailing the immigration of Jewish refugees to an already over-crowded city, the Shanghai Municipal Council yesterday notified all consulates and shipping companies that no more European emigrés would

be allowed to disembark at Shanghai. The Jewish Refugee Committee in Shanghai was also advised of such action by the S.M.C.

A Council official explained that this sudden decision on the part of the Council was not taken in conjunction with the decision of the Japanese authorities to restrict the influx of refugees North of the Creek. Reports of these restrictions laid down by the Japanese, however, forced the Council to prohibit the entry of thousands of emigrés into the area South of the Creek.¹³ The Council had received no official report of the Japanese decision to ban all Jewish refugees who arrive in Shanghai after August 21, from the Hongkew area.

“All we know about it is what we’ve read in the newspapers,” said the official.

“We’ve already done more than our share here in Shanghai,” continued the official,” but the point has been reached where Shanghai cannot absorb any more refugees. He pointed out the fact that if there was no room for these refugees in the area North of the Creek, where there are numerous vacant plots and empty buildings, there certainly could be no accommodations South of the Creek where every available living space is already crowded.

Refugees En Route Unaffected

The new ruling on the part of the S.M.C. will not apply to those European emigrés who have already embarked on vessels and who are on their way to Shanghai. Just how many Jewish refugees there are en route to Shanghai is difficult to determine as no specific figure can be obtained until the ships reach Hongkong. Whether these new arrivals will be allowed to take up residence in the Japanese-occupied area or not is a matter for conjecture. Meanwhile extensive negotiations are going on between the Jewish Refugee Committee and the Japanese authorities to have the emigrés housed in the new centre¹⁴ in Pingliang Road, former site of the Aerocrete Co.

No further arrivals, other than the refugees at present on the high seas, will be allowed to disembark here. The Council is firm in this determination and will, if necessary, take steps to prevent such disembarkation. This decision on the part of the Council has not been arrived at without due consideration for the present inhabitants of Shanghai and it is not without a feeling of sympathy for the unfortunate refugees that such a drastic move has been decided upon. It was pointed out that the sudden influx of thousands of these refugees into territory inadequate and unprepared to accommodate them would have a detrimental effect on the emigrés themselves.

13 This area was the International Settlement and the French Concession.

14 This was the Pingliang Road camp.

15 000 Here Now

Jewish refugees who have already fled to the comparative security of Shanghai to escape molestation in their home-lands are now numbered at 15,000. About 5000 more were expected to arrive here before the end of the year, and as a result of the Japanese ban, would have been compelled to seek their abode South of the Creek. With the hospital situation already acute, the burden of 5000 more dependent people thrown on the resources of the city would be indeed a difficult one to bear.

An outbreak of any epidemic, for instance, would be disastrous. When scarlet fever struck the refugees living North of the Creek a few months ago it was coped with quite successfully because there was ample space with which to provide an emergency hospital while the refugees themselves cared for their sick compatriots. A similar epidemic among thousands of refugees living South of the Creek would be quite different as there is hardly a single vacant building, which might be used as a hospital, in the entire city and the hospitals are filled to capacity.

Following the decision of the Shanghai Municipal Council to curtail the immigration of Jewish refugees to Shanghai, the French Consul-General yesterday issued an ordinance prohibiting any more Jewish refugees from taking residence in the French Concession. All shipping companies in Shanghai were notified of the new ruling, which went into effect yesterday.

Anxious inquiries were presented by worried Jewish refugees in Shanghai last night regarding the fate of a number of emigrés who are leaving Genoa tomorrow on a ship bound for Shanghai. Many refugees in Shanghai who were awaiting the arrival of relatives on this vessel were stricken with the fear that they might not meet families again. The ship is not due to sail until tomorrow but the S.M.C. edict states that only refugees who are already on their way to Shanghai may disembark here.¹⁵

Allowed to Land in Hongkew

At the Japanese press conference yesterday a naval spokesman agreed that recent Japanese regulation in connection with Jewish emigrants in Shanghai did not prevent their landing in Hongkew. Those refugees in Hongkew, he said, if they registered with the Japanese authorities, would be allowed to remain and conduct their business.

The Japanese regulations, he continued, applied only to residents and businessmen and no other interpretation could be placed upon them. There had been no decision to stop the landing of the emigrés in the Japanese Defence Sector.

15 This was the *Conte Biancamano* which landed in Shanghai on September 12, 1939.

The question, however, might be taken into consideration by the Japanese authorities in Shanghai, the spokesman said, as the Japanese Consul-General had been informed of the S.M.C. decision and the attitude of the F.M.C.¹⁶ which, he believed, was the same.

Document 33

*G. Godfrey Phillips*¹⁷ (SMC) to *Ellis Hayim*¹⁸ (CAEJR)

August 18, 1939

Typewritten letter, 1 page; the signature is stamped.

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/86

K 38/1

August 18, 39.

Ellis Hayim, Esq.,
27 The Bund,
Shanghai.

Sir,

Further to my letter of August 14 {sect. 8}, I have to inform you that it is hoped in the near future to promulgate regulations with regard to the entry into Shanghai of refugees from Europe. It is fully appreciated that the Council's recent decision raises many points which will require clarification; in particular, the shipping companies must be informed how refugees will be defined for the purpose of carrying out the Council's decision.

The several shipping companies have been addressed with a request for their co-operation and they have been invited to avoid accepting any book-

16 French Municipal Council.

17 About G. G. Phillips, see ch. 1, n. 122.

18 Ellis Joseph Hayim (1894–1974) was a highly successful Baghdadi businessman and philanthropist. He was active in community and refugee affairs; from 1938 on, he acted in various high positions on the board of directors of the CAEJR. Hayim was interned as an “enemy national” by the Japanese in 1942, but released in the same year in a prisoner exchange. After the war he lived for several years in Hong Kong; cf. George F. M. Nellig, *Men of Shanghai and North China. A Standard Biographical Work*, Shanghai 1933, 311–313; Meyer, *From the Rivers*, 163.

ings for Shanghai from persons who may possibly come within the ambit of any proposed regulations.

It will, I think, be agreed that any temporary hardship which may be caused by refusing to accept bookings will be very much less than the hardship that would be caused if persons were allowed to book and leave for Shanghai, only to find themselves prevented from entering.

Finally, I have to refer to the statement in to-day's North-China Daily News under the heading "Status of Refugees to be defined."

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

G. Godfrey Phillips¹⁹

Secretary & Commissioner General.

lh.

Document 34

[Illegible] (Melchers & Co., Shanghai)²⁰ to G. Godfrey Phillips²¹ (SMC)

August 16, 1939

Typewritten letter, 2 pages; the first page has a printed full letterhead; the reference number, the place, and the date were inserted by typewriter; the second page has a shortened letterhead (not reproduced here).

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/86

◇ ◇ ◇

NORDDEUTSCHER LLOYD BREMEN

MELCHERS & CO.

General-Vertreter fuer Ostasien in Shanghai, Platz-Vertreter in Hongkong, Hankow, Tsingtau, Tientsin

¹⁹ Signature stamped.

²⁰ Melchers & Co. was an import and export company. It was founded in Hong Kong in 1866, and expanded its local Chinese branches from 1877 onward; its head office was in Bremen. It acted as general agent of the Norddeutscher Loyd Bremen, the most important German shipping company in the early twentieth century; cf. Freyisen, Shanghai, 37.

²¹ About G. G. Phillips, see ch. 1, n. 122.

Telegramm-Adresse:

Nordlloyd

Your Ref: K 38/1

Z/W.

SHANGHAI, August 16th, 1939.

The Secretary & Commissioner General,
Council Chamber,
Administration Building,
SHANGHAI

Dear Sir,

Re: REFUGEES FROM EUROPE.

We beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 14th inst.²² informing us that the Council feels compelled to forbid the entry into the International Settlement of "refugees from Europe." We are sure that you will realize that this step has serious consequences for the Norddeutscher Lloyd and that it is essential for us to ascertain, without loss of time, exactly what regulation will be enforced. Our principals are requesting us to let them have details by telegram, and we would, therefore, be extremely grateful if you could reply to the following questions at your earliest convenience:

(1) Whom do you consider as a "refugee from Europe"? Most of the passengers, who arrived by our ships and for whom local Jewish Committees are responsible, travelled on valid German passports.

(2) Do you intend to refuse to "refugees" permission of entry into Shanghai in general, or does this refer to actual immigration only, and by what means do you make a discrimination?

[2] (3) Are you taking into consideration that near relatives of "refugees" already living in Shanghai have made or are making arrangements to travel here?

(4) What is the wording of the new regulations, through whom, and by what means will control of arriving passengers be effected?

(5) What documents, if any, are required from passengers arriving in Shanghai to prove that they are no "refugees"?

This morning we received an urgent telegram from our principals informing us that approximately only 120 passengers, not 250 as originally estimated, who will be regarded as "refugees," have been booked for s. s. "Potsdam" due to leave Hamburg on the 18th August. Most of these passengers, with their baggage, have arrived at the port of embarkation. These people

22 Instant.

naturally have already given up their homes, having made all arrangements to leave by this ship and are now in a very precarious situation.

We take the liberty of pointing out that the enforcement of immigration rules of this kind with no reasonable margin whatsoever creates a situation of unsurmountable difficulties to shipping companies as well as individuals. We are, therefore, appealing to your sense of justice and beg you to earnestly reconsider your decision for humanitarian reasons. We confidently hope that you will see your way of granting permission for these 120 passengers who are waiting to embark on the s. s. "Potsdam."

With regard to future sailings, our principals advise that they have cancelled bookings of all such people who might fall under your new regulations governing immigration into Shanghai, which proves our earnest willingness for co-operation.

We are looking forward to your reply with greatest interest, and beg to remain, dear Sir,

Yours respectfully,

MELCHERS & CO.

{###}

General Agents.

Document 35

A. Bonetta (Lloyd Triestino, Shanghai)²³ to G. Godfrey Phillips²⁴ (SMC)

August 16, 1939

Typewritten letter, 3 pages; printed letterhead on first page, the date and reference number were inserted by typewriter. Pages 2 and 3 have some handwritten underlines. The last page has the stamp of the SMA.

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/86

◇ ◇ ◇

LLOYD TRIESTINO

(Flotte Riunite Lloyd Triestino, Maritima Italiana e „Sitmar“) P.O. Box 2207

23 Bonetta was the Shanghai general agent of the Lloyd Triestino. This was one of the four main Italian shipping companies that had emerged from a merger of smaller companies in 1932. Since that year, the Lloyd Triestino served the Trieste-Shanghai route; one of its biggest passenger steamers was the *Conte Verde*.

24 About G. G. Phillips, see ch. 1, n. 122.

- 2) Do the restrictions imposed concern emigrants in general or only those who intend to take definite residence here, and by which elements may their characteristics be established?
- 3) Whether and on which conditions may we accept refugees for Shanghai in case they are called out by near relatives who are already established here?
- 4) Which documents are required to decide whether refugees will be admitted for entry here or not?

As already communicated verbally to you, the following boats carrying refugees are already on the way to Shanghai:

s. s. "Giulio Cesare" due to arrive on 30th August 1939, with about 500 refugees on board.

s. s. "Conte Biancamano" due to arrive on 12th September 1939, with about 400 refugees on board.

Besides we have the cargo boat "Himalaya" which left Trieste on 21st July and is due to arrive here about middle of September with approx. 12/14 refugees.

We understand these passengers will be allowed to land here as the embarkation has taken place before your regulations have been known.

[3] Whilst awaiting your further news on this matter, I have cabled to my Head Office to suspend in general the acceptance of refugees until the various questions have been definitel[y]²⁶ cleared up.

At the time of writing I have received a telegram from my Head Office advising that 16 refugees have arrived in Italy with all their belongings and personal effects to embark on m.v. "Volpi"²⁷ {Ishiguro²⁸ says 'no'. Gfu. 18/8/'39} of our cargo Line which is due [to] sail within the next two days and will arrive at Shanghai about the 20th October.

In view of the special circumstances and of the small number of refugees I feel confident that no objection will be raised to their landing here.

I beg to assure you of my earnest desire to cooperate with you for a satisfactory solution of this problem. In order to come soon to a clear under-

26 The word is at the end of the line.

27 Motor vessel *Volpi*; a cargo ship owned by the Lloyd Triestino.

28 Ishiguro Shirō (from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) was the Japanese Consul in Shanghai. Together with Colonel Yasue Norihiro (Ministry of the Army) and Captain Inuzuka Koreshige (Ministry of the Navy), the Japanese government mandated him to join a committee which was to explore the conditions of Jewish settlement in the Chinese territories occupied by Japan. They presented their report in support of the idea in July 1939, arguing among other things, that such a measure could influence public opinion in the United States and Europe in a positive way; cf. Gao, Shanghai, 80–84, 97–99.

standing I would appreciate if you will kindly favour me with an early reply to the various questions as contained in this letter.

Thanking you in advance for your attention,

I remain, Sir,

Yours respectfully,

(A. Bonetta.)

{Bonetta}

Agent General

Document 36

*Herbert Phillips*²⁹ (*British Consulate, Shanghai*) to *British Embassy*³⁰ (*Shanghai*)³¹

September 1, 1939

Consulate despatch (copy), 10 typewritten pages. Not reproduced here is the printed registrar's form which has a typewritten summary of the despatch and a handwritten remark, "This merely confirms what we already know from a telegram from Shanghai. (W12030)," accompanied by several registry initials.

The despatch comprises a cover letter from H. Phillips, (2 pages) to the British Embassy (on the bottom of the first page the addressee is typewritten: "His Majesty's Ambassador, British Embassy, Shanghai"), the first page has a receipt stamp (October 8, 1939). The cover letter lists five enclosures on the left margins of the first page, not including one "sub-enclosure":

1. memorandum from the Japanese Naval Landing Party,³² August 9, 1939, to the Jewish Refugee Committee (2 pages)

29 Sir Herbert Phillips (1878–1957) first came to China in 1898 as a student interpreter. He served at different diplomatic posts in China, among them Beijing, Chongqing, and Harbin. From September 1937 to January 1940, he was British Consul-General at Shanghai; cf. Lu, *A Dark Page*, 193.

30 The ambassador was Archibald Clark Kerr, see ch. 1, n. 131.

31 Besides the Consulate, the British Embassy was also in Shanghai, see ch. 1, n. 126.

32 The Japanese Special Naval Landing Party was established permanently in the Japanese quarter of Shanghai in 1927; however, its forerunners existed as far back as the 1880s, when Japan had not yet acquired treaty power rights. The Landing Party was a paramilitary group meant to defend Japanese residents and interests in times of trouble. In 1931, it was officially assigned the permanent defense of the Japanese quarter by the SMP. After a violent clash with Chinese Nationalist forces, the Landing Party gained de facto control over the Settlement North of Soochow Creek and Hongkou, running it as if it were a Japanese concession; the SMP hardly retained any influence;

2. letter from G. G. Phillips³³ to H. Phillips, August 14, 1939 (2 pages)
 3. letter from E. Bracklo³⁴ to P. Scheel,³⁵ 1 page, August 19, 1939 (1 page)
 - 3a. Sub-enclosure: letter from E. Bracklo to G. G. Phillips, August 19, 1939 (1 page)
 4. letter from G. Brigidi³⁶ to P. Scheel, August 16, 1939 (1 page)
 5. letter from J. A. Ribeiro de Melo³⁷ to P. Scheel, August 18, 1939 (1 page).
- PRO, FO 371/24079 (22652)

(COPY)

British Consulate-General, Shanghai.

5 enclosures

September 1st 1939.

Number 450

Copies to:

Foreign Office (3) No. 304.

Sir,

With reference to my telegram No. 121 of August the 15th, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for purpose of record, (a) a copy of a memorandum sent to the local Jewish Refugee Committee by the Japanese Naval Landing Party communicating the decision of the Japanese authorities to enforce before August 22nd the registration of all Jewish refugees residing in the northern section of the International Settlement under Japanese control, and to prohibit the entry into that area of new arrivals after the above

cf. Mark R. Peattie, *Japanese Treaty Port Settlements in China, 1895–1937*, in: Peter Duus et al. (eds.), *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937*, Princeton N.J. 1989, 166–209, here 198 f., 208.

33 About G. G. Phillips, see ch. 1, n. 122.

34 Dr. Enno Bracklo (1886–1973) was German Acting Consul-General at Shanghai from 1937 onward. He began his diplomatic career in China in 1908, serving in Shanghai and Yinghai and then again in Shanghai in the middle of the 1920s. In 1932 he was appointed German consul in Qingdao, and later Consul-General in Hankou. He returned to Germany in 1947; cf. Frey Eisen, *Shanghai*, 45, 85; Leutner/Steen, *Deutsch-chinesische Beziehungen*, 588.

35 The Danish diplomat Poul Scheel was senior Consul-General of Denmark in Shanghai. He remained in Shanghai as senior Consul without portfolio after Germany occupied Denmark in April 1940.

36 Italian diplomat Giuseppe Brigidi served from 1934 in Montreal, Canada, and in Cyprus, before he arrived around 1938 in Shanghai, where he was soon appointed Acting Consul-General.

37 Portuguese diplomat Dr. José A. Ribeiro de Melo was appointed Consul-General at Shanghai in 1939.

date; and (b) a copy of a letter from the Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Council to members of the Consular Body announcing the Council's decision to forbid any further entry into the International Settlement of refugees from Europe.

2. As a result of negotiations held on August the 17th between the Japanese authorities on the one hand and the Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Council and the French Consul-General (acting in the interests of the French Concession) on the other, it was decided [2] to permit the landing in Shanghai of refugees who were already on their way to Shanghai, or shortly about to leave European ports for Shanghai. Under this ruling, refugees who left Hamburg in the s. s. "Potsdam" on August 18th will be allowed to land here, but no refugees will be permitted from vessels which sailed subsequent to that date.

3. In accordance with the request contained in the Shanghai Municipal Council's letter, the Consul's concerned (including my German and Italian colleagues) informed their home Governments and shipping companies of the Council's decision. The German and Italian Consuls-General however felt obliged to register pro forma protests against the action of the Council in reaching a decision which will put a stop to the flourishing refugee traffic hitherto carried on by the German and Italian lines, without having first secured the approval of the Consular Body. I enclose copies of the letters addressed to the Senior Consul in this connexion by my German and Italian colleagues, who were, somewhat surprisingly, supported in their attitude by the Consul-General for Portugal, a copy of whose letter to the Senior Consul is also enclosed.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

(Sd)³⁸ Herbert Phillips

Consul-General.

[1] Enclosure 1 in Shanghai despatch to Embassy Shanghai No. 450 of September 1st 1939.

MEMORANDUM

For some time past Jewish refugees were coming into Shanghai in large numbers, and still more of them are expected to follow in the future.

In the spirit that all races are equal, and sympathizing with the plight of the Jewish people, the Japanese Authorities have thus far placed no re-

38 Signed.

restrictions upon their coming into the area controlled by the Japanese forces. Hence in the northern section of the International Settlement over 5000 refugees are estimated to be living and pursuing their trade. The humanitarian attitude of the Japanese Authorities would be much appreciated, especially in view of the fact that this area has not returned to normalcy as yet and the havoc wrought by the hostilities has caused a dearth of houses there. It is to be noted with particular attention that even the return of the Japanese to this area is not permitted unrestrictedly, not to mention the free return of the Chinese.

As an influx of refugees in exceedingly large numbers will have a direct bearing in numerous ways on the plan of reconstruction of the war-torn areas, it has lately been a subject of the most serious consideration of the Japanese Authorities. In the meanwhile, it was made clear that the Jewish leaders among the Refugee Committee wished to see, for the benefit of the refugees already arrived in Shanghai, that further influx be discouraged in some way or other. Taking into account relevant matters, including the interest of all the parties concerned, the Japanese authorities have reached the conclusion that they should take steps as are within their power to stop temporarily a further increase of European refugees to the existing number, pending the study [2] of the possibility of accommodating a greater number of refugees in Shanghai.

The temporary steps to be taken by the Japanese authorities are as follows.

(1) The refugees residing in the northern section of the International Settlement under Japanese occupation on August³⁹ are to fill in all the required particulars in two copies of the "Directory of Jewish Refugees," and forward them to the Japanese authorities through the Committee. (Copies for one family are to be put together in one batch).

(2) Upon inspection by the Japanese authorities, one of the copies is to be returned to the person who forwarded them.

(3) All the refugees in possession of the returned copy are to be allowed to reside as heretofore.

(4) Those who continue to reside, or take up their residence anew, in the said area without possessing the card may be asked to evacuate therefrom.

The Committee is requested to take suitable measures in accordance with the above and to use its influence in order to effect satisfactory registration and prevent newcomers in the said area.

SHANGHAI, August 9th, 1939.

³⁹ Lacuna in original document; the exact date is missing.

[[1]]

Enclosure 2 in Shanghai despatch to Embassy Shanghai No. 450 of September 1st, 1939.

From the Secretary and Commissioner-General, Shanghai Municipal Council, to H.B.M.⁴⁰ Consul-General, Shanghai.

14th August, 1939.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to letters written by the Chairman of the Council⁴¹ to the Senior Consul on December 23, 1938, and January 16, 1939, with reference to the influx into Shanghai of refugees from Europe. I am now directed to inform you that the Council is compelled to forbid any further entry into the International Settlement of refugees from Europe. Steps will be taken to prevent any such further immigration.

This information is being conveyed to each member of the Consular Body.

I have the honour to request that you may be good enough to take steps to inform all interested British authorities and shipping companies of the Council's decision.

The Council has not overlooked the fact that there are a number of refugees who have already embarked with the intention of coming to Shanghai. Although no communication has been received by the Council from the Japanese authorities, it is understood that the Japanese authorities have informed the local Committees responsible for the refugees that no further entry of refugees will be permitted into that part of the Settlement which lies North of the Soochow Creek. It would appear that it is only in that part of the Settlement that accommodation for any further influx of refugees can be found. Should the Japanese [2] authorities be willing, for humanitarian reasons, to permit the entry into that part of the Settlement to which I have referred of those refugees who have already embarked for Shanghai, the Council will be willing to co-operate to this end.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sd)

G. Godfrey Phillips

Secretary and Commissioner General.

40 His Britannic Majesty.

41 Cornell S. Franklin (1892–1959) served as chairman of the SMC from 1937 to March 1939.

[[1]] Enclosure 3 in Shanghai despatch to Embassy Shanghai No. 450 of September 1st, 1939.

From the Acting Consul-General for Germany, Shanghai, to the Senior Consul, Shanghai.

August 19th, 1939.

Po. 1 c

8419/39

Sir and dear Colleague,

I have the honour to refer to the letter of August 14th, 1939, by which the Shanghai Municipal Council notified the members of the Consular Body that the Council was compelled to forbid any further entry into the International Settlement of refugees from Europe, and that steps should be taken to prevent any such further immigration.

As the decision taken by the Municipal Council is in my opinion not compatible with the legal competences of the Council, I am not in a position to recognize the validity of the decision in question. I enclose herewith [a] copy of a letter to the Secretary and Commissioner General of the Council in which I have summarized my attitude in this matter.

I have the honour to be, Sir and dear Colleague,

Your obedient servant,

(Sd) E. Bracklo

Acting Consul-General for Germany

Poul Scheel, Esquire,

Consul-General for Denmark and Senior Consul,

SHANGHAI.

[[1]] Sub-enclosure

From the Acting Consul-General for Germany, Shanghai, to The Secretary and Commissioner General, Shanghai Municipal Council.

Po. 1 c

84 19/39

August 19th, 1939.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter – K 38/1 – dated August 14th, 1939, by which you informed me that the Shanghai Municipal

Council was compelled to forbid any further entry into the International Settlement of refugees from Europe, and that steps would be taken to prevent any such further immigration. I have informed my government and the local German shipping companies accordingly.

Although fully understanding the various reasons which have induced the Municipal Council to take the decision in question I am not able to recognize the validity of it unless the decision has received the approval of the competent authorities, which, as far as I know, has not been the case. In view of the difficult problems the Council is faced with by the mass-immigration of Jewish emigrants, I am, however, disposed to acquiesce in the Council's decision on the condition that those emigrants that have already embarked for Shanghai will still be admitted and that detailed regulations be promulgated as soon as possible with regard to the entry into Shanghai of relatives of such emigrants that are already residing here and of other persons that will be able to support themselves without having recourse to the local relief organisations.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sd) E. Bracklo

Acting Consul-General for Germany.

[1] Enclosure 4 in Shanghai despatch to Embassy Shanghai No. 450 of September 1st, 1939.

From the Acting Consul-General for Italy, to the Senior Consul, Shanghai.
August 16th, 1939.

No. 1525

Pos.a. l. a.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to the circular letter of the Shanghai Municipal Council dated the 14th instant by which the Members of the Consular Body were notified that the Council is compelled to forbid any further entry into the International Settlement of refugees from Europe and that steps will be taken to prevent any such further immigration.

This R.⁴² Consulate-General will not fail to inform the Italian Government on the opportunity of preventing the embarking from Italian ports of

42 Reale (Royal).

refugees having Shanghai as their port of destination, and this above all in consideration of the fact that the local Japanese Authorities have also adopted measures preventing the entry of refugees into the northern section of the International Settlement controlled by the Japanese forces. But, on the other hand, this Consulate-General is forced to protest, through you, against the decision taken by the Shanghai Municipal Council without the full agreement of the Consular Body, which decision therefore has no value due to its wrongly approached form.

However, recognizing the fact that the steps taken by the Council are absolutely necessary for public order, this Consulate-General is ready to sanction the proposal provided it is adopted and confirmed within a regular Consular Body Meeting.

I would greatly appreciate your courtesy in kindly informing me of your opinion on the subject.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant

(Sd) G. Brigidi

Acting Consul-General for Italy, Shanghai⁴³

Poul Scheel, Esquire,

Consul-General for Denmark and Senior Consul.

SHANGHAI.

[|1] Enclosure 5 in Shanghai despatch to Embassy Shanghai No. 450 of September 1st, 1939.

From the Consul-General for Portugal, Shanghai, to the Senior Consul, Shanghai.

No. 443

18th August, 1939.

Pr. 92

Sir,

I am in full agreement with our Colleague G. Brigidi, Acting Consul-General for Italy when he stated in his letter No. 1525, Pos.a.1.a, dated August 16.

But, on the other hand, this Consulate-General is forced to protest, through you, against the decision taken by the Shanghai Municipal Council

43 The page is cut at the bottom, only the very tops of some letters are visible.

without the full agreement of the Consular Body, which decision therefore has no value due to its wrongly approached form.

I am, Sir, Yours faithfully,
(Sd) J. A. Ribeiro de Melo
Consul-General.

Poul Scheel, Esquire,
Consul-General for Denmark and Senior Consul,
SHANGHAI.

Document 37

Anonymous (SMP)⁴⁴ to G. Godfrey Phillips⁴⁵ (SMC)

May 24, 1940

Typewritten report, 4 pages; all pages have handwritten comments on the left margins, assigned to parts of the main text by marks between the lines or in the margins. The report is preceded by a typewritten cover form with a receipt stamp (May 27, 1940). All pages have the stamp of the SMA.

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA, 078/88

Headquarters,
Shanghai Municipal Council.
May 24, 1940

To: Secretary & Commissioner General, S.M.C.

The Commissioner of Police⁴⁶ presents his compliments in forwarding herewith the undermentioned documents.

Reference No: – S.B.D. 5422 (c) – 10

Subject: Central European Jews – Immigration Affairs.

Enclosures Copy of Police report.

44 For the SMP, see ch. 1, n. 25.

45 About G. G. Phillips, see ch. 1, n. 122.

46 The Commissioner of the SMP was Kenneth M. Bourne (1893–?) from May 1938 to February 1942.

[|1|] Central European Jews – Immigration Affairs.

May 23, 40

Further to a report submitted by this office on May 2,⁴⁷ 1940 I have to state that in the s. s. “Conte Rosso,” ex-Europe, arriving in Shanghai on May 9, 1940, 213 refugees were disembarked. Of this number 47 were in possession of landing permits while the remainder, 166, were without permits but in possession of the equivalent of US\$ 400,000 (US\$ 100,000 for children), deposited with the Lloyd Triestino offices in Europe.

The above details fully confirm the anticipations voiced in the report of May 2, 1940 and since many of these arrivals, after examination, appear to be far from respectable types, the attention of the Council is again drawn to the fact that Shanghai would benefit considerably if Article (1) of the Regulations were amended to exclude refugees depositing landing money in Europe against their arrival here. If the money were deposited in Shanghai in the first instance, we would be better enabled to judge the merits of each individual case.

From the number of arrivals in the last Lloyd Triestino steamer it will be observed that nearly four times as many immigrants arrived in possession of landing money as those possessing permits. In other words no means exist for |2| controlling the quota of arrivals. Any Tom, Dick or Harry can land here provided he has the necessary funds and as many as a shipload can arrive with each and every steamer.

Accommodation is extremely difficult to find in Shanghai and with nearly four times as many people arriving as for those we issue permits, the problem is complicated fourfold.

{The Japanese ### ### have together ruled that “suitability” is to be determined by a stipulated money deposit.}

Responsible, long standing members of the Jewish Community have expressed their private and unofficial opinions to the effect that future immigration should either be completely forbidden or the Regulations amended in such a manner to allow entry of only a few desirables from time to time.

Over 17,000 refugees are at present in Shanghai and when the prevailing economic situation is taken fully into consideration, it appears that local conditions will not be ameliorated by allowing further people to come.

If refugees are allowed to enter on permits alone, this measure will definitely act as a brake on the apparently never ceasing number of arrivals; if nothing is done to amend the regulations, then within a very short time, there will be no living quarters at all suitable for foreigners in either the Settlement (South of the Creek) or the |3| French Concession.

47 Faded, illegible addition of about three words on the left margins.

These points have been stressed previously, but now the situation is becoming an acute problem.

There must be a limit to the number of refugees Shanghai can successfully absorb and it is the opinion of this office that the Council should take steps to impose a quota within the very near future.

{Mr. Kann confirms today with me that since the regs. were introduced the total refugee population is "stationary." He says that "very few more" are likely to come now.}

In the report dated May 2, 1940 under the paragraph marked "SHIPPING COMPANIES" (page 7), mention was made that this office would be considerably assisted if local shipping companies could be advised by the Council that permits issued by this office are valid for four months only.

As far as is known no communication has yet been sent to the companies concerned by the Council authorities and it is respectfully asked that this matter be taken up without further delay.

{Pitts called on# me about this and I told him that since the Police had on their own qualified the permits by a 4 months validity clause, they were perfectly at liberty themselves to address the defaulting ###. On the evidence before the Secretariat the worst offence was a case of only 10 days excess of the period of validity!}

In this connection, it is not out of place to mention that due to the good offices of the local Japanese authorities, arrangements have been made to facilitate the passage to Shanghai of refugees coming |4| from Europe via Siberia. This will mean that D.K.K.⁴⁸ steamers from Dairen will soon be arriving here with large numbers of refugees. Since it is essential that all permits be returned to this office after the arrival of the immigrants concerned and since it is also necessary that these newcomers arriving on the strength of permits issued by this office register with the Police, it is respectfully requested that the Council, on behalf of the Committee, come to some arrangement with the D.K.K. Line whereby proper control is exercised over new arrivals.

{I have told Yorke⁴⁹ that it is for the Police to call on the D.K.K. ### things to their mutual satisfaction.}

If such arrangements are not made the entire system, as at present operated, will fail and details that are often required by many local authorities will be completely lacking.

48 The Dairen Kisen Kaisha (DKK) was a large Japanese shipping line.

49 Deputy Commissioner Reginald W. Yorke was chief of the SMP Special Branch (the intelligence unit, later known as the Foreign Affairs Section). He retired in October 1940.

It is superfluous to add that the Committee is not in a position to make these arrangements with the shipping company without proper support from the Council.

Document 38

*Ernest T. Nash*⁵⁰ (SMC) to *R. W. Yorke*⁵¹ (SMP)

July 10, 1940

Typewritten letter, 1 page; printed letterhead of the SMC, date inserted by typewriter. On the bottom of the page is a handwritten addition (partially illegible) written by someone other than the undersigned Nash.

Microfilm; NARA (SMP Investigation Files, 1894–1944; Records of the CIA), RG 263, reel 17, file D 5422 (c)

CONFIDENTIAL

K38/1

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL COUNCIL

◇◇◇

Council Chamber.

Administration Building.

R. W. Yorke, Esq.

Shanghai, July 10, 1940.

Dear Yorke,

I am putting on record the attitude that I am adopting regarding the matter of which you spoke to me.

By understanding reached with the Japanese, we are exercising assumed powers to prohibit certain Jewish parties from “entering” Shanghai. Actually we have no means, exclusively our own, to do this. We have never pretended to the rights of a passport office or believed that, in our own right alone, we are empowered to “authorize the entry” of any party into the port of Shanghai. In our certificates we have made the distinction of saying in a negative way that we have “no objection” to entry, rather than that we have “authorized entry,” and the certificates given refer to entry into the “International Settlement South of Soochow Creek” and not to entry into “Shanghai.”

50 Nash (1898–1985) was a China born American. He served for more than 25 years as secretary of the SMC. After the war, he settled in California.

51 See above, note 49.

Accordingly, where we learn that the Japanese authorities will not permit entry into Shanghai on the strength merely of our certificate of “non objection,” I think we should refrain from challenging their decision.

Should it develop, however, that we learn that the Japanese authorities are in any general way denying entry to Jewish refugees who appear to us to be qualified to enter, it may perhaps be our province to pass such information on to the Consular Body, leaving it to them to take the matter up with the Japanese authorities should they see fit.

Yours, sincerely,

{E. T. Nash}

{D. S. F. Pitts / To see R##f 13/#}

Document 39

Anonymous

June 28, 1940

*Newspaper article, in: Municipal Gazette, page number unknown.*⁵²

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/88

ENTRY OF EUROPEAN REFUGEES.

(Issued on June, 1, 1940)

On October 22, 1939, the Shanghai Municipal Council issued regulations relaxing the total prohibition of entry into the International Settlement of refugees from Europe.

These regulations have now been revised and effective from July 1, 1940; such entry of refugees will be governed by the following regulations:

1. No entry will be permitted unless an entry permit has been obtained from the Police of the International Settlement. The granting or refusing of a permit is at the discretion of the Police.
2. Only refugees coming within the following categories are eligible to apply for such entry permits:
 - (a) Refugees who possess, and deposit with the Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai, not less than US\$ 400 in the case of an adult, or not less than US\$ 100 in the case of a child of

52 This article was unfortunately only available as a clipping.

less than 13 years of age, or the equivalent of such sums in some foreign currency.

(b) Refugees who are immediate family relations (i.e. parents, husbands, wives or children) of refugees of certified financial competency resident in Shanghai.

(c) Refugees who have a contract of employment with a resident of Shanghai.

(d) Refugees who intend to contract marriage with a resident in Shanghai.

3. Entry permits granted are valid for a period of four months only.
4. The responsibility of verifying that an entry permit has been issued by the Police, before a passage booking is made, devolves upon the shipping or railway companies or other travel agents.
5. Applications for such entry permits must be made to the Police through the Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai and addressed to the Committee at Room 177 Embankment Building, North Soochow Road, Shanghai.

Note. – At the present time these regulations are only applicable to that part of the International Settlement which lies South of the Soochow Creek. Refugees desirous of residing in that part of the International Settlement which lies North of the Soochow Creek must comply with the regulations of the Japanese authorities.

Document 40

*Wilhelm Deman*⁵³

August 1979

Typewritten memoir, Ein Verlorenes Jahrzehnt, Shanghai 1939–1949. Tagebuchblätter eines Heimatvertriebenen, 244 pages (25 chapters); here pages 55–66 and 72f. are reproduced. The dots above the umlauts, some commas, and word

53 Wilhelm (William) Deman (1895–1990) was arrested in Vienna during the November pogroms in 1938 and incarcerated in Dachau. His wife Margarete (Grete), who had worked in Vienna with her husband in their translation bureau, managed to obtain his release, and in April 1939 the couple, their daughter, and a grandmother left Vienna for Shanghai. They initially taught English, then opened the Gregg School of Business in 1942, where they taught typing, languages, and other business skills. Wilhelm Deman also served as secretary of the Council of European Refugee Organizations in Shanghai. The family left Shanghai in 1951; cf. Ristaino, Port, 258.

*corrections and additions were inserted by hand. The foreword and acknowledgment (pp. 1f.) of the memoir have been signed by “Wilhelm Deman, Chicago, USA, August 1979.”*⁵⁴

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/56A

Abstract

Deman’s diary is useful for showing the reader the extent to which a ship’s crew could take advantage of its passengers’ plight. As the journey continued past Europe, it became more difficult: the extreme heat of the Suez Canal, bouts of sea sickness, and the deterioration of the quality of the food served led to increasing depression among the refugees. To prevent further problems, the Demans began offering courses in English. In Ceylon (Sri Lanka), the refugees were at last able to leave the ship for the day, but after that they sailed directly to Shanghai as the ship’s refrigeration had broken down. Neither meat nor water was available any longer. They arrived in Shanghai on May 15, 1939.

5. AUF HOHER SEE

Am 20. April 1939 stach der “Giulio Cesare” des Lloyd Triestino von Genua aus in See. An Bord befanden sich ausser einigen wenigen Erste Klasse Passagieren ungefähr 450 (?) jüdische Flüchtlinge, die unter ähnlichen Umständen, wie wir, Deutschland verlassen mussten. Diese Emigranten hatten die gesamte Dritte Klasse und das sogenannte Zwischendeck belegt. Wie bereits erwähnt, hatte ich seinerzeit in Graz ein Schiffsbillet für Kabine mit Bad gekauft, doch hatte ich ziemlich unangenehme Auseinandersetzungen mit der Stewardess, die darauf bestand, dass das mir zustehende Badezimmer nicht meiner Familie ausschliesslich, sondern der Allgemeinheit zur Verfügung zu stellen sei. Es war auch nicht einfach, den Purser zu einer Richtigstellung zu veranlassen. Seit diesem Zwischenfall wurden meine Beziehungen zum Purser (dem Schiffsallmächtigen) recht gut und er ersuchte mich wiederholt, bei Beschwerden mit meinem guten Italienisch zu intervenieren.

Es ergab sich, dass wir auch einen Rabbi an Bord hatten, der in fast allen Streitfällen zwischen Passagieren und der Schiffsleitung als Schlichter herangezogen wurde. Es war dies Rabbi Dr. Zeitin,⁵⁵ der im weiteren Ver-

54 The memoir contains a large number of newspaper clippings, photos, letters, reports, official documents, event announcements, poems, and the like. It is available on the website of the LBI Memoir Collection (M111).

55 Dr. Josef Zeitin (1906–?) was a conservative rabbi from the German city of Mainz. In Shanghai, he was elected to the city rabbinate and served as representative of the rabbinate at the religious court (Bet Din). After the war he emigrated to the United

lauf der Reise zum Obmann (12a)⁵⁶ des von den Emigranten aufgestellten Schiffskomitee{s} gewählt wurde und ich (der Dolmetsch) als sein Assistent. In dieses Komitee wurden dann die Führer der einzelnen streitenden Gruppen kooptiert. Desgleichen auch eine militante jungzionistische Gruppe, die gedroht hatte, das gesamte Komitee in's Meer zu werfen. [56] Diese jungen Leute bildeten später die Ordnungstruppe des Komitees und hatten sich als solche während der ganzen langen Fahrt sehr bewährt.

Die italienische Schiffsmannschaft bezeichnete unseren Transport als das "Verbrecherschiff". Es kam zu Schlägereien und der Purser ordnete einige Verhaftungen durch seine Schiffspolizei an. Ich hatte einige Mühe den Purser von [sic] Ungeheuerlichkeit der Provokation der Emigranten durch die Schiffsmannschaft zu überzeugen und schliesslich ordnete er die Freilassung der Verhafteten an. Die nunmehr mit Wissen des Purses in Aktion tretende Ordnertruppe stellte sich zwischen die Streitenden und drängte sie auseinander.

* * *

Die Grossmutter und das Kind⁵⁷ fanden die Reise sehr interessant und anregend. Meine Frau lebte in steter Angst, dass unser Kind beim Spiel über Bord fallen oder dass sich ihre Mutter beim Stiegensteigen verletzen könnte. Nicht mit Unrecht, machte sie mir den Vorwurf, mich mehr für das Wohlergehen der Anderen als das der eigenen Familie zu interessieren.

Wir sahen uns bloss bei den gemeinsamen Mahlzeiten und häufig wurde ich sogar von dort abberufen, um irgendwelche administrativen Angelegenheiten zu erledigen.

In Port Said, wo sich unser Dampfer zwecks Aufnahme von Brennstoff und Nachfüllung der Trinkwassertanks aufhalten musste, war es mörderisch heiss.

States, where he wrote *The Shanghai Jewish Community (an Historical Sketch)*, in: *Jewish Life* 41 (October 1973), 54–68; cf. Ernest G. Heppner, *Shanghai Refuge. A Memoir of the World War II Jewish Ghetto*, Lincoln Nebr./London 1993, 187; for a brief biographical sketch cf. Josef Zeitin, *Die Entwicklung der Mainzer Presse*, Borna-Leipzig 1935, 47.

56 Number typewritten on the right margins. Deman included many copies of letters, postal cards, newspaper articles, photos, paintings, and other written "Belegdokumente" in his memoir. The numbers in parentheses refer to these documents, each relating to the narrative context.

57 The grandmother was his mother-in-law Berta Antal; the child was his daughter Johanna (later Joan), born in 1934 in Vienna; cf. Buxbaum, *Transit*, 88 f.; Irene Eber, *Chinese and Jews. Encounters between Cultures*, London/Portland Oreg. 2008, 24, 59 f.

[57] Am Abend war der Hafen hell erleuchtet. Ein Motorboot kreiste um unseren Dampfer. Auf roter Leinwand in grossen, weissen Buchstaben war der Name SIMON ARZT⁵⁸ zu lesen.

* * *

[58] Simon Arzt war ein grosser jüdischer Philanthrop und Fabrikant feinsten ägyptischer Zigaretten. Wir erhielten viele Pakete Zigaretten zur Verteilung. Herr Arzt, der persönlich an Bord kam, ersuchte uns, mit den unserer Reiseroute gelegenen jüdischen Gemeinden keinen Kontakt zu suchen, da dieselben durch Hilfsaktionen für die vor uns durchgekommenen Transporte (vorwiegend aus dem Deutschen Reich) geschwächt und nicht mehr in der Lage seien weiteren Transporten Hilfe und Unterstützung zu gewähren. Mir fiel die Aufgabe zu, Mr. Arzt und Dr. Zeitin als Dolmetscher zu dienen.

Durch Kollekten brachten wir etwas Geld zusammen, welches wir zur Bezahlung von Radiodeschen an die verschiedenen jüdischen Gemeinden verwendeten. Meistens waren die Deschen erfolglos. Wir hielten jedoch eine Vorverständigung der Gemeinden von unserer Durchfahrt trotz der Warnung von Mr. Arzt für unerlässlich. Der Umstand dass die Passagiere des „Giulio Cesare“ völlig mittellos waren und nur das was sie am Leibe trugen ihr Eigen nennen konnten, bewog uns die Warnungen unbeachtet zu lassen.

Nach langsamer Fahrt durch den in der Hitze dampfenden Suezkanal, kamen wir in's Rote Meer. Wir landeten in Aden zwecks Auffüllung unserer Kohlenvorräte. Die Hitze war unerträglich. Ein ehemaliger Freund aus Wien holte meine Frau und mich von Bord und zeigte uns alles Sehenswerte in schneller Fahrt in seinem Wagen. Wir hatten Lunch zusammen auf einer kühlen, windigen Hotelterrasse und waren gegen 2 Uhr nachmittags wieder am Schiff. Die Grossmutter und das Kind hatten wir der Fürsorge von Frau Dr. Wachtel, der [59] Gattin des Emigrantenarztes Dr. Jacob WACHTEL,⁵⁹ mit dem uns Freundschaft verband, anvertraut.

58 There is little reliable information about the origin or life of Arzt (1814–1896/1910); he probably settled in Egypt shortly after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Arzt owned cigarette factories and a famous department store (opened in 1875) in the city of Port Said. After World War I, the department store was transferred directly to the embankment of the Canal; cf. Maurice Fargeon, *Les Juifs d'Egypte des origines a nos jours*, Cairo 1938.

59 Jakob Wachtel (c. 1909–?) and his wife Lily (c. 1918–?). Wachtel was a leading member of the Theodor Herzl Allgemeine Zionistische Organisation (THAZO) founded in Shanghai in 1939; cf. Pan Guang, *Zionism and Zionist Revisionism in Shanghai 1937–1949*, in: Goldstein, *The Jews of China*, vol. 1, 267–276, here 269 f.

Auf der Weiterfahrt durch das Rote Meer starben zwei Flüchtlinge und wurden in einer eindrucksvollen Zeremonie, unter dem hellen Mond gegen Mitternacht den bleiernen Wellen übergeben. Rabbi Dr. Zeitin hielt die Trauerrede und sprach die Totengebete. Anwesend waren der Kapitän, den ich bei dieser Gelegenheit zum Erstenmal kennen gelernt hatte, weiters der Purser, Vertreter der Ordnungstruppe und einige Freunde der Verstorbenen.

Das Meer wurde unruhig. Die Frauen und die Kinder litten schwer an der Seekrankheit. Glücklicherweise blieb die Grossmutter und unser Mädel verschont. Dafür jedoch litt meine Frau unsäglich. Ich übergab mich bloss einmal und gründlich und dann war ich geheilt. Ich verbrachte die halben Nächte entweder in der Kantine oder auf Deck unter einer Plache, den Arm um meine Frau und ihr Haupt auf meiner Schulter. Von Zeit zu Zeit nippte sie an dem Whisky, den ich von unserem Bordgeld gekauft hatte, und der ihr zu helfen schien.

Die Stimmung unter den Emigranten war an einem Tiefstand angelangt. Die endlose Fahrt, die fürchterliche Hitze, die Seekrankheit und die sich immer mehr verschlechternde Qualität der Mahlzeiten übten eine deprimierende Wirkung aus.

Es war meine Frau, die die Notwendigkeit erkannte, den jüdischen Passagieren eine zeitkonsumierende Beschäftigung zu beschaffen, um sie die Langweile und die Hitze vergessen zu machen. Sie schlug vor, den Flüchtlingen Gratskurse in „basic English“ [60] zu erteilen. Beim Mittagessen im Speisesaal Dritter Klasse hielt sie eine Ansprache, bei der sie die unerlässliche Notwendigkeit der Kenntnis der englischen Sprache für den Existenzaufbau in einer Metropole wie Shanghai darlegte. Das leuchtete auch Vielen ein und die Anmeldung zu den neuen Kursen war überwältigend.

Der Purser, dem die ganze Angelegenheit gefiel und der auch viel Verständnis für eine Beschäftigung der müssigen Passagiere vom Standpunkte der Ruhe und Ordnung an Bord des Dampfers zeigte, stellte meiner Frau den sehr geräumigen und wenig benützten Speisesaal Erster Klasse für einige Stunden täglich zur Verfügung.

Bald mussten Parallelklassen organisiert werden. Ich selbst übernahm einen Kurs für Vorgeschriftene. Es wurde mit grossem Fleisse gearbeitet und viele der Passagiere des „Giulio Cesare“ erinnerten sich später gerne dieser konstruktiven Arbeit.

* * *

Eine freudige Überraschung bildete für uns eine Depesche der ROTARIANS aus Colombo, Ceylon (jetzt Sri Lanka). Das Schiffskomitee [sic] wurde eingeladen nach der Ankunft in Colombo an Land zu kommen und Gaben für die Flüchtlinge in Form von [sic] leichten Kleidern und Sandalen in Empfang zu nehmen.

Bei Ankunft im Hafen fiel uns allen das riesige Transparent „Drink Lipton Tea“ auf. Der Kapitän gab unserer kleinen Gruppe einen achtstündigen Landurlaub.

Mit Einverständnis von Rabbi Dr. Zeitin, bildeten (12a) [61] Frau Lilly Wachtel, meine Frau, ich und ein weiteres Mitglied des Schiffskomitees die Flüchtlingsdelegation zur Übernahme der Gaben.

Mir fielen die vielen frei auf der Strasse wandernden (heiligen) Kühe auf und der Motorman [sic] der kleinen Strassenbahn musste ziemlich lange warten, wenn die Tiere gerade über das Geleise trotteten.

Wir wurden von der Leitung der ROTARIANS in liebenswürdigster Weise empfangen und bewirtet. Dann übergab man uns mehrere Ballen mit den Gaben und ein uns zur Verfügung gestellter pferdebespannter Mietwagen brachte uns und die Gaben zum Schiff. Dort nahm hernach Dr. Zeitin die Verteilung der Kleidungsstücke vor.

Den Colombo-Rotarians gebührt der herzliche Dank aller Passagiere des „Giulio Cesare!“

* * *

Kurz nach der Abfahrt wurde durch die Schiffsleitung bekanntgegeben, dass aus verschiedenen Gründen von weiteren Zwischenlandungen abgesehen werde und dass der Schiffskurs nunmehr direkt auf Shanghai gerichtet sei.

* * *

Die obige Kundmachung setzte uns einigermaßen in Erstaunen. Wir waren schliesslich vollzahlende Passagiere und ein Überspringen der im Reiseplane vorgesehenen Zwischenlandungen schien uns unkorrekt. Wie ich später erfuhr war der Hauptgrund die schadhafte gewordenen Gefrieranlagen des Schiffes was zur Folge hatte, dass das Fleisch und das Trinkwasser ungeniessbar geworden [62] waren. Wir kauften in der Kantine gegen unser Bordgeld einige Flaschen leichten Weines um den ärgsten Durst zu löschen. Die Mahlzeiten bestanden meistens aus Eiern und Teigwaren, an welchen kein Mangel war.

Verständlicherweise mehrten sich die Beschwerden der Emigranten, denen die Schiffsleitung ein stoisches Schweigen entgegensetzte. Die Passagiere wurden nervös und aufgeregt. Interessant ist jedoch festzustellen, dass die Englischkurse auch weiterhin gut besucht waren.

Eines Tages verliessen wir den Yangtse River und schraubten uns die braungelben Wellen des Wangpoo [sic] Flusses herauf, an Woosung vorbei.⁶⁰

Am 15. Mai 1939 legte der „Giulio Cesare“ am Kai (Bund)⁶¹ gegenüber dem Chinese Customhouse (mit dem grossen Glockenturm) an. Neben un-

60 For Wusong, see ch. 1, n. 157.

61 The Bund was a famous avenue on the Whangpoo river embankment where many foreign banks and businesses were located.

serem Dampfer lag ein deutscher Frachter aus Hamburg, dessen Belegschaft sich bei unserer Ankunft am Vorderdeck versammelte.

Bald erscholl aus kräftigen Männerkehlen in allen Stimmlagen der uns so wohlbekannte Ruf:

DEUTSCHLAND ERWACHE – JUDA VERRECKE!⁶²

* * *

[63] Am 20. April 1939 hatte der „Giulio Cesare“ den Hafen von Genua verlassen und am 15. Mai 1939 vor dem chinesischen Zollhaus in den lehmfarbenen Wellen des Whangpoo Rivers Anker geworfen.

In blendender Sonne gebadet lag vor uns die Riesenstadt Shanghai mit dem „Bund“, dem mit tollen [sic] Leben erfüllten grössten Boulevard.

Das war die Stadt, in die man ohne Visum und anderen Beschränkungen einwandern durfte, die Stadt unserer unmittelbaren Zukunft als freie Menschen. Wie ein Echo aus grausamer Vergangenheit kamen die Rufe: „Juda Verrecke!“ vom Nebenschiff, das die deutsche Flagge trug. Ein Beweis, wie einige Wahnsinnige ein ganzes Volk verhetzen und zu Verbrechern stemeln konnten. Wir konnten es uns leisten, dies Rufe zu überhören, da sie nur ohnmächtige Äusserungen von sicherlich braven Seeleuten waren, die vor ihrem verantwortlichen Nazi-Obmann den Ko-tau machten, um nicht der „Menschlichkeit“ beschuldigt zu werden.

Auf dem Flusse selbst die unzähligen „Sampans“, auf denen viele chinesische Familien ihr ganzes Leben verbrachten. Und dort waren die Kriegsschiffe und Kanonenboote der Verbündeten Westmächte in vollem Flaggen-schmuck.

Damals, bei der Auswanderung, ist mir die Entscheidung nach Shanghai auszuwandern nicht allzuschwer gefallen, weil ich schon einmal hier gewesen war⁶³ – abgesehen von diesem Umstand hatten wir ja keine andere Wahl.

[...]

7. SHANGHAI 1939 – DAS ZWEITEMAL!

[72] Und so kam es, dass ich am 15. Mai 1939 ein zweitesmal⁶⁴ den „Bund“ von Shanghai sah. Ich war zwanzig Jahre älter geworden, hatte viel erlebt und

62 This was the battle cry of the marching SA troops and turned into one of the most popular Nazi slogans in general.

63 Chapter 6 (pp. 64–73: Der Erste Weltkrieg – Als Kriegsgefangener in Sibirien – Heimkehr über Shanghai 1920) has been omitted.

64 Deman was already in Shanghai in 1920. In chapter 6, he describes his return from Siberia to Austria via Vladivostok, Yokohama, Shanghai, and Marseille after he managed to leave the camp where he was detained as a prisoner of war.

war bitter enttäuscht. Ich hatte heute meine Familie mit mir und fühlte die Last der Verantwortung.

An Bord des „Giulio Cesare“ herrschte Pandemonium. Jeder trachtete mit seinem Gepäck frühestens an Land zu kommen. Ich begab mich in unsere Kabine um meiner Frau Packen zu helfen. Jetzt war keine Zeit zum träumen ...

Es wurde Mittag und es wurde 4 Uhr nachmittags als die Reihe zur Landung an uns kam. Nach kurzer Fahrt mit dem Motorboot wurden wir zum Zollamt gebracht, wo wir unter Buchstaben „D“ unseren Überseekoffer fanden. Für einige Liramünzen erklärten sich zwei Kulis bereit, den sehr schweren, soliden Koffer mit ihren Bambusstangen zu den wartenden Lastkraftwagen zu bringen, die eben von ihrer dritten Fahrt nach Hongkew zurückgekommen waren. Es gelang mir unsern Überseekoffer in einer Ecke des Wagenverdecks zu placieren und die Grossmutter und das Kind darauf setzen zu lassen. Inzwischen wurden die Fahrzeuge von den Emigranten gestürmt und ich hatte die grösste Mühe einen Platz für meine Frau und mich im gleichen Wagen zu ergattern.

Die Herren vom Hilfskomitee hatten vorzügliche Arbeit geleistet. Die herumlungern den Sikhpolizisten hatten keinen Grund einzuschreiten und schliesslich rollten die Lastautos mit ihrer Menschenfracht über die alte, eiserne Garden Bridge, an dem japanischen Wachtposten vorbei, entlang des Broadways und der Seward Road in den japanischen Sektor von Shanghai – Hongkew. Wir hielten uns [73] gegenseitig fest, um nicht herausgeschleudert zu werden. Vor den „Heimen“, den Unterkunftsbaracken, wurde Halt gemacht, die Lastautos [sic] entladen aber presto, was mich an Dachau erinnerte, und das Gepäck irgendwo aufgestapelt. Dann wurden wir zur Essensausgabe zusammengerufen und als endlich die Reihe an uns kam waren wir erfreut, eine heisse Nudelsuppe mit einem grossen Stück Rindfleisch darin zu erhalten. Wunderbar! Seit dem kargen Frühstück am Morgen der Ankunft in Shanghai hatten wir nichts im Magen. Die Küchen des „Giulio Cesare“ waren damals bereits geschlossen worden.

So sah unsere „Zukunft“ am Ziele unserer Wanderung aus. Ich hatte noch einen ansehnlichen Lire-Betrag auf meinem Bordgeldkonto gut, den ich nach der Ankunft beheben wollte. Zu meiner unangenehmen Überraschung erklärte mir der Purser, dass eine Liquidierung des Kontos in Bargeld unstatthaft wäre; es sei jedoch völlig in Ordnung für Restbetrag Ware und Wein zu kaufen. Ich besorgte Keks und Käse, etwas italienische Wurst, Brot und einige Flaschen Wein, was uns sehr zu Gute kam.

Im „Heime“ gelang es meiner Frau die Mutter mit dem Kinde in eine Ecke des Schlafsaales zu placieren, wobei die Damen den unteren Teil und ich und das Kind die oberen Betten des Schlafgestelles einnahmen. Wir waren todmüde und schliefen trotz des Lärms bald ein.

Document 41

*Hedwig Eisfelder*⁶⁵ to relatives⁶⁶

October 30 to November 6, 1938

Typewritten letters (copy). Four letters continuously typed on 3 pages (typed pagination [1]–3); another four letters continuously typed on 2 pages (typed pagination [1]–2; on the bottom of the second page appears “Fortsetzung folgt”). Only the first and the fifth letter start with a salutatory address; none of the letters ends with a complimentary close or signature.

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/20

Abschrift

Venedig, d. 30.10.38

Ihr Lieben, um es vorweg zu sagen, die „Conte Verde“ ist ein her[r]liches⁶⁷ Schiff. – Wir gingen gestern abend gegen 11 Uhr an Bord u. fanden eine fabelhaft geraumige [sic], saubere Kabine vor. Sie ist etwa 2 3/4 mtr. x 3 3/4 mtr. gross, hat je zwei Betten übereinander, 2 schöne Kleiderschränke, die je zwei grosse Fächer haben; ausserdem gibt es zwei Waschbecken, 2 Ventilatoren u. ein grosses Bullenauge. Wir hätten also reichlich Platz unsere Garderobe u.

65 Unable to obtain visas anywhere else, Hedwig (1893–1978) and Louis (Leopold) Eisfelder (1893–1976) and their sons Erwin (1924–1978) and Horst (1925) left Berlin in October 1938. Only four months later, in February 1939, they opened Café Louis in Shanghai, which offered continental fare for lunch and dinner. When the Japanese Proclamation of February 1943 ordered stateless refugees into the Designated Area, the Eisfelders had to sell the café. They managed to re-establish themselves, however, within the confines of the Designated Area in September 1943. The family left for Australia in 1947; cf. Antonia Finnane, *Far from Where? Jewish Journeys from Shanghai to Australia*, Melbourne 1999, 66. For the story of the Eisfelder family, cf. Horst “Peter” Eisfelder, *Chinese Exile. My Years in Shanghai and Nanking*, Bergenfield N.J. 2004.

66 Some of Eisfelder’s letters are addressed to her relatives in Lübeck: in the letter dated “Monday” (November 2), for example, she writes to “You, dear father.” This was Nathan Lambertz (1857–1942), who lived in Lübeck, as did Hedwig’s sister Bertha (1889–1973) with her husband Emil Mendel (1887–1974); the Mendels and Emil’s sister Paula (?–1969) and her husband Paul Lambertz left Lübeck for Shanghai in December 1938; cf. Eisfelder, *Chinese Exile*, 173 and passim. In her letter of November 5, she addresses friends and relatives in Berlin (“Ihr in Berlin”).

67 The first syllable of the word is at the end of the line, and the last letter is missing because the page is torn.

Wäsche unterzubringen, wenn unser ganzes Gepäck, das wir doch aufgegeben hatten, nicht unterwegs liegen geblieben wäre!

So haben wir nur das Notwendigste bei uns. Louis u. die Jungs je einen Anzug u. 1x Wäsche zu [sic] wechseln. Ich mein Kostüm, Blusen u. 2 gute Kleider. Jeder hat ausserdem noch einen Wintermantel u. einen Regenmantel [sic]. Es wird auch so gehen, denn diesen Kummer haben viele. 3 Waggonladungen aus Berlin sollen in Salzburg stehen. Warum soll auch bei Eisfelders alles glatt gehen? – Wir wollen also nicht klagen u. uns an den vielen Vorzügen freuen. Es ist schon ein Glück, dass wir eine gemeinsame Kabine haben; die meisten Ehepaare schlafen getrennt u. die dazugehörigen Kinder wieder wo anders.

Nachdem wir uns ein wenig frisch gemacht hatten, gingen wir in den Speisesaal. Es war schon 12 Uhr nachts. Es gab herrliche Kalbsroulade, Salat, Omlet, Torte (wie von Schilling)⁶⁸ u. Obst.

Um 2 Uhr legten wir uns totmüde [sic] hin u. erwachten gegen 7 Uhr früh, ohne bemerkt zu haben, dass das Schiff überhaupt fuhr.

Das erste Frühstück haben wir hinter uns. Es gab: Kaffee, Tee, Kakao n. Wahl, sehr reichlich Butter, 1 Pfund-Glas Jam aus „Palestina“ [sic], 2 Spiegel- oder weichgekochte Eier u. a.

Nun liegen wir einige Stunden in Venedig u. werden gleich an Land gehen. Wir besichtigen inzwischen das Schiff hoch oben. Baden können wir früh u. spät (Wannenbad); ausserdem steht uns ein wunderschönes Schwimmbad zur Verfügung. – Der Speiseaal ist einfach u. doch schön; ebenso die anderen Aufenthaltsräume. Natürlich 1 u. 11. [sic] Klasse unvergleichlich. Sie sind fabelhaft komfortabel; wir können sie jederzeit sehen, uns aber wohl kaum dort aufhalten. Aber wir halten es in der Touristenklasse sehr gut aus.

Die ersten Schwierigkeiten haben sich auch schon eingestellt – wir mussten in Triest unsere Dollar wechseln, da die versprochenen [sic] Lire in Frage gestellt waren, aber im letzten Moment doch noch ankamen. So haben wir nur Lire, die auf dem Schiff keiner nehmen will! Die „Conte Verde“ ist ein internationales Schiff u. Lire werden nicht angenommen. – Die Tage in Triest waren wundervoll. Allen herzlichen Dank für die nach dort gesandte Post. Unser Hotelzimmer war sehr sauber, wie überhaupt die ganze Stadt musterhaft sauber ist. Ein ital. Student, den wir um eine Auskunft baten, erbot sich sofort uns zu führen. Er begleitete uns den Vormittag über. Er war z. Olympiade in Berlin u. verstand etwas Deutsch. Er lehnte es ab, irgend eine Belohnung für seine Führung zu nehmen. Der Student begleitete uns dann nochmals. Am 2. Tag sprach uns ein Berliner an, der bereits 1 1/2 Jahre in T.

68 Café Schilling was an elegant and famous pastry shop on Kurfürstendamm in Berlin.

lebt. Dieser übernahm alsdann unsere Führung. Er besuchte uns dann später auch noch mit seiner Frau in unserem Hotel, beide begleiteten uns zum Hafen. – In Triest gibt es wohl die schönsten Mädchen u. Frauen; sie haben einen beneidenswerten Scharm [sic] u. sind klein u. schlank, chic gekleidet u. ebenso frisiert. – Manche Sachen konnte man sehr billig kaufen. |2| Z.B. Damenhüte, Lederhandschuhe, Gummischuhe und schon für 1 Lire einen Herrenschild.

Nun liegen wir schon 8 Stunden in Venedig. Wir gingen an Land. Man fährt hier Motorboot, wie in Berlin Strassenbahn. Auf diesem Wege kamen wir zum Markusplatz. Der Anblick war überwältigend, einfach unbeschreiblich, jedenfalls mir fehlen die Worte, all das schöne, was wir hier zu sehen bekamen, auszudrücken. Herrliche Paläste neben kostbaren Kirchenbauten und dazwischen alte, z.T. baufällige Häuser. Der Baustil ist überaus kostbar und reizvoll.

Das Mittagessen war wie im Adlon⁶⁹ – Speisekarten folgen. Wir leben, als hätten wir keine Sorgen und doch bedrückt es uns, alle lieben Freunde und Verwandte daheim lassen zu müssen, zudem die Nachrichten aus Berlin so besorgniserregend sind.

Ich glaube, ziemlich durcheinander berichtet zu haben, aber ich bemühe mich, alles, wie es mir bei meiner Unbegabtheit für solche Dinge möglich ist, zu tun.

Es gibt 4 Mahlzeiten: 1. Frühstück, 1 Uhr Lunch, 1/2 5 Uhr Tee, 8 Uhr Dinner. Auch ein Kino ist an Bord und tanzen darf man auch in den 2, [sic] Kl. Räumen. Um 1 Uhr gab es: Hors-d'oeuvre, Suppe, Makkaroni mit Fleisch und Käse, Fillet [sic] mit Kart., Salat, Käse, Obst, Mocca. 1/2 5 Uhr: Brötchen, Jam und Tee. 8 Uhr: Suppe, Fisch, Gulasch [sic], gem. Gemüse, Schokoladentorte, Obst, Kaffee. Wir kommen gar nicht dazu, unsere Näscherien aufzuessen.

Eben, 1/2 6 Uhr, fahren wir aus Venedig fort, [sic] Es sind hauptsächlich Berliner und Wiener an Bord, einige Inder, Japaner und Engländer,⁷⁰

den 31. Okt, [sic] auf der Fahrt n. Brindizi [sic].

Wir hatten die Absicht, gestern abend früh schlafen zu gehen, jedoch das reichliche Abendbrot und die gute Unterhaltung hinderten uns daran. Wir sassen bis 11 Uhr in der Bar, wo musiziert und getanzt wurde. Erwin und Horst liefen so lange an Deck herum, es war windig, blitzte und donnerte,

69 A luxurious hotel in the city center of Berlin close to the Pariser Platz.

70 The transcription of the first letter ends here. The comma doesn't necessarily mean that a portion of the original text has been left out; in several cases, the transcriber erroneously used a comma instead of a full stop.

aber das machte die Sache ja eben interessant. Heute früh nach einem erfrischenden Bad, schmeckte das Frühstück herrlich. Es gibt Butter und Eier, so viel man will und [sic] sind manche unverschämt genug, 4 Eier zu essen. Erwin und Horst essen gut und mit Behagen. Trotzdem sieht Horst noch grün aus. Der Steward, welcher ihn bei den Mahlzeiten bedient, redet immer gut zu und fasste gestern an seinen Blusenärmel, was wohl bedeuten sollte, da sei noch viel Platz. Er ist, wie alle, riesig nett und meinte gestern: An Bord [kann] man nur essen und schlafen, Frau Lawenda⁷¹ [sic] und Melitta sind uns angenehme Gesellschafter. Melitta ist sehr bescheiden und anschmiegend, sie weicht kaum von meiner Seite.

Frau Lawenda hat ungerufen guten Appetit, sie glaubt, an Magenerweiterung zu leiden und ich meine, das fehlt ihr noch bei ihren 160 Pf.

Es sind sehr feine Wiener und ein ganz Teil miese Berliner an Bord. Es gab auch schon eine kleine Auseinandersetzung zwischen einem Berliner, resp.⁷² Rheinländer (ein grosser Stoffel) und einem vornehmen Inder. Mit letzterem haben wir uns viel unterhalten und die Sache wieder in Ordnung gebracht.

Wir fahren heute das erste Mal am Tage – das Wetter ist klar, die See bewegt sich kaum, in unmittelbarer Nähe sehen wir Gebirge. Man merkt überhaupt nicht, dass das Schiff fährt. Gleich soll unsere erste englische Stunde beginnen. Wir überlassen es den Kindern, wie sie sich die Zeit vertreiben – auch nehmen sie die Mahlzeiten getrennt von uns ein. Langeweile gibt es nicht, auch kann man sich genug auslaufen. Und wem haben wir das alles zu verdanken?

71 Eisfelder refers to the Lavenda family from Berlin: Elsa (c. 1899–?), her husband David (a tailor; c. 1900–?), and their daughter Melitta (c. 1924–?). This information is based on the emigré's directory *Emigranten Adressbuch fuer Shanghai mit einem Anhang Branchenregister, Shanghai 1939* [repr. Tess Johnston, Hong Kong 1995], henceforth *Emigranten Adressbuch*, and on the *List of Foreigners Residing in Dee Lay Jao Police District including Foreigners holding Chinese Naturalization Papers by the Shanghai Police, dated August 24, 1944* (henceforth *List of Foreigners*). The latter is on a CD-Rom included in *Armbrüster/Kohlstruck/Mühlberger, Exil*. This list contains about 14 800 names of refugees, their residential addresses, and their ages. However, it has some spelling mistakes, both in the typed original and in the data base transcript. Many names included in the *List of Foreigners* do not appear in the *Emigranten Adressbuch*, and vice versa.

72 Respektive.

Montag,⁷³ 1/2 4 Uhr Brindisi.

Die letzte europäische Stadt, die ersten Palmen. Da wir nur zwei Stunden Aufenthalt haben, werden wir nicht an⁷⁴ Bord gehen dürfen. Vor mir |3| stehen Riesenkörbe mit Geflügel, Melonen, Kartoffeln, die es übrigens zu jeder Mahlzeit gibt, Antichoken [sic], Schikore u.a. Salaten, Zwiebeln usw., welches alles von uns verzehrt werden soll. Das Essen ist nicht nur reichlich, es wird alles zweimal gereicht, auch äusserst schmackhaft.

Nun durften wir doch von Bord und wir vier fuhrem [sic] mit einer Droschke durch Brindisi. Die Stadt ist wenig reizvoll und bietet ausser einigen Palmen nichts interessantes. Nun legen wir erst in zwei Tagen wieder an und zwar in Pord [sic] Said. Bis jetzt war es noch recht kühl, doch soll es nun wärmer werden.

Du, lieber Vater, kämest auch auf deine Kosten, denn es haben sich auch einige Skatpartner zusammen gefunden, Louis macht nicht mit, es wäre auch schade um die Zeit.

Wir konnten bisher von der Mannschaft auch nicht mehr über Shanghai erfahren, als dass es seinen Sommer und Winter dort gibt, ähnlich wie bei uns. Aus der Gästeliste ersehen wir soeben, dass ein ind. Prinz und ein Maharadscha an Bord sind.

Wir hatten schon die ersten, englischen Stunden. Louis bei einem Engländer, Frau Lawenda und ich bei einer Inderin. Die Inder sind äusserst zuvorkommend und unterhalten sich gern mit uns.

Horst las einen Anschlag, auf dem für einige Stunden am Tage jemand zu einem Kinde in der 1. Klasse gesucht wird. Ich meldete mich sofort. Man will versuchen, ob sich der 2 1/1 jähr. Junge gewöhnen wird, er spricht nur tscheschich [sic]. Ich würde mich schrecklich freuen, wenn ich so mein erstes Geld verdienen könnte. Die Familie wohnt in Bombay, der Herr arbeitet im Hilfskomite [sic] und will mir eine Empfehlung für dasselbe in Shanghai geben, da er dorthin Beziehungen hat. Mal sehen, ob es mir glückt.

den 2. Oktober⁷⁵ 38

Ich blieb gestern über Mittag und abends von 8 bis 1/2 11 Uhr bei meinem kleinen Zögling. Meine „Herrschaft“ ist ausserst [sic] zuvorkommend. Man gab mir Bücher, Lind-Konfekt und, falls ich Durst hätte, sollte ich mir unbedingt etwas kommen lassen. Herr Rosenfeld ist anscheinend Wiener und seine Frau Tschechin. Nach meiner Arbeit, die vorläufig darin besteht,

73 Monday fell on November 2.

74 Erroneous, should read “von Bord gehen.”

75 Erroneous, should read November.

dass ich das schlafende Kind bewache, begleitete mich Herr Rosenfeld zum Lift. Ich werde hier von allen beneidet, und ich bin glücklich, so mein erstes Geld zu verdienen, wenn es auch nur einige Pfunde sein werden. Vor allem ist uns an der Empfehlung fürs Komitee in Shanghai gelegen.

Weitere Berichte folgen ab Port Said. Unsere Adresse bis auf weiteres:
Shanghai french settlement
poste restante.

[1] Ihr Lieben, 3.11. 38

wir kamen gestern Abend erst spät in Port Said an und gingen von 11 bis 1 Uhr nachts in die Stadt. Alle Geschäfte waren hell erleuchtet und geöffnet. Gleich am Hafen besuchten wir ein fabelhaftes Kaufhaus (Simon Arzt). Es hat einige Etagen und einen grossen Lichthof, ist im Stile des K.D.W.⁷⁶ gebaut. Man bekommt dort alles – sogar eine Post befindet sich darin.

Man kann keinen Schritt gehen, ohne von Aegyptern, welche alle möglichen Waren anbieten, angerempelt zu werden. Bob kaufte sich eine weisse lein.⁷⁷ Jacke und für ihn und die Jungens weisse Hosen. Mir kaufte er 12 herrliche rote Rosen für 3 Lire. Leider waren sie heute früh schon welk. Wir fahren jetzt durch den Suez-Kanal, und [sic] ist diese Fahrt keineswegs uninteressant. Man sieht weithin nur Wüste, aber Kamele, hin und wieder eine Eisenbahn, Häuserblocks machen das Bild interessant. Soeben fuhr ein türkisches Kriegsschiff an uns vorbei.

Es ist sehr warm, aber es weht dauernd ein kühler Wind. So gibt es immer wieder etwas Neues zu sehen und kommt erst gar keine Langeweile auf. Abends wird es meist spät. Am Dienstag zeigte man einen Tonfilm. Ich sah ihn nicht, da ich meinen Posten als „Sitzende“ ausfüllen musste. Um noch einmal auf Port Said zurückzukommen, möchte euch Euch doch sagen, dass wir dort von allen Seiten mit „Scholem“ und „Scholem Aledem“ [sic] begrüsst wurden.

4. 11. 38

Inzwischen kamen wir an Suez vorbei, ein bezaubernder Anblick. Auf der einen Seite moderne Wohnhäuser, teils mit märchenhaften angelegten Gärten – auf der anderen Seite Gebirge. Hinter den Bergen ging gerade die Sonne unter und hatte man den Eindruck eines feuerspeienden Berges, herrlich, wie

76 In the late 1930s, the Kaufhaus des Westens (KDW, today KaDeWe) ranked among the biggest and most luxurious department stores in Berlin and Europe.

77 Leinerne.

sich die Sonne im Meer widerspiegelte [sic], lange schauten wir zu und waren hingerissen von so viel Schönheit.

Gestern Abend gab es ein Konzert bei uns – sonst wird die Musik durch Lautsprecher übertragen. Leider ist unser sogenannter Salon recht beengt, sodass ein grosser Teil stehen muss.

Wir fahren nun schon seit 14 Stunden durchs Rote Meer. Es war in der Nacht fast unerträglich heiss, aber daran werden wir uns ja gewöhnen müssen. Trotzdem in unserer Kabine die ganze Nacht über das Fenster auf ist, ebenso die Türe, und Tag und Nacht zwei Ventilatoren in Betrieb sind, weht kaum ein Luftzug hinein. Ich schlief trotzdem gut bis 1/2 6 Uhr, nahm dann ein kühles Bad und liess mir soeben mein erstes Frühstück mit zwei Setzeiern und Schinken gut schmecken.

Es wird fühlbar wärmer. Jedoch wie [sic] wollen hier lieber im Freien schwitzen, als in Deutschland am Ofen sitzen.

5. 11. 38

Nun sehen wir seit zwei Tagen schon ausser wenigen Schiffen nichts als Himmel und Wasser. Die Nacht war furchtbar warm und⁷⁸ schliefen Bob und Erwin wie viele Andere an Deck. Man tröstet uns, dass es noch heisser wird. Es ist uns schon jetzt fast unvorstellbar, dass Ihr in Berlin am Ofen sitzen werdet. Wir liegen mit fast nichts an den ganzen Tag in unseren Liegestühlen. Das Schiff fährt derart ruhig, dass man es fast nicht glauben kann. Appetit hat man trotzdem, wenn auch weniger. Jeder Passagier isst täglich zum 1. Frühstück und Kaffee durchschnittlich 70 gr. Butter, wie uns der Steward sagte und⁷⁹ muss ich Euch, die ihr, wie ich hier hörte, inzwischen ja noch weniger zugeteilt bekommt,⁸⁰ bedauern. Gestern Abend und heute Früh [sic] war Gottesdienst an Bord, den ein Passagier (Dr. Gerber aus Bln⁸¹) leitete. Freitag Abend war bei uns Pferdchenspiel, woran wir uns nicht beteiligten. Heute früh fand zwischen 2 ital. Offizieren ein Säbelfechten statt. Am Abend ist Kino – so ist immer Abwechslung. Die Kinder fangen zwar schon an, sich manchmal ein wenig zu langweilen.

[2] Wir müssen uns alle impfen lassen und zwar gegen: Kolera [sic], Typhus, gelb. Fieber und schwarze Pocken. Es kostet a Person 60 Lire, ca. M 8,- ab[er]⁸² wir dürfen sonst in Shanghai nicht an Land.

78 Word missing, “deswegen” or “daher.”

79 Word missing, “deswegen” or “daher.”

80 At the time, Germany was unable to cover its oil and fat demands, yet still continued to reduce fat and butter imports.

81 Berlin.

82 Word written over page margins; same below “si[nd].”

Sagte ich schon, dass man doch unsere Lire in Zahlung genommen hat? Ein gutes Geschäft macht die Landeninhaberin an Bord, da es so vielen mit dem Gepäck wie uns ergeht. Louis kaufte sich dort zwei kunstseidene Hemden mit Halbärmeln und einiges Mehr. Es ist nicht teuer, aber fast ausverkauft.

Wir sind neugierig zu hören, wie es um die Auswanderung all unserer zurückgelassenen Freunde steht. Es sind viel [sic] Wiener an Bord. Nach dem, was sie erzählen, lebten wir ja in Berlin noch im „gelobten Land“. Wir sind gespannt auf die ersten Berichte von euch allen, haltet uns bitte immer auf dem Laufenden, verheimlicht uns nichts, wir könnten sonst vielleicht doch zu leicht vergessen.

6. 11. 38

Die Nacht war stürmisch und wir bekamen sogar eine Welle in der Kabine ab. Unsere „Conte Verde“ kässt [sic] sich aber nicht aus der Ruhe bringen. Heute früh sahen wir nach zwei Tagen die ersten Berge – nachmittags si[nd] wir in Aden und gehen an Land.

Fortsetzung folgt.

Document 42

Anonymous

January (?) 1939

Typewritten newspaper article (copy, 5 pages), originally printed in: Israel's Messenger,⁸³ no. 10 (January 20, 1939), 12f. It is unclear who copied the article; however, since it is in the files of the DALJEWICIB, the copy was likely prepared by or for a member of it.

CAHJP, file DAL 76.1

Abstract

The article presents a desperate picture of the refugees' arrival in Shanghai. There is no plan for feeding and housing the rapidly increasing numbers of people or employing thousands of newcomers. Shanghai cannot absorb this many people if they continue to come at this rate. The burden for dealing with the refugees has

83 For *Israel's Messenger*, see ch. 1, n. 50. The original newspaper headline reads “Further Batch of German and Austrian Refugees Arrive.” The newspaper article has several subheadings which were left out by the person who copied the article; however, the text of the article was transcribed completely and faithfully to the original.

so far fallen on the local Jewish community and its various committees, but these are running out of money, and neither New York nor London is helping.

GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN REFUGEES IN SHANGHAI
 Total Strength Brought Up to 1800.
 Many Local Families Offer Refuge To Children

The largest batch of foreign emigrés to arrive in Shanghai since the White Russian tide of 1918–22 landed here on the 20th. ult.,⁸⁴ when 524 German Jewish men, women, and children made port on the *Conte Biancamano*.

Originally 526 emigrés were expected, but a few had disembarked either at Hongkong or Manila en route to Shanghai.

Having departed from Germany after the recent violent pogroms, the emigrés who landed were a cheerless group.

The men were shouting and gesticulating excitedly as the women looked at them with helpless eyes. Some were rocking infants, whose crying added confusion to the entanglement. There was no room to move around. Perambulators congested whatever space there was.

Many sat on chairs in the third-class dining room, completely indifferent. Others, their heads in the crooks of their arms, slept on the tables.

The welcoming committee of 22 men was for a while completely bewildered by the complications of the problem which confronted it. Finally some effort at organization was made. The emigrés lined up and each received instructions as to which group he would be assigned to and where he was to proceed. It was not before 7 p.m. that the last group had left the steamer.

Amid all this bewilderment and confusion, the only normal sight was that of the elder children laughing and playing on the small deck. Otherwise, there were no smiles.

None of the emigrés would speak of his or her experiences. They did not even say “No,” but merely looked at newspapermen with bewildered eyes. Many objected to being photographed.

It was under these depressing conditions that three children were born on board the liner.

84 Ult[imo]. The *Conte Biancamano* landed in Shanghai on December 20, 1938, with 524 Jewish refugees on board. For further information about the figure, cf. Eber, *Wartime*, 77.

Shanghai, called upon to contribute much during the last 18 months, outdid itself in receiving these emigrés. The Sassoon⁸⁵ interests placed sufficient rooms of the Embankment Building at the disposal of the committee to accommodate 350 emigrés. The Shanghai Volunteer Corps⁸⁶ supplied more than 200 cots and bedding. The Shanghai Municipal Council has placed the building at 138 Ward Road, leased by the S.M.C., as a Chinese primary school, at the disposal of the emigrés. This building is capable of accommodating approximately 350 people, but will first require some reconditioning.

Nearly 120 children were among those who arrived. Scores of families in Shanghai, most of them, strangely, Russian and of the less prosperous class, have flooded the committee with offers temporarily to take care of one or more children until their respective parents settled down.

Leading foreign relief workers indicated that a very real emergency has been created by the arrival of hundreds of European immigrants. It is believed that unless outside assistance is forthcoming in the very near future, the matter may get beyond the control of local organizations dealing with the situation.

This question has already been given due consideration by the International Red Cross, and during the last few days members of the Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai have been working day and night.

If the matter of housing constitutes a very serious aspect of the problem, the question of feeding the refugees is expected to become a far more [2] difficult thing to solve. One member of the relief committee, who is in close touch with this, stated that if the number of destitute refugees here grows as rapidly as in the past it may cost as much as \$ 100,000 a month to feed them.

85 Sir Victor Sassoon (1881–1961) was an entrepreneur and banker from a wealthy Baghdadi family based in Bombay. He shifted the headquarters of his trading house, E D Sassoon and Company Ltd., from Bombay to Shanghai in 1930. Sassoon financed a large number of real estates projects in Shanghai, one of the first being the luxurious Cathay Hotel (now the Peace Hotel) which opened in 1929. In 1948 he sold his business interests in Shanghai and moved to the Bahamas. Sassoon's commitment to refugee relief work included generous donations as well as agency work. From 1939 to 1940, he was chairman of an executive committee charged with managing the financial aid from the AJJDC; cf. Ristaino, *Port*, 120; Bauer, *American Jewry*, 305, 487 f.

86 The Shanghai Volunteer Corps (SVC) was a militia founded in 1853 by British, American, and French authorities to protect the International Settlement. Over the following decades the SMC supported the organization, which eventually included volunteers and national units from around two dozen countries, including a Jewish unit from 1932 on; cf. Ristaino, *Port*, 55–66.

At first thought this might appear to be a very high figure, but it is based on an estimated expenditure of \$ 20 per head a month. The creation of special soup kitchens to provide at least one hot meal a day at the lowest possible cost is foreshadowed, and, in addition, it may be necessary to set up mat-shed [sic] camps in which to house and feed the refugees during the summer months.

Additional information has reached Shanghai from Manchuria, where it is believed that large numbers of refugees are making their way to the Far East, via Siberia. If these people are unable to find employment in such places as Harbin, Mukden and Dairen it is more than likely that they will proceed to Shanghai, as has been the case in the past with so many White Russian emigrés.

The question is often raised as to why these people are being sent to Shanghai when of all cities in the world it is perhaps least capable of coping with the additional burden which their care will involve. Those who are familiar with the situation state that the influx is by no means due to any belief on the part of the refugees that Shanghai is a place where they can come and find the means whereby to begin life anew.

Actually the reason for their coming to Shanghai lies in the fact that no other city in the world is open to them as this is the only port where they can land without a visa. As is generally known, the shipping companies are unable to take passengers unless they are sure that they may be landed at some definite port. Since the outbreak of hostilities the land restrictions in Shanghai have become very lax and for this reason this port has become the focal point in the Jewish exodus from Europe.

At the present moment it is quite impossible to look far into the future, but one relief expert expressed the opinion that under the very best of circumstances Shanghai would never be able to absorb several thousand Jewish emigrants and provide the means whereby they could become self-supporting.

This raises the question as to whether or not the majority of the refugees who have arrived here in months gone by can be sent on to more auspicious localities eventually. Various places for settlement, including the Virgin Islands⁸⁷ and Madagascar have been suggested,⁸⁸ and it is hoped that interna-

87 Shortly after "Kristallnacht," the Legislative Assembly of the Virgin Islands, a U.S. territory, offered to receive European Jewish refugees, but Roosevelt rejected the plan; cf. Robert n. Rosen, *Saving Jews. Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Holocaust*, New York 2006, 201 f.

88 For the Madagascar plan, cf. Richard L. Rubinstein/John K. Roth, *Approaches to Auschwitz. The Holocaust and its Legacy*, Louisville/London 2003, 163–165.

tional organizations working on the problem will give the situation at Shanghai their fullest consideration.

The International Red Cross here has been approached [sic] by the American Advisory Committee on Civilian Relief⁸⁹ and asked to bring the matter to the attention of officials of the organization in the United States. As a result of this request a report has been prepared and handed to the United States Consulate-General to be forwarded to the United States.

According to information obtained, consideration is being taken of the fact that the Red Cross in America has a number of Jewish supporters who would probably like to see some assistance given to the refugees in Shanghai. In the meantime, the International Red Cross at Shanghai is giving whatever assistance it can to the Jewish relief committees here, although most of its funds have of course been earmarked for Chinese relief. One way in which the International Red Cross has been able to help out was through the sending of a number of refugee doctors to the interior to carry on relief work.

In the meantime most of the emergency relief funds are coming from the various Jewish communities in Shanghai and from contributions made by the general public. The Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai is anxious to have any sort of aid it can get and welcomes the contribution of beds, clothing, bedding, furniture, and other household goods from [3] local residents.

For the time being several persons are supplying "mass" meals to the arrivals, and in this instance the congregation of the Beth Aharon Synagogue⁹⁰ at Museum Road have started to provide 150 of the emigrés with breakfasts daily, following the hour of the morning prayer service.

Food for most of the new arrivals was procured at the Chinese Y.M.C.A. Restaurant on Szechuen Road.

Members of the Berith Trumpeldor,⁹¹ a Zionist youth organization, devoted their time to the emigrés, serving in the capacity of guides.

89 The aim of the American Advisory Committee for Civilian Relief in China was to distribute the financial relief aid from the American Red Cross, which was transferred to Shanghai through the local American Consulate General; cf. Ristaino, *Port*, 107, 111 f.

90 The magnificent Beth Aharon Synagogue in Hongkou opened in 1927. Its construction was facilitated by a donation by Silas Aaron Hardoon (1851–1931), a wealthy Baghdadi entrepreneur living in Shanghai.

91 The Berith (Brit) Trumpeldor, better known by its acronym Betar, was founded by the revisionist Zionist Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky (1880–1940) in 1923. The Shanghai

Meanwhile, it has been learnt, official Jewish bodies here are attempting to formulate plans for the assistance of future arrivals. The task confronting these groups is a tremendous one, as it entails numerous difficult problems to overcome in caring for those here at present and number due, which, altogether, is estimated to total more than 2000.

While the problem of funds provides a weighty matter to be overcome, a further obstacle exists in the matter of finding premises to house the emigré arrivals. At the present time Shanghai is faced with a keen shortage of vacant houses and even those in Hongkew have almost all been taken up by former residents.

The European Refugee Relief Association⁹² was given a surprise on the 31st ult., when 400 German-Jewish emigrés arrived on the *Potsdam* and *Conte Rosso*.⁹³ Only 300 were expected.

Seventy were expected to land from the *Potsdam*, but when the ship arrived, there were approximately 120. The *Conte Rosso*, instead of landing 240 as per schedule, brought 280 to the city.

Among the batch of emigrés who made port there were 28 children.

Most of the arrivals were accommodated at the local emigré clearing house, the Embankment Building, the first floor of which has been placed at the disposal of the European Refugee Relief Association by the Sassoon interests. The remainder were directed to private lodgings.

The child situation still requires the aid of Shanghai's homes. More than 150 children are now in Shanghai, living under makeshift conditions. Only 25 have been placed at the homes of local families who have offered to take temporary charge of the youngsters.

While at first emigré parents were loathe to part with their children, more and more are finding it advisable to give their children a comfortable warm home until they themselves can settle down.

The Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai and its allied associations here are making arrangements for the accommodation of more than 1500 immigrants in a centralized camp in the Hongkew area. This camp will be on the premises of the school at 138 Ward Road, which has been loaned by the Shanghai Municipal Council.

This move is being made principally as an economy measure as it will be far cheaper to house and provide food for the refugees if they are brought

branch opened in 1931. For a discussion of Shanghai Zionism, cf. Pan, *Zionism*, passim.

92 This may be the CAEJR, see ch. 1, n. 5.

93 Both passenger liners, the *Potsdam* and the *Conte Rosso*, arrived in January 1939, the latter returning to Shanghai with more refugees in March 1939.

together in one place. At the present time most of the refugees are provided for in boarding houses in the Hongkew area, the majority of these being operated by Russians.

It is apparent that those refugees who have been in Shanghai for some time are becoming a little more settled and many are already beginning to familiarize themselves with the city. One interesting announcement made was to the effect that a newspaper to serve the refugees has already been established in Shanghai. This is, of course, published in the German language and is the newest addition to Shanghai's large group of international publications.

Only a very few of the refugees speak English and this language difficulty [4] is naturally a great disadvantage to them in finding employment and otherwise establishing themselves here. Immediately after their arrival many of the refugees were very reluctant to stray far from the camps or boarding houses where they were living, but now they are frequently seen on the streets and sometimes [sic] in the shops and banks. A few are said to have small sums of money to assist them over the first difficult period which they must undergo in Shanghai.

Considering the size of the problem and the suddenness with which it came to a head a few weeks ago, the committees in charge has [sic] performed remarkable work in taking care of so many immigrants. Mr. M. Speelman,⁹⁴ who is in full charge of the financing side of the work, has devoted a very great deal of his time to the problem and has never been too busy to assist others who are working upon it.

Others who have been closely connected with the work include Messrs. D. E. J. Abraham,⁹⁵ Ellis Hayim and J. Hollzer.⁹⁶ The allied committees taking

94 Michel Speelman (1877–?) was of Dutch origin and came to Shanghai in 1897. From 1910 he lived for several years in France, and was naturalized there, though he eventually returned to Shanghai. Speelman was a highly successful businessman and banker, and became chairman of the CAEJR. After the war, he settled in Switzerland; cf. Ristaino, *Port*, 104 f., 153; Christopher Bo Bramsen, *Open Doors. Vilhelm Meyer and the Establishment of General Electric in China*, London 2001, 49, 197 f.; Nellist, *Men of Shanghai*, 397.

95 David Ezekiel Joshua Abraham (1863–1945) was a successful Baghdadi businessman; though his father already lived in Shanghai, D. E. J. Abraham was born in Bombay, only settling in Shanghai in 1888. He funded the Shanghai Jewish School, which opened in 1903. For several years he acted as president of the Sephardic Community and was active in the CAEJR; cf. Meyer, *From the Rivers*, passim.

96 Joseph “Joe” Hollzer (1886–1953) came to Shanghai in the 1930s, working for the Shanghai branch of a brokerage firm based in Manila. He became chairman of the

care of the refugees in Shanghai [are] the “Relief Society for German and Austrian Refugees”⁹⁷ and “The International Committee for Granting Relief to European Refugees.”⁹⁸

It is stated that approximately 5000 refugees are expected to arrive in Shanghai before the purge in Europe is over.

Some 250 Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria arrived here on the 15th inst. aboard the Lloyd Triestino liner *Victoria*. Most of them disembarked at the Customs Jetty where the committee looking after them directed them to the various rooms – mostly in the Hongkew and Wayside district – which had been reserved for them.

About 50 emigrés made the long journey across Russia on the Trans-Siberian Railway on the 14th inst. in the s. s. *Sansho*, a Japanese coastal freighter from Dairen.

An interesting feature of the batch coming here on the Italian liner, are 20 persons in the same group who are proceeding to Dairen. It is understood that a total of nearly 300 emigrés have obtained permission from the port authorities at Dairen to settle there.

The \$ 150,000 rehabilitation grant of Sir Victor Sassoon has relieved the distress somewhat, and already new hope has entered the lives of many of these emigrés. This grant, however, was made specifically to assist these people to enter business, which the committee believes is the best way of meeting the problem and avoiding employment difficulties in this city. Already, it may be noted, the committee has helped to establish doctors, tailors, and, in one instance, even a restaurateur.

Shanghai Jewish Relief Committee and was active in the CAEJR. In early 1938, he informed his brother – the Federal Judge Harry Aaron Hollzer, an active member of the Los Angeles AJJDC – about Jewish refugees coming to Shanghai; cf. Yehuda Bauer, *My Brother’s Keeper. A History of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee 1929–1939*, Philadelphia 1974, 290; Sidney L. Schwartz, *Let’s Look at the Record. Sutro & Co., 1852–1965*, San Francisco Calif. 1965, 63.

97 The Relief Society for German and Austrian Refugees in Shanghai had evolved from the *Hilfsfond für deutsche Juden*, which was set up in Berlin 1934.

98 When the Relief Society proved unable to cope with the influx of refugees, Paul Komor (see ch. 3, n. 91), Eduard Kann, Aladair Kelen, and Michel Speelman founded a new committee in Shanghai in August 1938 under the aegis of Sir Victor Sassoon, the International Committee for Granting Relief to European Refugees (IC), also known as the Komor Committee after its head. The IC office was first located in Komor’s firm, later on in the Cathay Hotel.

The refugee relief committee⁹⁹ is “broke,” one of the members of the Committee stated “Shanghai cannot possibly care for these people.”

“The people of Shanghai are doing what they can, and will continue to render what assistance they can to these unfortunate people, but the problem is for the conscience of the world – not just this war-torn city.”

No concrete help, this authority continued, has so far been received from either New York or London.

Including the new arrivals the present number of Jewish emigrés now in Shanghai was 1800.

This factor would be appreciably overcome in the near future when fairly large buildings in the Hongkew and Wayside areas will be taken over and given to the accommodation of the refugees.

As soon as this can be accomplished, it was stated, due arrangements will be completed for “centralized” food distribution. The system will serve to remove present expenses of the committee in housing emigrés independently and will considerably lower costs for food and general maintenance.

It has been revealed that the former Customs training school on Ward Road, [5] opposite the Ward Road Gaol, is being renovated at the present time and is expected to be ready for occupation within a fortnight.¹⁰⁰ It was estimated that the building would be able to accommodate nearly 1200 persons.

Document 43

*Frederick Arthur Pitts*¹⁰¹ (SMP)

March 9, 1939

Typewritten report, 2 pages; both pages are printed forms with headings (reproduced only for first page); on the first page, the date, subject, and person’s names were inserted by typewriter. The first page also has four registry stamps, accompanied by partially illegible handwritten signatures.

99 The Emergency Refugee Relief Committee was a charitable organization set up by the Greater Shanghai City Government in October 1938; cf. Marcia R. Ristaino, *The Jacquinet Safe Zone. Wartime Refugees in Shanghai*, Stanford Calif. 2008, 52.

100 This location was the first dormitory for refugees at 16 Ward Road. It opened in January 1939. During the 1930s, the Ward Road Gaol was considered the largest prison in the world; cf. Frank Dikötter, *Crime, Punishment and the Prison in Modern China*, London 2002, 315.

101 About Pitts, see ch. 1, n. 25.

Microfilm; NARA (SMP Investigation Files, 1894–1944; Records of the CIA), RG 263, reel 17, file D 5422 (c)

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE

S. 1, Special Branch *Station*

REPORT

Date March 9, 1940

Subject Central European Jews – Arrival of s. s. “Conte Rosso” on March 8, 1940

Made by ... D. S. Pitts

Forwarded by ... D. I. Crawford

I respectfully wish to draw your attention to the complete lack of cooperation and organization displayed by the Lloyd Triestino offices and the officers of the s. s. “Conte Rosso” arriving here on March 8, 1940 in matters relating to the disembarkation of Jewish refugees from Europe arriving on this steamer.

I had occasion to be present on this ship immediately upon berthing and observed that the responsible Committee representatives were in attendance to instruct refugees on board as to how they should proceed with matters relating to registration with the Police.

No separate and detailed lists of Jewish arrivals were available for the use of the Committee representatives while the passports of the refugees had not been collected by the ship’s officers and were thus still in possession of the Jews themselves.

It is difficult to describe on paper the confusion that reigned. Several German Aryans, released from British internment camps in Singapore were also on board, met by Mr. S. LAHRMANN,¹⁰² local Nazi leader. With no lists available showing who were refugees and who were not the representatives’ duties were made even more difficult. With refugees in possession of German, Polish, Czechoslovakian and Danzig passports and with bonafide residents of [2] Shanghai also of those nationalities also arriving, the entire question of sorting out refugees from non-refugees was extremely complicated. Suffice to say that certain of the refugees left the steamer without handing over their passports to the Committee’s representatives who finished their duties between 1 a.m.–2 a.m., March 9, 1940, at which time the last batch of refugees left the ship.

102 Siegfried Lahrmann (1885–?) came to Shanghai in 1930, having spent several years in other Chinese cities as a barely successful merchant. From 1934 on he was chief of the NSDAP Landesgruppe for China, subordinated under the NSDAP/AO (Foreign

Some 150 refugees arrived but the exact number is at present unknown.

I cannot blame the Committee but the Lloyd Triestino must be reminded that they are solely responsible for assisting the Police and Committee in matters relating to the immigration of refugees arriving by their steamers.

{FA Pitts}

D. C.¹⁰³ (Special Branch) D. S.

Document 44

*Egon Varro*¹⁰⁴

March 30, 1939

Published poem, in: *Shanghai-Woche*,¹⁰⁵ no. 1, 3.

Microfilm; courtesy Hartmut Walravens

Ja, das ist eben Shanghai

Wenn man runterkommt so vom Schiff,
und ist grad im Begriff,
denkt an nichts und alles,

Organization) until its disbandment in May 9, 1945. The Nazis established an Ortsgruppe (local group) of the NSDAP in Shanghai, meaning that it had more than 30 members; cf. Freyisen, Shanghai, 56, 93–98.

103 Deputy Commissioner.

104 Varro (1919–1976) was born in Berlin. He wrote for various newspapers in Shanghai, and even founded his own short-lived paper, *Der Querschnitt*, in July 1939. In 1940/1941 he was engaged by the British Information Service, and worked for the radio station XGDN. He managed to leave Shanghai for Australia in 1941, where he joined the British army. Following World War II he continued his journalistic activities in that country; cf. Wilfried Seywald, *Journalisten im Shanghaier Exil 1939–1949*, Vienna 1987, 238 f., 360. An English translation of this poem is in Eber, *Voices*, 42–44.

105 The weekly *Shanghai-Woche*, edited by Wolfgang Fischer (see ch. 6, n. 19), appeared from 1939 on. In 1940, the paper merged with the daily *8-Uhr Abendblatt* (edited by Philipp Kohn since 1939). In the same year, the *8-Uhr Abendblatt* ceased publication. Fisher relaunched the *Shanghai-Woche* in 1942, and its last issue appeared in early 1943.

vielleicht etwas an den Dalles¹⁰⁶
 doch plötzlich ist man weg,
 denn da kommt mit unserem Gepäck,
 wie ein wildgeword'ner Ameisenhaufen
 dreihundert Kulis daher gelaufen,
 mit Singen, Grunzen, Schnaufen, Geschrei,
 ja, das ist eben Shanghai.
 Am Bund fragt man: „parlez vous francais?“
 Um die Ecke schreit ein Berliner: „Ach nee!“
 Die Presse begrüsst uns: „How do you do?“
 Verständnislos sehen die Kulis zu.
 Im Autobus der drängend voll,
 tönt eine Stimme: „hablo espanol?“
 Zuletzt kommen noch drei Weaner,¹⁰⁷
 die wollen von einem Italiener
 erfahren, wo das chinesische Postamt sei.
 Ja, das ist eben Shanghai.
 Nach Hongkew fährt ein Omnibus
 und wenn der voll ist, geht man zu Fuss,
 oder nimmt sich 'ne Rickshah
 Wer die Strecke kennt, zahlt [...] ¹⁰⁸
 Doch fragt man den Wagenroller
 höflich: „How much?“ kommt
 prompt die Antwort: „One Dollar!“
 Es ist hier nicht wie sonst auf der Welt;
 bei uns ist vorläufig Zeit noch kein Geld.
 Dafür gibt es als Dauerregen
 täglich einige Stunden Regen.
 Ueberraschungen sind wir schliesslich gewöhnt,
 doch dass der Regenschirm auch verpönt
 ist manchen ganz gewiss noch neu.
 Ja, das ist eben Shanghai.
 Allein in Europa wie auch hier
 gilt der Spruch: der Mensch ist ein Gewohnheitstier.
 Denn babylonisches Sprachengewimmel

106 Varro uses the Yiddish word *dalles* (poverty), which was common in some German dialects.

107 Varro uses the Viennese dialect for “Wiener.”

108 The end of the line is illegible because of a crease.

Rickschahgelaufe und Volksgetümmel,
 Dollarkurse, Lire und Pfund,
 Pocken, die leider ungesund,
 Wolkenkratzer, Kulis, Kapitäne,
 Nanking Road und Haifischzähne
 schrecken den alten Shanghaier nicht,
 denn man muss leben und hat Pflicht.
 Wenn auch das Volk, das die Städtchen bewohnt,
 sagt, dass Mühe sich wenig lohnt,
 weil in hundert Jahren alles vorbei,
 jetzt aber sind wir da:
 auch das ist Shanghai!

Document 45

Willy Fleischmann¹⁰⁹ to Israelitische Religionsgemeinde (Leipzig)

May 8, 1939

Typewritten letter (copy), 6 pages; on the bottom of the last page there is an abbreviation, written on the same typewriter, which confirms the correctness of the transcript and mentions the transcriber's SS-rank (handwritten signature illegible). A page number on the upper center of the page refers to the pagination of Fleischmann's letter, while a second page number on the bottom starts with page "2" (not reproduced here); this suggests that the first page was a registry page or a letter announcing the attached letter by Fleischmann.¹¹⁰ The two attachments, notified by Fleischmann, seem to be lost. The transcript has many spelling and grammar errors; some have been corrected by typewriter, a few by hand. It is noticeable that from page 5 onward, "ß" is used for some words, whereas on the previous pages its substitute "ss" was used exclusively.

Microfilm; YVA, RG 0.51.OSO, file 41

109 Hardly anything is known about Willy Fleischmann or his wife Dora. They were apparently members of the liberal Israelitische Religionsgemeinde zu Leipzig (IRGL). Accordingly, Fleischmann inquires in his letter about the fate of several prominent members of the community and his former colleagues.

110 The first page is missing in the YVA; the original is held in Rossiyskiy Gosudarstvennyy Voyenny Arkhiv [Russian State Military Archive], 500.1.716.

Abstract

Although Fleischmann and his wife travelled on a luxury liner, his account is like that of a third class passenger who is definitely not treated like a privileged traveller. In Port Said the passengers were promised 435 British Pounds, which at the time of writing had not yet arrived in Shanghai. The ship docked in a number of cities, yet only in Colombo (Sri Lanka) and Singapore were the passengers allowed to leave the ship. In Shanghai, they were horrified about having to live in largely destroyed Hongkou. Fleischmann describes the professions that are employable and the importance of knowing English.

Abschrift

Willy Fleischmann
C/o Lloyd Triestino
P.O. Box 1181
Shanghai.

Shanghai, den 8. Mai 1939.

An die Israelitische Religionsgemeinde,
Leipzig

Am 25. April sind wir hier angekommen und heute bin ich bereits in der Lage, Ihnen einen Bericht senden zu können. Zuvor noch eine kurze Skizzierung der Reise. Auf dem Dampfer Cte. Biancamano waren ca. 900 Emigranten, deren Ziel mit einigen wenigen Ausnahmen Shanghai war. Von diesen 900 Menschen belegten die Hälfte die I., II. und ökonomische Klasse, während der andere Teil III. Klasse Passagiere waren. Die Passagiere der III. Klasse waren sehr schlecht untergebracht, die Verpflegung nach unseren Begriffen durch die ungewohnte italienische Kost ungenügend und vielfach ungeniessbar. Die Behandlung durch die Stewards liess oft zu wünschen übrig. Die Stewards schienen ihr besonders [sic] Vergnügen darin zu finden, bei jeder Gelegenheit durchblicken zu lassen, dass wir Emigranten seien und es in Shanghai noch viel schlechter hätten. Wir Emigranten der III. Klasse, die wir durch unbequeme Kabinen und viel zu wenig Aufenthaltsräume keine Erholung durch die vierwöchentliche Seereise finden konnten, fühlten uns mit einem Wort wie Frachtgut behandelt. In diesem Zusammenhang ist noch wichtig zu erwähnen, das mit dem Gepäck (Koffer, Kisten, Bettsäcken usw.) sehr wenig schonend umgegangen wird und vielen Passagieren grosser Schaden daraus entstandn [sic] ist. Es ist unbedingt notwendig, die Shanghai-Auswanderer darauf aufmerksam zu machen, dass alles Gepäck deutlich signiert wird, an mehreren Stellen mit schwarzer oder weisser Farbe der Namen gross mit Druckschrift aufgeschrieben, ferner Dampfer, Klasse, Kabinennummer und

Shanghai auffallend vermerkt wird. Bei Beginn der Reise hatte sich ein Komitee [sic] gebildet, welches unsere Interessen wahrnehmen und die Verhandlungen mit den Komitees in den Hafenstädten führen sollte. Auch hatte das Bordkomitee die Aufgabe, die [2] berechtigten Wünsche und Beschwerden der Passagiere an die Schiffsleitung weiterzuleiten und die durch das enge Beisammensein der Passagiere entstehenden Differenzen zu schlichten. Leider waren die Bemühungen des Bordkomitees von wenig Erfolg gekrönt. Wir fuhren von Genua über Neapel nach Port Said, dort wurden wir ausgebootet und durften an Land gehen. Das dortige Komitee hat uns sehr gut aufgenommen, es wurden [sic] Tropenkleidung an die Herren verteilt und, da es gerade vor Pessach war, erhielt jeder Passagier 5 Pfund Mazzos. Unser Bordkomitee hatte von dem dortigen Komitee die Zusage erhalten, dass 435 engl. Pfd., die nur für die Passagiere der Biancamano bestimmt wären, sofort nach Shanghai überwiesen werden und bei unserer Ankunft an uns verteilt werden sollten. Bis heute ~~ist~~ {ist} angeblich der Betrag noch nicht eingegangen und kann auch niemand über die Angelegenheit Auskunft geben. Es besteht in Port Said eine bedeutend [sic] sephardische Gemeinde, die grösseren Geschäfte sind meistens in jüdischen [sic] Besitz. Die Fahrt ging weiter durch den Suezkanal über Aden nach Massaua, in beiden Hafenstädten durften wir das Schiff nicht verlassen und befinden sich dort auch keine jüdischen Komitees, da fast keine Juden dort leben. In der nächsten Hafenstadt Bombay war das Betreten des Landes nur mit englischem Visum möglich. Daher kam das dortige Komitee an Bord, war aber nicht in der Lage, den Emigranten der Biancamano zu helfen. Es wurde uns dort, wie auch in den nachfolgenden Städten, gesagt, dass alle gesammelten Gelder dem Zentral-Komitee in Shanghai überwiesen und somit dem allgemeinen Flüchtlingshilfswerk zugeführt werden. *In Colombo und Singapore durften wir wieder an Land gehen.¹¹¹ Da beide Städte vorwiegend von Chinesen bewohnt werden, bekamen wir schon dort einen Vorgeschmack von unseren zukünftigen Mitbewohnern. Manila, die nächste Hafenstadt, war leider aus uns unbekanntem und unbegreiflichen Gründen nur für die Passagiere der oberen Klassen zugänglich. Das dortige Komitee hat ein grosszügiges Hilfswerk in Angriff genommen und eine Siedlung für 10 000 Juden (je zur Hälfte aus Deutschland und Shanghai) gegründet.¹¹² Gesuche sind an JE-

111 This phrase appears on the bottom of the page, back slashes indicate the place it refers to.

112 The small Jewish community of Manila established a Jewish Refugee Committee in 1938. It was meant to absorb some 1200 Jewish refugees who arrived in Manila between 1938 and 1939 after the Philippine president offered visas to refugees with

WISH REFZGEE [sic] COMMITTEE, 36 Novalice, MANILA, Philippinen, zu richten. [3] Einen diesbezüglichen Zeitungsartikel füge ich bei, Anlage I. Manila ist eine wunderschöne Stadt, vom Schiff aus sah man prächtige Anlagen und¹¹³ müssen sich die Leute, die für die Siedlung Interesse haben, hauptsächlich auf Gartenbau umstellen. Die letzte Hafenstadt vor Shanghai war dann Hongkonh [sic], wo wir auch an Land gingen, es gibt dort, wie in allen chinesischen Millionenstädten, auch ausgedehnte europäische Viertel. Nun zu Shanghai. Wir kamen gegen 16 Uhr an, das Komitee kam an Bord und verteilte die Quartierkarten, getrennt nach Ehepaaren, einzelnen Herren und Damen, sowie Knaben und Mädchen. Bis die nötigen Formalitäten erledigt waren, wurde es gegen 20 Uhr. In Lastautos wurden wir sodann vom Hafen in die uns zugeteilten Heime verteilt. Die Fahrt ging durch das europäisch anmutende Hafenviertel, welches mit seinem gewaltigen Verkehr einen grossen Eindruck auf uns machte. Eine tiefe Depression ergriff uns, als die Fahrt dann durch das fast vollständig zerschossene und in Trümmern liegende Hongkew ging, dies ist ein Teil Shaghais [sic], wo sich auch frei¹¹⁴ Flüchtlingsheime befinden. Wir sind nun schon 10 Tage hier und haben uns sehr schnell an dies alles gewöhnen müssen. Wir hatten auch inzwischen Gelegenheit, einen Teil der englischen und französischen Konzession kennen zu lernen. War [sic] wir dort an gewaltigen Verkehrsgeschäftspalästen, Lichtreklamen, hunderten von Hochhäusern zu sehen bekamen, lässt sich in Worten schwer schildern und kamen¹¹⁵ wir uns manchmal vor wie ein Kleinstädter, der zum erstenmale nach Berlin kommt. Erwähnen will ich noch, dass auch in den europäischen Vierteln mehr Chinesen wohnen als Europäer und dagegen umgekehrt in den chinesischen Vierteln wohl keine Europäer. Die einzigen Ausnahmen dürften nur wir Emigranten sein, die wir mitten unter den Chinesen wohnen, da sich die meisten Heime in Hongkew befinden, dies ist vollständig von andern Europäern frei. Damit komme ich zu dem, das Sie am meisten interessiert und zwar über das Hilfswerk für die Emigranten. Das Jüdische Nachrichtenblatt¹¹⁶ brachte am 14. April einen allgemeinen Bericht über Shanghai, auch lege ich einen Artikel einer hiesigen Zeitung über die wirtschaftlichen Möglichkeiten bei. (Anlage 2.) Ich kann mich daher auf einige wichtige Mitteilungen be-

financial means and desired professional skills. Most of the refugees came via Shanghai, cf. Frank Ephraim, *Escape to Manila. From Nazi Tyranny to Japanese Terror*, Urbana/Chicago Ill. 2003.

113 The sentence is incomplete, several words are lacking.

114 Probably a mistake meant to say "drei."

115 The sentence is grammatically incorrect.

116 For the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, see ch. 4, n. 12.

schränken, wobei ich noch bemerke, dass ich mir die Unterlagen hierzu bei den Komitees verschafft habe.

[4] Es besteht hier ein allgemeines jüdisches Komitee, ferner ein internationales, interkonfessionelles, in welches auch die katholischen und evangelischen Missionen eingeschaltet sind und das sich bemüht, die Gelder auch von nichtjüdischer Seite zu erhalten, die Leitung liegt aber in jüdischen Händen. Beide Komitees haben ihre besonderen Aufgaben zu erfüllen, arbeiten aber Hand in Hand.¹¹⁷

Es bestehen z.Zt. 4 Flüchtlingsheime, welche mit 3000 Menschen belegt sind und ein Emigranten Hilfsspital. Die Heime werden streng kosher geführt. Da aber in den nächsten Monaten mit einem grossen Zustrom von Einwandern [sic] zu rechnen ist, werden die bestehenden Heime ausgebaut. Registriert sind bei den Komitees 8000 Emigranten. Der täglich aufzubringende Betrag für die Verpflegung wird mir z.Zt. mit 3500 Shanghai Dollar angegeben. Ich bemerke dazu, dass ein Shanghai Dollar die Kaufkraft einer Reichsmark hat. Infolge Knappheit der Mittel sind fast alle finanziellen Unterstützungen wie Darlehne, Mietzuschüsse usw. weggefallen und erhalten die Emigranten nur die Verpflegung und Wohnung im Heim. Die Verpflegung ist sehr gering, sodass sich viele Emigranten nicht richtig sattessen können. Dies ist besonders schlecht für diejenigen, welche gar kein Geld haben, um sich noch etwas Zukost kaufen zu können. Um kein falsches Bild über das eben erwähnte aufkommen zu lassen, es gibt Weissbrot und Tee, soviel einer haben will.

Von den 8000 Emigranten haben bisher ungefähr 10% eine Existenz gefunden. Ein Teil hat sich im Emigrantenviertel (das ist die Gegend, in der sich die 3 Heime befinden – 1 Heim ist woanders – und wo sich die nicht in den Heimen wohnenden Personen Zimmer gemietet haben) Geschäfte und Kaffees aufgemacht, andere denen mehr Kapital zur Verfügung stand, in der internationalen Konzession. Die nur teilweise zerschossenen Häuser werden von den Emigranten erworben, für wenig Geld instandgesetzt und dann die Zimmer mit dem notwendigsten eingerichtet und vermietet. Möblierte Zimmer für Ehepaare kosten in Hongkew 40–60 Shanghai Dollar, während in der internationalen Zone 70–100 Shanghai Dollar dafür aufzubringen sind. Bei einer bescheidenen Lebensführung kann ein Ehepaar mit [5] 120 Shanghai Dollar im Monat auskommen, wobei je dieh [sic] Hälfte für Miete und Lebensunterhalt anzusetzen sind.

Gesucht werden und sofortige Anstellung finden Spezialisten wie Musiker Kosmetik [sic], ferner Weberei und Spinnerei Fachleute, sowie Tech-

117 The previous two phrases have been marked by a handwritten line on the left margins.

niker und Ingenieure. Für Kaufleute sit [sic] gar keine Aussicht vorhanden, ebenso ist es mit den Ärzten in Shanghai. Dagegen werden Ärzte für das Innere Chinas (ebenso auch Indien) gesucht, diese schrecken jedoch vor den großen Schwierigkeiten zurück solche Positionen anzunehmen. Für irgendwelche Erwerbstätigkeit, die nicht nur innerhalb der Emigrantenkreise ausgeübt werden soll, ist die Kenntnis der englischen Sprache unbedingt erforderlich. Es ist oft genug betont worden, daß jeder rechtzeitig mit dem Lernen beginnen soll, auf dem Schiff hat man weder die nötige Zeit noch Ruhe dazu.

Es herrscht hier freie Erwerbstätigkeit, auch gibt es keinen Patentschutz. Einzig allein das Gasthausgewerbe ist konzessionspflichtig.

Ich erwähne noch, daß die Emigranten eine eigene 4 Klassen Schule haben, die z.Zt. von #2}00 Kindern besucht wird. Hauptfach ist Englisch, in dnn [sic] anderen Fächern wird von deutscher auf Englische Sprache übergeleitet. Es gibt hier auch eine sephardische [sic] Gemeinde mit einem sehr schönen Tempel. Wie ich hörte wollen die Einwanderer eine Gemeinde nach dem ihnen bekannten Kultus gründen.

Der Zustrom der Einwanderer wird mir [sic] 1500–2000 im Monat angegeben, in diesem Monat dürfte die Zahl aber wesentlich höher sein. Die Abwanderung stockt vollständig. Japan und Mandschuko machen Schwierigkeiten, es bestehen ferner Affidavit [sic] und Permittzwang auch von hier aus nach den in den Herkunftsländern der Emigranten bestehenden Bestimmungen.

Im allgemeinen [sic] kann man sagen, daß für die Emigranten alles das getan wird, was mit den vorhandenen Mitteln zu erreichen ist. Es bleiben natürlich noch viele Wünsche offen, ich erwähnte schon, daß die Essenportionen [sic] für viele zu klein sind, daß manche ohne einen Cent in der Tasche herumlaufen, auch könnte [sic] in sanitärer Hinsicht noch manches besser sein. Andererseits gibt es auch viel unberechtigte Nörgelei unter den Emigranten [sic] |6| da sich nicht ein jeder [sic] in eine Gemeinschaft einordnen [sic] kann, die Z.B. viel an Bequemlichkeit zu vermissen lässt. Da bare [sic] Shanghai der einzig#e Platz in der Welt ist, wo Juden ohne alle Formalitäten wie Einreisebewilligung, Vorzeigegeld, Quotennummer usw. Zuflucht finden können und die Zahl der hierherkommenden Menschen nur durch die vorhandenen Schiffsplätze begrenzt wird, ist es eine unbedingte Pflicht des gesamten Weltjudentums, seine ganze finanzielle Kraft hierher zu konzentrieren. Und bei dieser Gelegenheit möchte ich die hier vielverbreitet [sic] Meinung wiedergeben, dass die Hälfte des Weltjudentums [sic] in einem noch größeren Maßstab einsetzen muß, um die Not unter den hier weilenden zu lindern und auch allen Ansprüchen der in nächster Zeit noch eintreffenden Juden gerecht zu werden.

Am Ende meines Berichtes angelangt, muß ich mich auch nach dem Befinden des Herrn Dr. Goldschmidt, Direktor Katzenstein, Dr. Grunsfeld erkundigen und hoffe, daß es ihnen allen, sowie auch meinen früheren Kolleginnen und Kollegen gut geht.¹¹⁸ In der Erwartung, daß ich auch einmal etwas hören werde, begrüße [sic] ich Sie mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung
gez. Dora¹¹⁹ Fleischmann

F. d. R. d. A.¹²⁰

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SS-Scharführer

118 The lawyer Dr. Conrad Goldschmidt (1888–1939) was a founding member and head of the Kulturbund Leipzig. He was also a member of the board of the IRGL; cf. Manfred Unger, *Judaica Lipsiensia. Zur Geschichte der Juden in Leipzig*, Leipzig 1994, 185 f.; Gustav Katzenstein (?–1947) was administrative director of the IRGL, and from early 1939 its provisional head; cf. Barbara Kowalzik, *Jüdisches Erwerbsleben in der inneren Nordvorstadt Leipzigs, 1900–1933*, Leipzig 1999, 128; Dr. Fritz Grunsfeld (1908–1991) was the last managing director of the IRGL, and active in the Jewish community of Leipzig after the war as well; cf. Steffen Held, *Zwischen Tradition und Vermächtnis. Die Israelitische Religionsgemeinde zu Leipzig nach 1945*, Hamburg 1995, 18.

119 It is possible that the copyist mistyped the name of Willy Fleischmann's wife.

120 Für die Richtigkeit dieser Angaben.

Document 46

Adolf Josef Storfer¹²¹

January 18, 1939

Typewritten account, 3 pages; the pages contain numerous misspellings and grammatical errors; most of them have been corrected by hand, some by typewriter (the latter not reproduced here); the underlines were made by typewriter. At the end of many lines, characters have been struck through due to a lack of space (also not reproduced).

*The transcript of the account is based on a photo published in Adolf Josef Storfer (ed.), *Gelbe Post. Ostasiatische illustrierte Halbmonatsschrift. Reprint der Shanghaier Exilzeitschrift von 1939, mit einer Dokumentation von Paul Rosdy, Vienna 1999, 13–15.**

Abstract

Unlike other accounts, Storfer does not deal with the journey, but with conditions in Shanghai and the process of settling in. As a journalist, Storfer's report includes especially interesting details about Shanghai. Noteworthy elements are the details about the plight of the Chinese and the behavior of the Japanese occupiers, as well as his own wish to make contact with Chinese intellectuals. He was also already thinking of establishing a journal.

A. J. Storfer P.O.B. 4105 Shanghai (China)

January 18, 1939

Ich bin am 31. Dez. in Sh. angekommen. Die 34-tägige Seereise war sehr angenehm und höchst interessant. In Rotterdam, Genua, Port Said, Co-

121 Adolf (Albert) Josef Storfer (1888–1944) was a journalist in his native Vienna; an admirer of Freud, he was also active in psychoanalytic circles. Five months after arriving in Shanghai, his search for a livelihood led him to publish the semi-monthly *Gelbe Post*. Only seven issues appeared between May 1, 1939 and November 1, 1939. Due to debts incurred through his publishing venture, Storfer was forced to sell the journal. It was a remarkable publication while it lasted. Unlike others, it aimed to inform readers about China and Chinese culture. Shortly before the start of the Pacific War, Storfer managed to leave for Australia where, until his death, he earned a living as a factory worker. About Storfer, cf. Françoise Kreissler, *Ein Journalist im Exil in Shanghai*. Adolph J. Storfer und die *Gelbe Post*, in: Roman Malek (ed.), *From Kaifeng ... to Shanghai. Jews in China*, Sankt Augustin 2000, 511–524; for the *Gelbe Post*, cf. Itamar Livni, *The Gelbe Post. A Shanghai Immigrant Paper of 1939*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2008, 1–19.

lombo (Ceylon), Singapore, Manila (Philippinen) u. Hongkong konnte ich ans Land. Überall Aufenthalt von 5–12 Stunden, in Rotterd. sogar 2 Tage. In Sh. beziehe ich zunächst, wie alle Flüchtlinge, von einem der beiden hiesigen Komitees eine kleine Unterstützung. D.h. bisher wurden solche Unterstützungen gezahlt, jetzt beginnt aber die Sache brenzlich zu werden. Bis zum 20. Dez. war die Zahl der europ. Flüchtlinge etwa 600, jetzt sind's bereits 1800; etwa weitere 2000 Emigranten sind derzeit auf Schiffen bereits unterwegs und noch weitere 2000, vielleicht noch mehr haben bereits Plätze auf demnächst auslaufenden Schiffen gebucht, sodass die Zahl der hiesigen europäischen Flüchtlinge Mitte Februar bereits 4000, Mitte März bereits 6000 ausmachen wird. Die beiden Komitees sind bereits heute in grosser finanzieller Bedrängnis und w{e}rd{en} der Zahl der Flüchtlinge [sic] bei der nächsten Landung bereits nicht mehr gewachsen sein.

Glücklicherweise ist das Leben hier sehr billig, was Verpflegung und sonstige Bedarfsartikel anbelangt. Die grosse Schwierigkeit liegt in den Unterkunftsverhältnissen. Auf dem Gebiete des Internat. Settlements und der Französ. Konzession, auf dem vor anderthalb Jahren anderthalb Millionen Menschen wohnten, leben jetzt 4 Millionen. Aus dem nicht den internat. Teilen Shang{h}ais angehörendem Gebiete der Stadt, das teilweise zerschossen worden ist, sind die meisten Chinesen in die beiden Fremdenkonzessionen geflüchtet. Aber auch anderswoher sind Massen von Chinesen hergeflutet. Überwiegend arm{e} Teufel, die in Höfen, auf Bauplätzen und buchstäblich auf der Strasse liegen (in Winternächten mit Temperaturen unter dem Gefrierpunkt), aber auch bemittelte Chinesen, deren beträchtliche Anzahl sich auf dem Wohnungsmarkt stark bemerkbar macht. Ein Teil des Internat. Settlements ist von den Japanern besetzt und es haben nicht nur militärische Formationen, Kommandos und japan. Zivilbehörden viele der intakt gebliebene{n} Häuser für sich in Anspruch genommen, sondern auch die im Gefolge der Okkupationstruppen hergekommen [sic] Privatpersonen, japan. Händler, Handwerker und nicht zuletzt in ansehnlicher Anzahl Geishas haben viel{e} der Wohngelegenheiten besetzt. Das Wohnen ist daher ausserordentlich teuer und dabei sehr schlecht. (Am katast{r}ophalsten die 00¹²²-Verhältnisse!) Auch ich muss vorläufig – zusammen mit drei anderen Emigranten – ein Zimmer in Hongkew – so heisst der von den Japanern bes{e}tzte Teil des Intern. Settlements – bewohnen. Wir müssen fortwährend an den gefällten Bajonetten der japan. Posten vorbeigehen [sic], müssen aber nicht – wie alle Chinesen und Chinesinnen – jeden Posten grüssen und immer wieder die Legitimation vorweisen. Unser Bestreben ist jetzt darauf gerichtet, uns zu einem Zimmer in der French Concession aufzuschwingen, wo

122 Colloquial term for the WC.

die meisten „Weissen“ wohnen. Die Zahl der Eoropäer [sic] und Amerikaner in Shanghai ist nicht höher als etwa 39 000, Russen sind davon 20 000. Von diesen {Russen} sind ~~wieder mehr als die Hälfte~~ {etwa 4000 Juden}, die anderen Russen sind {z.T.} ehemalige Angehörige zaristischer Truppen.

Die sanitären Verhältnisse sind denkbar schlecht. Es scheint an der unreinen Luft zu liegen, dass Alles um einen frei ausspuckt. Wenn man auf der Strasse, im Bus usw. durch ein Kreuzfeuer solcher Geschosse muss, ist's noch ein Glück, wenn nur die Kleider etwas abbekommen. Die meisten japanischen Soldaten tragen wegen des rauh-nassen Klimas und wegen Infektionsgefahr eine Binde b{v}or Mund und Nase, was Ihnen ein höchst sonderbares Aussehen verleiht. Auf dem Gebiete der Fremdenkonzessionen gelangen den Behörden wöchentlich etwa {300}¹²³ Blatternfälle zu [sic] Kenntnis. Darunter – trotz der häufigen Impfungen – 10 Europäer. Ein Drittel der Fälle verläuft [sic] tödlich [sic], es sterben also etwa 3 Europäer wöchentlich an Blattern. Unter den auf dem Asphalt übernachtenden [sic] Chinesen holt sich natürlich auch der kalte Winter reichlich seine Opfer. Wenn [man] abends den moralischen Mut hat, nach den Chinesen zu schauen, die enggedrängt auf den Treppen der Bankpalästen [sic] liegen, kann man buchstäblich Menschen sterben sehen, arme Teufel, die grade [sic] ihren letzten Lebensfunken aushusten. Cholera, Typhus usw. treten jetzt weniger zahlreich auf, diese Epidemien werden erst im Frühjahr in vollem Umfange zu grassieren beginnen. In der warmen Jahreszeit soll das Klima von Shanghai fürchterlich sein. Die Europäer, die es sich leisten können, pflegten Sh. zur Zeit der feuchten Hitze [zu] verlassen. Der Sommer ist es, vor dem ich wirklich Angst habe. Bazillen u. dgl.¹²⁴ gegenüber [2] habe ich eine fatalistische Eins{t}ellung, wie den Kugeln des Krieges gegenüber, {von denen bekanntlich nicht jede trifft,} aber vor der Sommerglut habe ich eine ehrliche Scheu, denn meine Intoleranz der Hitze gegenüber kenne ich bereits aus unserer gemässigten mitteleurop. F{Z}one genügend.

Die ganze Existenz Shanghais ist durch den Krieg fraglich geworden. Sowohl Import als Export des hiesigen Hafens war im J. 1938 nur halb so gross als im Vorjahre; dabei hat sich der Krieg 1938 noch nicht ganz ausgewirkt hier. 1939 schrumpft die Wirtschaft noch weiter ein. Auch rein militärisch gesehen, hängt der internat. Teil Shanghais sozusagen in der Luft. Sh. gehört eigentlich zur chines. Republik, ist aber von dieser durch die japanische Armee getrennt. Die städt. Verwaltung ist in der Hand gemischter Ausschüsse (Europäer-Amerikaner u. Chinesen), aber die Hände des Staates, zu dem die Stadt eigentlich gehört, reichen nicht bisher, sodass Sh. jetzt eine herrenlose

123 The original number is illegible.

124 Und dergleichen.

Stadt ist und unter vielleicht zu gewärtigenden gewissen Umständen eine verlorene. Wegen dieser Herrenlosigkeit kann auch niemand jetzt einem Europäer verwehren, hier an Land zu kommen, und das ist die einfache Erklärung dessen, dass Auswanderer aus Deutschland, die sich anderswo kein Eingang verschaffen können, unbehindert herkommen, – zur Verzweiflung der hiesigen Hilfskomitees, die trotz ihres rühmenswert besten Willens ihre bald vollständige Ohnmacht, den Vielen zu helfen, erkennen müssen. Das Gebiet, auf dem Europäer u. Amerikaner heute noch gewisse Sonderrechte genießen, ist verhältnismässig sehr eng und ist rundherum von einem Gebiet umschlossen, das von japanischem Militär beherrscht {wird}. Nur der schiffbare Whangpoo-Fluss führt zur Yangtze-Mündung und zum Meere hinaus. Übrigens ist auch ein Teil das [sic] Internat. Settlements, der schon erwähnte Stadtteil Hongkew, in dem ich selbst wohne, von Japan besetzt und steht unter dessen Kriegsrecht.

Das Gros der Emigranten, vorläufig von der Unterstützung vegetierend, sieht zufolge mangelhafter Informiertheit die Traurigkeit der Lage nicht ganz und lebt schlecht u. recht gedankenlos in den Tag hinein. Die Leute versuchen – hauptsächlich auf dem Gebiete des Handels und des Handwerks, sich in das noch immer gewaltige Wirtschaftsleben dieser monströsen Stadt einzuschalten, doch nur in ganz wenigen Fällen mit irgendwelchen Erfolg. Für mich sehe ich bisher keine andere Möglichkeit, als zu versuchen, mit Deutschunterricht mein Brot zu verdienen. Sh. hat unzählige Unterrichtsanstalten, darunter fast ein Dutzend solcher, die sich Universitäten nennen. Ich habe schon begonnen mit diesen Kreisen Fühlung zu nehmen und ich meine, ich könnte auch Erfolg haben, wenn nicht die meisten der mittleren und höheren Schulen zufolge des Krieges geschlossen wären. Einige, die nicht geschlossen sind, unterhalten bloss einen stark eingeschränkten Betrieb. Ausserdem besteht hier leider grade für die deutsche Sprache nur geringes Interesse. Ich bin auch bereit an einer Mittel- oder Hochschule unentgeltlich zu unterrichten, vor Allem, um in Beziehungen zu chinesischen intellektuellen Kreisen zu treten. Ich habe den Eindruck, als bestünde hier ein wirkliche [sic] geistiges Leben eigentlich nur bei den Chinesen. Europäer u. Amerikaner sind hier meistens nichts als moneymakers, ziemlich skrupellose, wie man es sich bei dieser herren- und wurzellosen Stadt denken kann, und haben sonst nur für Sport, gesellschaftlichen Lokalklatsch und für mondaines Leben Interesse. Ein Damenfriseur hat jedenfalls mehr Ansehen und Existenzchancen als etwa ein Professor der Sorbonne.

Da es noch lange dauern mag, bis ich eine öffentliche Lehrstelle erringen kann, trage ich mich jetzt mit dem Gedanken herum, Privatstunden in deutscher Sprache (an Chinesen) zu erteilen. Um das machen zu können, muss ich aus dem japan. Militärviertel ausziehen u. ein Zimmer in einem der

beiden internat. Stadtteile beziehen u. zw.¹²⁵ ein Zimmer für mich allein, was relativ sehr teuer ist. Eine bittere, aber unerlässliche geschäftliche Investition. Bisher konnte ich nichts finden.

Im Übrigen habe ich mich schon in eine Bibliothek eingeschrieben, wo ich alle hiesigen englischen, französischen u. deutschen Zeitungen u. Zeitschriften, sowie auf China bezügliche Werke studiere, so dass ich – besonders, wenn ich auch mit chinesischen Intellektuellen Fühlung haben werde – wahrscheinlich bald in der Lage sein werde, Feuilletonbeiträge von hier zu schreiben.

Ausserdem studiere ich die hiesigen Verhältnisse auch darauf hin, ob es für mich nicht eine Möglichkeit auf dem Gebiete von Verlagswesen oder Buchhandel geben könnte (Gründung einer Zeitschrift oder einer Leihbibliothek o. dgl.). Dazu gehörte [3] jedenfalls auch etwas Kapital, aber ich will nicht vorzeitig [sic] Projekte machen. Vorerst möchte ich genügend Einsicht in die Verhältnisse und Chancen gewinnen. Mittlerweile mache ich auch sehr gute Fortschritte im Englischen.

Was mir auch nicht unwichtig erscheint, ist, dass ich meine alte tatkräftige Entschlossenheit und „soldatische“^{*126} Energie wiedererlangt zu haben scheine, Eigenschaften die mir im März 1938 schon fast ganz abhanden gekommen und eigentlich schon seit dem Jahre 1932 einem Dornröschenschlaf „in meinem Busen“ verfallen waren.

* A propos „soldatisch“: Es wurde hier für einen, wie es im Anschlag hiess, „nicht ungefährlichen Dienst“ ein früherer Infanterieoffizier mit Fronterfahrung gesucht. Aus der Höhe der angebotenen Gage lässt sich folgern, dass es sich zu einen nicht wenig gefährlichen Dienst handeln musste, – aber ich konnte nicht erfahren, um was für einen. Meine Bewerbung wurde wegen meines Alters abgewiesen. Bei solchen Gelegenheiten wundere ich mich selbst darüber, dass ich – was vor einigen Tagen der Fall war – das 51. Lebensjahr schon überschritten habe.

125 Und zwar.

126 Handwritten asterisk to mark the addition below.

Document 47

*Alfred Zunterstein*¹²⁷

1990

Interview transcript, 24 pages (excerpts, pp. 4–9).

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/70, Al Zunterstein Tape (Shanghai 1938–1949)

[...] Because we lived in the French Concession, our first contact was mostly with Russian and Baghdad Jews. Late in the mid-30s I met a few German speaking youth [sic] at sport events on the so-called race course – a large sport facility in the center of town where we played soccer, softball and tennis. Also, during the Hongkew fights with Russian gangs, I met refugees that I became friendly with. As I had mentioned before, when in Vienna I served an apprenticeship as a cutter for work garments and sports garments. My father and I had looked around and found that there was little availability for work clothes, especially the white surgeon's gowns and nurse's uniforms in Shanghai. Late in 1939, my father rented a garage and rented a sewing machine. He went to a Chinese tailor shop and asked for a capable and experienced tailor. My father knew some English and practically all the Chinese spoke Pidgin English, and he was able to hire a Chinese tailor. We made up samples and my father took them to hospitals [5] and doctors' offices. Surprisingly, he was very successful right away. After a month or so, he had to hire another sewing machine operator and he rented another machine. Then he obtained a large order from the Coca Cola Company. My father had a very engaging personality and was very hard working. I had to quit my job at Miller Transpor-

127 "Al" Zunterstein (1922–2005) came to Shanghai from Vienna in November 1938. His father Josef established a successful business, manufacturing industrial uniforms, where Al worked as a cutter. An active sportsman and Betar member from his time in Vienna, he soon joined the Shanghai Volunteer Corps (SVC). After it disbanded he joined the self-policing Foreign Pao Chia unit in September 1942, and eventually became the leader of the Youth Pao Chia. Zunterstein and his wife Eva, a refugee whom he met in Shanghai, left the city for the United States in March 1949; cf. Alice I. Reichman, *Community in Exile. German Jewish Identity Development in Wartime Shanghai, 1938–1945*. CMC Senior Theses, Paper 96, Claremont McKenna College 2011, 59–62, <http://scholarship.claremont.edu/cmc_theses/96> (May 10, 2016). For another interview with Alfred and Eva Zunterstein conducted by Steve Hochstadt on May 28, 1995, cf. <http://scarab.bates.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1016&context=shanghai_oh> (May 10, 2016).

tation and go to work for my father, cutting cloth and supervising the work and he was successful in building up quite a good business.

While visiting a company in an outlying district of the International Settlement, my father noticed two little houses that were for sale at the unbelievable price of \$ 50 U.S. He talked to the builder and struck a deal with him and shortly thereafter we moved in with all our belongings and, of course, left the flat in the French Concession, which actually had been a little small for two families. The house on Sinza Road consisted of two rooms built over a shop where we could move the sewing machines and the cutting table and the necessary paraphernalia and live above it. Also, it had a large show window where we could try and obtain some retail trade which we actually did quite successfully a little bit later.

During that time I read a lot of Chinese history, mostly in English and borrowed from lending libraries, and had quite a few debates with friends about China and its role in the fight against the Axis. We were always hoping that China with its millions (800 million then) would be able to defeat the Japanese, although we were aware that renewed fighting around Shanghai would jeopardize the Jewish refugees again. As far as culture was concerned, we were face to face with Chinese life in the streets and the alleys. We could not escape the impact. The trick was to keep an open mind and tolerance. Many of the so-called Shanghailanders (oldtimers) had a very bad attitude towards the Chinese because of the handdown [sic] from the [6] British colonial manner. On the other hand, many refugees would refuse to ride rickshaws. They found it inhuman to be pulled by a coolie. When the war broke out between England and the Germans, Eric Staniek and I went to the British Consulate and volunteered for the army, but they turned us down as enemy aliens and they were not even nice about it.

It was by the winter of 1939 that the first refugee-owned stores opened on Bubbling Well Road and Avenue Yoffre [sic] – the main streets of the International Settlement in French Concession. Viennese knitwear, dressmaking and leather goods made an impact on the fashion conscious Shanghailanders. In Hongkew itself small manufacturing and assembly plants started. There was a plating shop that used electricity generated by four bicycle riders. Old established shops on Avenue Yoffre hired refugees to improve their displays and sales finesse. The ability of the newcomers to compete with the working whites in Shanghai made for some hostility, even from Jewish quarters. The relations with the Russian Jewish younger people cooled off and we started to hear the words Nemetzski [sic]-Germansky.¹²⁸ Even in sports arose some hostility to the newcomer teams. Some of our young people showed up at the

128 *Nemetzski* (Russ.), meaning “German.”

recreation club¹²⁹ immaculately dressed – note that the clothes often were the only things people could bring from their old home. That was in contrast to the image the Shanghailanders had of the poverty and hardship that existed for most refugees.

We also heard and read about some resentment between the German and Austrian refugees and the mostly Polish or Lithuanian Orthodox Jews. The German speakers – called Yekes by some – with the more military discipline that tried on the inhabitants of the large shelter homes conflicted with the much more relaxed style of the Orthodox. As the Orthodox group obtained money to live in houses and to obtain kosher food [7] some secular Jews were upset with what they saw as an injustice, but the greatest majority of the Central Europeans had enough tolerance to understand the reason for the difference in treatment. In spite of all these tendencies, there were lots of friendships that developed, especially with the Sephardic community who seemed to be more understanding of the problems of the newcomers.

While I was working all week, I found time to roam the countryside on Sundays on my bicycle. While the Japanese had some control points, they never asked for a passport and [all] we had to do was say Deutsche and they would wave you on. One favorite trip was a series of small hills about 25 miles from Shanghai that had a small French monastery on top of the hill. The contrast of the countryside to the crowded Shanghai was dramatic. During the cold and humid winter evening, I would go to the Chinese YMCA and work out with sparing partners. In the evenings, I would read a lot, particularly books about Freud and psychology. The newspaper we read was The Shanghai Evening Post¹³⁰ or the Aufbau¹³¹ from New York and when we

129 The Jewish Recreation Club (JRC) was founded in 1911 or 1912, and was affiliated with the Maccabi World Union. From 1939 on, including during the war, the JRC had sections for boxing, soccer, football, chess, tennis, handball, ping pong, hockey, mini soccer, and light athletics; cf. Ossi Lewin (ed.), *Almanac – Shanghai 1946/47, Shanghai 1947*, 70–76. Aside from sponsoring sports events, it maintained a popular dramatics program that staged Yiddish theater plays; cf. Ristaino, *Port*, 26.

130 The *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury* (SEPM) was one of the largest English language newspapers in China. It was owned by C. V. Starr (see ch. 5, n. 35). The SEPM was closed down by Japanese order in 1941, and published intermittently in New York and Chongqing from 1943 onward. After the war, it moved again to Shanghai, but discontinued publication in 1949; cf. Neil L. O'Brien, *An American Editor in Early Revolutionary China. John William Powell and the China Weekly/Monthly Review, New York/London 2003*, 139–142.

131 The *Aufbau* was a German-Jewish exile paper based in New York, founded in 1934. It became the most important newspaper for German-Jewish emigrés in the United States.

could find it in the International Settlement, The Jewish Chronicle¹³² from Hongkew.

By that time, my father's business was well established. He obtained orders from the large brewery that manufactured Ibo beer for cold suits to be worn in the cold houses; delivery coveralls for the Bakerite Company, a large bread manufacturing company; blankets for the Greyhound race dogs to cool off after the races. We had four sewing machines going and I was busy cutting all day. I had no cutting machine. Everything had to be done by hand so it was a slow process.

My Uncle Fritz had started his printing and cardboard forming business and he was a big success with a very novel map for picture frames that he had designed. My cousin Eric had quit his job at Friedman Motors and he |8| too went to work for his father. My parents were very upset with the news from Europe. My grandmother Rebecca wrote letters that showed her utter despair and loneliness. My father's parents had moved to Prague to be with Hugo Finger, a nephew, and the Nazis occupied Czechoslovakia soon after that. My uncle Oskar had been sent to a so-called work camp in Poland. We had no recent news from him or his wife Erma. My Aunt Olga too had vanished without any trace. My mother became very depressed; she never talked about it, but I'm sure she suffered great remorse for leaving her mother behind although it was not something she could have done otherwise.

On the occasion of a Jewish Recreation Club dance at the race course I met a young man about my age, whom I would have thought to be Anglo-Saxon but for his name – Herbert Winterstern. It turned out he was from Vienna and he had lived in Döbling.¹³³ We became good friends. Herbert's father had worked for the Kredit Anstalt. Right after the Anschluss, the Nazis arrested Herbert and sent him to Dachau. He was sixteen at the time. His family was well to do, spent all their worldly goods to ransom him. Finally, they purchased the tickets to Shanghai where they lived in utter poverty in a room no larger than a small kitchen. Herbert had spent a year and a half in Dachau. He had a keen sense of modern day politics and the war. He could imitate most of the radio commentators, best of all Carltenborn, a very popular commentator in the United States. We spent many hours discussing the world situation.

In Vienna, I had been very active in sports. I skied in winter, ran cross-country, participated in track and swim meets. I missed all that in Shanghai, but the newcomers organized sport activities right away. The soccer league

132 For the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, see ch. 4, n. 11.

133 Döbling, a district of Vienna.

started in Hongkew and handball and youngsters got instruction in boxing and judo. Pingpong became a very popular team sport. |9| On a Sunday afternoon when Vienna played Berlin or the Jewish Recreation Club played an English team you could feel the intenseness of the crowd. I think sports were very important in the health of the community. [...]

Document 48

Heinz Ganther¹³⁴

1942

Published memoir, *Drei Jahre Immigration in Shanghai, 1939, 1940, 1941. Shanghai: Modern Times Publishing House, 150 pages (excerpts, pp. 16f.). YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/58*

[...]

Die Heime

Bis Ende 1938 hatte man nicht daran gedacht, Heime zu errichten. Man war im Gegenteil bestrebt, den Emigranten ihr Eigenleben zu wahren. Es bestand, wie bereits erwahnt, nur die Durchgangsunterkunft im Embankment und ein Junggesellenheim in der Washing¹³⁵ Road. Angesichts der Masseneinwanderung und der Wohnungsnot sah man sich jedoch bei Beginn des Jahres 39 genotigt, an die Errichtung von Heimen heranzugehen. Zum Heimleiter wurde Julius Weinberger¹³⁶ bestimmt. Der S.M.C. stellte gegen eine geringe Jahresmiete einen Komplex in der Ward Road zur Verfuegung, und bereits Mitte Januar 39 konnten die ersten Emigranten in das neue Heim

134 Ganther (1903–1960) hailed from Breslau, but he began his career as a journalist in Berlin. He left Germany in 1936 and reached Shanghai in 1939. He was a versatile person who worked as a journalist and writer for various newspapers, as well as in broadcasting. He founded the emigré weekly *Die Laterne* (see Document 122), and was also a stage actor. Ganther stayed in Shanghai until at least 1948, publishing the semi-weekly *Shanghai Journal – Die Neue Zeit*. He eventually returned to Germany, where he published *Die Juden in Deutschland 1951/52–5712. Ein Almanach* in 1953 (and an extended version 1959); cf. Seywald, *Journalisten*, 204 f., 306 f., 347.

135 Also rendered as Whashing Road; this was actually Wha Ching Road.

136 Weinberger was a refugee from Austria. While managing of the Pingliang Road camp, he introduced a strict bureaucracy. He was eventually criticized as ineffective and corrupt (see Documents 48, 130); cf. Jonathan Goldstein (ed.), *The Jews of China*, vol. 2: A Sourcebook and Research Guide, Armonk N.Y. 1999, 58 f., 62.

einziehen. Es war eine bewundernswerte Arbeit, die hier geleistet worden war; denn auch dieser Komplex war vom Kriege stark mitgenommen worden und musste erst hergerichtet werden. Die Zimmer – das Wardroadheim war eine ehemalige Schule – konnten 20–30 Personen aufnehmen. Insgesamt bot das Heim 1000 Menschen Platz. Einen grossen Wert legte man auf die Errichtung sanitaerer Anlagen, um [17] Massenepidemien vorzubeugen. Man schuf Badeanlagen und Wassertoiletten, damals ein Luxus in Hongkew. Weiterhin musste eine grosse Kueche gebaut werden. Diese wurde so erweitert, dass sie zum Schluss ueber 8000 Menschen taeglich ein warmes Essen verabfolgen konnte. Auf Veranlassung der Joint-Vertreter erfolgte im Januar 1942 ihre Schliessung, weil der Betrieb sich als unrationell erwies.

Da das Ward Road Heim sich sehr bald als zu klein zeigte, uebernahm das Committee einen Komplex von der Mission in der Chaoufoong Road, eine Schule in der Wayside Road, eine weitere Schule in der Kinchow Road, voruebergehend Raeume der Shanghai & Hongkong Banking am oberen Broadway, ein Gebaeude in der Alcock Road und schliesslich einen Fabrikkomplex in der Pingliang Road. Dieses Heim und auch die Schule in der Kinchow Road, in der auch die Emigrantenschule untergebracht war, mussten wieder geraeumt werden. Mit Genehmigung der japanischen Behoerden wurde dann in der East Seward Road ein neues Heim geschaffen, das auch die neue Dampfkueche aufgenommen hat, die als Zentralkueche fuer alle Heime und die unterstuetzten Auswaertswohnenden gedacht ist. Hierbei soll auch die von Cecilia Haas ins Leben gerufene Mittelstandskueche im Embankment erwahnt werden, die gerade von den taetigen Emigranten stark frequentiert wurde. Frau Haas hatte vorher im Embankment eine Heimkueche errichtet, wie sie ueberhaupt zu den wenigen Frauen gehoert, die sich von Anfang an in hervorragender Weise um die Emigration verdient gemacht haben. Ebenso uneigennuetzig setzte sich Frau Emmi Memelsdorff¹³⁷ ein, die manchen harten Kampf im Interesse der Hilfsbeduerftigen mit den Committeeegewaltigen zu bestehen hatte.

137 Memelsdorff worked for the Jüdische Kultusgemeinde.

Document 49

*Horst Levin*¹³⁸

August 14, 1940

Radio broadcast (typewritten transcript), 5 pages; on the first page, the date was added by hand; a few corrections were made by hand as well.

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/43

Meine Damen und Herren!

Mein letzter Rundfunkvortrag, in dem ich auf einige Missstände hinwies, hat mir viel anerkennende Worte und Schreiben eingebracht, für die ich herzlichst danke. Erfreulicherweise blieb aber auch die Kritik nicht aus. Diese Kritik erfolgte allerdings nur telefonisch und anonym, ist mir aber deshalb wertvoll, weil sie mir zeigt, dass einige Hiebs [sic], die ich austeilte, getroffen haben. – Wenn mir nun der Kritiker sagte, niemals würde er mein Klient werden, so ist mir das durchaus recht. Aber auch solche Drohungen werden mich nicht hindern, Missstände eben Missstände zu nennen und nicht zu beschönigen: denn: Wer die Ehre hat, vom Rundfunk zur Wirtschaftskritik gebeten zu werden, der hat die Pflicht, ohne kleinliche Rücksicht auf sein eigenes Geschäft, der Allgemeinheit zu dienen.

Und das will ich auch heute tun!

Es ist etwa ein Jahr her, dass die meisten von Ihnen, m.D&H.,¹³⁹ nach Shanghai kamen. Die meisten von Ihnen konnten sich nicht lange besinnen, nicht zaudern, und sich auf die faule Haut legen: Entweder hatten sie nichts, oder nur den Hicemcheck oder geringes Vermögen, also mussten sie irgendwie starten. Und tatsächlich: Es dürften rund 70 % aller Einwanderer bisher etwas angefangen haben. Eine erstaunliche Leistung.

Nun gibt es {aber} manche, die sind sich ihrer guten Leitung [sic] schon so bewusst, sie waren so tüchtig, dass sie glauben, es sei fein und vornehm, sich garnicht mehr anmerken zu lassen, dass man Emigrant ist. Lassen Sie sich gesagt sein: Sie waren, sind und bleiben Emigranten! Sie bleiben der Gesamtheit der Emigranten verpflichtet und verbunden. Niemals wären Sie aus dem K.Z. oder sonstwoher |2| in Shanghais Freiheit gelangt, niemals zur Chance zu neuem Wohlstand, hätte es keinen Hilfsverein, keinen Joint, keine Hicem, keine wohltätigen Menschen namentlich in Shanghai gegeben. Nicht Ihr persönliches Verdienst ist es, hierher entkommen zu sein. Jeder von uns

138 About Levin, see above, n. 6.

139 Meine Damen und Herren.

muss¹⁴⁰ deshalb den Gemeinwesen, die sich hier bilden, verpflichtet fühlen. Gerade der, der keine wirtschaftlichen Sorgen mehr hat, muss sich hier der Jüd. Gemeinde und andern Vertretungen gemeinsamer Interessen anschliessen, muss sie fördern und aktiv mitwirken. Besonders verpflichtet aber bleiben wir alle hier den Committees, deren Leistungen über alles Lob erhaben waren und sind.

Viele Emigranten allerdings haben es noch nicht bis zur Sorglosigkeit gebracht. Wie könnte man auch in einem Jahre es soweit bringen. Nirgends in der Welt wäre so etwas möglich. Aber ich kenne so manchen, der es schon weiter gebracht hätte, wenn er sich nicht selbst manche Chance zerstörte.

So mancher nämlich hat es schon fertiggebracht, seinen eigenen Ruf zu zerstören, ehe er noch richtig neu begründet war. Hier nämlich in Shanghai, M.D.&H., hat man nicht dadurch einen guten Ruf, dass man Sohn oder Tochter eines gutberufenen oder reichen Vaters ist – alle Tradition liegt hinter uns! –, sondern hier gilt als honorig nur der, welcher ehrlich, fleissig und anständig handelt und namentlich: wer seine Zahlungsverpflichtungen erfüllt.

Zweifellos hat nun der Kriegsausbruch und manches andere manche Schwierigkeit hervorgerufen. Dafür hat je [sic] jeder hier volles Verständnis. [3] Will man aber Verständnis finden, so muss man seine Gläubiger absolut aufrichtig und ehrlich bedienen. Es ist ein Unfug, und namentlich unter Emigranten, die doch alle ohne Ausnahme sehr sorgfältig und vorsichtig disponieren müssen, wenn man Zahlungen zu bestimmten Terminen verspricht, obgleich man genau weiss, dass man sie nicht einhalten kann. Kann man dann nicht zahlen, so scheint man hier unter Emigranten die Unsitte eingeführt zu haben, dass man sich nicht etwa entschuldigend meldet, dass man nicht etwa einen Teil wenigstens zahlt, sondern man stellt sich vollkommen tot. Wird dann aber schliesslich der Gläubiger energisch, so lügt man ihm entweder etwas Neues vor oder aber: Man fängt an zu schikanieren, zu drohen etc.

So geht das ganz und garnicht weiter, wenn nicht durch die steigende Zahl solcher Vorkommnisse die Emigranten insgesamt in den Ruf kommen sollen, faule Zahler zu sein. Wir insgesamt brauchen den Ruf: Die Emigranten sind korrekte Leute. Davon profitieren wir alle, unter dem Gegenteil dagegen würden wir all leiden.

Wollen Sie kein Geld verlieren, so seien Sie also korrekt und vorsichtig, bevor sie Geld oder Waren ausleihen. Denken Sie daran, dass so mancher hier seinen Charakter unter dem Einfluss schlechter Freunde, der Schwierigkeiten der Verhältnisse – vielleicht sogar des Klimas – ändert. Sichern Sie sich! Das aber ist hier viel schwieriger und komplizierter als in Europa.

140 Word missing, "sich."

Hier herrscht anderes Recht, anderes Gewohnheitsrecht. Fragen Sie also vorher den erfahrenen Wirtschaftsberater. [4] Sind sie andererseits unverschuldet unfähig zu zahlen oder rechtzeitig zu zahlen bzw. voll zu zahlen, dann, m.D.u.H., wursteln Sie nicht fort, von einer Lüge in die andere, sondern gehen Sie zu einem väterlichen Freund, einem Berater, der Sie ehrlich berät, legen Sie ihm rückhaltlos ihre Lage dar und lassen Sie ihn den Ausweg finden. Vielleicht fehlt Ihnen nur Ordnung, vielleicht nur ein guter Mitarbeiter, vielleicht neues Kapital oder ein Partner. Vielleicht aber auch hiesse es sich selbst und die Gläubiger nur schädigen, wenn man ein verlustbringendes Unternehmen auf brüchigen Krücken weiterhumpeln lässt. Dann heisst es: Ohne Scham sich den Gläubigern zu decouvrieren. Dann heisst es, sich und ander#{} sorgfältig retten, was zu retten ist, – notfalls jetzt unbezahlbare Reste später beizubringen versuchen. Ein Grundsatz aber muss immer gelten: Niemals sich und ändern etwas vormachen!

Und wenn wir schon einmal so offen miteinander sprechen: Dann noch etwas für meine verehrten Zuhörerinnen!

Meine verehrten Damen! Sprechen Sie einmal mit Ihrem Mann! Und wenn er zum hundertsten Male sagt: Lass mich in Ruhe, ich haben andere Sorgen, lassen Sie nicht locker! Fragen Sie Ihren Mann: Wie stehe ich eigentlich da, wenn Dir, unberufen, mal etwas zustossen sollte. Das müssen Sie nämlich unbedingt fragen und es muss Ordnung gemacht werden. In Europa hatten Sie Testamente, Verträge ev.¹⁴¹ sogar Gütertrennung, eigenen Besitz, wohlhabende Eltern oder so. Alles das haben Sie nicht mehr. Namentlich auch keine Lebensversicherung. Was Ihr Gatte hier hat, ist die im Aufbau begriffene oder schon aufgebaute Existenz. Und da [5] muss man klare Verhältnisse schaffen, nachdem man ein Jahr in Shanghai ist, und die Dinge schon ein wenig übersehen kann. Hat man einen Partner, so muss man erstens mit ihm einen klaren Vertrag haben. In diesem Vertrag schon sagt man zweckmässig, wer vertritt mich, wenn ich etwa arbeitsunfähig bin und: Wer ist mein Erbe, ist mein Rechtsnachfolger, wenn ich sterbe. Was für den Mann gilt, gilt natürlich auch umgekehrt für die Frau, die irgendwo Partnerin ist, oder ein eigenes Geschäft hat. Nicht minder gilt das ev. für Kinder. Sonst kann es passieren – und solche Fälle ereigneten sich bereits, dass jemand stirbt, hinterlässt ein Geschäft bzw. einen Anteil an einem Geschäft und kein Mensch weiss, niemand kann urkundenmässig feststellen, wem fällt das Vermögen zu. Nun steht der Hinterbliebene da, und kann sich nicht helfen. Mit Nachforschungen nach Dokumenten etc. vergeht die Zeit und inzwischen herrschen bei den Betroffenen Zweifel und Not. Diese Andeutungen werden genügen, um unsere Emigrantinnen, die soviel Energie und Tüchtigkeit bewiesen

141 Eventuell.

haben und ihre Männer, die nur als alter schlechter Gewohnheit so ungern mit ihrer Frau über das Wichtigste reden, zu veranlassen, dies heikle Thema miteinander zu regeln. Der Wirtschaftsberater oder der Anwalt werden Ihnen gern und väterlich raten, wie man es richtig macht.

Nach einem Jahr also: Ein wenig zurückblicken. Einige Fehler beseitigen. Mal richtig mit sich selbst reden. Und sich sagen: Im zweiten Jahre: Noch besser, noch zielbewusster! Das ist und bleibt, gerade in Shanghai: der Weg zum Erfolg!

Chapter 3

The Polish Refugees Arrive, 1941

Introduction

The amazing story of the journey of several thousand Jewish refugees from Poland to Shanghai has as yet not been told in detail. It can also not be fully documented here. We know fragments of their flight as the German armies first occupied Poland and as the Soviet armies arrived later in Lithuania. We know how they first arrived in Japan and were sometime later shipped to Shanghai by the Japanese, and the problems this new set of arrivals caused the Jewish as well as the other authorities.

When the German armies marched into Poland in September 1939, a large group of secular and religious Jews, rabbinic schools (Yeshivot) students and their rabbis, writers and poets, fled to Lithuania, which at that time was neutral. Settling for the most part in Vilna and Kovno with its large Jewish communities, they hoped to have found a safe haven. It was not to be. A scant nine months later, in June 1940, the Red Army arrived. After six months an official decree requiring refugees to accept Soviet citizenship or become stateless was promulgated. As stateless persons, the refugees realized, they would land in Siberia or in one of Russia's Far Eastern provinces. Many opted for Soviet citizenship, but between 3000 to 4000 refugees attempted to find another solution.¹

According to Lazar Kahan's delightful, though rather fanciful, account, the Jewish refugees in Kovno became geographers and settled down with maps and globes.² They found that all the countries were closed to them, as were all the routes to the British Mandate of Palestine. To reach America, which they would have wanted, they had to go via Japan. One Jew went to the

1 AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 738, Memorandum on Emigration from Lithuania, signed Moses A. Leavitt, January 17, 1941.

2 Lazar Kahan, *Nisim oyf undzer vanderung* [Miracles on Our Wanderings], in: *In Veg. Zamlheft*, November 1941, 5 f. Kahan (1885–1946) worked for numerous literary organizations, and wrote for many newspapers in his native Poland. He was also a member of drama societies together with his wife Rose Shoshana Kahan (see ch. 4, n. 202). At the outbreak of World War II he first fled to Soviet Russia, then via Japan to Shanghai, where he was active in Yiddish theater productions; he also wrote for several Yiddish newspapers. He died of typhus in Shanghai.

Japanese consul and implored him to have mercy. This the consul did, who was none other than Sugihara Chiune and who told the Jew to first get an end visa from the Dutch consul, on the basis of which he would give him a transit visa via Japan.³

Since Kahan's 1941 story, the Sugihara tale has been told and retold many times. There have been exhibits and documentaries, and a moving feature film was produced in 1992.⁴ We may never know exactly what happened and how it came about that Jan Zwartendijk,⁵ acting Dutch consul in Kovno, issued visas for Curaçao, a Caribbean island and Dutch possession, for which no visa was actually required. But on the basis of this end destination visa Sugihara was able to issue transit visas. Exactly how many he in fact distributed may never be known. Presumably he no longer wrote numbers on the transit visas to save time. Moreover, still more were issued after he left Kovno September 1940.⁶ Papers in hand, groups of refugees embarked on the long journey to Moscow, where they were to take the Trans-Siberian train to Vladivostok. The over-10,000 km journey was tedious and took a number of days. Still, at least one refugee found a pleasant site along the way. Leo Adler wrote to his wife Bella:

“One sees snow and only snow. The only interruption of this scene is an occasional train station. The scenery of the Baikal Lake was beautiful. The train travels for hours around the lake. The surface of the lake is the only thing not covered by snow. On the other side of the lake are the mountains. Since the train travels in a half circle around the lake, one sees the previous train stations light up like an ocean of stars. This truly was a beautiful landscape.”⁷

3 Sugihara Chiune (1900–1986), a Japanese diplomat and Vice Consul in Kovno (today Kaunas) between 1939 and 1940, issued thousands of Japanese transit visas to Jewish refugees. An account of Sugihara's life and how he came to issue transit visas is Hillel Levine, *In Search of Sugihara. The Elusive Japanese Diplomat Who Risked His Life to Rescue 10 000 Jews from the Holocaust*, New York 1996. Despite the title, Levine writes that this is merely a “reasonable estimate,” 285 f., n. 7. In 1985 Sugihara was honored as “Righteous Among the Nations” by Yad Vashem.

4 The 60 minute documentary *Visas that Saved Lives* was produced by Fuji Television Networks, Inc. and directed by Kawamura Naonori.

5 Zwartendijk (1896–1976) was a Dutch businessman and acting consul of the Dutch government in exile in Lithuania. He signed numerous end visas for refugees on the basis of which Sugihara was able to issue transit visas.

6 Cf. Ewa Pałasz-Rutkowska/Andrzej T. Romer, Polish-Japanese Co-operation during World War II, in: *Japan Forum* 7 (Autumn 1995), 2, 285–317, here 292.

7 Samuel N. Adler, *Against the Stream*, Jerusalem 2001, 37.

From Vladivostok the refugees had to go by ship to Tsuruga, Japan, and from Tsuruga by train to Kobe,⁸ where a warm welcome awaited them. How many refugees actually reached Japan is as uncertain as the number of visas Sugihara had issued. According to Tadeusz Romer,⁹ Polish Ambassador in Tokyo at the time, 2300 Polish refugees came through Vladivostok to Japan. Of these, who were for the most part from Vilna and Kovno, 97 percent were Jewish. The Polish embassy spared no effort to obtain visas for them and actually managed to send many to Canada, Australia, and the United States, as well as obtain the promise of 400 certificates for Palestine.¹⁰

If the refugees had hoped to remain in Japan until the end of the war they were sorely disappointed. The Kobe interlude was of short duration. A combination of reasons was apparently behind the Japanese decision to send the Polish refugees to Shanghai. As explained by Inuzuka Koreshige,¹¹ one was the freezing of Japanese assets in the United States in July 1941. Thus American organizations like the AJJDC could no longer send money for the refugees' maintenance. The other was the fact that transit visas did not allow people to remain indefinitely in Japan.¹² That the Polish contingent did not look forward to going to Shanghai is indicated by Yosł Mlotek.¹³

8 A small Jewish community existed in Kobe. Together with other traders who flocked to the port city, Jewish merchants came as early as the mid-nineteenth century. By the early twentieth century there was already a synagogue in Kobe. However, the community remained small until World War II and the arrival of the Central European Jewish refugees.

9 Romer (1894–1978) was a career diplomat and Polish ambassador to Japan from 1937 to 1941, when the Polish embassy in Tokyo was closed. From 1943 to 1944 he was Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish Government in Exile. After World War II he settled in Canada.

10 Cf. the Tadeusz Romer report, *Uchodźcy żydowscy z Polski na Dalekim Wschodzie* [Jewish Refugees from Poland in the Far East], NAC, MG 31, 0–68, vol. 2, reel C-10451, file 3.

11 Naval Captain Inuzuka (1890–1965) was head of the Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs (see ch. 4, n. 135) from 1939 to 1942. Criticized by German and radical Japanese anti-Semites as too lenient towards the Shanghai Jews, he was recalled to active navy service in 1942. In the following year, he was transferred to the Philippines; cf. Gerhard Krebs, *The “Jewish Problem” in Japanese-German Relations, 1933–1945*, in: E. Bruce Reynolds (ed.), *Japan in the Fascist Era*, New York 2004, 107–132, here 121.

12 Cf. a speech by Inuzuka, summarized in Anonymous, *Razyasnie mie yaponskich vlastey otноситelno prozhivaniya bezhentssev v Hongkew* [Japanese Authorities Explain Policy on Immigrants in Hongkew], in: *Nasha zhizn* 20 (September 12, 1941), 11.

13 About Mlotek, see below, n. 117.

Despite the fact that attempts were under-way to prepare for their arrival, they had far from a warm welcome. The request on their behalf to give them larger food allowances than the other refugees received was considered preposterous. Quite likely neither the American social worker, Laura Margolis¹⁴ who arrived in Shanghai in May 1941, nor the committee members were aware of the cultural differences between Polish and German Jews. They differed linguistically – Yiddish and Polish speakers predominated in the first group – whereas the latter were German speaking. Religious school students and their rabbis (altogether six different schools) were in the first group, and the second group was largely secular.

How many Polish Jews actually arrived in Shanghai cannot be determined with any accuracy. According to a Kobe committee report of August 1941, 4413 had arrived in Japan between July 1940 and June 1941. Of these, 3092 departed to other destinations and 1321 remained in Japan.¹⁵ Therefore, a little over one thousand ultimately ended up in Shanghai, with nearly half of these from religious schools.¹⁶ Numerically smaller in comparison with the much larger German-Austrian group in Shanghai, they nonetheless engaged in major publishing and theater activities, as will be shown in chapter six.

14 About Margolis, see below, n. 33.

15 Report from August 18, 1941 by J. Epstein, Committee for the Assistance of Refugees (Kobe) to HICEM (Lisbon), 9 pp.; cf. YIVO, HIAS-HICEM I, MKM, 15.57, 15 B-24. Romer lists 950 Polish refugees arriving in Shanghai, among them 400 rabbis and their students; cf. above, n. 10.

16 Romer has a smaller number; 946 persons, among them 151 women and 86 children; see above, n. 10.

Document 50

Joseph Rotenberg¹⁷

1948

Published memoir, Fun Varshe biz Shankhai. Notitsen fun a polet [From Warsaw to Shanghai. Notes of a Refugee], Mexico City: Gezelshaft far kultur un hilf, 400 pages (excerpts, pp. 339–342, 345f.).

Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber

אין קאָבע

אַ פּרעכטיקער, העל באַלויכטענער ריזן־וואָקזאַל. אַרום און אַרום הונדערטער שמייכלענדיקע פּנימער, געמיטלעכע פּנימער, מילדע ליבע אויגן, פאַרביקע לייכטנדיקע קימאַנעס אויף שלאַנקע, גראַציעזע פּרויען־קערפּערס. מען שטויסט זיך נישט, מען שטופּט זיך נישט, מען לאַכט צו דיר אָדער... פון דיר, פון דיין פּרעמדקייט און פון דיין צערודערטקייט. מען איז אַבער כּסדר און באַלד גרייט צו דינען, צו העלפּן אָן געלט, אָן אייגנונג, נאָר פון העפּלעכקייט, איידלקייט וועגן. דערפּילסט זיך גלייך היימיש, זיכער און נאָענט צו אַט די פּרעמדע, וואָס דו פאַרשטייסט נאָך אַפּילו קיין איין וואָרט פון זייער שפּראַך נישט. אויפן האַרץ ווערט אַזוי גוט און לייכט, דו גלויבסט ס'וועט גוט זיין.

מיין באַקאַנטער, וואָס האָט מיך אַפּגעוואָרט ביים באַן, זעט מיין גערירטקייט און שמייכלט. אה, אַ לענדעלע מיט מענטשן! איך זע, אַז דו ביסט שוין צעוואָרעמט, וואָרט, וואָרט, וועסט ערשט הערן און זען. איך בין שוין דאָ אַ שטיקל תּושב און גיי נאָך אַלץ אַרום אַ פאַרבלעפּטער, ווי יענער קליינשטעטלדיקער, וואָס איז צום ערשטן מאָל געקומען קיין וואַרשע. ווי דו זעסט, איז דאָס שטעטעלע קאָבע גאַרנישט קלענער פון וואַרשע און האָט נישט ווייניקער מענטשן פון וואַרשע. — און שאַ, שטיל. דערווייל וועל איך דיך צופירן אין אַ יאַפּאַן־[340] נישן האַטעל אַריין און רן זיך אויס דינע בינער. פאַרוואָס נישט קיין אייראַ־פּעישן? איז ערשטנס קאָסט צו טייער, צווייטנס, — אייראַפּע קאָנסטו דאָך שוין, דארפסטו זיך ערשט באַקענען מיט יאַפּאַן, הייב זשע גלייך אָן פון אַ יאַפּאַנישן האַטעל.

17 Rotenberg (1903–1984) was an educator in Warsaw's Yiddish school system and a Bundist. In Poland he wrote extensively on educational topics in Yiddish periodicals. He fled to Lithuania after the German invasion of Poland and, after obtaining a visa and transit visa, left Kovno in 1941 for Japan, where he remained until he was shipped to Shanghai. In 1947 he went to Mexico, where he taught at the Jewish high school and the Teacher's Seminary. He also established a publishing company. He passed away in Mexico. For his biography, cf. Gali Drucker Bar-Am, *Undzer literarischer varshtat. Tsvey Yosef Rotenbergs [Our Literary Workshop. Two Joseph Rotenbergs]*, in: *Lebens-fragn. Sotsyalistische khodesh-shrift far politik, geselshaft un kultur*, March-April 2011, <<http://www.lebensfragn.com/bin/articles.cgi?ID=1069>> (March 2, 2016).

מיר קומען אריין אין האַטעל. מען שמייכלט שוין ווידער. אַלע שמייכלען, דער אייג-נטימער, די פרוי און די קינדער, זיי קוקן זיך אָן און שמייכלען. מיין באַקאַנטער פּאַרשט ענדיקט זיך מיט דעם בעל-הבית חצי ענגליש און חצי יאַפּאַניש, דער יאַפּאַנער גיט זיך אַ בייג צו מיר, מיין באַקאַנטער פּאַרטייטשט מיר, אז דאָס באַטייט, אַז איך דאַרף גיין מיט אים. גייען מיר. פּאַרן אַרויפגיין אין דער הייך, הייסט ער מיך אויסטאַן די שייך און אַנטאַן טרעפּקעס. איך קלייב אויס אַ פּאַר טרעפּקעס, וואָס האַלטן אין איין אַראַפּפּאַלן מיר פון די פּיס. קוים אַרויפגעקלעטערט אויפן ערשטן שטאַק, פּירט ער מיך אַריין אין אַ קליין צימערל, אָבער אַ ליידיקס. נישט קיין בעט, נישט קיין טיש, קיין שטול. ער ווייזט מיר אַן אויף דער פּאַדלאַגע, איך קוק און פּאַרשטיי נישט וואָס. ער נעמט און זעצט זיך אַוועק און שמייכלט, ער הייסט מיך אויך אַוועקזעצן. איך זיך שוין, הייבט ער זיך אויף. זעענדיק מיין פּאַרלויבניש, צעלאַכט ער זיך געמיטלעך און גייט אַרויס. מיר ווערט אַביסל אומעטיק אויפן האַרץ, וואָס וועט זיין דער תּכּלית. איך דערמאָן זיך, אַז ביי די יאַפּאַנער איז נישטאַ קיין מעבל אין די צימערן, מען זיצט אויף דער ערד, אויף מאַטעס. אָבער איך בין דאָך נאָך נישט קיין יאַפּאַנער און עס איז מיר קאַלט, און וווּ וועל איך שלאָפּן? ! פון מייע פּינצטערע געדאַנקען האַט מיך ווידער אויפגעוועקט דאָס געמיטלעכע געלעכטער פון יאַפּאַנער, וואָס איז צוריקגעקומען מיט אַ "באַי", וואָס האַט געטראָגן אַ גרויסע ערדענע וואָזע מיט גליע-נדיקע קוילן-קייילעכלעך, אַ צווייטער האַט געטראָגן אַ קרוג טיי מיט שעלעכלעך. ער האַט זיך אַוועקגעזעצט נעבן מיר, געהייסן וואַרעמען זיך די הענט ביים פייער, אַנגעגאַסן טיי און געשמייכלט. האָב איך אויך אַנגעהויבן שמייכלען, האַט ער שוין אַנגעהויבן לאַכן, הפּנים [341] צופרידן דערפון וואָס איך שמייכל אויך. באַלד האָבן די יינגלעך אַריינגעבראַכט צוויי דיקע גרויסע קאַלדרעס, כּמעט פּערינעס, נאָר האַרטע, וואַטענע. איינע האָבן זיי אויסגע-שפּרייט אויף דער פּאַדלאַגע, און די צווייטע צום צודעקן זיך – און צוקאַפּנס, א קישעלע פון זעגעכץ. נאָכן אויסטרינקען די טיי האַט מען מיך אַריינגעפּירט אין יאַפּאַנישן בעדל, געמאַכט זיך דאָרט יענע הייסע וואַנע, ד"ה געגאַסן אויף זיך פון אַ גרויסער הילצערנער וואַנע מיט שעפעלעך קאַכעדיק וואַסער. אַדורכגעברייטער, אַ מידער בין איך צוריק אַריין אין צימער, געלייגט זיך צווישן די צוויי קאַלדרעס אויף די מאַטעס מיטן זעגעכץ-קישעלע צוקאַפּנס און געשמאַק איינגעשלאָפּן.

געשלאָפּן בין איך געשמאַק, אָבער אויפגעכאַפט האָב איך זיך מיט אַ שטאַרקן קאַפּווייטאַג. – נישט געזאָרגט, זאגט צו מיר מיין באַקאַנטער, וואָס האַט מיך אויפגעוועקט, עס איז נישט דאָס לעצטע מאָל. די דאָזיקע פּרעכטיקע וואָזעס מיט די גליענדיקע קוילן-קייילעך זעען טאַקע אויס זייער פּאַעטיש און געמיטלעך, אָבער צו קאַפּווייטאַג האַט עס נישט.

צומאַרגענס. אַ בלענדנדיקער זונענטאַג, אַלץ אַרום איז באַגאַסן מיט ליכט. ערשט איצט באַווייזט זיך דער אייגנאַרטיקער צויבער פון דער שטאַט קאַבע. פון איין זייט טוליעט זי זיך צו די הויכע בלויכלעכע בערג, וועלכע נעמען זי אַרום, ווי אין אַ האַלב-קרייז און פון דער צווייטער זייט לאַזט זי זיך אַראַפּ צום ים צו. אין צענטער – אַ סך מאַדערנע, מאַנומענטאַלע געביידעס, איבערהויפט די וואַרן-הייזער, וואַקזאַלן, האַנדלס-ביוואַען, עס דאַמינירט אָבער איבעראַל דער יאַפּאַנישער סטיל. די יאַפּאַנישע אויפּשריפטן מאַכן אין ערשטן אויגנבליק דעם איינדרוק פון בילדערישע צייכענונגען. דער בלויער הינטערגרונד פון די בערג, די מי-ניאַטורע, קעסטלאַרטיקע הייזקעס, די קימאַנעס, די פּאַרשידנפאַרביקע, קאַלירפולע פּרויען-

קימאָנעס – אַלץ צוזאַמען זעט אויס אין ערשטן אויגנבליק ווי אַ מעשהלע, פּאַנטאַזיע ווירקלעכקייט.

[342] און די מענטשן... די יאַפּאַנער אויפן גאַס זעען אויך אויס פּאַנטאַסטיש, איב־ערהויפט די פּרויען. די בלייכע צוגעפּאַרבטע פּנימער מיט די שיפע מאַנדל־אויגן, וועלכע זיי האַלטן כּמעט שטענדיק אַראַפּגעלאָזן, די אייגנאַרטיקע פּאַרקעמונג פּון די גראַנאַט־שוואַרצע האָר. [...]

[345] [...] צי איז דאָס בלויז די העפלעכקייט לגבי די אויסלענדער? ניין. דעם יאַפּאַנערס העפלעכקייט איז אַן אויסדרוק פּון אינערלעכער קולטור, דאָס איז בשום אופן נישט די אויסערלעכע, ריינ פּאַרמעלע העפלעכקייט, די מאַניערן־העפלעכקייט, וואָס ווערט אויסגע־לערנט דורך גווערנאַנטקעס אין די אַריסטאָקראַטישע קרייזן אָדער וואָס ווערט אין בעסטן פּאַל אנטוויקלט ביי אונדז, ווי אַן אויסערלעכע קולטור־געווינהייט.

איך האָב געווינט די גאַנצע צייט, כּמעט אַ יאָר, ביי אַ יאַפּאַנישער פּאַמיליע אין קאָבע. דער באַלעבאָס, איטשייאַטי, איז געווען אַן אַנגעשטעלטער אין אַ קאָלאָניאַל־געשעפט אין אַסאַקאַ, די פּרוי האָט פּון צייט צו צייט גענייט און געשטאַפט קאָלדערעס און ציאַקאַלע – די 17 יאַריקע ציאַקאַלע, אַן אַדאַפּטירט מיידעלע, האָט זיך געלערנט אין אַ שול, וואָס האָט צו־געגרייט און געלערנט נייען קימאָנעס. פּאַר אַ ביסל אַפּגעשפּאַרט געלט האָבן זיי אַרענדירט אַ האַלב יאַפּאַניש און האַלב אייראָפּעיִש הייזל און דאָס האָט זיי אויך צוגע־[346] טראָגן אַ ביסל פּרנסה. אַזעלכע אַרבעטער־פּאַמיליעס, דאָס איז דאכט זיך דער דאָמינירנדיקער טיפּ צווישן דער יאַפּאַנישער שטאַטישער באַפעלקערונג. דאָס לעבן פּון דער דאָזיקער אַרבע־טער־פּאַמיליע צייכנט זיך אויס מיט זייער אייגנטלעכן פּאַלקסטימלעכן כאַראַקטער, דאָ זענען נאָך נישט אריינגעדונגען די נייע "אינגליש־מנהגים, ווי זיי רופן עס, דאָ איז נאָך אין אַ גרויסער מאָס אַפּגעהיטן און איינגעהאלטן דער אַלטער לעבן־שטייגער.

איך וויל זיך דאָ אָבער אומקערן צו דער אויבנדערמאָנטער יאַפּאַנישער העפלעכקייט. דאָ, דווקא דאָ, ביי דער דאָזיקער פּאַלקסטימלעכער יאַפּאַנישער אַרבעטער־פּאַמיליע האָבן איך קענען געלערנט די יאַפּאַנישע העפלעכקייט. און נישט נאָר דאָס, נאָר אויך פיל אַנדערע עכט מענטשלעכע, ווונדערבאַרע שטריכן פּון יאַפּאַנישן פּאַלקסטימלעכער. [...]

Translation

In Kobe

A splendid, brightly lit, gigantic waiting hall. All around hundreds of smiling faces, relaxed faces, mild, lovely eyes, colorful, light kimonos worn by slim graceful women. Nobody pushes, no one shoves, they laugh at you or ... about you, about your foreignness and your agitation. But everyone is orderly and soon prepared to be of service: To help without charging money, not because of self-interest, only to be polite, to be courteous. You feel at once comfortable, secure and close to the strangers, even if you do not understand one word of their language. You feel good and light in your heart; you believe it will be all right.

My acquaintance who is waiting for me at the train sees how moved I am and smiles. Ah, a small country with human beings! I see that you are already taking to this, just wait, you will hear and see. I am almost a native, but despite this I still walk around amazed, like one of those small-town people who came for the first time to Warsaw. As you can see, the small town of Kobe is not that much smaller than Warsaw, does not have a smaller population – but *sha*, quiet. I will take you to a Japanese [340] hotel so that you can rest your bones. Why not a European one? First of all, it is too expensive, secondly, European hotels you already know. If you want to learn about Japan, start immediately with a Japanese hotel.

We arrive at a hotel. Again, there are smiles. Everyone smiles, the owner, his wife and children, they look at one another and smile. My acquaintance communicates with the owner half in English half in Japanese, the Japanese man bows to me, and my acquaintance translates for me that it means I can go with him. We go. Before going up, he tells me to take off my shoes and put on *trepkes*.¹⁸ I pick out a pair of *trepkes* that constantly fall off my feet. No sooner than I climb up to the first floor, he leads me into a small room, but it is empty. No bed, no table, no chair. He points to the floor; I look, and don't understand. He sits down and smiles, he tells me also to sit. I sit. He stands up. Seeing that I am lost, he laughs pleasantly and goes out. I feel a little gloomy. What will be next? I remember that Japanese don't have furniture in their rooms. One sits on the floor or on a mat. But I am not Japanese yet and I am cold. And where will I sleep? From my dark thoughts I wake up to the comfortable laughter of the Japanese man who has returned with a "boy" carrying a large earthen brazier¹⁹ with glowing pieces of charcoal. A second "boy" carries a pitcher of tea and cups. He sits down next to me and tells me to warm my hands over the fire, he pours tea and smiles. I too begin to smile and he begins to laugh, [341] satisfied that I also smile. Soon the boys bring in large, thick cotton blankets like featherbeds, but harder, padded. One they spread on the floor, with the second I am to cover myself, and for my head there is a small sawdust pillow. After drinking tea, I am led into a small Japanese bath, where a hot tub has been prepared, a big, wooden tub where one pours boiling water with a small dipper over oneself. Scalded and tired, I return to my room, lay down between the two blankets on the mat with the sawdust pillow for my head and fall asleep at once.

I sleep well, but wake with a pounding headache.

18 Yiddish, sandals (Japan. *geta*) worn in the house.

19 Literally "vase," "jar."

“Don’t worry,” my acquaintance says to me when he wakes me, “this is not the last time. The beautiful vase with the glowing charcoal looks very poetic and comfortable but brings on headaches.”

Next morning. Bright sunshine, everything is bathed in light. Only now do I see the unusual magic of the city Kobe. One side nestles in the high bluish mountains, which surround the city as if in a half circle, and on the other side, [Kobe] descends to the ocean. In the center are many modern buildings, warehouses, train stations, office buildings, but everywhere the Japanese style predominates. Japanese signboards impress one at first glance like picturesque drawings. Against the blue background of the mountains, the box-shaped miniature houses, the kimonos – the various colourful women’s kimonos – they all look at first glance like a fairy tale, like a fantasy which has come true. [342] And the people ... The Japanese in the street look fantastic, especially the women. Pale and colourful faces with slanted almond eyes, looking almost always down, and the unique hairdos of their coal black hair. [...] ²⁰ [345] [...] Are the Japanese polite only to foreigners? No. The courtesy of the Japanese is the expression of their very own culture, it is in no way an external, merely formal courtesy, a mannered politeness which governesses teach in aristocratic circles, or, in the best case, developed as external cultural custom.

I live in Kobe almost a year, the whole time with a Japanese family. The man of the house, Ichi-Yati, is an employee in a store for colonial goods in Osaka. His wife is occasionally occupied with sewing or mending blankets and their seventeen year old daughter, an adopted girl, learned in school how to prepare and sew kimonos. With a small sum of money they had saved they [bought] a half Japanese, half European, house, thus [346] adding a little income by renting a portion. Such a hard-working family is, I believe, the predominant type of family in the Japanese urban population. The way of life of such families is conspicuous by their native folk character, which was not marred by new “English” customs, as they are called. The old way of life is preserved and maintained here to a large extent.

But I want to return to the Japanese courtesy mentioned above. There, particularly there, in this distinctive worker family, I become acquainted with Japanese politeness. And I learn not only that, but many more truly humanely, marvelous aspects of the Japanese folk character. [...] ²¹

20 Rotenberg continues with what he describes as the visual qualities of Japanese women and Japanese aesthetics in general, especially in traditional Japanese painting. Furthermore, he ponders on the meaning of Japanese smiling in public and on his experiences with Japanese helpfulness and courtesy.

21 In the last paragraph of the chapter, Rotenberg recalls a meeting with his host family; they reached an agreement on renting some other rooms of the house to his friends.

Document 51

*Michel Speelman*²² (CAEJR) to *Moses A. Leavitt*²³ (AJJDC)

March 26, 1941

*Typewritten letter, 4 pages; each page has a printed letterhead, and the first page contains the full address and names of the committee members. The first page has a receipt stamp (April 9, 1941) and four illegible signatures. A copy of this document has been published.*²⁴

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 461

COMMITTEE FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF EUROPEAN JEWISH
REFUGEES IN SHANGHAI

M. Speelman, Chairman
Ellis Hayim
D. E. J. Abraham

7 Avenue Edward VII
Shanghai, China
Cable Address "Refugeecom"

By Airmail.

Letter No. 90.

March 26, 1941

To The Secretary
The American Jewish Joint
Distribution Committee, Inc.
100 East 42nd Street
NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Re: Polish Refugees.

We beg to confirm exchange of telegrams as per enclosed copies.²⁵

He describes how well they understood each other even without a language in common, and how he felt at home thanks to the warm sympathy of his hosts.

22 About Speelman, see ch. 2, n. 94.

23 Leavitt (1894–1965) was a New York born chemical engineer. He held various important positions in the AJJDC, and from 1940 to 1946 he served as general secretary. Until 1965 he was the AJJDC's executive vice chairman.

24 Henry Friedlander/Sybil Milton (eds.), *Archives of the Holocaust. An International Collection of Selected Documents*, vol. 10, part 1: American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee 1933–1939, New York/London 1995, 402–405 (Doc. 83).

25 The enclosed telegrams could not be located.

For your information we wish to submit our views in regard to the whole Polish problem. Messrs. Lejzer Szczupakiewicz²⁶ and Z. Warhaftig²⁷ were introduced to us by Mr. Birman, the local representative of the "Hicem." No official notice was received from the Joint that these two gentlemen were authorized representatives of your organization. Both lacked our confidence, as they tried to make us believe that they could obtain Japanese landing permits for the 1600 Refugees now in Japan and only after being questioned did they admit that the permits were only valid for leaving Japan. They, however, promised to arrange for landing permits but nothing was heard of them since.

A few days later Messrs. Topaz²⁸ and Bitker,²⁹ local representatives of the Polish Jewish Association, called on us to discuss the Polish problem. They informed us that they were aware of the cable which was sent to New York by Messrs. Szczupakiewicz and Warhaftig. We are of the opinion that Messrs.

26 Lejzer/Layzer (Eliezer) Szczupakiewicz hailed from Poland. In 1941, he visited various cities in the United States on behalf of his efforts to rescue Polish Jews; cf. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (ed.), *Flight and Rescue*, Washington D.C. 2001, 46.

27 Zerach Warhaftig (1906–2002) hailed from Russian Volkovysk (today Waukawysk, Belarus) and is said to have been one of the major informants to Japanese vice consul Sugihara, who issued transit visas for the desperate Jews; cf. Wei Zhuang, *Erinnerungskulturen des jüdischen Exils in Shanghai (1933–1950)*. Plurimedialität und Transkulturalität, Berlin 2015, 125. Warhaftig fled to Canada via Japan in 1941, and immigrated to Palestine in 1947. He was a member of the Knesset from 1949 until 1981, serving several times as Vice Minister and Minister of Religion, and was among the founders of Bar Ilan University. For his experiences, cf. Zerach Warhaftig, *Refugee and Survivor. Rescue Efforts during the Holocaust*, Jerusalem 1988.

28 Boris Topaz (Topas; 1892–1966), a Russian Jewish emigré, was active in community affairs as early as 1916 when he founded the Shanghai Zionist Association Kadimah. Later he acted as chairman of the local ORT (see ch. 4, n. 3) and president of SAJCA (see below, n. 32). He participated in the meeting of its Emergency Committee with the Japanese vice-consul in Shanghai and a member of the Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs, Shibata Mitsugi, following rumors that the Jews were about to be liquidated. The members of the Emergency Committee were arrested by the Kempeitai, the Japanese secret police, and incarcerated in the notorious Bridge House jail, which the Kempeitai used from 1937 as their headquarters and one of their interrogation centers. Topaz was tortured for 10 months, and emerged a broken man.

29 Joseph Bitker (1895–1977) was a member of the SACRA and a leading figure among the Russian Jewish community of Shanghai. In 1943 he became director of the Shanghai JDC; cf. Marvin Tokayer/Mary Swartz (eds.), *The Fugu Plan. The Untold Story of the Japanese and the Jews During World War II*, Jerusalem/New York 2004, 252.

Topaz and Bitker must have assisted them in the calculation regarding the amounts required for the establishment and maintenance. We understand that they have a suitable building on hand in the French Concession fully equipped for accommodating about 200 persons. The US\$ 3500.– required are for additional equipment such as beds, sheets, etc. etc. The rental of this property [2] is US\$ 300.– monthly plus taxes, electricity, water, etc. We considered the amount of US\$ 3500.– reasonable.

The US\$ 3000.– required for the monthly upkeep of 500 Refugees were in our mind entirely out of question, as this sum represents US\$ 6.– per head a month, whereas we are keeping our Refugees for less than US\$ 2.–.

We called a special Committee Meeting on Wednesday, March 19th, 1941, during which all points were thoroughly investigated. At this meeting it was definitely decided that the Refugee problem could only be handled here properly under one caption.

It was also decided that if we were to function in the Eastern Jewish problem, it would be absolutely essential to treat all Refugees alike in regard to feeding, maintenance, etc., and that no exceptions could be made, as we would otherwise be faced with a revolt amongst our Refugees, who have, as you are no doubt aware, been underfed.

At a subsequent meeting, at which the undersigned, Mr. Ellis Hayim, Capt. Herzberg,³⁰ Mr. Bitker, and Mr. Topaz were present, it was decided that in view of the determination on the part of the latter in regard to the amount they specified for the upkeep of their Refugees, to allow them to run their own organization and that we were only to control the finances.

It would be a physical impossibility for us to manage the two different organizations under two different conditions. This forced us to wire you that the Joint's name should not appear in the assistance given to the Polish section.

Even now we foresee great difficulties and subsequent troubles, if a distinction is made between the Polish and our Refugees. Please bear this in mind.

30 According to Laura Margolis (see below, n. 33), A. Herzberg (Hertzberg) was a German Jew born and raised in Shanghai. In some ways, his treatment of the refugees was similar to his behavior towards coolies, with whom he had worked his whole life; in other ways, he acted as though at the head of a "German dictatorship;" cf. Margolis' letter to R. Pilpel, dated June 18, 1941, reproduced in Friedlander/Milton, Archives, 433. In 1940, Herzberg, who was dismissed by HAPAG after more than 30 years of employment in October 1939, was engaged by the CAEJR to run the camps. Margolis heartily disliked him; see also her letter to Robert Pilpel (Document 57).

As you are no doubt aware, the Polish Refugees are already arriving here daily in small numbers. None are in possession of entry permits. In other words, they are arriving here illegally. That is [3] the main reason why we cannot associate ourselves, as we have to fulfill [sic] our obligations vis-à-vis the local authorities in Shanghai.

Messrs. Bitker and Topaz, however, have taken it upon themselves to look after this problem in conjunction with the recognized local Polish Chargé d’Affaire [sic].³¹ No official permission on the part of the French authorities for the Refugees to reside in the French Concession has, however, been granted. Mr. Topaz, Chairman of the Shanghai Ashkenazi Jewish Communal Association,³² a Pole, informs us having inofficially [sic] approached the French Police authorities and was advised not to make any official application as same would be rejected “for certain.” The Polish Chargé d’Affaire insists that all Poles with Polish passports have a legal right to land in Shanghai and reside anywhere, but legal rights nowadays are being disregarded. In other words, the Polish organization is taking an off chance and hopes to iron matters out later, should the authorities here take any aggressive action.

As already mentioned, we cannot lend ourselves in co-opting officially under such circumstances, although we are willing to assist in every direction.

We are glad to note from your cable of March 21st, 1941, that you are sending Laura Margolis³³ to review the Refugee problem here and are looking forward to her arrival.

31 This was Tadeusz Romer. After the Polish embassy was shut down in October 1941, Romer came with his staff to Shanghai, where he acted as de facto Chargé d’Affaires. In 1942 he left Shanghai; cf. Joseph R. Fiszman, *The Quest for Status. Jewish Polish Refugees in Shanghai, 1941–1949*, in: *The Polish Review* 43 (1998), no. 4, 441–460, here 444.

32 The SAJCA was established by Russian Jews in June 1931 in response to the influx of Jews from Central and Eastern Europe and to the sometimes hostile atmosphere towards Jews in the White Russian Emigrants Committee of Shanghai (established in 1926), of which some of the mostly stateless Jewish emigrés were members. SAJCA’s aim was to represent all Shanghai Ashkenazi Jews vis-à-vis municipal and government institutions; its presidents were Y. Ginsburg, M. Bloch (see ch. 5, n. 48), B. Topaz (see ch. 3, n. 28), and B. Radomishelsky. In 1937 the SMC and the Chinese authorities recognized and registered the SAJCA; cf. Malek, *From Kaifeng*, 334.

33 Laura L. Margolis (1903–1997) was born in Constantinople into an Ashkenazi family that immigrated to the United States in her early childhood. They settled in Cleveland, where she began her career as a social worker at the local Jewish Social Service Bureau. Her first overseas job as an AJJDC social relief field agent was in Havana from January 1939 to April 1941. In May 1941 the AJJDC sent her to Shanghai to assist American consular officials. After being interned by the Japanese in late February

On the other hand, we are somewhat disappointed in not receiving definite news regarding the monthly maintenance allowance. This we consider a very important matter, which must definitely be settled without delay, as we are being faced with dissatisfaction and minor revolts daily. We must have sufficient means to supply our Refugees with two meals instead of one, and we appeal to you again for your assistance.

We appreciate your troubles and the burdens you have to carry, but the fact remains that we are looking after a city of about 13,000 people, who are [4] being kept alive on starvation rations. This must be remedied at once.

Please give this your immediate attention as we fear repercussions and a decided increase in our Hospitalization, if assistance is not forthcoming, and accept this letter in the spirit in which it is written.

Assuring you of our closest co-operation and trusting you will do your utmost in assisting us in fulfilling our obligations.

Yours very truly,

{M Speelman}

Chairman

Encls.

AH:Li³⁴

1943, she was released in a prisoner exchange that September (see also ch. 4, n. 205) and returned to the United States. In spring 1944 the AJJDC sent her to Europe to set up a home for rescued French Jewish children near Lisbon and to organize a food package service to send food from Stockholm to the concentration camps at Theresienstadt and Bergen Belsen. In 1946 she became JDC director of France. From late 1953 on she lived in Israel, where she worked for several social organizations until she retired in the United States in 1974; cf. Julie L. Kerssen, *Life's Work. The Accidental Career of Laura Margolis Jarblum*. Theses and Dissertations, Paper 548, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee 2000; <<http://dc.uwm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1553&context=etd>> (June 2, 2016).

34 "Enclosures" and typist's signatures.

Document 52

*Frederick Arthur Pitts*³⁵ (SMP)

March 13, 1941

Typewritten report, 2 pages; both pages are printed report forms of the SMP (letterhead reproduced only for first page); on the first page, the station and date were inserted by typewriter. The pages contain several receipt stamps and partially illegible registry signatures.

Microfilm; NARA (SMP Investigation Files, 1894–1944; Records of the CIA), RG 263, reel 17, file D 5422 (g)

**SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE.
REPORT**

S. 1, Special Branch ... *Station. File No. Date ...* March 13, 1941

SUBJECT: CENTRAL EUROPEAN REFUGEES – Communication dated March 8, 1941, from COMMITTEE FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF EUROPEAN JEWISH REFUGES IN SHANGHAI.

With reference to the contents of the attached letter, it seems perfectly manifest that the Japanese authorities in Kobe desire to evict the 1600 refugees now staying at that port into points where they will not have the “nuisance value” that they apparently do at present. Shanghai is the logical place to send them since the restrictions here in regard to immigration are by no means as stringent as they should be. In the past the Shanghai Municipal Council has enforced the current immigration regulations only in close co-operation with the various travel and shipping companies.

More recently however the various Japanese shipping concerns have been allowing immigrants to proceed to Shanghai either without permits or with expired permits. Without co-operation from these companies the Police are helpless to intervene since we cannot function on the Whangpoo River and check whether immigrants have complied with the necessary regulations. Thus if any or all of the refugees now in Kobe are shipped to Shanghai by Japanese vessels under circumstances outlined above we cannot do a thing until they are in Shanghai by which time it is too late to have them sent back since [2] the Council’s past policy in this connection has been one of causing the least friction possible with the shipping companies concerned.

35 About Pitts, see ch. 1, n. 25.

In regard to the numbered queries contained in the attached letter³⁶ they can be answered thus:

- 1) Under the present regulations the Police would be powerless to stop the persons concerned from taking up residence in the Settlement in the event of the local Japanese authorities refusing them shelter North of the Creek but according to the regulations – at least the letter of the regulations – they should be denied immigration until they are [in] possession of landing permits which would not be issued until satisfactory proof were forthcoming that they were self-supporting.
- 2) The refugees would be allowed to enter the Settlement, South of Soochow Creek, provided they complied with the regulations now in force:
 - a) by depositing US\$ 400 per head or
 - b) having a relative in Shanghai already who would guarantee the support of the person(s) concerned and securing landing permits prior to their entry into Shanghai.

{F. A. Pitts}

D. S. I.³⁷

A. C.³⁸ (Special Branch).

Document 53

*Lejzer Szczupakiewicz, Zerach Warhaftig*³⁹ to *Michel Speelman*⁴⁰ (CAEJR)
March 31, 1941

Typewritten letter, 1 page (copy). A copy of this document has been published in Friedlander/Milton, Archives, 414.

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 461

36 The letter could not be located.

37 Detective Sergeant Inspector.

38 Assistant Commissioner.

39 About Szczupakiewicz and Warhaftig, see above, nn. 26, 27.

40 About Speelman, see ch. 2, n. 94.

COPY

Shanghai, 31.3.41.

M. Speelman, Esq.

Committee for the Assistance
of European Jewish Refugees,
7, Av. Edward VII.

Dear Mr. Speelman,

We regret very much that in view of the rumours which reached us as to your attitude to our work, – a result no doubt of a misunderstanding, – we had no possibility of meeting you again personally. We hope that in the near future you will be convinced of the value of the new Committee “Eastjew-com”⁴¹ organised with our help. The new Committee, we are convinced of it, will also have a favourable influence on the situation of the German refugees here.

We hope that with the same devotion you have been serving all the time the cause of the Jewish refugees from Germany, you will also help the new Committee in their difficult task for the benefit of the Jewish refugees from Poland and Lithuania. Our sincere wish is that you be able to free yourself from your duties soon, – through the refugees finding their own homes and resuming their free and normal lives.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.)⁴² L. Szczupakiewicz

(Sgd.) Z. Warhaftig

41 This committee, named after its telegraph address, was established in March 1941 in Shanghai as a subcommittee of the CAEJR. Its purpose was to secure financial aid for refugees from Eastern Europe, mainly Poland and Lithuania, who were not supported by American organizations. Its relationship with the CAEJR became rather tense, especially when it came to the allocation of resources: EASTJEWCOM tried to secure larger food allowances for the refugees from Eastern Europe, most of whom were religious and kept kosher, than CAEJR had allotted to those from Germany. In addition, the Polish Jews, and especially the rabbinic school students, refused to stay in the shelters, so special funds were needed for their housing. The chairman of EASTJEWCOM was Alfred Oppenheim, its vice chairman and treasurer Joseph Bitker; cf. Bauer, *American Jewry*, 307.

42 Signed.

Document 54

*Michel Speelman*⁴³ (CAEJR) to *Lejzer Szczupakiewicz, Zerach Warhaftig*⁴⁴

April 5, 1941

Typewritten letter, 2 pages. A copy of this document has been published in Friedlander/Milton, Archives, 415f.

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 461

Messrs. L, Szczupakiewicz
and Z. Warhaftig
Shanghai

April 5th, 1941

Dear Sirs:

Your letter of March 31st, 1941, reached me to-day and I am somewhat surprised at your remarks in regard to the possibility of meeting me again personally [sic].

I must admit that your attempt to make us believe that you could obtain landing permits for your Refugees, which, however, after our questioning, related to departure permits from Japan, minimized our confidence [sic] in your endeavours.

Furthermore, the statements made in regard to the definite possession of a building on the Route Prosper de Paris⁴⁵ for the housing of your Refugees were also found to be incorrect inasmuch, as you have even up to now not been able to secure the premises in question.

Since your one and only visit, we have not had the occasion to discuss matters with you in regard to the Polish immigration which, I think, would have been possible, had you made it a point of accompanying [sic] Messrs. Bitker and Topaz who called on us on many occasions.

You are aware of the tremendous responsibilities and superhuman work involved in the Refugee problem. In order to achieve our aims it is essential that everybody connected with this problem should give us every possible assistance and co-operation.

[2] This, I am sorry to say, has not been in evidence so far from your sources, to which I attribute the delay sustained.

43 About Speelman, see ch. 2, n. 94.

44 About Szczupakiewicz and Warhaftig, see above, nn. 26, 27.

45 Actually Route Prosper Paris which was located in the French concession.

Dr. Beckelman⁴⁶ is arriving here on Monday. I sincerely hope, with his assistance, to be able to clarify the whole Polish Refugee matter in due course.
Yours sincerely,
{M Speelman}

AH:Li

Document 55

*Michel Speelman*⁴⁷ (CAEJR) to *Morris Troper*⁴⁸ (JDC)

April 5, 1941

Typewritten letter, 3 pages; the first page contains a receipt stamp (April 30, 1941) with 10 partially illegible signatures. A copy of this document has been published in Friedlander/Milton, Archives, 411–413 (Doc. 85).

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 461

COMMITTEE FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF EUROPEAN JEWISH REFUGEES IN SHANGHAI

M. Speelman, Chairman
Ellis Hayim
D. E. J. Abraham

7 Avenue Edward VII
Shanghai, China
Cable Address “Refugeecom”

Letter No. 30

Shanghai, 5th April 1941

46 Moses William Beckelman (1906–1955) was an American social worker who was sent by the AJJDC to Lithuania in 1939 to organize refugee aid, first from Kovno and shortly after from Vilna. He returned to the United States in 1941. From 1951 until his death, he was based in Paris as the Director of the AJJDC Overseas Operations; cf. <<https://archives.jdc.org/insight-into-moses-beckelman-neither-pencil-pusher-nor-pushover/>> (May 11, 2017).

47 About Speelman, see ch. 2, n. 94.

48 About Troper, see ch. 2, n. 206.

Mr. M. C. Troper,
American Jewish Joint
Distribution Committee,
100 East 42nd Street – Room 514,
NEW YORK CITY

Dear Mr. Troper,

Many thanks for your letter of the 11th March which reached me last week.

I am pleased to see that you are back in New York again because with the many new and important questions cropping up at present in connection with the refugee problem, I feel that as you know me, you will use your influence with the Committee to make them understand that I would never allow impossible things to be asked for.

You cannot imagine how we are troubled with this Polish question and we have enough troubles already as it is with the Austrian and German refugees. There is great dissatisfaction at present among these people and there is a very unruly element among them; things were so bad at one moment that we had to call in the help of the police. Nobody can approve of the behaviour of those immigrants who are dissatisfied with everything and think they are entitled to every consideration, but on the other hand we must remember that these people have nothing to occupy their time and consequently become easily irritated and troublesome. Lately it appears they demanded that they should not be fed by us any more but should receive the money to feed themselves. In fact they went so far as to say that as the money we get from you and other donators is for them, we are accountable to a committee of refugees for the way in which we handle and spend these funds.

Now on top of all this comes the Polish problem. I recently had a visit from Messrs. Z. Warhaftig and Lejzer Szczupakiewicz, and as you perhaps have seen from our official correspondence, my conversation with them was very unsatisfactory because they made me believe that they could get permits to bring stranded refugees in Kobe to Shanghai whereas at the end they had [2] to admit that they could only get permits for these to leave Kobe but not to land in Hongkew. I have not seen them again but I enclose herewith copy of a letter⁴⁹ I have just received from them.

You will be surprised to hear that we knew nothing about the negotiations to bring Polish refugees to Shanghai which the two above people had had with various parties here and also with the authorities until Mr. Topas,

49 The enclosed letter could not be located.

Chairman of the Russian Ashkenazi Community⁵⁰ and Mr. Bittker [sic] came to tell me that they had formed a committee⁵¹ of 31 persons to handle this Polish question, and wanted to know whether they should work independently or with us. We then had a meeting with them, and Mr. Ellis Hayim and others insisted that there should be one organization only to handle this question, and I myself although I agreed to this, felt rather nervous about being openly a party to this new problem, because notwithstanding the assurances of the Polish Chargé d'Affaires, the landing of thousands of Poles in the French Concession is illegal.

Already now the trouble is starting. Topas told Mr. Herzberg and me that they had rented a factory in the French Concession for US\$ 300 a month with a dormitory for 200 people. In fact Mr. Topas told us he had already paid one month's rent in advance but a few days later at a meeting we had with Mr. Hayim, Mr. Topas told us that the lease had not yet been signed and that they would not do so until they had the money from New York. So at present the lease is not signed and they have not got the factory.

I personally know the owner of the factory who at present is in Manila, so I wired to him and he replied that nothing has been settled. The owner's firm in London apparently {want} US\$ 400 rent and I told Messrs. Topas and Bittker yesterday to close and not bargain, (which they want to do), because no other place can be found to house such a large number of people. Topas and Bittker think the place is big enough to take in a thousand persons. The US\$ 3500 which they asked for organizing a home and which we hold at present for them was for this factory.

If they do not get this place I do not know what can be done. Topas and Bittker keep on talking of 500 people but already Kobe talks of 2000 and Warhaftig and Szczupakiewicz are supposed to have arranged with the British Authorities for another 300 with Palestine certificates to come here from Poland; besides there are supposed to be several hundreds in Vladivostock and Tsuruga. I feel that there is going to be a fearful mess and too many cooks will spoil the broth.

Topas and Bittker state that these Poles will not [3] accept to be fed with the food we are cooking and will insist on catering for themselves. You know these Poles are very orthodox and exaggerate. It appears that in Kobe, not knowing how time compares with Palestine, they keep two Sabbaths to be on the safe side. I wonder if they will also fast two days in the week instead one?...

50 For the SAJCA, see above, n. 32.

51 This was the EASTJEWCOM, see above, n. 41.

Concerning the telegram which New York sent about our not taking any engagements in case of interruption in communications, I feel that this was sent as a protection for yourselves in case of a war in the Pacific. This question of course has always been a worry to us but in any case there is no question of our taking any engagements on your account, as we are not your {legal} representatives in any way, but are a quite separate institution which only receives donations from you.

Hoping you and your family are will [sic] and with kind regards to all,
Yours sincerely,
{M Speelman}
(M. Speelman)

Document 56

*Michel Speelman*⁵² (CAEJR) to *Morris Troper*⁵³ (JDC)

April 7, 1941

Typewritten letter, 2 pages; the letter contains a receipt stamp (April 30, 1941) and several partly illegible signatures. A copy of this document has been published in Friedlander/Milton, Archives, 417f.

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 461

COMMITTEE FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF EUROPEAN JEWISH REFUGEES IN SHANGHAI

M. Speelman, Chairman
Ellis Hayim
D. E. J. Abraham

7 Avenue Edward VII
Shanghai, China
Cable Address "Refugeecom"

Letter No. 31

Shanghai, 7th April 1941

Mr. M. C. Troper,
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc.,
NEW YORK

52 About Speelman, see ch. 2, n. 94.

53 About Troper, see ch. 2, n. 206.

Dear Mr. Troper,

The outgoing mail being delayed one day, I just have time to write you a short word.

I have just been informed that Messrs. Warhaftig and Szczupakiewicz left for Kobe before receiving my letter of the 5th inst. They wrote to me as per copy of letter sent to you on the 5th April; although this letter was dated 31st March I only received it on the 4th April, so that the delay was deliberate. I reaffirm that I have only seen these people once for about half an hour and I maintain that they did not impress me as being very reliable as the truth had to be dragged out of them.

Dr. Beckelman was supposed to arrive this morning from Kobe but his steamer is also delayed. In the meantime, the Polish Committee has telephoned to say that two Japanese steamers are coming in to-day with Polish refugees on board and asking us to take them into our homes in Hongkew.

This Polish Committee is simply passing the buck. They have no place to accommodate refugees and they are bringing them over from Kobe without our consent and without our being able to make any arrangements to receive them. If we take them into our homes in Hongkew, we jeopardise the existence of the 13,000 already living there, for maybe the Japanese will close their eyes, but maybe not, and then we shall be in a fine position.

I do not know whether I have made it quite clear to you that bringing people, as they intend, into the French Concession without the consent of the authorities, may have very grave repercussions. They do not care for they have nothing to lose, and they talk as if they could arrange anything, but I know the authorities, and I am afraid that one day we shall be |2| up against it.

Sir Victor Sassoon has just confirmed to us that he will give us \$ 10,000 a month for the better feeding of the children. Mr. Charles Arkwright, his personal representative here, {h}as accepted our invitation to join our Committee.

Yours sincerely,

{M Speelman}

(M. Speelman)

Document 57

*Laura Margolis*⁵⁴ (JDC) to *Robert Pilpel*⁵⁵ (AJJDC)

May 28, 1941

Typewritten letter (copy), 3 pages. The copy was enclosed to a letter (not reproduced); both have been published in Friedlander/Milton, Archives, 423–425.

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 461

COPY

Shanghai, May 28, 1941

Letter 4

Mr. Robert Pilpel
Joint Distribution Committee
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Pilpel:

I have been here just two weeks and I feel that a preliminary report is in order; since certain matters have become crystallized much sooner than I thought.

First – the relief program. Statistics are unnecessary since those are sent monthly. The so-called “Heimes” were a terrific shock. In some of them the refugees are so crowded; the atmosphere is so depressing; and the people look so completely hopeless and lost that one visit is enough to know that ultimately this condition must be alleviated. And of course it is self-evident that one meal a day is not enough. The answer, however, is not more money; at least not from us. Until Captain Herzberg took over the show about a year ago, it was being run by refugees with the help of the Committee. That there was actual graft is admitted by everyone; hence the refugee director⁵⁶ was let out and Captain Herzberg took the job. The latter is a German born in Shanghai who all his life worked with the Hapag;⁵⁷ and is very good at systems, mass buying and planning and in dealing with building, etc. He really

54 About Margolis, see above, n. 33.

55 Robert Pilpel (1905–1987) had a distinguished legal career. As a member of the executive staff of the AJJDC between 1939 and 1952, he held various positions, including in Lisbon and in Cuba.

56 The former head of the Pingliang Road camp was Julius Weinberger.

57 The German enterprise Hapag (or Hamburg America Line) was at the time one of the largest international shipping enterprises.

has installed some very efficient investigating and filing and cross-indexing systems, so that theoretically everything should be running smoothly. But there is constant friction and tension and a terrific hatred of the Committee and its leadership exists thruout [sic] the community; not only among the refugees; but on the part of everyone. True enough, its been tough weeding out the offenders and particularly those who were lined with the former regime; but aside from being an excellent disciplinarian and organizer, unfortunately, the Captain has no understanding of handling people. He's fair enough, I think, but his whole manner is one which leads to heel clicking and obedience and fear of authority. One has the constant feeling of being in the German army.

You can well imagine that from the moment of my arrival I was besieged with letters and phone calls from refugees wanting me to listen to their complaints and volunteering to give me "the real low down." I have refused to see anyone bent on such a mission because I honestly believe that the greatest "irregularities" now can exist only among the many refugees working in the kitchens or doing the stockroom work who may slip a few potatoes into their pockets or give their friends better measure. All very very unimportant. I have offered to listen to these people in the office of Capt. Herzberg; but when they have refused this I have refused to see them. You will get many letters complaining about my unwillingness to hear the truth; and you should know that I have been willing to listen but refuse to resort to espionage methods on the Committee. The stories I get from entirely disinterested refugees and what I can see for myself is enough.

Captain Herzberg and I have talked over the whole situation quite thoroughly. Of course his premise is that they're all a bunch of crooks and thieves trying to "take" the Committee for everything they can get; and his interest is to protect N.Y.'s funds. That plenty of them do try to get all they can from us I know very well from former experiences;⁵⁸ but that there are plenty really needy ones among them I also am sure of. And the present set-up and methods will never weed them out. We're not so concerned about the 2000 and some odd living in the "heimes" [sic]. We're sure that anyone willing to put up with one of our "heimes" must need it desperately. But I am sure that considerable could be saved by a thorough investigation of the 6000 living outside who come and get their noon meal daily, some free, others paying varying amounts depending on income. This graded scale also is the cause of terrific ill-feeling. It is my conviction that could I supervise the re-investigation of those 6000, there would be money to feed the 2000 twice a day. And that is the group which really needs it. [2]

58 For further information on Margolis, cf. Kerssen, *Life's Work*, 11, 21, 34, 36.

understanding when I left N.Y. I'm staying out of this angle, except to report the situation to you which I feel is my duty. If and when it is ever tackled there will be plenty of excitement.

Mr. Beckelman took with him a report of the activities of the International Committee, Sassoon's private outfit which is really doing a very nice job in areas outside of direct relief.

The staff and Committee Members of both groups have been very cordial and ready to work with me; but the traditional local feuds existing long before my time will make any real integration impossible. Hicem and the Eastjewcom have also offered to co-operate and we shall see. As for the East Jewcom [sic] and the entire problem let me say that in spite of our policy of subsidizing thru [sic] only one committee, the Russian Jews here are raising money to supplement the needs of these Polish Jews, who are drifting in from Kobe slowly. I've talked with the leaders several times, and they're very frank in saying that if their money were to be put into the treasury of Refugeecom⁵⁹ they wouldn't get a cent from their community. So that now Refugeecom is allowing them 1.20 (mex)⁶⁰ daily for their people; which is what it cost [sic] us to maintain our people; and they're making their own housing plans. Actually this is not as bad as it seems, because Refugeecom, for political reasons wants to keep its name out of any more immigration into Shanghai. This is understandable, knowing local conditions. We're watching this whole development very closely. As far as moving any of the Kobe group into Harbin, Tientsin, etc. as suggested in your cable; let me say that some of the refugees on their own do filter into these places; but the Japanese have refused us permits. Right now it is best to leave this alone.

Second, and most important – the American Consulate. Not one local committee or individual had ever established any working relationship with our Consulate. Of course there are no Americans among the group. Rumor is rampant about why visas are not being issued. Every rumor is absolutely unfounded. I went directly to Mr. Lockhart⁶¹ the Consul General with my

59 Refugeecom was the cable address of the CAEJR and was sometimes used as the organization's designation.

60 For the Mexican Dollar, see ch. 1, n. 22.

61 Frank P. Lockhart (1881–1949) served from 1940 to 1942 as Consul-General in Shanghai; before that, he held this position in Hankou and in Tianjin, and was then counselor at the American Embassy in Beijing. After the Pearl Harbor attack he was interned by the Japanese in Shanghai, and eventually repatriated; cf. Suping Lu, *A Mission under Duress. The Nanjing Massacre and Post-Massacre Social Conditions Documented by American Diplomats*, Lanham Md., 2010, xiv.

letters from Mr. Dubois⁶² and Mr. Warren⁶³ (even tho[ugh]⁶⁴ everyone warned me against a direct approach suggesting that here in the Orient it was better to meet socially first); and his only recrimination was that I hadn't come in immediately upon arrival. I explained that I wanted to be at least slightly intelligent about the general refugee problem here before discussing immigration to America. The kernel of the situation is actual lack of staff and not being geared for visa work because of the heavy demand on this Consulate in other very important areas. Mr. Lockhart called a conference with his two visa officers just this morning for me; and we talked thru the entire matter at great length and what to my satisfaction is perfectly honestly. Mr. Smith has just been put in charge of the visa work, with only one other officer to help him at present. The entire section has had no attention in months. Mr. Smith volunteered to take this job over because of his real interest in the problem; and I found him exceedingly sympathetic and understanding. He is entirely willing to work out a plan with me whereby I might help them; and is even hopeful that together we might even clean up the 6000 individual people now registered, in six months time. By such concentrated effort we will at least know what proportion of the group now registered are eligible for visas. The uncertainty which now exists will be removed; and we shall know what must be absorbed in Shanghai or elsewhere. I casually mentioned the possibility of a corporate affidavit to Mr. Smith for those people who had no hope of sponsors in the States and who would actually make excellent American citizens given the opportunity. His reaction was interesting. He was very pleased to hear that this was even a possibility; because we both feel that much good material exists here which could never procure their own affidavits. This problem cant [sic] be touched for many months however – not until we've cleaned house with the 6000. Today I sent you a cable asking for an okay on opening an office here to set up this entire scheme with the Consulate. This will [3] be absolutely necessary; for when we get going I shall be doing much

62 Josiah E. DuBois (1913–1983) was an official at the U.S. Treasury Department under Henry Morgenthau. In 1943 DuBois prepared a report that documented the State Department's various ways to obstruct aid for the European Jews. The report was submitted to President Roosevelt in January 1944; cf. Rafael Medoff, *Blowing the Whistle on Genocide. Josiah E. DuBois, Jr. and the Struggle for a U.S. Response to the Holocaust*, West Lafayette Ind. 2009, passim.

63 Avra M. Warren (1893–1957), head of the Visa Division at the U.S. State Department. Margolis knew him personally from Havana; cf. Kerksen, *Life's Work*, 36; they exchanged letters in spring and early summer 1941; cf. Friedlander/Milton, Archives, 426 f. (Doc. 88).

64 The word is written at the end of the line.

more of the technical work than I did in Havana; and of course seeing people. But, international conditions allowing, I feel satisfied that the main purpose for which I came to Shanghai will be attained. Once we know where we stand on emigration; we shall know what our residue is.

The outlook as far as constructive program here is concerned is not a very bright one. The general situation here is such that coolies are dying of hunger. The Europeans can never compete on the labor market in China. Resettlement into other parts of China is impossible at present because of the Sino-Japanese War. Whatever is done must be done right here in Shanghai for the present, where employment possibilities are practically nil; and where a goodly proportion of technicians and artisans have already been absorbed. It seems to me that unless local effort can be increased to concern itself more with the recreational and leisure time of this large group; that the deterioration which has already set in will increase at a rapid pace. Which brings me to the subject of local effort.

The monthly reports submitted to your offices speak for themselves. Of course many individuals have their own hobbies and projects which are a God-send. But the general attitude when "the problem" is discussed is "N.Y. must send more money." My answer has been that N.Y. is already holding down more than it can with all the other responsibilities it has; and have gently hinted that no more money for the general program is forthcoming; at least not unless the loan increases suddenly when the whole local program may have to be re-evaluated. (I hope this point of view meets with your approval; but I can see my popularity slipping as they learn that my pockets aren't filled with gold, and that perhaps there's more money right here).

A final word about the non-Jewish groups. I have availed myself of the letters of introduction from the Friends,⁶⁵ and the ACC;⁶⁶ and have found both groups extremely helpful, particularly in orienting me with regard to the whole local scene. And of course they're both actively concerned with the problem and actually giving help. In this way some of the unmet needs are being supplemented.

65 There were two organizations in Shanghai that had an interest in the Jewish refugees and were referred to as "Friends": the American Friends Service Committee and the Friends Center of the Religious Society of the Quakers.

66 Probably the American Chamber of Commerce of Shanghai, which was founded in 1915. It operated during the war years until the United States declared war to Japan in December 1941; cf. <<https://www.amcham-shanghai.org/en/our-history>> (March 8, 2017).

This report is tentative and based only on two weeks' experience, so I reserve the right to change my opinions and recommendations; but for purposes of the record and the future work here I should like to submit this.

Sincerely yours,

LAURA L. MARGOLIS

Document 58

*Frederick Arthur Pitts*⁶⁷ (SMP)

July 14, 1941

Typewritten report, 2 pages; both pages have a printed letterhead, on the first page (only this reproduced here), the date, station and subject were inserted by typewriter; the first page contains two stamps ("URGENT") and two receipt stamps (both dating July 14, 1941) and several partially illegible signatures; the second page has one registry signature.

Microfilm; NARA (SMP Investigation Files, 1894–1944; Records of the CIA) RG 263, reel 17, file D 5422 (g)

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE. REPORT

Special Branch Station. File No. Date July 14, 1941

Subject: POLISH JEWISH REFUGEES – Letter dated July 5, 1941 from H.R.M.

Consulate-General⁶⁸ addressed to the Secretary & Commissioner General,⁶⁹ S.M.C.

The contents of the second paragraph of the attached communication are interesting to this office in that the points raised are in accord, in the main, with the views voiced by us in a report dated March 19, 1941 on the

67 About Pitts, see ch. 1, n. 24.

68 In August 1940 Anthony Hastings George (1886–1944) replaced Herbert Phillips as British Consul-General in Shanghai. He served in this position until December 1941, when he was interned by the Japanese authorities. In August 1942 George was repatriated.

69 This was G. G. Phillips, see ch. 1, n. 122.

same subject. Since March 24, 1941 when the Shanghai Municipal Council granted permission to Messrs. Szczupakiewicz and Warhaftig to apply for the immigration into Shanghai of some 300 Polish citizens (refugees) who desired eventually to proceed to Palestine, 146 Immigration Certificates have been issued. 51 persons of this number arrived in Shanghai on May 1, 1941 from Vladivostock in the ss. Arktika, a Soviet steamer, but none has proceeded to Palestine from Shanghai as far as is known. Four, however, have left these parts for the United States.

While it is learned that there are still a certain number of refugees, of various nationalities, in Vladivostock, doubt is expressed as to how they can proceed to Shanghai since no direct transportation facilities now exist between the two ports.

In view of the incidence of hostilities between the Soviet Union and Germany, the Siberian route to the Far East from Europe via Dairen has been closed and the probability of refugees arriving in Shanghai from Central Europe by the Siberia-Dairen-Shanghai route can now be considered extremely remote.

[2] Taking into consideration the increasing difficulties likely to be experienced by prospective immigrants into Palestine vis-a-vis transit facilities through India and Egypt and the fact that the Government of Palestine is now unable to allot quota details after June 30, 1941, this office, unless contrary instructions are received, will not issue further Immigration Certificates for individuals guaranteed by Messrs. Szczupakiewicz and Warhaftig as arranged in the communication dated March 24, 1941 from the Secretary & Commissioner General of the Shanghai Municipal Council addressed to these two gentlemen.

{F. A. Pitts}

D. S. I.

A. C. (Special Branch).

Document 59

Anonymous (Jewish Community of Kobe)⁷⁰ to Laura Margolis⁷¹ (JDC)

August 12, 1941

Typewritten letter (copy?), 1 page; the printed letterhead of the Jewish Refugee Committee, Manila, was crossed out by hand, and the actual sender was inserted by typewriter under the letterhead.

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 462

THE JEWISH REFUGEE COMMITTEE
36 NOVALICHES STREET

Telephones: ~~2-44-91~~ ————— P.O. BOX 2233 ————— Cable Address:
~~2-44-92~~ ————— MANILA, P. I. ————— Frison, Manila
Jewish Community of Kobe (Ashkenzaim) [sic]
Committee for Assistance to Refugees

Kobe, Japan, Jan {Aug} 12, 1941
No. 6 Yamamoto-Dori, 1-chome
Cable address: Jewcom-Kobe

Miss Laura L. Margolis
Hotel Cathay,
Shanghai

Dear Miss,

Due to several reasons, all very important, and undoubtedly known to you, we have been compelled to start a general translocation of all the refugees, now in Japan, to Shanghai. There are here abt. 1000 refugees left, and all of them will have to leave untio [sic] the beginning of September next.

The majority of our refugees does not have real emigration possibilities. Moreover the lack at present of shipping connecrions [sic] from this country transfers the point of gravity necessarily to Shanghai also to such refugees,

70 The Jewish Community (Ashkenazim) in Kobe was founded in 1937 by Anatole G. Ponevejsky (Ponve), a businessman who had come from Irkutsk to Harbin as a child and who settled in Kobe in 1937. Other board members of the Jewish Community were Alex Triguboff, Leo Hanin, and Moise Moiseeff (see below, n. 114); cf. Tokayer/Swartz, *The Fugu Plan*, 123.

71 About Margolis, see above, n. 33.

who can proceed to their various destinations. This has been proved by the last parties which proceeded from Shanghai to Burma, New Zealand, Australia, and Palestine.

Now Shanghai becomes the logical consequence of the emigration from or via Japan and it is therefore necessary to undertake all the steps necessary to organize the refugees arriving there and to prepare the relief work for them on a scale proportionate to their number and urgent needs.

The refugees will arrive to Shanghai in parties in small time intervals. As you know, on the second inst. the first party, numbering 147 people, of whom 82 will have to stay in Shanghai left. Till the end of this month two more parties – totalling abt. 450 people – will leave, and more parties will follow in the beginning of next month.

The arrival of such numbers of refugees will automatically cause the necessity of enlarging Joint's relief work and its care and financial help for them over there.

We have informed Joint about the number of leaving refugees and have contacted the Shanghai Committees, asking to make the necessary preparations. We are kindly begging you to advise your Head Office about [sic] the new parties and to ask for an enlarging of its relief in accordance with the new situation.

We shall [sic] be obliged to you for kindly informing us about the volume of help and the ways and means undertaken to care of the newcomers. sincerely,

Document 6o

*Ellis Hayim*⁷² (CAEJR) to *G. Godfrey Phillips*⁷³ (SMC)

September 4, 1941

Typewritten letter (copy), 4 pages; on the first page is a stamp of receipt from the SMP (September 10 [?], 1941).

Microfilm; NARA (SMP Investigation Files, 1894–1944; Records of the CIA), RG 263, reel 17, file D 5422 (c)

72 About Hayim, see ch. 2, n. 18.

73 About G. G. Phillips, see ch. 1, n. 122.

COMMITTEE FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF EUROPEAN JEWISH
REFUGEES IN SHANGHAI

7 Avenue Edward VII
Shanghai, September 4, 1941

G. Godfrey Phillips, Esq.,
Secretary & Commissioner General,
Shanghai Municipal Council, Shanghai.

Dear Sir,

On Friday afternoon, the 30th of August, a cablegram reached me from the Jewish Community at Kobe informing me that 350 Polish refugees were on the "Asama Maru" en route to Shanghai and would arrive the following day, and requesting us to receive them at the wharf and to make arrangements for their board and lodging while in Shanghai.

My Committee was much perturbed and harassed endeavouring to discover suitable quarters for their reception. As we were unable to find sufficient accommodation, we arranged with the Committee of the Beth Aharon Synagogue (Museum Road) to receive 100 of the refugees and to allow them to live in the Synagogue premises until we could make further arrangements. The Shanghai Jewish Club⁷⁴ took charge of 29 men. The remainder we arranged to house at our Pingliang Home. The following day Captain Herzberg, our executive officer, received a telephonic communication from Captain Inuzuka, three hours before the expected arrival of the boat, stating that under no circumstance would the Japanese Landing Party allow the Polish Refugees an assylum [sic] in Hongkew. As soon as Captain Herzberg communicated this information to me, I went to see Captain Inuzuka, accompanied by Captain Herzberg and Mr. R. D. Abraham.⁷⁵

We had a lengthy discussion, the gist of which is as follows:

Captain Inuzuka stated:

74 The Shanghai Jewish Club was founded in 1931 by Jewish immigrants from Russia and became a center for Russian Jewish cultural, social, and political life. It contained a library with many Russian, Yiddish, and Hebrew books; cf. Rena Krasno, *History of Russian Jews in Shanghai*, in: Malek, *From Kaifeng*, 331–343, here 335 f.

75 Reuben David Abraham (1888–1969), the son of D. E. J. Abraham, was a Baghdadi entrepreneur in Shanghai. He was very active in local Jewish communal affairs, serving for many years as chairman of the Sephardic Community and as honorary president of the Jüdische Gemeinde. He was also active in several committees and organizations supporting the refugees.

[2] (a) That the Polish Refugees were allowed to stay a fortnight in Japan on their transit visas [sic] – the Refugees had overstayed their welcome by nearly a year.

(b) Owing to United States freezing restrictions, the Refugees were not in a position to receive funds destined for their upkeep in Japan, hence there was no alternative but to send them away.

(c) The Jewish Community had not co-operated with the Japanese in certain proposed commercial ventures and hence the Captain had no grounds to appeal to the authorities for leniency on behalf of the Jewish Refugees.

(d) Japanese regulations were very strict that no person may reside in Hongkew without a permit.

(e) That the housing problem was already acute and the arrival of further Refugees in Hongkew would further aggravate the situation.

Captain Inuzuka regretted very much that he could not see his way to assist us in our problem.

We pointed out to him:

(a) That the Refugees were expelled from Japan by the Japanese Government and that this being the case, they must so arrange that the Refugees be received in the Homes.

(b) If the Landing Party could not see their way to allow the Refugees to dwell in Hongkew, then the only other alternative was for the Refugees to remain on the Japanese steamer which brought them, or take them back to Japan.

(c) That there would be no housing difficulties as we would allot the incoming Polish Refugees into the various Homes that we already have in Hongkew.

(d) The shortness of the notice to provide for 350 Refugees was unfair and that in justice to us they should facilities{ate} matters.

[3] (e) All shipping companies were instructed not to accept Refugee passengers to Shanghai unless they possessed landing permits, and since the N.Y.K.⁷⁶ broke this rule, under government orders, it was incumbent upon N.Y.K. to fãkê⁷⁷ refugees back to Japan.

The upshot of our discussion was that we should go in company with Captain Inuzuka to Captain Yoshimi (at the old Victoria Nursing Home), the chief of the Landing Party, and lay our case before him.

A further discussion followed at Captain Yoshimi's office, when he at last agreed to allow us to house the Refugees in the Pingliang Road Home from

76 Nippon Yusen Kaisha, see ch. 1, n. 167; the company owned the above-mentioned *Asama Maru*.

77 The word is faded.

Saturday evening until Monday 4 O'clock, until which time we were to "try" to find other quarters. I made every effort, but was unsuccessful. The 150 Refugees for whom arrangements were made to be housed at this Home, proved to have had sufficient funds, and left immediately.

We convened a Committee Meeting on the morning of the 3rd at which Captain Inuzuka was present and we informed him that we had done everything in our power to cause as little trouble as possible to the Japanese authorities and that we were financially unable to do anything further in finding premises in the Central and Western districts, and requested him to communicate this to the Japanese Landing authorities, at the same time to request them to allow us to put up mat{-}sheds in our Chaoufoong Road Home (a property very kindly loaned to us by the London Missionary Society) to accommodate further new arrivals.

That same afternoon (3/9/41) we had a message from Captain Inuzuka stating that 400 Refugees would arrive here on Monday, the 8th of September, and that the Japanese patrols in Hongkew would not allow them to remain in Hongkew. We replied that in such a case we would not send our representative to meet the steamer and the Japanese authorities could act as they thought fit.

We shall cable to Kobe requesting the Committee at Kobe to inform the Refugees not to leave for Shanghai, as owing to the⁷⁸
[4] Our search for quarters are limited to the Central and Western districts, as both the Ta Tao⁷⁹ and French Concession authorities refuse to admit our Refugees into their area, though we have had offers of land and buildings for this purpose. It goes without saying that our task, with these restrictions, is most difficult.

Yours faithfully,
(Sgd) Ellis Hayim.

78 The sheet was cut just below the last line and the end of the sentence is missing.

79 *Ta Tao* (pinyin *Da Dao*, Great Way) was the Shanghai municipal government established by the Japanese authorities in December 1937 as a puppet government.

Document 61

Anonymous (EASTJEWCOM)⁸⁰ to Boris Topaz⁸¹ (SAJCA)

September 6, 1941

Typewritten letter (copy), 1 page; the endings of some lines are cut off.

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 462

copy of letter written by Eastjewcom to the Ashkenazi Jewish Communal Association

Shanghai, September 6, 1941

Mr. B. Topas

The Chairman

Shanghai Ashkenazi Jewish Communal Association

Shanghai

Dear Mr. Topas:

In accordance with your request we beg to state belo [sic] the reasons which forced our committee to discontinue further cooperation with the Committee for Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai.

As you are well aware we were acting as an auxiliary sub-committee, whose duty was to assist in taking care of Polish refugees. The necessary means for supporting the refugees were received by us from the Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai (who are the only institution in Shanghai which is recognized by the Joint Distribution Committee, New York) and some contributions collected by us from local Jewish residents.

As long as the number of refugees in our care did not exceed some 150 people, this arrangement worked satisfactorily, until we were faced with a sudden problem of newly arriving 1200 people.

In view of the fact that no preparations whatsoever were made by the Committee for the Assistance of Refugees to provide accommodation or other necessities to receive these people on the 22nd. ult.⁸² at our urgent request a joint meeting was called for the purpose of finding some solution. Our representatives stressed the necessity of creating a separate Home for Polish refugees outside of Hongkew especially due to the objection raised by

80 For EASTJEWCOM, see above, n. 41.

81 About Topaz, see ch. 3, n. 28.

82 Ultimo.

the Japanese Authorities in accommodating any of the refugees in Hongkew. Our representatives, however, were informed at the meeting that the only available accommodation was in the Camps.

Upon arrival of the first batch of refugees by s. s. Asama Maru the absolute inconsistency of [t]his⁸³ statement has been proved only too clearly.

The refugees were thrown in a synagogue and an empty house, on floors without bedsheets, pillows and other necessities and have remained in that condition until the present time.

Since all of our appeals to the Committee for Assistance for immediate assistance resulted in refusals only and since we were besieged in the offices of our Committee as well as in our private offices by refugees asking for relief from such unbearable conditions, we without sufficient fund, without direct help from the AJJDC in N.Y., and without the necessary assistance from the Committee for Assistance in Shanghai, were forced to our greatest regret to give up future cooperation with the Committee for Assistance in Shanghai, of which we duly notified them by our letter of August 26, 1941.

It is therefore, that we are restricting our activities only as follows:

- 1) Small weekly cash allowance to needy
 - 2) Medical assistance
 - 3) Distribution of old clothing and shoes
 - 4) assisting in securing permits for entires [sic] into various foreign countires [sic] to relieve the situation in Shanghai.
 - 5) ###⁸⁴ regret that all our efforts to improve the position of refugees failed for no fault of ### own,
- yours faithfully,
Committee for Assistance of Jewish Refugees from Eastern Europe.

83 The "t" added above is faded in the original document.

84 The paper is damaged, rendering the first word of the last two lines illegible.

Document 62

*Laura Margolis*⁸⁵ (JDC) to *Robert Pilpel*⁸⁶ (AJJDC)

September 10, 1941

Typewritten letter, 3 pages; the first page has a stamp ("GEN. & EMERG."). Two illegible signatures and a receipt date (September 19 [?], 41) were written by hand.

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–34, file 462

Letter # 21

Manila Hotel, Sept 10, 1941

Mr. Robert Pilpel
Joint Distribution Committee
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Pilpel:

Just returned this morning from a two weeks cruise of the South Seas; and feel rested and ready to review the Shanghai situation again. I found the following two cables awaiting me upon my return.

"greatly interested possibility mentioned your letter eighteen Sir Victor⁸⁷ taking over entire responsibility stop would appreciate your discussing this and whole Shanghai situation with Frieder⁸⁸ for his views also whether you believe Sir Victor still prepared do so comma whether you recommend this and what best procedure save everyones feelings stop Japan refugees going Shanghai Eastjewcom pressing they receive funds directly claiming refugeeecom making no arrangements reception altho [sic] refugeeecom maintaining no housing available international settlement and Japanese refuse entrance Hongkew French Concession stop would appreciate your views."

"delighted learn your letter twenty your readiness return Shanghai stop we gladly authorize you reorganize aid program with Sir Victors cooperation or otherwise according your judgement stop our hope is you can attain reorganization aiming at local support unifaction [sic] committees and sponsor-

85 About Margolis, see above, n. 33.

86 About Pilpel, see above, n. 55.

87 This was Sir Victor Sassoon.

88 The brothers Alex (1893–1968) and Philip Frieder were Cincinnati-based American cigar manufacturers who lived from the early 1920s in Manila. They strongly supported the immigration of Jewish refugees from Europe to the Philippines; cf. Ephraim, *Escape*, 14 and passim.

ship Sassoon stop we realize great difficulties but have entire confidence your ability and judgement stop do not hesitate cable us any new questions arising stop advise us when you can expect to arrive Shanghai and appropriate time when we should inform Speelman stop regarding Polish refugees ex Japan great pressure here for preferential treatment reestablishment eastjewcom which understand now dissolved stop obviously unable have two committees functioning Shanghai different standards therefore assume you can enlist Ashkenazi⁸⁹ on general committee which should represent all elements stop in march cabled Speelman thirty five hundred dollar for establishment anticipated Polish influx stop had no confirmation Speelman this fund still available for housing stop this over and above thirtyfive [sic] hundred sent for replacement Pingliang camp for which Speelman now requesting sixtyfive hundred to complete our commitment ten thousand stop wire immediately since Speelman requesting additional funds.”

(I purposely repeated above because they were not numbered).

In spite of the enchanting scenery of the past two weeks, I still have had time to think over the Shanghai situation, and neither distance or [sic] rested nerves enables me to see the picture differently. It is not so simple just to “go in and re-organize.” Permit me to re-emphahsize [sic] the following.

1. Although Sir Victor said he would undertake to sponsor the whole show again; he also stressed that he would stand no interference. This means that Sir V.⁹⁰ does not like Committees. He also still wants Speelman’s outfit to receive the money from N.Y.: but he wants to decide the basic policies; that is not he directly because he is no longer in Shanghai; but the I.C. The I.C. means Komor.⁹¹ As previously noted, I have great respect for Komor; but in one way Komor would make as many mistakes as are now being made. Komor is an idealist who cannot see limitations when it comes to helping people; he

89 Meir Ashkenazi (1891–1954) was an orthodox rabbi of Lubavitcher Hasidic background. After serving several years as rabbi in Vladivostok, he came to Shanghai in 1926 where he became chief rabbi of the (Russian) Ashkenazi community.

90 Sir Victor Sassoon.

91 Paul Komor (1886–1973), born in Budapest, came to Asia in 1896 and settled in Shanghai in 1898. After being repatriated to Germany by the British as an “enemy national” in 1919, he returned to Shanghai the following year and converted to Protestantism in 1924. He first managed a tannery, and later the China Import Company. A staunch Hungarian patriot, Komor was named Honorary Consul-General for Hungary in the 1930s. He was arrested by Japanese authorities in January 1942 on suspicion of being a British spy. Upon his release, he was prohibited from returning to his function in the IC. In 1948 he immigrated to the United States; cf. Buxbaum, *Transit*, 48–50.

is very subjective and emotional; and would need constant supervision. He has the inability of getting along with people he dislikes; and is a master at rubbing some very necessary people the wrong way. So, just turning over isn't the answer [sic]. If I go back, I'd like to talk {talk} the details of "turning over" over [sic] with Awkwright [sic].⁹² Maybe it can be done; but not without careful consideration first that we're {not} making an irretrievable mistake. All our textbook theories about representative community committees don't work in a place like Shanghai; where virtually a "community" in our sense of the word doesn't exist.

[2] 2. In spite of the greatest tact and diplomacy which can be used; my return and the suggestion that the program needs to be re-organized will create tremendous hostility among the members of the Committee. Speelamn [sic] definitely has feelings of guilt about the whole thing, and has already shown defensiveness when I mentioned the need for a re-evaluation of the program. If a re-organization in any way means that he must give more of his time (which it definitely will, he now resents calling a meeting in six months); then you can be assured he will resign. His resignation means Ellis Hayim also. I somehow feel we can get along without Hayim; but I must tell you very honestly that he will never stop with a resignation. No one in all of Shanghai has ever crossed Ellis Hayim; and he wasn't very pleasant when I first mentioned that everything wasn't perfect. I honestly expect a definite program of sabotage from him just as soon as the present way of doing things (which is his way) is changed. He has power with the Municipal Council; and until I find another entree to the Council, I cannot afford to have Hayin [sic] against us. And he would block us, of that I am absolutely certain. The losers in the end would be the refugees. The only way he can annoy me personally is to make the job more difficult which he definitely will do; but he will call it co-operation. Ellis Hayim is definitely a problem to be reckoned with.

Speaking of personalities, Kann, chairman of immigration is another person we must be very careful of. As I mentioned before, eventually, I should think that the immigration Dept. of the CFA⁹³ can be done away with, and the work turned over entirely to Hicem. The British gentleman in the Municipal Council who works with Kann on the permits has his suspicion that I'm "on" to what's been happening [sic]. And this gentleman can make things extremely uncomfortable for the refugees. To date we're "very good friends;" but that's because I've kept quiet about the CFA.

92 Charles Arkwright was the personal representative of Victor Sassoon and had joined the CAEJR (see Document 56).

93 Sometimes this abbreviation was used instead of CAEJR.

And Dr. Reiss is another person who won't take reorganization gracefully. Actually, as I've pointed out, I have no use for him as a physician, and I question his interest in the refugees; but if he were to walk out on us until a substitute had been found, it would leave us in a sorry state. And as far as outsiders are concerned (non-Jews), I wouldn't know where to get them at present.

The sum and substance of the above is that until I have found substitute leadership it's risky to loose [sic] the present, bad as it is. I cannot count on their co-operation; in fact quite the opposite. And in an emergency, particularly of a political nature, there isn't one person who would stand by for the sake of the refugees, if his ego had been hurt. Herzberg isn't the person to learn or to take guidance. He'll walk out if it becomes necessary to do things differently; he simply hasn't the brains to absorb certain things. And certainly it would be a sad state if I were left with buying, building and equipment problems. After all, Cuba was practically like working in the States, as far as learning local resources is concerned. But this is the Orient, and very very different.

3. Would you please answer in detail questions number 1 and 2, of page 7 in letter #21. Both these items are very important for me to know.

4. Is there any reason why, with Hicem arranging all transportation and doing most of the emigration work, the money we (JDC) send to Shanghai for this purpose goes to the CFA. Poor Mr. Birman sweats blood, because Hayim exerts his authority about something which is none of his business. Couldn't the money, earmarked for certain cases, be sent directly to Cooks, or American Express?

5. Would you have any objection if all clothing distribution were turned over to the {F}riends?⁹⁴

Now with regard to your questions about the Eastjewcom. When I left there was no talk of dissolving. There has never been a satisfactory working relationship between the two committees. The Eastjewcom is just a big nuisance to the CFA; and the former deeply resents the superior and dictatorial {attitude} of the latter. The original agreement made with Beckelman, and which was still functioning when I left (just prior to the large influx from Japan) was that the Eastjewcom was to receive 1.20 mex.⁹⁵ for feeding each Polish refugee too kosher to use our food cards, and to receive the money for housing them separately; from the CFA. I have no idea what the status of the \$ 3500 is which you sent Speelman in March, prior to my arrival. I have definite reasons for not asking too many questions about finances, as long as I can't do anything about matters. As far as I can guess, most of it should

94 For this organization, see above, n. 65.

95 Mexican Dollar, see ch. 1, n. 22.

still be intact, because up to the present influx, the numbers coming in from Kobe have been few. But of course, you realize, that the above arrangement is really quite ridiculous. As far as the CFA, and thus JDC is concerned, we can honestly say that we are maintaining all refugees on an equal level. But in reality this is untrue.

[3] Even within the Eastjewcom there is a difference. For example, there is one group which are a little more kosher than our camps, so they are fed extra and differently. Then there is another group, the Rabonem,⁹⁶ still more kosher, the special interest of Rabbi Ashkenzi [sic], and he raises still more money for this group. I have had quite a talk with Ashkenazi. He is extremely intelligent; but the typical Yeshivah devotee; and nothing will convince him that group number two should be treated like group number one, let alone be treated like the residents of our camps. And I've talked at length with Mr. Bitker, also a very keen man (chairman of Eastjewcom); who states that under no circumstances will we ever get the Russian community which is reasing [sic] the extra⁹⁷ for the Eastjewcom to pool their contributions with the CFA. They simply won't contribute, unless they know its going to their own. I don't believe I need to tell you that these prejudices are as old as our race; and as far as I'm concerned its an insurmountable obstacle. The two groups simply cannot work together; and this situation isn't peculiar just to Shanghai. I do believe, that if we had a more tolerant CfA [sic] Committee, the working relationship of the two groups could be considerably improved. But at any rate, for the present, monies for the Eastjewcom should continue flowing thru CFA. A separate contirbution [sic] would be bad. I just received a very interesting report from my secretary⁹⁸ in Shanghai about the last group of three hundred who arrived from Kobe. Obviously it was "chaos," typical of most everything in Shanghai; but the group was housed. In all fiarness [sic] to the CFA (and I believe they did little to prepare for the Kobe group); the group coming is not very simple to handle. I've seen them myself as they've come thru en [sic] transit.

As for the future, all I can say is, that if a new committee should be organized, it would be wise to have Eastjewcom represented, and Hicem also. But how that will "set" with our CFA friends is a great mu{#}te⁹⁹ question.

Sorry I cannot inform you about the sixty five hundred which Speelman is now requesting for Pingliang Home. You will recall, that when I first was told by Herzberg that he was cabling you for the first third of your prom-

96 Yiddish, literally "rabbis," used here to mean "students."

97 Here it seems Margolis left out a word, "[raising the extra] fund."

98 This was Moritz Glückmann, see ch. 4, n. 210.

99 One letter was altered and thereby rendered illegible.

ised t{en}¹⁰⁰ thousand for the Pingliang Home; I immediately cabled you and asked you not to send any money until you authorized me to go into the details of this new proposition, and asked your permission to enlist Holzer's¹⁰¹ help. By that time you had already cabled thirty five hundred; and seemed reluctant that I investigate the proposition; so I did nothing about it. All I know is, that since Mr. Baerwald¹⁰² originally promised to send \$ 10 000, if the community raised the balance, the plans and blueprints have been changed several times; and I therefore cabled you, hoping that you would reconsider your original committment which was made on the basis of more elaborate plans. I must tell you very frankly that without knowing any of the details; I can see no reason why we should pay as much as originally promised. The building was practically finished when I left. Sorry I cannot give you details.

And now for the most important issue. I fully appreciate the confidence you have in me and in my ability to handle the Shanghai situation. I have never been known for my modesty with regard to my abilities; but I also am fully aware of my limitations. I have absolutely no desire to tackle a situation which is definitely beyond my capacity to resolve alone. Because I have studied the situation now for the past three months; and am so fully aware of the intricacies and the personalities involved; I must tell you very honestly that I cannot tackle this alone. I must have help, and experienced help. I want to be perfectly fair about this. If you think you have someone, who on the basis of my findings thinks he or she can handle the proposition alone, I am perfectly willing to turn the task¹⁰³ over to this person; and if you so wish, stay out here just long enough to initiate them, and then return. This is just beyond my capacity. And please remember, that in addition to the re-organization of the relief show; the immigration work will continue; and if we stay out of war, and the Washington machine gets going; this work may be heavy. Please give this your utmost consideration; and advise accordingly.

100 The handwritten letters render the typewritten letters underneath illegible.

101 This was Hollzer, see ch. 2, n. 96.

102 Paul Baerwald (1871–1961) was one of the founders of the AJJDC and the organization's second chairman from 1932 to 1940.

103 The last two letters were inserted by hand, rendering the typewritten letters illegible.

Document 63

*Alfred Oppenheim*¹⁰⁴ (EASTJEWCOM) to *Michel Speelman*¹⁰⁵ (CAEJR)

October 2, 1941

Typewritten letter, 2 pages.

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 462

A. Oppenheim
330 Szechuen Road
Shanghai

Shanghai, 2nd. October, 1941

The Chairman

Committee for the Assistance of Europa [sic] Jewish Refugees Shanghai

Dear Mr. Speelman,

Acknowledging receipt of your letter of 25th September and availing myself of the fact that your letter was addressed to me personally and not as to the Chairman of the Eastjewcom, I shall gladly outline to you my personal point of view with regards to matters touched upon in your letter to me as well as to your attitude towards the needs of Polish and Lithuanian Refugees.

Eastjewcom: The Committee of the Eastjewcom, as you are well aware, has been created upon the initiative of the Shanghai Jewish Ashkenazi Congregation for the purpose of giving additional support and aid to the Refugees from Poland and Lithuania. The donors to the Eastjewcom are solely Russian, Polish and Lithuanian Jews of Shanghai. The eastjewcom [sic] has never been misleading the donors stressing always in their appeals that the aim of the Eastjewcom is only ADDITIONAL aid to Polish and Lithuanian Refugees, whereby the main care of the Refugees is to be with your Committee, who are taking care of all the needs of all Refugees however not for account of local supporters of the case, but for account of the JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE in N.Y., who are supplying your Committee with the necessary funds.

CONTROL OVER OUT [sic] ACTIVITIES: I am wondering what entitles you to demand full reports etc. as well as transfer of our funds to your Committee, such funds being collected from members of the local Ashkeanzi [sic] Community. I am of the opinion that you could just as well demand control

104 Oppenheim (c. 1895–1946), a merchant from Berlin, was chairman of the EASTJEWCOM from the time of its foundation. He died in Shanghai.

105 About Speelman, see ch. 2, n. 94.

and transfer of funds of the Shanghai Ashkenazi Congregation as well as numerous Chairty [sic] institutions neither created nor supported by you. The Eastjewcom feel themselves responsible towards the Shanghai Jewish Ashkenazi Association¹⁰⁶ and their donors, and nobody else. By [the] same reason, it is my belief, the Ball which we are to have in support of the Eastjewcom, has nothing whatever to do with your organization.

LIQUIDATION OF EASTJEWCOM: Never has the Eastjewcom written you about selfliquidation or even of any such intention. I would be curious to have a copy of such a report, if in your possession, which would lead anyone to believe such an insinuation. The Eastjewcom has never thought or intended to liquidate their activities, as such a step would prove a very great calamity to those refugees from Poland and Lithuania [sic], to whom you refuse support. Disregarding the fact that our means are meager we are doing very much to help these unfortunate ones. The Eastjewcom does the maximum in their power, makes cash distributions for purchase of additional food since many are not in a position to use your ration cards or those availing themselves of such cards cannot feel themselves satisfied, the food being rather bad and insufficient. The Eastjewcom give Medical Aid to the refugees, old clothes, mends their shoes and besides gives them the so necessary Moral Support by frequent meetings between the representatives of the Eastjewcom and the Refugees.

IS THERE IN EXISTENCE AN EASTJEWCOM: The question in your letter is a very distasteful irony. You are not only well aware about the existence of such an organization but you very often had meetings and conversations with the representatives of the Eastjewcom about matters pertaining to this Committee.

CONTACT WITH YOUR COMMITTEE: For about 6 months the Eastjewcom endeavored to establish contact with your Committee through the Joint and you personally. The Eastjewcom have requested the establishment of a separate group of the Polish and Lithuanian refugees, placing this group into our care and transfer of the part of the Funds received for their support from the JDC. You have refused our demands and when we applied directly to the Joint, you have interfered against us telling the Joint that the Eastjewcom was an unnecessary organization. When we advised the JDC that the sum of US\$ 3 for each refugee, through your Committee, was inadequate, that this sum has at least to be doubled, you have stated that the support being granted by your Committee was quite sufficient.

[2] You found it possible to grant to religious Jews \$ 2.50 per day, and when with such a request the other Polish and Lithuanian Refugees as well as the

106 This was the SAJCA; see above, n. 32.

Eastjewcom applied to you, you have rejected their plea, demanding that they must be fed at your camps. For a certain period of time you had agreed to make allowances through the Eastjewcom for payment of rents but then you suddenly changed your mind requesting that the Polish and Lithuanian Refugees should live only in your camps.

I think it is most unfair to demand from the refugees to take lodging and board at your camps when they do not want to do so or are unable to do so, for various reasons [sic]. The Refugees request their share which is being received from the Joint, even if insufficient [sic], in cash, so that they could make their own arrangements with regards to their living conditions and not have to live the lives of soliders [sic] or prisoners. They [sic] should you refuse their request and wish to force them to feed themselves in the Camps and not as they wish and their means permit, not having to be dependent on your cooks who are feeding them and why not let them live where they themselves want and think fit. I know many people who have your ration cards and do not avail themselves of same and thus the food prepared for these people is actually wasted!!! Is it fair?

The Polish and Lithuanian refugees are brought up entirely differently from the other refugees in way of their religious habits, character, and language. I do not wish to state that they are better or worse than others, but they are different and must be organized into a separate group. This is their wish and I can see no reason in refusing them their just demand, especially as this would not be connected with any additional expenditure.

yours faithfully [sic],

A. Oppenheim

CC. to Messrs: Ellis Hayim, R. D. Abraham, Charles H. Arkwright, Horace Kadoorie,¹⁰⁷ E. Kann, Shanghai Jewish Ashkeanzi [sic] Ass'n.¹⁰⁸

107 Kadoorie (1902–1995) was a member of a wealthy Baghdadi family. He was manager of both the Cathay Hotel (owned by Victor Sassoon) and his family's interests in rubber, cotton, hotels, and other sectors. Thanks to his donations the Shanghai Jewish Youth Association (SJYA) was founded in 1937 and opened in 1939. It became an important school for Jewish refugee children. After the war Kadoorie worked for the JDC, mainly in Hong Kong, where he died; cf. Meyer, *From the Rivers*, 144 f., 228.

108 This was SAJCA.

Document 64

*Laura Margolis*¹⁰⁹ (JDC) to *Robert Pilpel*¹¹⁰ (AJJDC)

November 9, 1941

Typewritten letter, 2 pages; the first page has a stamp (“Gen. & Emerg.”); on the bottom of the second page is a handwritten addition by L. Margolis.

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 462

Letter # 30

Shanghai, November 9, 1941

Mr. Robert Pilpel
Joint Distribution Committee
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Pilpel:

To continue with the developments in the negotiations between EJC¹¹¹ and CFA. At the CFA meeting at which I was not present due to the Herzberg incident a budget for \$ 26,000 for Shanghai was okayed; and I cabled you accordingly and it was accepted by you.

On October 29, 1941 Speelman called a meeting at this office between the executive committee of the EJC and E. Hayim, Herzberg and himself in order to draw up a working plan so that the EJC could function as of November 1 as a sub-committee of the CFA to care for all Polish refugees. In the meantime I had held meetings with Ashkenazi group and the Mirrer Yeshivah¹¹² and they had all agreed to the leadership of the EJC. I am enclosing a copy of the minutes of the meeting held in Speelman’s office on October 29. Significant of the interest of the CFA is that E. Hayim didn’t come “excuse that he was ill;”

109 About Margolis, see above, n. 33.

110 About Pilpel, see above, n. 55.

111 EASTJEWCOM.

112 After World War II broke out the town of Mir came under Soviet rule. Most of the rabbinic students of the Mir Yeshivah (academy), which was established in 1815 and was one of the biggest and most renowned Yeshivot in Eastern Europe, fled along with their rabbis. They went first to Vilna in Lithuania; then, when the Red Army invaded Lithuania, they went to Vladivostok via Trans-Siberian train, then to Tsuruga by ship, and finally to Kobe by train. The Yeshivah students ended up in Shanghai, where they resumed their studies until the end of war. Today the Mir Yeshivah is located both in New York and Jerusalem.

and Speelman was in a hurry to get to another appointment. Everyone else stayed until an agreement was reached. Speelman said “anything was O.K. with him.” (Half the time he doesn’t hear what you’re saying to him, and will sign anything just to be left alone). But what I wanted was an agreement which all would sign. I think the minutes are self-explanatory.

On October 29, in the evening we held a meeting between EJC, Rabbi Ashkeanzi [sic], and representatives of Mirrer Yeshivah. Minutes here are enclosed. You will notice that it was agreed to as for \$ 5000 for housing; but I cabled for an allotment of \$ 6000, because after figuring out all the unknown elements in the present housing problem, I wanted to be on the safe side. I also know, that the money won’t be spent unless absolutely needed, because I keep very close contact with both committees now; and O.K. all big expenditures. I was also surprised to learn from Herzberg that the US\$ 1610 for the Jewish Club (also called Moulmein Road) which had been paid out of the \$ 3500 ear marked for establishing Polish refugees was only one months rent and “key money” (local custom before one can get a house).

The Mirrer Yeshivah of course think only of their own problem, as do all the others of the Rabbinical group. True, they are mostly “poor folks;” but they haven’t the slightest idea of what others generally are facing. Only after sitting and freezing for three months, and trying to find a second house themselves here, did they finally agree to take rooms. And now the problem of a place to eat and study. They themselves suggest that they use the facilities of the Museum Rd. Temple for this – this is where they have also been sleeping. This Temple belongs to the Sefardic community. To date the CFA had been paying all light and water bills; and it was agreed that since this place was desirable for their “College,” that Speelman ask Mr. Abraham,¹¹³ President of the Sefardic Community and memeber [sic] of CFA for the continued use of these premises, without charge. Speelman did this – and the reply was not only that the premises could not be given free; but could not be used for cooking either – and only the small Library could be used for study purposes. The synagogue had been quite insistent right along that we get the Yeshivah out; and when we finally made housing plans for them, and between JDC and Eastjewcom agreed to carry the major burden they have refused to make their place available for religious study. I feel you should know this in case you have to answer some of the pressure which is brought on you by the religious groups in America. As for my part with regard to a “place for study;” I have left it entirely in the hands of the Mirrer Yeshivah. Let them bring pressure on the Sefardic Community. Incidentally, the Ashkeanzi [sic] community is

113 This was R. D. Abraham.

making their synagogue available to those Yeshivahs housed in Moulmein Rd.; because they are in that neighborhood.

On November 1st. the EJC began to function with the remittance of Sh.\$ 48,000 which was the unspent October balance for Polish refugees; plus Sh.\$ 37,000 which represents the equivalent of US\$ 2000 just remitted by you. The US\$ 6000 for housign [sic] which you have just sent is being transferred to EJC and definitely earmarked for housing only. Actually, the present plans are much better than if we had involved ourselves in another house. It looks (the international picture allowing) as though we might be moving some of these Polish [2] people out slowly, and its much better to pay out a percapita rental per month, than to be saddled with another house.

Rabbi Ashkenazi had housed about 88 men in Moulmein Rd. represneting [sic] various Yeshivahs. And insisted that there would be only room for about 50 more. We looked over the place very carefully with an architect; and the place can house at least 210 persons comfortably. You should know that already the housing and feeding standard of the Polish refugees, and more so the religious group is so far superiour [sic] to that of the German [sic] and Austrians; that my own conscience hurts. But of course the basic issues in caring for each group is so different; (if we rationalize) that one can explain it to the public. The religious group generally are being considered as a "College," and not as refugees. And of course group housing and feeding versus individual does accoutn [sic] for the great difference in budget between EJC and CFA. We are definitely going to place 210 persons now in Moulmein Rd.; and you may get some complaints about this because the Yeshivahs don't consider anyone except their own comfort. But they have no room for complaint. Besides, they are getting canned goods, and small donations from sources in the US unknown to us here.

I visited the EJC office with the CFA auditor and we set up their books the same as those kept by CFA; and arranged for a regular monthly report to be sent to the CFA each month. Also the books will be audited by the same auditor monthly.

The efforts of the Russian Polish community in meeting this new problem is really quite commendable. Last week they gave a Ball at which they netted \$75,000. Mr. Oppenheim, the President never goes anywhere without his little "scroll;" and is constantly getting money. They have organized clothing committees; and are really working. There was a huge crowd at the Ball, and the community at least realized there was a ~~community~~ refugee problem. This in contrast to the CFA. A handful of men run it, contribute, and dictate its polciies [sic]; and then ~~blame~~ blame people for not contributing. Under separate cover I am sending you memorandums which have been flowing ~~the~~ between the CFA and myself these last few days apropos of their budget

shortage due to the difficulties in exchange. Actually, if I may be permitted to say so, we the JDC have spoiled these people. They expect us to continue meeting every deficit [and] every need without the slightest thought as to their own responsibility. And I'm standing pat.

Today I received word of your allotment of \$30,000 for the month of November. This will of course relieve some of the pressure caused by an unheard of increase in commodities due to the black market speculations and general state of local currency. But I am enclosing copies of a set of memos which have been flowing between myself and the CFA which outlines very clearly their thinking and my answer to them. Unless the local committee will rise to the occasion [sic] and make some plans for assuming their share of the responsibility in the future, I don't think I can recommend any increases in the local budget. This is of course barring unforeseen emergencies. I think the most flagrant example of their desire to place the burden on us is when the Spetember [sic] remittance was dealyed [sic], they were able to rise to the occasion [sic] and form a pool locally. Note Speelman's letter to you No. 164. And I am also enclosing the original letter from Mr. Moseff,¹¹⁴ of the Kobe Committee, of October 7, addressed to Speelman, in which their attitude is clearly reflected. Namely, "put pressure on JDC and you'll get it." Of course, it was amusing when Speelman showed me this to convince me that only Kobe was that way.

Mr. Leavitt's letter to Speelman of October 13, explaining Siegel's¹¹⁵ and my position here states the matter very adequately; and I'm constantly re-emphasizing [sic] that we're here only temporarily, and intend that the local folks carry the burden.

I can't help but state that I wish I had had the authority to proceed with this relief show when I first came out. I'm sure you can see by this time that I wouldn't have abused that authority; and that JDC's interest would have been

114 Moise Moiseeff (1905–1991) hailed from Russia. After studying in Belgium, he came via Lisbon and New York to Japan in 1940. He became vice president of the Kobe JEWCOM. In June 1941 he reported on the situation of Jewish refugees in Japan to the World Jewish Congress; cf. Jürgen Matthäus, with Emil Kerenji/Jan Lambertz/Leah Wolfson, *Jewish Responses to Persecution*, vol. 3: 1941–1942, Lanham Md. 2013, 42.

115 Manuel (Manny) Siegel arrived in Shanghai in late November 1941. He was a social worker who had been Margolis' coworker already in Havana and was sent by the AJJDC to assist her. Despite being interned from early 1943 until the end of the war, Siegel resumed his social work for several months until his return to the United States in early 1946; cf. Keressen, *Life's Work*, 52.

adequately protected. We could have saved a lot of time and money. But let it never be said I didn't obey orders.

sincerely yours,

{Laura L. Margolis}

Laura L. Margolis

{Keeping my fingers crossed – hoping Siegel gets home before we're completely shut off. God knows what then –}¹¹⁶

Document 65

*Yosl Mlotek*¹¹⁷

October 10, 1941

Newspaper article, in: *Unzer lebn*, no. 23, 1.

Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

יוסל מלאטעק

פון מיין יאפאנישן אלבורם

מיר, די אייביקע "וואנקאזוסטאנקאס"

ווי א בייזע געפאר איז אין משך פון די עטלעכע חדשים פון אונזער זיין אין יאפאן געהאנגען איבער אונז דאס שרעק־ווארט – שאנכיי.

די שיינע בערג און דער ווונדערלעכער אויספליק אויפן ים, די בלומיקע קימאנעס פון די יאפאנישע פרויען – אלץ איז פאר אונז פארטונקלט געווארן דורך דעם געשפענסט־ווארט – שאנכיי...

ווי מען פירט שעפסן צו דער שחיטה, אזוי זענען די 053 פליטים געגאנגען צו דער 71 טויזנט טאניקער "טאוטא־מארו", וואס האט אונז געדארפט אויפנעמען און צושטעלן קיין שאנכיי. פון יעדערנס פנים האט אראפגעקוקט: מידקייט, פארלוירנקייט, רעזיגנאציע. – ווהיין ווידער פארן? ווהיין ווידער לויפן? מיר ווילן אביסל רו – גענוג פאר אונז דאס טראגן זיך יעדע ווילע מיטן פעקל צרות פון איין לאנד אין אנדערן. לאזט אונז צורו...!

¹¹⁶ The handwritten addition was obviously made by Margolis.

¹¹⁷ Yosl Mlotek (1918–2000), an important Yiddish poet, was born in the small Polish town of Proszomice. He began writing poetry at the age of 12, publishing his verses regularly in Bundist papers. He came to Shanghai in 1941, where he continued to write both poetry and prose. Mlotek left for Canada in 1947, and from 1949 on he lived in New York, where he became an important figure in Yiddish education and literature.

מיט די דאזיקע געפילן און שטימונגען זענען מיר ארויף אויף דער שיף און – א ווונדער פון אונזער געזונטער פליטים־פסיכיק! – ווי נאר די שיף האט זיך א וויג געטאן אויף די כוואליעס פון ים – האט מען א טרייסל אפ געטאן פון זיך די פארלירנקייט און דערשלאג־נקייט, די מידקייט און פחד פארן נייעם, און מען איז צוריק געווארן מענטשן, וואס גרייטן זיך אויפצונעמען אלץ, וואס דער מארגן וועט ברענגען.

פרייליך נ. האט געענדערט איר טואלעט אויף א שיינעם, ווייסן מאטראזן־אוניפארם און ארום איר האט זיך ווידער באוויזן די אייביקע "זיבן באגלייטער", אין מיטן דעק האבן זיך אויסגעזעצט עטלעכע יונגעלייט און האבן פארצויגן א ניגן. דאס רעדל ארום זיי ווערט פון מינוט צו מינוט גרעסער. ישיבה־בחורים מישן זיך אויס מיט יידישע ארבעטער. מען זינגט יידישע פאלקס־לידער און חזנישע שטיקלעך. א מירער זינגט מיט הארץ און געפיל דאס גלות־ליד:

"...מען פארהאקט פאר אונז די טיר, ווייל יידן, יידן זענען מיר..."

און נאך די אומעטיקע – מיט א חזנישן קנייטש געזונגענע טענער, קומען באלד אנדערע, פריילעכע און מער האפערדיקע קלאנגען פון א לידל פון ווארשעווער "אררט" [!]
אין א זייט שטייט פארטיפט דער אינדישער סטודענט פון טעאלאגיע און דיסקוטירט מיט עטלעכע לובאוויטשער, די גרעסטע פאנאטיקער צווישן די ישיבה־לייט. עס דערגייען צו מיר אפגעהאקטע ווערטער: שפינאזא, מאנאטעיזם, נירוואנא... ווי גארניט וואלט געווען, אט ווי מען זאל זיך עס א שטייגער זיצן אויף א באנק אין ווארשעווער קראשינסקיס גארטן און פארענדיקן די אנגעהויבענע שבת־נאכמיטאגדיקע דיסקוסיע.

צום "סאפער" גייט מען האפערדיק, די לאנג שוין נישט־געזעענע פוטער אויפן טיש רופט ארויס גוטע דערינערונגען און נישט קיין שלעכטען אפעטיט. די זעלטענע מאכלים העלפן צו צו פארשטארקן די "חי – געלעבט" – שטימונג. איינער, א פארפאלענער פער־סימיסט מיט א פאר דראטענע ברילן אויף דער נאז, פרוווט אריינווארפן א ווארט, אז דער טיש זעט אויס, ווי דער לעצטער ווונטש פון א צום טויט־פארמשטן. עמיץ ביים עק טיש פרוווט אים אונטערהאלטן מיט א באמערקונג, אז מען מוז טאקע אויף אן אמת, זעט אויס, פריער דורכגיין דעם גן־עדן איידער מען קומט אין גהנום. – אויף א מינוט בלויז ווערט דער עולם אביסל פארטראכט. אבער טאקע ניט מער, ווי אויף א מינוט. מען פארטרייבט דעם ספקווארם צוריק אין זיין נארע אריין:

געלעבט זול זיין, עס מוז, עס וועט זיין גוט!

* * *

ווען איך בין ארויס פון עס־צימער פון דער שיף האב איך זיך דערמאנט אן א שפילצייג, אויף וועלכן כ'פלעג ליב האבן צו קוקן אויף די ירידים און מערק אין מיין שטעטל. דאס איז געווען אזא מין ליאלקעלע, וואס מען האט גערופן "וואנקא־זוסטאנקא", און ווען מען האט עס געשטעלט אויפן קאפ, האט עס זיך גלייך צוריקגעשטעלט אויף די פיס. האט מען עס געווארפן אין דער זייט, איז עס אין א מינוט ארום שוין ווידער געשטאנען גלייך. – אזא ווונדערלעך ליאלקעלע איז דאס געווען.

זענען מיר דען, די געווארפענע און פון איין ארט צום צווייטן געשטויסענע, פליטים ניט ווי די "וואנקא־זוסטאנקאס"? נאך יעדן נייעם קלאפ, נאך יעדער נייער צרה, שטעלן מיר זיך גלייך ווידער אויף די פיס גרייט אויפצונעמען דאס נייע, וואס גייט אונז אנטקעגן... ווונדערלעכע "וואנקא־זוסטאנקאס", וואס מיר זענען, וואס קיין שום שטורם וועט אונז נישט באווייזן צו ברעכן און קיין שום זאויערוכעס – אומצוברענגען.

*Translation*Yosl Mlotek**From My Japanese Album**We – the eternal Vanka-Vastankas¹¹⁸

The frightening word – Shanghai – hung over us in Japan like a threatening danger in the past few months. The beautiful mountains and the wonderful view of the ocean, the colorful kimonos of the Japanese women, all was obliterated by the spectral word – Shanghai.

Like sheep led to slaughter, the 350 refugees went to the seventeen ton *Tatuta Maru*,¹¹⁹ on which we embarked to be delivered to Shanghai. Exhaustion and abandonment and resignation could be seen on every face, meaning “where are we to go again? Where are we running to again? We want to rest a little. Enough already of this incessant carrying the bag of trouble from one country to another. Let us rest!”

With these feelings and moods we embarked on the ship and – a miracle occurred due to our healthy refugee psyche! – as soon as the ship began to sail on the ocean waves, we shook off the feelings of abandonment and depression, the exhaustion and fear of the new. We returned to being again human beings who are preparing to accept everything tomorrow may bring.

Miss n. changed her gown to a pretty white sailor uniform and around her again appeared the constant “seven companions.” Several young people settled in mid-deck and began singing a song. At once they were surrounded by a large audience. Yeshivah students mixed with Jewish workers. They sang Yiddish folksongs and liturgical pieces. A Mir student sang heartily and with feeling the exile song:

“...they lock the door before us, because Jews, Jews are we ...”

And after the sad ones are sung with a cantorial lilt, they are soon followed by others, happier and more hopeful sounding songs from the Warsaw “Ararat.”¹²⁰

118 Engl. “weeble.”

119 The *Tatuta Maru* was the twin passenger liner of the *Asama Maru*, which served the Kobe-Shanghai route, among others.

120 The modernist theater Ararat, an acronym for *Artistisher Revolutsyonerer Revi Teater* (Artistic Revolutionary Revue Theater), was founded in Łódź in 1927. In 1933 it moved to Warsaw where its focus was rather on satirical-political performances as a reaction to the political and economical developments; cf. Eli Lederhendler/Gabriel N. Finder (eds.), *A Club of Their Own. Jewish Humorists and the Contemporary World*, Oxford 2016, 155.

And on the side stands an Indian theology student in deep discussion with several Lubavitcher students, the greatest fanatics among the Yeshivah people. I hear disconnected words: Spinoza, monotheism, nirvana ... as if nothing had happened. It is as if they were sitting as usual on a bench in Warsaw's Krasiński Garden, ending their Shabbat afternoon discussion.

One goes with self-confidence to eat "supper." Butter, which has not been seen for a long time, is on the table, calling forth good memories and not a bad appetite. This food, not often seen, helps to create a "lively" atmosphere. But there is one, a hopeless pessimist with wire glasses on his nose who wants to add a word that the people at the table consider like the last wish of one condemned to death. But at the corner of the table a remark is heard, true, it looks as if before going to hell, one crosses paradise. Only for a minute the people are a little thoughtful. But no longer than a minute. They throw the "doubting worm" back into his "burrow."

One will live. It must, it will be all right!

* * *

When I left the dining room of the ship, I remembered a toy that I liked to look at in the market place of my town. It was a doll, called "Vanka-Vastanka," and when one stood it on its head, the doll at once returned to its feet. If one threw the doll on its side, within a moment it stood again straight. The doll was a wonderful toy. Aren't we refugees, thrown from one place to another, like "Vanka-Vastanka"? After each new blow, after each new misery, we stand immediately again on our feet, prepared to take on the new that we meet ...

Strange "Vanka-Vastankas" that we are. No storm whatsoever can break us and no blizzards can destroy us.

Document 66

Anna Ginsbourg¹²¹

July 3, 1942

Newspaper article, in: *Our Life*,¹²² no. 61, 1.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Jewish Refugees from Eastern Europe in Shanghai

The number of Jewish refugees in Shanghai is estimated at 22,000. Of this total the overwhelming majority are refugees from Central Europe, and only about a thousand from Lithuania and Poland. The latter present a closely united group distinctive both socially and culturally from the German-speaking Jews. The barrier between them is not only of language, but also of mentality and upbringing. Strange as it may seem, the only thing they have in common is their unlucky lot. In every other respect they are as divergent from each other as the two opposing tendencies in Jewish life they represent.

The Polish Jews symbolize healthy, well-organized national life. The German Jews – emancipation and assimilation. The Polish Jews, who were always treated as a minority in their country despite the fact that their number reached 3,000,000, became accustomed to fighting for their national rights. The German Jews knew no better ambition than to be treated as full-fledged citizens of the State and no other patriotism except German. The Polish Jews speak Yiddish, and have developed a high culture in this language. The German Jews' mother tongue is German, and they made innumerable contributions to German culture.

Both Polish and German refugees fled from Nazi persecution. The latter suffered a severe moral blow when as Jews they were proclaimed enemies of Hitlerite Germany but, economically speaking, they left Germany in a much

121 Anna Alexandrovna Ginsbourg was born in 1911 in Samara (Russia). After graduating from the University in Harbin with a law degree, she settled in Shanghai and practiced as a solicitor. In 1935 she became secretary of the International League of Cultural Co-operation (*Guoji wenhua hezuo xiehui*), a group of Chinese and Western academics that promoted better understanding between China and the West and a revival of the Chinese nation through the integration of elements of modern western civilization. She often wrote articles on legal issues in the *China Weekly Review*, and worked as a correspondent for *Nasha zhizn*. After the war, she settled in Australia; cf. Messmer, *Jewish Wayfarers*, 17 f.

122 *Our Life* was the English supplement of *Nasha zhizn*.

better state than the Polish refugees fleeing from *blitzkrieg* in war-torn Poland. As a result, the former were able to secure a better economic foothold in Shanghai where they arrived before the European war than the latter who came here with few worldly possessions about a year ago.

The Odyssey of the Polish refugees was: Warsaw-Vilno-Kobe-Shanghai. A few of them came to Shanghai by ship from Vladivostok, but the majority stayed in Kobe for over a year where they were cared for by the Jewish Committee. The funds for their upkeep were provided by "Joint" (American Joint Distribution Committee). Only about 10 % of the Polish refugees were financially independent, the bulk being completely destitute and in bad health as a result of their trials.

None of them regarded Shanghai as the terminus of their wanderings. Some actually possessed visas [sic] to Palestine, U.S.A. and Australia and only waited for a chance to get passage; others hoped to get visas or landing permits.

When they arrived in Japan, their transit visas were good for only two weeks, but the Japanese Government, in special consideration of their plight, actually extended their stay for a year.

Thereafter Jewish organizations in America and other emigration centers were trying hard to secure their admittance.

In March 1941 two representatives of the Polish [sic] refugees – Messrs. Szupakievich¹²³ [sic] and Warhaftig – came to Shanghai from Kobe and approached the Ashkenazi community with a request to appoint a Committee for receiving Polish refugees who were shortly to come here from Japan. Thus the Committee of 30 came into existence under the name of "Eastjewcom" (Committee for Assistance to Jews from Eastern Europe), and when the first batch of refugees arrived here a month later Eastjewcom arranged accommodation and relief. By arrangement with "Joint," Eastjewcom acted as a subsidiary organization to the Committee for Assistance to Emigrants from Central Europe which was in charge of relief to German refugees, as the latter received funds from "Joint" and distributed relief also among Polish refugees. Very soon, however, the scope of activities of Eastjewcom outgrew the preliminary arrangement. Its appeals to members of the Ashkenazi community met with an especial response because the Russian Jews were deeply moved by the feeling of kinship with the Polish refugees who spoke their language and often came from the same home towns. They expressed great willingness to assist, and, as a result, Eastjewcom was able to offer substantial additional relief.

123 This was Szczupakiewicz.

During one year of unremitting activity Eastjewcom has set a new standard of Jewish relief work in Shanghai based exclusively upon the sense of individual responsibility of each member for the welfare of the others. And at the decisive moment when the Pacific War broke out and help from "Joint" was discontinued, it did not hesitate to take upon itself complete responsibility for a few hundred human lives [sic]. Hostels were set, all efforts to find employment for the refugees were made, and soup-kitchens established with the aid of refugees where they now get hot meals twice a day. The average cost of lunch is between \$ 0.75 and \$ 1.– (without bread). Dinner of one course costs 0.75.

Now as to the refugees themselves. Whom do they represent socially, culturally [sic], mentally? In what measure do they influence local life and how does local life influence them? What [sic] contact have they established with the local Jewish communities?

The most numerous socially-distinctive group of the refugees are the Rabbi-students and graduates of the religious colleges, who number about 300. Most of them belong to the world famous "Mirer Eshiboth" [sic] established in 1817 and were evacuated from Poland to be taken to America. Their sojourn in Shanghai gave impetus to local religious life, and some Rabbis proved themselves good speakers on the lecture platform.

The second largest social group is represented by a group of social workers who number about 80 persons.

The third group is composed of writers and journalists who number about 30 people. They all contribute to local cultural life both by writing and lecturing, and their cultural influence is quite significant.

The remaining few hundred persons represent a hetenogenous [sic] crowd, among whom we find predominantly intellectuals, social workers and merchants. Special mention must be made of a few artists of distinction who have stimulated theatrical and musical activity of the local Jewish community.

So much for the influence which the newcomers have had upon our life. Now as to what they have gained from us. It remains an open question as to whether the balance is in our favour.

Due to war-time conditions prevailing in Shanghai very few of the refugees have found employment. Some were given paid jobs in Jewish organizations. Some again have succeeded in trade and have established business relations with Russian and German Jews. Polish artists have won an enviable reputation in both Ashkenazi and German Jewish communities, while journalists have established contact with other Ashkenazi communities in Eastern Asia.

Emotionally speaking, Polish refugees have deeply associated themselves with the life of the Ashkenazi community. In many ways they proved an inspiration and, undoubtedly, a cultural asset. And if they feel themselves indebted to the Russian Jews for the material assistance they are rendering them, the question arises as to how to estimate the extent of their own contribution. This is difficult to estimate, probably, because it is beyond estimation.

Chapter 4

Wartime Shanghai: Social and Economic Institutions, 1939–1945

Introduction

How many refugees ultimately arrived in Shanghai by mid-1941, when Germany invaded Soviet Russia and closed the land route? Was it 18,000, or as many as 20,000, as some sources claim? Unfortunately, no accurate numbers can be established, and perhaps the best one can say is that in Shanghai were no fewer than 18,000 Central European refugees and no more than 20,000.¹ Still, that is a considerable number, especially if it is remembered that the European refugees came to a city inundated by Chinese refugees who had arrived only a short time earlier. Due to the recent Undeclared War between China and Japan, Hongkou, moreover, where most came to live, had been grievously damaged.

The Jewish Refugees had come from relatively pampered middle-class backgrounds, and in comparison the new conditions were harsh and often unbearable. Upon arrival, most of them stopped first at the refugee camps, actually crowded dormitory accommodations with communal dining facilities that served often unpalatable food and offered minimal or no privacy. Many tried to leave, renting rooms wherever they could. But many were stuck, either for lack of funds, or due to a psychic and physical incapacity to continue the struggle. Taking this into consideration, the accomplishments of a relatively small group of people against all odds are even more admirable. The extent to which newcomers threw themselves into creating a semblance of a familiar way of life is well summarized by Heinz Ganther, even if per-

1 A number of sources are available, although none of these help in giving conclusive numbers. Besides the above-mentioned *Emigranten Adressbuch* and *List of Foreigners*, there is a list prepared in 1941 by one of the police precincts in the French Concession, the *List of German Refugees Arrived in Shanghai Since 1937, Registration Made by Zangzou Police Station* (YVA, Irene Eber Collection, 078/78A) that lists 935 refugees. In addition, there are partial lists of people who passed away in Shanghai, cf. <http://www.ushmm.org/online/hsv/person_advance_search.php?SourceId=20780> (July 22, 2016). Partial lists compiled by the AJJDC of Jewish immigrants who left Shanghai after 1945 are at <<http://archives.jdc.org/explore-the-archives/searchable-lists.html>> (July 22, 2016); a list of immigrants from Poland can be found at <<https://www.loc.gov/rr/european/polref/polrefindex.html>> (July 22, 2016).

haps somewhat too positively. There were even attempts at providing lighter moments of humor as the refugees tried to laugh at themselves and their troubles.

Two major problems confronted by refugees with children was where to leave toddlers if both parents had to work or to procure food and how to continue the schooling of the older German-speaking children. There were some missionary schools and the well established Shanghai Jewish School which was founded in 1900. But the needs of the refugee children were different, and the Shanghai Jewish Youth Association (SJYA) became their preferred school. Founded by Horace Kadoorie in 1939 – and also known as the Kadoorie School – its teachers were for the most part refugees. In 1941, the Freysinger School, founded by Ismar Freysinger² as an elementary and middle school, opened its doors. The school's secular education was augmented by a Jewish-oriented curriculum. In addition there were the several rabbinic schools, the yeshivot, of which the Mir Yeshivah is best known. Scout activities were also available for boys.

For older teenagers and adults there was the ORT vocational school, which served a most important function.³ Similarly significant was the Gregg School of Business, where young people received office work training under the watchful eye of the tireless Wilhelm Deman. Willy Tonn's⁴ Asia Seminar, considered a People's University though it did not grant degrees, was an important intellectual institution. With its staff of sixty lecturers,

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- 2 Freysinger hailed from Gleiwitz (today Gliwice, Poland) where he taught Hebrew at the Jüdische Volksschule; cf. Anonymous, Gleiwitzer Nachrichten, in: Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für Oberschlesien, May 13, 1937, 6.
 - 3 The aid organization ORT, short for Obshchestvo Remeslennogo i zemledel'cheskogo Truda sredi yevreev (Society for [the promotion of] manual and agricultural professions among the Jews; later known in English as the Organization for Rehabilitation through Training, or in French as Organisation, Rehabilitation, Travail) was established in St. Petersburg in 1880. It aimed to improve the education and vocational training of Eastern European Jews in order to encourage them to work in industrial and agricultural occupations. ORT's guiding principle was "productivization" and the improvement of the social status of the Jews. Since the interwar period, ORT was also active at the transnational level.
 - 4 Tonn (1902–1957) had studied Asian languages, including Chinese, before he came to China in 1939. He worked for various newspapers and journals in Shanghai, and between 1943 and 1948 he concentrated on the Asia Seminar. He emigrated to Israel in 1949, where he worked for a time with the important philosopher Martin Buber; cf. Messmer, *Jewish Wayfarers*, 202; 182–187. His autobiography, articles, and other written material by him are available at the LBI, Willy Tonn Collection, AR 7259 (folder 1).

the Asia Seminar was attended by as many as 750 persons during the war years.⁵

Another major priority was hospitals. Epidemics of various kinds required isolation wards to prevent their spreading. Fortunately, the many physicians among the refugees were able to supply medical services, even if medicines were often in short supply. Several medical journals kept physicians abreast of illnesses and their cures, and also carried occasional articles about Chinese medicine. No doubt the advertisements in these publications were helpful in guiding people to places where medications could be purchased.⁶

These activities by the refugee community with their semblance of normalcy were watched apprehensively by the Japanese authorities, as pointed out in the previous chapter. Then came the spring of 1940 when elections to the SMC were to take place. Traditionally the Japanese had two members on the Council, but they now wanted to increase that number and put up five candidates. Suddenly the refugees seemed useful as voters. Elections were based on the so-called rate payers' principles that are on taxes paid on property. Since most of the refugees had come to reside in Hongkou where many met the rate payers' requirement, they became a valuable pool of voters.

When the Japanese, moreover, promised to issue Permits to relatives in return for votes, it seemed like a foregone conclusion that they would get their five members on the Council.

The foreign community was horrified, as reflected in various headlines in local newspapers, urging the refugees to abstain from voting.⁷ Fortunately, the status quo was maintained, and only two candidates were elected. The issue was soon forgotten.

Also, after World War II had broken out in September 1939 and once Italy joined the German war effort in 1940, it became increasingly difficult to leave Europe. The letter from Dr. J. Morgenstern, HIAS representative in Warsaw,

5 The Asia Seminar operated until 1948; cf. Meng Weiyun, Willy Tonn – The Fighting Scholar of Shanghai, in: Sino-Judaica. Occasional Papers of the Sino-Judaic Institute 2 (1995), 111–128. For Tonn's impressive bibliography on various aspects of Chinese culture cf. Hartmut Walravens, Martin Buber und Willy Tonn und ihre Beiträge zur Kenntnis der chinesischen Literatur, in: Monumenta Serica 42 (1994), 465–481.

6 The *Shanghai Medical Journal* published articles in English, German, and Chinese. There were also the *Journal of the Association of Central European Doctors*, *Medizinische Monatshefte* and *Mitteilungen der Krankenhilfe des H.A.V. Shanghai*. It is impossible to ascertain how large the circulation of any of these journals was.

7 For example, Refugees Urged to Remain Neutral, in: NCDN (April 4, 1940), 2.

tells the tragic story in one sentence, “Since April 1 [1940] of this year all emigration from the General Government has ceased ...”⁸ The tragic case of Paula Laufer, who was deported to Riga, and the Spitzer children who didn’t manage to leave France for Shanghai despite their parents’ efforts, show that by 1940 it was already too late.

The Pacific War in December 1941 came as a shock to many. The devastation expressed in Rose Shoshana Kahan’s diary (Documents 88 and 165) was, no doubt, widely felt. However, aside from the invasion of all of Shanghai, there seemed to be no major changes in the refugees’ lives throughout 1942. To be sure, Shanghai’s deteriorating economy⁹ led to enormous hardships in refugee life. Therefore, a great deal of effort during that year was devoted to feeding and caring for the refugees. Laura Margolis’s report, written from memory after her internment in 1943, which concludes this chapter, reveals the extreme complications – how to raise funds locally after AJJDC money ceased, on the one hand, and how to manage with the Japanese occupation, on the other, was not simple.

Publicly the outbreak of war was barely mentioned. A brief notice in the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* of December 19th merely warned its readers to follow all regulations of the Japanese authorities. “There must be no public discussions on streets and in public conveyances. Calm and discipline are the primary requirements of our time!”¹⁰ But on the surface life continued even if, for example, the flourishing exile press came to a grinding halt and the only papers that remained throughout the war years were the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, edited by Ossi Lewin,¹¹ the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, edited

8 Letter from Dr. J. Morgenstern to DALJEWICB, Shanghai, September 6, 1940.

9 Cf. the excellent chapter by Christian Henriot, *Shanghai Industries under Japanese Occupation. Bombs, Boom, and Bust (1937–1945)*, in: Christian Henriot/Wen-hsin Yeh, (eds.), *In the Shadow of the Rising Sun. Shanghai under Japanese Occupation*, New York 2004, 17–45.

10 “Aufruf,” in: *Das Jüdische Nachrichtenblatt* 25 (December 19, 1941), 1 (see Document 87).

11 Ossi (Osias) Lewin (ca. 1905–1975) hailed from Vienna. He founded the German-English daily *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle – Tageszeitung für die Juden im Fernen Osten*, which appeared from January 1939 until October 1945. Lewin also created the Artist Club association in 1939, which was transformed into the EJAS in the following year, and served as its president.

by Philipp Kohn,¹² and *Nasha zhizn*, with its Yiddish and later English page, ably edited by David Rabinovitch.¹³

Still, most refugee restaurants remained in business and theatrical performances were staged. Rose Shoshana Kahan alone gave eight performances between February and July 1942, whereas a year later she gave only three.¹⁴ The curtailment of performances may have been in part due to the fact that the Jewish Club – a major venue in the French Concession for many Jewish activities – was taken over by the Japanese in November 1942. Aside from other activities, Joni Fein, the gifted poet-painter from Poland, held an exhibition of his paintings in May and June 1942 (Document 153). All this changed at the beginning of 1943 – the subject of the next chapter – when the Japanese ordered stateless Jews segregated into an area of Hongkou, thus establishing the Shanghai Designated Area.

12 The weekly *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* appeared between 1940 and 1945; its subtitle, *Offizielles Organ der Jüdischen Gemeinde* was later changed into *Offizielles Organ der Jüdischen Gemeinde mitteleuropäischer Juden in Shanghai*, and from spring 1945 on it read *For Central European Jews (Mitteleurop. Juden)*. About its editor Kohn, see ch. 8, n. 32.

13 David Rabinovitch (1889–1978) arrived in Shanghai in 1921. He was co-founder of The Jewish Book Publication Society, which published Russian translations of mainly Yiddish books, e.g. by Mendele Moykher Sforim and Sholem Aleichem (see ch. 7, n. 12). He also edited a Russian newspaper he co-founded, *Nasha zhizn (Our Life)*, “Shanghai’s National Independent Democratic Organ of Jewish Thought;” cf. the autobiography of Rabinovitch’s daughter Rena Krasno, *Strangers Always. A Jewish Family in Wartime Shanghai*, Berkeley Calif. 1992, 3–8. The weekly *Nasha zhizn* appeared from May 1941 on, with an additional Yiddish page (titled *Unzer lebn*) and later with an English one as well (*Our Life*).

14 Cf. Chang Shouou-Huey, *Jüdische Kultur im chinesisches Exil. Eine Studie zu Rose Shoshana Kahans jiddischem Tagebuch „In Fajer un Flamen,”* Taiwan 2010, 118f. About Kahan, see below, n. 202.

Document 67*Heinz Ganther*¹⁵

1942

Published memoir, Drei Jahre Immigration in Shanghai, 1939, 1940, 1941, Shanghai: Modern Times Publishing House, 150 pages (excerpts, pp. 33–37, 47–51, 93–97).

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/42

Abstract

Ganther's book is an excellent first-hand description of the development of large parts of Hongkou. These were composed not only of apartments, but also of many varieties of business enterprises, including restaurants, grocery stores, a lending library, and even a bus company. Religious life, too, flourished in the exile community as did artistic endeavors. Among these, despite the great difficulties involved, theater was especially popular.

[...]

Hongkew

Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung in Hongkew ging nach ganz anderen Gesichtspunkten vor sich. Man kann ohne Uebertreibung sagen, dass die Immigranten insbesondere den Wayside-Bezirk zu neuem Leben erweckten. Der Aufbau ging hier systematisch vor sich. Am Broadway East gegenueber der Wayside Post, stand die der Cathay Land gehoerende Riesenlane, z.T. durch den Krieg auch stark mitgenommen. Durch Vermittlung des I.C. wurden die Fronthaeuser an Emigranten vermietet, die gleichzeitig z.T. auch Darlehen aus dem Sassoon-Fond bezogen. Sie mussten sich die Haeuser allerdings erst herrichten, und der Besitzer der Cathay Land, Sir Victor Sassoon konnte seine Bewunderung fuer diese Aufbauarbeit nicht verhehlen, als er im Sommer 39 dem Broadway einen Besuch abstattete. Das Café Corso kann fuer sich den Ruhm in Anspruch nehmen, das erste Emigrantencafé Shanghais zu sein. Samulon und Spitzer waren seine ersten Inhaber.¹⁶ Es ging dann in den Besitz von Karl Stier ueber, und wurde unter Assistenz seines Managers Hermann

15 About Ganther, see ch. 3, n. 134.

16 Fred-Hans Samulon (1907–?) was a musician and entertainer from Berlin; cf. Anonymous, Fred-Hans Samulon, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, Lexikon, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00002038> (June 13, 2016). Most persons mentioned by Ganther appear either in the Emigranten Adressbuch, or in the List of Foreigners, or in Michael Philipp, Nicht einmal einen Thespiskarren. Exiltheater in Shanghai 1939–1947, Hamburg 1996.

zum Sportcafé der Immigration. Es folgten „Balsam und Pistiner“ – letzter machte sich später in der Muirhead Road selbständig – deren Provisionstore und Imbiss-Stube vom Health Department des S.M.C. als ein hygienischer Musterbetrieb bezeichnet wurde. Obwohl man den beiden Gruendern dringend abgeraten hatte, ein derartiges Geschäft ohne eingehende Kenntnis der besonderen Shanghaier Verhältnisse zu eröffnen, wurde die Initiative belohnt, indem dieser Laden einer der [34] führenden dieser Gegend wurde. Balsam trat später das Geschäft aus Gesundheitsrücksichten an seinem Bruder ab, der es in das Nebenhaus verlegte. Er selbst hielt sich unter den schwierigsten Umständen persönlicher Natur seinen Laden, und eröffnete 1941 darin ein elegantes, kultiviertes Café nebst Konditorei. Ein weiterer Provisionstore wurde von Friedeberg und Imber in dieser Gegend aufgemacht. Nach dem Ausscheiden von Imber konnte Friedeberg das Geschäft nicht mehr allein führen und verkaufte das Haus an den Hutmacher Holzblat,¹⁷ der nach anfanglicher Etablierung in einem Teilladen nun hier sein Geschäft aufbaute und zu einem Musterunternehmen dieser Branche gestalten konnte, wobei es sich zeigte, dass der von der Pike auf gelernte Fachmann auch hier in Shanghai mit der von ihm ausgeführten europäischen Qualitätsarbeit in der Lage ist, sich durchzusetzen. Im Januar 39 erhielt Hongkew auch den ersten europäischen Friseursalon von dem Wiener Friseurmeister Alexander Fessler. Die für damalige Zeiten und hiesige Verhältnisse hochmoderne Einrichtung wurde von den Chinesen allgemein bestaunt, von den Emigranten jedoch mit Freuden begrüsst. Im Verein mit Frau Fessler und 3 Hilfskräften begann dieses fachmännisch geleitete Unternehmen seine Tätigkeit, die bald weitere Modernisierung des Betriebes notwendig machte und später seine Hilfskräfte verdoppeln konnte. Trotz bald entstandener Konkurrenz hat sich dieser erste Emigrantensalon weiter durchgesetzt. Am 1. Februar konnten die Emigranten auch zum ersten Male wieder in altgewohnter Weise speisen, als Hans Schwarz mit einem später wieder ausgeschiedenen Partner die Pforten des „Quick“ eröffnete. Dieses als Restaurant und Imbissstube geführte Unternehmen erfreute sich in kürzester Zeit der grössten Popularität auch bei den Einheimischen, und oft gab dieses stets gut besuchte Lokal ein internationales Bild. Der fleissige Hans Schwarz, stets unterstützt von seiner Frau,¹⁸ stellte den Betrieb im Oktober

17 Hatmaker Szlama Holzblat (c. 1896–?) hailed from Warsaw. Since the 1930s he lived with his wife Ruth (1913–?) in Lübeck, where he owned a fashion shop; cf. Bernd Hartwig, *Die Dinge lagen damals anders. Ein Bericht über die Hitler-Zeit (1933–1945)*, Aachen 2002, 55.

18 Lotte (Cohn) Schwarz (1910–2005) was born in Halle. Before she emigrated, she worked for the Hilfsverein in Hannover. In 1938 she married Hans Schwarz, and to-

1940 auf eine Bar unter dem Namen „Esplanade“ um, die somit die intimste Bar des Broadways war und nach ihrer unlaengst erfolgten Uebersiedlung nach dem unteren Teil des Broadway ihren Charakter behalten hat.

Frau Vogel erkannte als Erste, dass die Immigranten nicht allein koerperliche, sondern auch geistige Nahrung brauchten. Sie gab ihre Stellung als Sekretaerin von Paul Komor auf und fing mit ganzen 5 Buechern eine Leihbibliothek an, die heute immerhin die stattliche Zahl von ca. 4000 Baenden zaehlt. Ihr Hauptgeschaefit war eigentlich die Papierhandlung, fuer die ein unbedingtes Beduerfnis vorhanden war. Im August 41 eroeffnete sie eine Filiale in der Kungpingroad, um ihrer ausgedehnten Kundschaft gerecht werden zu koennen. Ein anderes, noch heute bestehendes Immigrantenunternehmen ist der von Springer im Februar 39 gegruendete Schuhladen „Broadway Shoes“. Springer stellt alle bei ihm zum Verkauf gelangenden Schuhe im eigenen Betrieb mit 25 chinesischen Arbeitern her. Als Verkaufspersonal sind ausschliesslich Emigranten beschaefitigt.

[35] Eine Ueberraschung war im Maerz 39 die Ankuendigung der Eroeffnung von „Epa“,¹⁹ ein Name, der vielen aus der alten Heimat eine grosse Vorfreude entlockte.

Konkurrenz hebt das Geschaefit. So spielte es keine Rolle, dass kurz darauf einige Haeuser weiter „Filco“ sich als Universal-Store etablierte, der schon vor der Eroeffnung durch besonders geschmackvolle Schaufenster die Passanten anzog. Das Unternehmen, von F. Laster und L. Inslicht gefuehrt, gibt noch einer Anzahl weiterer Emigranten Verdienstmoeeglichkeit in ihrem Betrieb. Als die erste Emigrantenapotheke ist die „Broadway Apotheke“ von den Fachleuten Rosa Feiner und Hugo Reich anzusehen, die nach europaeischer Erfahrung geleitet wird. Der Hygiene diente die Einrichtung der „European Broadway Bath Co.“ Brajisblatt, Kronthal und Waschkancer²⁰ richteten eine Badeanstalt nach europaeischem Muster ein in der alle Arten von Baedern verabfolgt wurden. Diese Einrichtung erwies sich angesichts der Primitivitaet vieler Haeuser, in denen eine Badeanlage fehlte, als sehr willkommen. Vor wenigen Wochen wurde das Unternehmen liquidiert und an seiner Stelle ent-

gether they moved to Berlin. The couple went to Shanghai after Hans's release from Buchenwald in 1938, and ran a coffee shop (the Quick Restaurant) in Hongkou. They emigrated to the United States in 1948; cf. Hochstadt, *Exodus*, 16–18, 265, *passim*.

19 Abbreviation for “Einheitspreis-Aktiengesellschaft” (single price stock company); from the late 1920s onward, the EPA department stores were successfully competing in traditional commerce.

20 There is no evidence of this name in Shanghai; however, the *Emigranten Adressbuch*, 121, mentions the merchant Moses Waschkautzer from Vienna.

standen elegante Verkaufsgeschäfte. Der Broadway erhielt schliesslich noch ein Kurzwarengeschäft von Abraham, der aber seinen Betrieb bald zu einem Frisiersalon umgestaltete und später mit dem allseitig sehr geschätzten Damenfriseur Kurt Mosberg teilte.

Die schöne Front, die der Broadway gerade in diesem Teil zeigte, lockte geradezu zur Anlage weiterer gastronomischer Betriebe. Während man sich jedoch anfangs auf den Geschmack und die Bedauernisse der Immigration einstellte, war man später zur Umstellung gezwungen. Wie einst entstand hier Bar neben Bar. Neben der schon seit Anfang des Jahres bestehenden „Carioca Bar“ eröffnete im April 39 „Rex“ als Familiencafé. Nach einigen Monaten jedoch stellten seine Inhaber, das Ehepaar Berger, den Betrieb auf Bar um, wobei zu bemerken ist, dass hier ca. 20 Emigranten Beschäftigung finden. Ein paar Häuser weiter entstand das „Imperial“ unter Lachmanns Leitung, das die richtige Konditorei repräsentieren sollte. Später wurde dieses Lokal von Zuckermann und seiner Frau übernommen, um ebenfalls als Bar weitergeführt zu werden, wodurch wieder mehr als ein Dutzend Emigranten Beschäftigung fanden. Am Ende dieser Reihe etablierte sich das bürgerliche Esslokal „Florida“. Hieraus wurde dann nach der Übernahme von Julius Katz und Frau das „Windsor“. Dieses Café und Restaurant erhielt eine besondere Note durch Pianisten Sonnenschein,²¹ der einen Anziehungspunkt für ein verständnisvolles Publikum bildete.

Etwas später als am Broadway East begann die wirtschaftliche Kolonisation des oberen Broadway in der Nähe der Gardenbridge. Den Beginn machte das Café „Colibri“. Tobias Brecher und Max Schwarz schufen in 2 Etagen ein Café und Restaurant. Nach Ausscheiden von Schwarz trat Gustav Weiss in das Unternehmen ein, dem nun noch eine eigene Konditorei angegliedert wurde. Dank seiner günstigen Lage wurde das Colibri der Treffpunkt vieler Geschäftsleute und japanischer [36] Gäste. Nebenan eröffnete Taussig das „Gardenbridge-Restaurant“, das er vor einiger Zeit nach der East Seward Road verlegte, und aus dem ehemaligen Restaurant wurde eine vornehme Foreigner-Bar „Mon Ami“. Das einzige Zigarrengeschäft der Gegend verdankt seine Entstehung ebenfalls Emigranten. Von Weinberg eröffnet, wurde es von Dr. Ernst und Dr. Kurt Berg übernommen, und erfreut sich

21 The musician and composer Siegfried Sonnenschein (1909–1980) had studied music in Dresden. In Shanghai, he became a popular pianist, an organizer of cabaret performances, and a composer of the operetta *Sag, bist Du mir gut?* He left Shanghai in 1947. For his professional life in Dresden, cf. Franziska Specht, *Zwischen Ghetto und Selbstbehauptung. Musikalisches Leben der Juden in Sachsen, 1933–1941*, Altenburg 2000.

dort weitester Beliebtheit. Auch ein Papiergeschaefft durfte hier nicht fehlen, und so erblickte im April 1939 „Read & Write“, von Silbermann nebst Partner gegruendet, das Licht des Broadway.

Ein Unternehmen, dessen Art bis dato in Shanghai unbekannt war, ist das kleine Café „Elite“ im Hause des Broadway Mansion, eine Art „Schwemme“, wie wir zu sagen pflegten und wie wir sie bei den grossen Hotels von Europa her kennen. Man erhaelt dort dieselben Speisen, die im Hotel ausgegeben werden, zu billigen Preisen und ist dadurch nicht gezwungen, sein Essen im Speisesaal einzunehmen und sich umzukleiden. Ebenso ist es den auswaertigen Gaesten hierdurch moeglich, zwanglos die Speisen des Lokals zu geniessen.

Ein Unternehmen dieser Epoche verdient besondere Erwaechnung. Der „Emi Express“, auf deutsch Emigranten-Express. Infolge der Ueberfuellung der japanischen Busse und der grossen Zeitabstaende, in denen damals die Busse der Gesellschaft aus Wagenmangel verkehrten, kamen die wagemutigen Woislowski und Flatauer auf die Idee, eine Buslinie zwischen der Wayside Post und der Gardenbridge einzurichten, die jedoch nur Foreigner befoerdern durfte. Man fing mit einem kleinen Fordwagen an, war aber bald in der Lage, 2 Gross-Omnibusse in Dienst zu stellen, bis eines Tages der Betrieb auf behoerdliche Anordnung eingestellt werden musste. Wer von den schon damals hier weilenden Immigranten erinnert sich nicht der Eroeffnung des „Wayside Bazars“: Urspruenglich von Eli und Stroh ins Leben gerufen, darauf unter der Firma Eli und Prager weitergefuehrt, wurde er bald von Bruno Prager²² allein uebernommen, der ihm auch obenstehenden Namen gab.

Zu den Schrittmachern im Beginn der Wayside Road gehoerte Amalie Leschnik, die dort das erste Spezialgeschaefft fuer Haus- und Wirtschaftsartikel gruendete, und das einzigste Spezialgeschaefft bis heute geblieben ist. Aus eigener Kraft und kleinsten Anfaengen begann sie spaeter in Gemeinschaft mit ihrem Bruder das Unternehmen, das sie heute zu einer zufriedenen Hoehe emporgebracht hat. Zur gleichen Zeit geschah daneben eine Gruendung, die allgemein Aufsehen erregte. Alfred Flatow eroeffnete seine Fleischerei und Provisionstore im ziemlichen Ausmass mit ca. 12 Angestellten. Im Sommer wurde es durch Hinzukommen einer Eisdielen noch vergroessert. Im Herbst 1939 wurde der Betrieb in eine Caféstube umgewandelt, waehrend Anfang 1940 eine vollstaendige Umstellung auf Café und Konditorei erfolgte. Nicht nur, dass das Unternehmen sich grosser Popularitaet erfreute, erhielt der ziemlich umfangreiche Vorplatz vor dem Lokal, der im Sommer ebenfalls fuer den Restaurationsbetrieb erhalten musste, im Volksmund

22 Prager (c. 1894–?) also appeared on stage at the Artist Club in late 1939 with a humorous performance; cf. Philipp, *Thespiskarren*, 47.

der Im- |37| migration den Namen „Flatowplatz“. Im April 42 wurde allerdings das Café an Weinberg und Keller verkauft, die sich zum Ziel gesetzt hatten, dank ihres grossen Bekanntenkreises nach voelliger Umgestaltung der Raeumlichkeiten durch „Decorative Art“ zu einem gemuetlichen und be-
 haglichen Treffpunkt zu machen. Die Umbenennung in „Café Roy“ war der Beginn einer neuen Blutezeit fuer dieses Unternehmen. Etwas spaeter er-
 offnete in diesem Teil I. Laufer & Sohn das erste Uhrmachergeschaeft. Beide haben es verstanden, in Zusammenarbeit sich ebenfalls hier durchzusetzen, zumal da ihnen ihre Vielseitigkeit – neben Uhrreparaturen uebernehmen sie auch Goldschmiedearbeit, Gravierungen und Optik – sehr zugute kommt. Hierbei sei nicht vergessen, dass am Broadway selbst in einem Teil der Bade-
 anstalt der Uhrmacher S. Laub sich etablierte, ebenfalls von seinem fachkun-
 digen Sohn unterstuetzt. Im Juni 1940 uebersiedelte er nach der East Seward Road, wo er sich einen Kundenkreis aus allen Nationen bestehend, schaffen konnte.

Auch die erste Epoche in Hongkew fand zum Fruehjahr 39 ihren Ab-
 schluss und setzte – ausgenommen die Gartenlokale – in groesserem Masse erst wieder zum Herbst ein. Hongkew oder genauer gesagt, der Wayside-
 Distrikt, war eine ausgesprochene Emigrantenkolonie geworden. Hierbei sei eingefuegt, dass auch bei der Polizei 2 Emigranten, Hamel und spaeter Kovacs,²³ Unterkommen gefunden hatten. Es war ein angenehmes Gefuehl, auf der Strasse ploetzlich Immigranten als Polizisten zu begegnen, wie ueber-
 haupt auf der Station des groessten Distriktes, der „Wayside“, der Mentalitaet der Emigranten Rechnung getragen wurde.

Die Immigranten gaben diesem Stadtteil sein Gepraege. Jeder Neubau trug den europaeischen Stempel, jedes neue Geschaeft verriet den europaei-
 schen Geschmack, immer wieder war man bemueht, das Bild der Heimat hier zu uebertragen. In immer groesserem Masse wurden Haeuser von Emigran-
 ten gepachtet, durch Vertretungen der grossen Foreigner-Firmen und eigene Produktionsstaetten wurde der Kreis geschlossen.

Hier bewahrheitete sich der Satz „Und neues Leben blueht aus den Ruinen,“²⁴ im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes. Was hier in kurzer Zeit geschaffen worden war, erweckte die Anerkennung aller Kreise, und besonders auch der Japaner, die immer mehr zu Kunden der Immigranten wurden. So schwer der Existenzkampf fuer den einzelnen wie fuer die Gesamtheit war, so starke Erschuetterungen die junge Emigrantenwirtschaft auch aushalten musste, als die Wirtschaftskonjunktur in Shanghai sich immer mehr verschlechterte, so

23 For Kovacs, see Documents 136 and 156.

24 This aphorism is taken from Friedrich Schiller's drama *Wilhelm Tell* (1804), fourth act, second scene.

hat sie ihre Feuerprobe dennoch bestehen koennen, indem sie immer wieder verstand, der Zeitnoete Herr zu werden. [...] ²⁵

[47]

DAS RELIGIOESE LEBEN

Wenn wir diesem Kapitel die Ueberschrift „Das religioese Leben“ und nicht „Das Juedische Leben“ gegeben haben, so geschah es deshalb, weil unsere Immigration auch Personen in sich schliesst, die nicht dem Judentum angehoren,²⁶ aber ebenso wie die juedischen Immigranten religioeses Empfinden haben. Schliesslich ist die Religion ja eine Angelegenheit jedes Einzelnen, und wenn man auch bestrebt ist, die religioesen Belange bei jedem Menschen wachzuhalten, so muss man immerhin es ihm selbst ueberlassen, wie weit sein religioeses Gefuehl geht. Die hierher emigrierten Juden waren zum groessten Teil von ihrer alten Heimat her irgendwie an eine religioese Gemeinschaft gewohnt, und es hat sich immer wieder, wo Juden in groeserem Masse zusammenkommen, gezeigt, dass die juedische Gemeinschaft, vom religioesen Standpunkt aus betrachtet, dem Einzelnen doch ein Gefuehl der Geborgenheit gibt. So ist es ganz erklarlich, dass auch hier bald nach dem Eintreffen einer groesseren Anzahl Emigranten der Wunsch nach einer solchen Gemeinschaft wach wurde und der Gedanke zur

Gruendung einer Juedischen Gemeinde

auch in Shanghai mehrfach entstand. Hier spielte die Duplizitaet der Ereignisse eine besondere Rolle. Anfang Maerz 39 drueckte Heinz Ganther Frau Memelsdorff gegenueber den Wunsch aus, den Versuch zu machen, hier eine Juedische Gemeinde ins Leben zu rufen nach dem Vorbild einer solchen in Paris, in der er 2 Jahre mitgearbeitet hatte und von der er entsprechende Empfehlungen mitbrachte. Bei dieser Gelegenheit erfuhr er, dass gerade einige Maenner der Emigration bereits dabei seien, eine Gemeinde ins Leben zu rufen. Um von vornherein ein etwaiges Nebeneinanderarbeiten zu vermeiden, setzte sich Ganther mit Dr. Bernhard Rosenberg in Verbindung, der zu diesen Maennern gehoerte. Es stellte sich nun heraus, dass auf Initiative von Leopold Steinhardt bereits ein Aufruf zur Gruendung einer Juedischen Gemeinde verfasst worden war und dass Herr Steinhardt bereits gewisse Vorarbeit geleistet hatte, indem er sich mit den repraesentativen Persoenlichkei-

25 The chapter Die Entwicklung der Wirtschaft has been omitted.

26 About 10 percent of the married Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria came with spouses, mostly wives, who were not Jewish by the Nazi definition. Some of these had converted to Judaism, some not; cf. Helga Embacher/Margit Reiter, Geschlechterbeziehungen in Extremsituationen. Oesterreichische und deutsche Frauen im Shanghai der dreissiger und vierziger Jahre, in: Armbrüster/Kohlstruck/Mühlberger, Exil, 133–146, here 141 f.

ten des Shanghaier juedischen Lebens in Verbindung gesetzt hatte und bei ihnen auf volles Verstaendnis stiess.

Man war sich von Anfang an ueber viele Schwierigkeiten voellig im Klaren. Vor allen Dingen war die Frage des Kultus die primaere; denn gerade die Gottesdienste sollten ja das erste sein, was den Neuankoemmlingen gegeben werden sollte. Hier zeigte sich nun der erste Stein, der im Wege lag, da die hiesigen Juden keinesfalls gestatten wollten, dass man in ihren Gotteshaeusern, die sie uns fuer unsere Gottesdienste zu ueberlassen bereit waren, andere als die hier gebrauchlichen Riten einfuehrte. In unseren Kreisen wusste man, dass der groesste Teil der Emigranten in der alten Heimat liberale Gottesdienste besucht hatte. Den Gedanken an eine solche Einfuehrung hier in den |48| bestehenden Bethaeusern durfte man noch nicht einmal erwaechnen.²⁷ Andererseits war man sich darueber klar, dass die Schaffung einer Juedischen Gemeinde zunaechst einmal nur im Kontakt mit der moralischen Unterstuetzung der hiesigen eingessenen Judenheit geschehen konnte.

Der grundlegende Gedanke und die zu waehlende Form wurde dann in der denkwuerdigen Besprechung am 30. April 39 in der Wohnung des Rv. Brown,²⁸ der sich der Angelegenheit angenommen hatte, festgelegt. Nunmehr begann man mit den Vorarbeiten zur Konstituierung eines vorbereitenden Vorstandes. Diesem gehoerten an: Dr. Georg Glass²⁹ als Vorsitzender,

27 Besides the local Sephardic synagogues Beth Aharon (see ch. 2, n. 90) and Ohel Rachel on Seymour Road, built in 1920, there was the Russian-Ashkenazi synagogue Ohel Moishe on Ward Road – though from 1941 on its community used the New Synagogue on Route Tenant de la Tour in the French Concession. Refugees held conservative and liberal services at the Broadway Theater and in restaurants from spring 1939 and summer 1940 on, respectively. The first refugee synagogue, Emet Ve'Shalom, opened in fall 1941 on Ward Road.

28 Mendel Brown (1885–1949) own was an Englishman of Polish background who had studied at the University of London and who was ordained by the Jews College London. In 1932 he began serving as unofficial rabbi at the Ohel Rachel Synagogue, and later as principal of Hebrew and religion at the Shanghai Jewish School run by Ohel Rachel. In 1933 he served as chaplain of the SVC; cf. Ristaino, Port, 66 f.; Meyer, From the Rivers, 106.

29 Glass (1891–1968) was a pediatrician from Berlin. He emigrated to Shanghai as early as 1933, and from 1939 to 1941 he was head of the Jüdische Gemeinde. He settled in 1949 in the United States; cf. Eduard Seidler, Jewish Pediatricians. Victims of Persecution 1933–1945, Basel 2007, 153 f.

Ludwig Braun, Heinz Ganther, R. R. Glaser,³⁰ Gerhard Gottschalk,³¹ Arnold Jacobson, G. Moch, Dr. Bernhard Rosenberg,³² Arnold Rossmann, Leopold Steinhardt, Oskar Weiss, Max Warschauer,³³ S. Zilbersain. Als Verbindungsmann zum Committee kam dazu Dr. Kurt Marx.³⁴ Zunaechst wurde nun als richtunggebend festgelegt, dass die aufzubauende Juedische Gemeinde vorerst als „Juedische Kultusgemeinde des Committees“ ins Leben gerufen werden sollte.

Waehrend die Vorbereitungen weiterliefen, veranstaltete Leopold Steinhardt anlaesslich des Schewuos-Festes³⁵ den ersten Gottesdienst im Broadway-Theater, der durch die Ueberfuelle des Hauses zeigte, wie notwendig Gottesdienste sind. Als Kantor fungierte hier zum ersten Mal Max Warschauer, waehrend die erste ergreifende Predigt, die wir zu hoeren bekamen, von Harry Wachsner gehalten wurde.

Am 10. Juli wurde endlich die vollzogene Gruendung der Juedischen Kultusgemeinde in der Presse veroeffentlicht und der von dem vorbereitenden Ausschuss vorlaeufig gewaehlte Vorstand bekanntgegeben: Dr. Georg Glass, Vorsitzender, Arnold Rossmann Stellvertreter, Ludwig Braun, Gerhard Gottschalk, Hugo Kaufmann, Dr. Kurt Marx, Leopold Steinhardt, Oskar Weiss, S. Zilbersain.

Die nunmehr beginnende praktische Arbeit wurde in den damals noch sehr beschraenkten Bueroraemen in der Ward Road Lane von einem Stabe ehrenamtlicher Mitarbeiter, zu denen Rechtsanwalt Trumm [sic],³⁶ die Her-

30 Rudolf R. Glaser (c. 1898–?) hailed from Leipzig. In Shanghai he was active in the Juedische Gemeinde.

31 Gottschalk (1899–1974) was a comedian, singer, and entertainer from Berlin who arrived in Shanghai in late 1938. He was one of the first members of Juedische Gemeinde.

32 Rosenberg (1897–?) was an internist and amateur musician who left Germany in 1933 and reached China via Palestine. He came to Shanghai after practicing for some time in Harbin. After the war, he settled in Japan; cf. Schmitt-Englert, *Deutsche in China*, 24.

33 The cantor and singer Warschauer (1911–?) hailed from Beuthen (Silesia). He reached Shanghai in spring 1939, and from 1944 on he taught singing at the Chinese National Conservatory. In 1946 he left Shanghai for Australia; cf. Sophie Fetthauer, Max Warschauer, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, *Lexikon*, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00006958> (February 5, 2016).

34 Marx was the first director of the CAEJR; he also served as director of the Relief Society of German-Austrian Jews, cf. Ristaino, *Port*, 105.

35 Shavu'ot.

36 Albert Trum (1902–1988), a lawyer from Koblenz, was imprisoned in the Dachau concentration camp after the November pogrom of 1938. Released a month later on the condition that he would emigrate, he reached Shanghai via ship from Venice

ren Epstein und Kupferberg, sowie Frau Bieber gehoerten, begonnen. Man machte sich an die Einrichtung regelmaessiger Gottesdienste, die von den hier weilenden Kantoren turnusmaessig abgehalten wurden. Ebenso nahmen die Rabbiner Dr. Winter,³⁷ der jedoch bald nach seinen ersten Predigten nach Amerika weiterwanderte, und Dr. Zeitin ihre Taetigkeit im Rahmen der Gemeinde auf. Spaeter kam Rabbiner Sober³⁸ hinzu. Im weiteren Ausbau traten spaeter auch die Choere in Taetigkeit, von Martin Epstein, Heinrich Markt und Harry Hauptmann geleitet. Einige Zeit spaeter entschloss sich der Vorstand, der sich selbst nur als provisorisch betrachtete, einen neuen Vorstand auf breiterer Grundlage zu waehlen, zumal da der Aufgabenkreis der Gemeinde, an die bereits aus den Kreisen der Emigranten groessere Ansprueche gestellt wurden, sich zwangslaeufig erweiterte. Eine Wahlkommission verkuendete bald darauf die Zusammensetzung des neuen Vorstandes mit Leopold Steinhardt als Vorsitzenden, Hugo [49] Kaufmann als Stellvertreter, sowie Rudolf Glaser, Dr. Fritz Lesser,³⁹ Hermann Koller, Arnold Rossmann, Dr. Kurt Redlich,⁴⁰ Dr. Adolf Sametz, Max Smolianski und Oskar Weiss. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt begann eine neue Epoche fuer die Gemeinde insofern, als sie offiziell vom Committee getrennt wurde und als Juedische Gemeinde mit

in 1939. In 1947 he settled in the United States; cf. <<http://mahnmal-koblenz.de/index.php/2013-12-12-02-07-02/die-personentafeln/237-095-albert-trum-rechtsanwalt-aus-boppard>> (August 22, 2016).

- 37 Dr. Moritz Winter (1886–1971) served as a rabbi in Leipzig and Königsberg (today Kaliningrad, Russia), and during World War I he was a military rabbi. From 1922 on he was a rabbi and teacher in Berlin until he fled to Shanghai in 1939. After the war he settled in San Francisco; cf. Michael Brocke/Julius Carlebach (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch der Rabbiner*, part II, ed. by Katrin Nele Jansen: *Die Rabbiner im Deutschen Reich, 1871–1945*, Munich 2009, 661.
- 38 Karl Heinz (Jacob) Sober (1917–?) studied at the conservative Jewish Theological Seminary at Breslau. He served until the end of 1946 as rabbi in Shanghai, and immigrated to the United States in 1948; cf. Guido Kisch, *Das Breslauer Seminar. Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar „Fraenkelsche Stiftung“ in Breslau 1854–1938*, Tübingen 1963, 435.
- 39 Lesser (1888–1961) was a dentist from Berlin. Besides his presidency of the Jüdische Gemeinde from 1941 onwards, he was also active in the B'nai B'rith and ORT of Shanghai. In 1947 he settled in Cincinnati; cf. <<http://findingaids.cjh.org/?pID=431019#d1e55>> (August 18, 2016).
- 40 Redlich (1903–1983) was a lawyer from Vienna. In Shanghai he served as judge of the Jüdische Gemeinde's arbitration court; in 1948, he settled in the United States; cf. Heppner, *Shanghai Refuge*, xii.

dem Untertitel „Jewish Community of European Central [sic] Jews“⁴¹ weiterfungierte. Anfang Dezember siedelte man in das eigene Haus in der East Seward Road ueber. Inzwischen hatte die Gemeinde bereits nach entsprechenden Vereinbarungen mit dem hiesigen Beth Din⁴² und dem I.C. verlautbart, dass Anmeldungen von Geburten Trauungen, Sterbefaellen, Barmizwahs etc. bei ihr vorzunehmen seien. Ebenso begann die Gemeinde mit dem Hauptdezernat jeder Juedischen Gemeinde neben dem Kultus: der Wohlfahrt. Naturgemaess konnte diese anfangs nur in ganz bescheidenem Rahmen walten, da die Eingaenge bei der Gemeinde selbst nur sehr spaerlich waren, was zum grossen Teil an der Zurueckhaltung der Immigranten lag, die der Entwicklung der Gemeinde immer noch abwartend gegenueber standen. So sehr einerseits dies zu verurteilen war, so musste man es andererseits verstehen, da durch staendige Zwistigkeiten und Meinungsverschiedenheiten innerhalb der jeweiligen Vorstaende von einer gedeihlichen Zusammenarbeit im Interesse der Gesamtheit noch nichts zu merken war. Ende Dezember 1939 wurde daher wiederum eine Umbildung und gleichzeitige Erweiterung des Vorstandes beschlossen, um allen Kreisen Rechnung zu tragen. Anfang 1940 begann der neue Vorstand unter dem Vorsitz von Arnold Rossmann und seinem Stellvertreter Hugo Kaufmann seine Taetigkeit. Ergaenzend zu den bisherigen Vorstandmitgliedern kamen die Herren: Paul Bendix,⁴³ Hugo Kantorowsky, Dr. Otto Krotischer [sic],⁴⁴ Ossi Lewin, Dr. Mark Siegelberg,⁴⁵ Lutz Wachsner,⁴⁶ Julius Weinberger. An dieser Stelle soll jedoch ein Mann er-

41 The refugee community was officially called the Jüdische Gemeinde; its English labels, the Communal Association of Central European Jews or the Community of Central European Jews, were also common, the first serving as the official translation.

42 Heb., Jewish Court. It was founded in 1939 in order to mediate between the various religious congregations and decide on religious and rabbinical affairs. Its first president was Rabbi Meir Ashkenazi; cf. Lewin, Almanac, 57.

43 Dr. Paul Bendix (1895–1961) was a medical doctor from Frankfurt/Main, and returned to Frankfurt after the war; cf. Alon Tauber (ed.), *Zwischen Kontinuität und Neuanfang. Die Entstehung der jüdischen Nachkriegsgemeinde in Frankfurt am Main 1945–1949*, Wiesbaden 2008, 161 f.

44 Otto Koritschoner (c. 1888–?) was a lawyer from Vienna.

45 Siegelberg (1895–1986) was born in Kiev and studied law and economy in Bern and Vienna, where he later worked as a journalist. Incarcerated in Dachau in 1938, he managed to get to Shanghai in 1939. In 1941 he left for Australia, where he founded the German weekly *Neue Welt*; in 1969, he returned to Austria; cf. Philipp, *Thesiskarren*, 92.

46 Lutz Wachsner (1891–1968) was a textile merchant from Breslau who came to Shanghai with his wife Else in 1939. He was a board member of the Jüdische Gemeinde throughout his time in the city, and also worked for some time for the JDC and the

wahnt werden, der ohne irgendwelche Kenntnis der Materie das schwierigste Dezernat uebernahm: den Kultus, Lutz Wachsner. Nur von dem Gedanken beseelt, der Gemeinde und der Gesamtheit zu dienen, machte er sich an dieses verantwortungsvolle Gebiet, in das er sich nach und nach immer mehr hineinfand und es rein gefuehlsmaessig so weit wie nur moeglich, ausbaute.

Einen besonderen Ansporn zu regerer Taetigkeit erhielt die Gemeinde Mitte 1940 durch die Gruendung der „Juedisch-liberalen Gemeinde“, deren erste Gottesdienste mit Harmonium und gemischtem Chor den lediglich konservativen Gottesdiensten der Juedischen Gemeinde einen grossen Teil der Besucher nahm. Nach anfaenglicher Ablehnung fuehrte die Juedische Gemeinde einige Zeit spaeter ebenfalls liberale Gottesdienste ein, die ihr eine grosse Anzahl Anhaenger zufuehrten. Inzwischen bekam die Juedische Gemeinde in dem leider allzu frueh verstorbenen Willy Teichner⁴⁷ einen Rabbiner und Seelsorger, der es in kuerzester Zeit verstand, eine wirkliche Gemeinschaft um sich zu sammeln. Er gab auch dem Gemeindeleben einen neuen Impuls und wurde trotz seiner Jugend von seinen Amtskollegen ebenso hoch geschaezt wie er von der Jugend, der [50] er sein ganzes Ich widmete, verehrt wurde. Es wurde ueberhaupt auf die Ausgestaltung des Gemeinderabbinats, zu dem auch spaeter noch Dr. Kantorowsky⁴⁸ und Dr. Silberstein⁴⁹ hinzukamen, Wert gelegt, zumal da auch die Seelsorger mit bestimmten Aufgaben bedacht wurden. Inzwischen war auch eine Chewra Kadischa⁵⁰ gebildet wor-

CAEJR, and for a short period of time for the Kitchen Fund (see Document 89). His wife died of a disease in Shanghai in 1945. After the war, he settled in the United States. For more on the Wachsner family, cf. Martin Gilbert, *Kristallnacht. Prelude to Destruction*, New York 2006, 81 f.; 192 f.

- 47 Dr. Wilhelm Teichner (1909–1942) studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau and served as a liberal rabbi in Hirschberg and Stolp (today Jelenia Góra and Słupsk, Poland) until 1939, when he emigrated to Shanghai. He served as community rabbi and died there from an unidentified disease; cf. Lewin, *Almanac*, 95, Brocke/Carlebach, *Biographisches Handbuch*, 608.
- 48 Liberal rabbi Dr. Georg Kantorowsky (1883–1972) studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau. After working as a rabbi in Bernburg and Berlin he reached Shanghai in 1940, where he was a community rabbi and executive rabbi of the Bet Din until he emigrated to the United States in 1949; cf. *ibid.*, 326.
- 49 Dr. Emil Silberstein (1867–1946) served as a liberal rabbi in Stargard (Pomerania) from 1900 to 1936. He reached Shanghai on a Japanese visa in 1940 and died there; cf. *ibid.*, 573; <<http://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn508693>> (August 23, 2016).
- 50 Burial society; its members assist with the religious requirements and practical necessities of the deceased.

den, die bestrebt war, in juedischer Pflichterfuellung nach den gewohnten Grundsuetzen der alten Heimat zu wirken.

Eine Einrichtung innerhalb der Juedischen Gemeinde verdient heute unbedingt einer besonderen Erwaehnung: der Frauenbund. Unter dem Vorsitz von Frau Wolff entwickelte sich diese Organisation infolge der wirklich aufopfernden Mitarbeit aller ihm Angehoerenden zu einem Faktor, der aus dem Gemeindeleben heute kaum wegzudenken ist. Begonnen wurde mit der Einladung aelterer beduerftiger Leute zur Freitag-Abend-Tafel, die dem Frauenbund in allen Kreisen sofort Anerkennung und weitere Hilfsbereitschaft verschaffte. Ferner machte sich der Frauenbund zur Aufgabe, die Betreuung und Pflege von Kranken zu uebernehmen. Nicht vergessen seien die von ihnen veranstalteten Sederabende, die Hunderten bedrueckter juedischer Menschen Weihstunden bedeuteten. Besondere Hilfsarbeit leistet der Frauenbund auch dem Wohlfahrtsamt in Zusammenarbeit mit der Volkskueche der Juedischen Gemeinde, die fuer eine grosse Anzahl Emigranten eine unentbehrliche Hilfe bedeutet. Unlaengst richtete er auch eine Naeh- und Flickstube ein, um den Emigranten ihre Bekleidungsstuecke in gutem Zustand zu erhalten.

Im November 1941 eroeffnete die Juedische Gemeinde ihre erste eigene Synagoge in der MacGregor Road, in der alltaeglich Schacharis und Mincha⁵¹ gebetet wird. Das Friedhofswesen,⁵² anfaenglich dem Committee unterstellt, wurde unlaengst auch in eigene Verwaltung uebernommen. Dieses Gebiet erfordert heute eine umsichtige Verwaltung, an die gerade im letzten Sommer grosse Ansprueche gestellt werden mussten. Auch auf geistigem Gebiet versucht die Juedische Gemeinde taetig zu sein, indem sie die 1939 von Weissmann, Heinemann, Dr. Zacharias, Dr. Trumm und Dr. Dreyfuss [sic]⁵³ begruendete und gefuehrte „Kulturgemeinschaft“, dann in „Kulturkreis der

51 Morning and afternoon prayer.

52 Shanghai had four Jewish cemeteries: the first, the Israel Cemetery, was endowed by David Sassoon in 1862 on Mohawk Road and used by Baghdadi and Russian Jews; in the early twentieth century, the Russian Chevra Kadisha founded a second cemetery on Baikal Road; the third cemetery, on Columbia Road, was established in 1940 by the Refugee Community, and expanded until the community had to purchase land for a fourth on Point Road in November 1941.

53 Alfred Dreifuss (1902–1993) hailed from Stuttgart, where he co-founded the “Ensemble” theater group; he later moved to Berlin, where he joined the communist party. He was imprisoned from 1935 to 1939 in several concentration camps, among these in Dachau and Buchenwald. In Shanghai, apart from his work as a dramatic adviser, director, and actor, he wrote for newspapers and magazines. In 1947 he settled in East Berlin, where he was employed at several theaters. He continued his journalistic activities and wrote about the Nazis in Shanghai under the pseudonym C. W. Liao,

Juedischen Gemeinde“ umbenannt, in ihren Rahmen spannte und durch interessante Vortraege auf allen Gebieten fuer die Entspannung und Belehrung der Immigranten zu sorgen versucht.

Wenn wir die wesentlichen Gebiete der Gemeinde bis in die heutige Zeit behandelt haben, so geschah es daher, dass wir die einzelnen Entwicklungen nicht unterbrechen wollten, daher wollen wir nun noch die administrative Weiter-Entwicklung der Gemeinde kurz aufzeigen. Unter der Praesidentschaft von Dr. Lesser wurde im Sommer 1941 die erste oeffentliche Gemeindegewahl veranstaltet, die den Zweck hatte, aus allen Kreisen der Immigranten Repraesentanten zu waehlen.

Einen ganz neuen Aufgabenkreis erhielt die Juedische Gemeinde [51] nach Ausbruch des Pazifikkrieges durch die japanischen Behoerden, die nunmehr die Juedische Gemeinde als die einzige Vertretung saemtlicher Emigranten zu betrachten wuenschte. Die Gemeinde wurde somit ueber Nacht von einer kulturellen Einrichtung zu einer verwaltungspolitischen. Nicht nur die Registrierungspflicht zwecks Empfang der s. zt.⁵⁴ voruebergehend verausgabten Paesse, sondern auch die Bekanntgabe aller behoerdlichen Wuensche an die Immigration liess uns deutlich erkennen, dass die Juedische Gemeinde, die bald auch den Untertitel „Communal Association of Central European Jews“ erhielt, zu einer offiziellen Stelle geworden ist. Inzwischen trat an Stelle Dr. Lessers Dr. Kardegg⁵⁵ die Praesidentschaft an, und wir duerfen sicher glauben, in ihm die ruhige und besonnene Persoenlichkeit zu haben, die nicht nur das Vertrauen der Behoerden, seiner Mitarbeiter und der Immigration besitzt, sondern auch die Faehigkeit haben duerfte, die Immigration zu repraesentieren und zu vertreten. Vielleicht waere es manchmal nicht unangebracht, wenn er im Kreise seiner Mitarbeiter etwas energischer auftreten wuerde; denn manchmal tut vielleicht auch etwas Diktatur in unseren Reihen gut.

Der Aufgabenkreis der Juedischen Gemeinde ist naturgemaess in der letzten Zeit infolge der steigenden Not ein gewaltiger geworden ... Das Committee ist heute im allgemeinen nur noch fuer die Unterbringung in den Heimen, sowie die Brot- und Rohkostausgabe zustaendig, dazu kommt die Ambulanzbehandlung und Ausgabe von Medikamenten etc. Die Gesamtleitung des Committees, das aus einem Gremium juedischer Maenner aller Shang-

and composed an autobiography, *Ensemblespiel des Lebens. Erinnerungen eines Theatermannes* (1985).

54 Seinerzeit.

55 Felix Kardegg (c. 1884–1945), a lawyer from Vienna, was elected vice chairman and later head of the Juedische Gemeinde of Shanghai. He died in Shanghai during an air raid.

haier Emigrantenkreise besteht, ist Lutz Wachsner uebertragen worden. Eine der wichtigsten Einrichtungen, die urspruenglich aus dem Taetigkeitsbereich der Juedischen Gemeinde hervorging, ist der unlaengst ins Leben gerufene „Kitchen Found“⁵⁶ [sic]. Dieser uebernahm es, fuer die Heranschaffung von Geldern Sorge zu tragen, die ausschliesslich fuer Patenschaften Unterstuetzungsbeduerftiger verwendet werden sollen.

Durch die Wahl des jetzigen I.C.-Leiters, Robert Peritz,⁵⁷ in den Vorstand der Gemeinde und die Unterstellung des Committees unter den Kitchen-Found wurde ein weiterer Schritt zur Zentralisierung der Immigration geschaffen. [...]⁵⁸

[93]

DAS KUENSTLERISCHE SCHAFFEN

Die Menschen, die nach Shanghai kamen, hatten wohl noch nie zuvor eine derartige Sehnsucht nach geistiger Ablenkung empfunden. Aber wo waren die Kuenstler, die unter den hiesigen primitiven Verhaeltnissen in der Lage waren, einem so unterschiedlichen Publikum etwas zu bieten?! Gewiss war man sich bewusst, dass man keine Vergleiche ziehen durfte, aber es sollte doch zumindest die Illusion eines Theaters geschaffen werden. Ausserdem gab es keine Raeumlichkeiten, in denen sich irgendwelche Veranstaltungen aufziehen liessen. So kam es, dass sich die ersten hier gelandeten Kuenstler, wie Gerhard Gottschalk, Jenny Rausnitz,⁵⁹ Deszoe Gruen⁶⁰ und Bernhard

56 The Kitchen Fund was established in late summer of 1942 (see Documents 89 and 171). For further information, cf. Zhava Litvac Glaser, *Refugees and Relief. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and European Jews in Cuba and Shanghai 1938–1943*. Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York 2015, <http://academicworks.cuny.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1560&context=gc_etds> (September 5, 2016).

57 Peritz (1895–?) followed Komor as chairman of the IC. However, he was a Japanese informant from 1939 onward; cf. Freyeisen, *Shanghai*, 472; Ristaino, *Port*, 180 f.

58 The remaining paragraphs of this chapter (pp. 51–54), entitled *Jüdisch-Liberale Gemeinde* and *Die anderen religioesen Gemeinschaften* deal with the communal activities among Catholics, Quakers, Protestants and the Hebrew Mission.

59 The Austrian actress Rausnitz (1910–1988) began her career in Vienna, and achieved popularity almost immediately. After the war, she settled first in Vienna and later in Biel (Switzerland), where she acted in the local theater; cf. Philipp, *Thespiskarren*, 175.

60 Deszö (Desiderius) Grün (1894–1946) was an actor and comedian born in Budapest. In Shanghai he married Jenny Rausnitz; cf. *ibid.*, 168. He and his wife were members of the theater troupe *Die sieben Schauspieler*, which also included Fritz Heller, Erwin Engel, Felix Löschner, Leon Plohn, and Erwin Schlesinger.

Bernhardi⁶¹ mit dem Speisesaal des Ward Road Heims begnuegen mussten, bis schliesslich Willi Mann⁶² im wiedereroeffneten Broadway-Theatre einen Kabarettabend aufzog. Bald musste man die Vorstellungen auf die Nacht verlegen, da der Kinobesitzer den Raum am Abend nicht verpachten wollte. Das Publikum sah ueber manchen blutigen Dilettantismus hinweg. Es stroemte ins Broadway-Theatre, es fuellte die inzwischen eroeffneten Lokale, die sich in Bunten Abenden ueberboten. Schliesslich veranstaltete die „Shanghai-Woche“ ihren ersten Abend auf dem neuen Dachgarten „Mascot“,⁶³ der zum ersten Male Foreigners wieder in Hongkew sah und seinen Niederschlag in einer Fotoreportage im Magazin „Spot light“ unter dem Titel „Die Emigranten kriechen aus ihrer Muschel heraus“ fand.

Hier trat zum ersten Male auch Lily Flohr⁶⁴ auf, die gerade angekommen war und keine Ahnung von ihrem ersten Shanghaier Engagement hatte. Die Flohr hat in Shanghai wohl die grosste Carriere aller Emigrantenkuenstlerinnen gemacht. Ihr ungeheurer Fleiss liess sie in die Fremdsprachen eindringen, ihr Repertoire umfasst Chansons aller Laender. In den ersten Hotels und Night Clubs ist Lily Flohr seither aufgetreten und immer wieder reengagiert worden. Neben ihr mag Herbert Zernik⁶⁵ nicht allein der populaerste Kuenstler unter den Immigranten sein, sondern auf Grund seiner Vielseitigkeit auch in den anderen Shanghaier Kreisen ein beehrter Vortragskuenstler und Pianist geworden sein. Von den Kuenstlern, die in den Anfangsstadien unseres Kunstlebens an die Oeffentlichkeit traten, seien noch vor allem Walter

61 Bernhardy, a magician and comedian; cf. *ibid.*, 161.

62 Mann (c. 1896–?) was a merchant from Mainz. In Shanghai, he acted and worked as a radio presenter at the Chinese radio station XHHZ; cf. Buxbaum, *Transit*, 126; Seywald, *Journalisten*, 147, 326.

63 The popular café and restaurant Mascot was above the Broadway Cinema on Wayside Road. It offered entertainment, music shows, and daily dancing. The owner was Kurt (Curt) Wendriner (c. 1895–?), an inn-keeper from Beuthen; cf. Hochstadt, *Exodus*, 265.

64 Flohr (née Elisabeth Günsburger; 1893/1903–1978) hailed from Vienna. Before 1934, she acted in German and Austrian silent movies and appeared on theater, comedy, and operetta stages in Vienna and Berlin. She became a popular actress and singer in Shanghai. After the war, she settled in Australia; cf. Philipp, *Thespiskarren*, 164 f.

65 Zernik (1903–1972?) was released from imprisonment at Buchenwald and left for Shanghai, where his Berlin experience in the sound film production made him a busy and much sought-after bar singer, comedian, and master of ceremonies. After the war he lived briefly in the United States, and then returned to Germany; cf. Jeremy Leong, *Musical Irony and Identity Politics. Austro-German Jewish Refugees in Republican China*, in: Katherine L. Turner (ed.), *This is the Sound of Irony. Music, Politics and Popular Culture*, London/New York 2015, 59–72, here 65 f.

und Hilde Friedmann,⁶⁶ die verstorbene Ilse Meyer-Frank, Walter Lewens, Jani Ballan,⁶⁷ Fritz Schnitzer,⁶⁸ die Brüeder Feuereisen und der junge Gerd Kohbieter⁶⁹ genannt, der auch eine erfolgreiche Tournee durch Nordchina machen konnte. Lotte Sommer, Miss Beatrice,⁷⁰ das Robertsen Duo, das vortreffliche Palotay Duo, Little Doll, Miss Tessy, Pasqual, Inge Blumenstein waren die Vertreter Terpsichores. Helga Rosenbaum, Fried and Fried, Bill Brady konnten auch Engagements jenseits der Garden Bridge finden. Erwin Engel⁷¹ begründete die Heimkunststelle, Ossi Lewin, Hans Baer,⁷² Martin Jacoby und Heinz Ganther versuchten einen Zusammenschluss aller Kuenstler, im „Artist Club“, der mit einer ausgezeichneten [94] Werbeveranstaltung an die Oeffentlichkeit trat. Aus der Hongkewer Arbeitsgemeinschaft und dem Artist Club wurde schliesslich die „Ejas“ (European Jewish Artists Society) unter dem Praesidium von Ossi Lewin, die aber ihren Namen im Laufe der Zeit in ihrer Art nicht treu blieb, sondern lediglich eine Klique von Protektionskuenstlern betreute.

66 Hilde Friedmann (c. 1909–?) was a singer at the opera in Mannheim; cf. Philipp, *Thespiskarren*, 165 f. Walter Friedmann was employed at the Mannheim National Theater. In Shanghai, he became manager of the Komödie theater and directed many performances, acting in several. He also worked for the radio station XMHA; cf. Philipp, *Thespiskarren*, 166.

67 Ballan (actually Hans Berger; 1910–?) was born in Berlin, where worked as a pianist and percussionist. In Shanghai, he also performed as a magician; cf. *ibid.*, 160.

68 The Austrian Schnitzer (c. 1909–?) was not a trained actor. He performed as a telepath, graphologist, and phrenologist, and managed the Alcock Road camp for two years. After the war, he settled in Australia and changed his name to Denis F. Carver; cf. *ibid.*, 178 f.

69 Gerhard (Gérard) Kohbieter (1922–1995) hailed from Berlin. In Shanghai he worked as a magician and book seller. After the war he emigrated to the United States, where he worked as a magician under the name Gérard Slaxon. He eventually settled in Berlin; cf. Hochstadt, *Exodus*, 37–39, 263, *passim*.

70 Beatrice Lewinsohn (Lewinson); cf. Philipp, *Thespiskarren*, 173.

71 Engel (1881–1946) was successful on cabaret stages in Vienna. In Shanghai he was a member of the actors' troupe *Die sieben Schauspieler*. Engel died in Shanghai; cf. Hochstadt, *Exodus*, 163 f.

72 Hans Bär had studied piano in Berlin; Artur Schnabel was among his teachers. Having won the renowned Ibach prize, he was regarded as one of Shanghai's most famous musicians; cf. Martina Eory, *Zur Rolle der Musik für zentraleuropäische jüdische Flüchtlinge in der Diaspora Shanghai, 1939–1949*. M.A. thesis, University of Vienna 2009, 40 f. <<https://othes.univie.ac.at/6022/>> (August 8, 2016).

Immerhin begann mit der Gruendung der Ejas die Theaterperiode der Immigration. Karl Bodan,⁷³ Friedmann, Dr. Dreyfuss [sic], der inzwischen unter die Buch- und Kunsthaendler gegangen ist und in Hongkew ein dementsprechendes Geschaeff eroeffnete, waren die Regisseure. Wir sahen beachtliche Auffuehrungen, wie den „Nathan“, „Oedipus“, „Dr. Praetorius“, „Die Nacht zum 17. April“, „Spiel im Schloss“ usw.⁷⁴ Leider hatte die Ejas aber auch viele Nieten zu verzeichnen und das Publikum verlor das Vertrauen. Innere Unstimmigkeiten liessen ein gedeihliches Arbeiten nicht mehr aufkommen. Bodan machte sich selbstaendig und startete mit Riesenerfolg „X.Y.Z.“⁷⁵ mit Melchior und der Perlhoefters.⁷⁶ Letzterer begruendete nun das „Ensemble“ und brachte mit grossem Erfolg „Arm wie eine Kirchenmaus“⁷⁷ heraus. Ganz eigene Wege war Boris Sapiro⁷⁸ gegangen, den man nicht als Immigranten bezeichnen kann. Er schuf sich sein eigenes Ensemble und eine eigene Buehne. Neben vielen Misserfolgen waren das Lustspiel „Die Killeberger“ von Bukofzer,⁷⁹ das von Metis⁸⁰ geschriebene Emigrationsstueck „Ka-

73 Bodan was married to Olga Hajegg-Bodan (also Hajek; 1899–1979), an actress, operetta singer, and director from Prague. In December 1941 the couple left Shanghai for Australia, where they managed a theater for several years. They eventually returned to Vienna.

74 The plays staged were *Nathan der Weise* by G. E. Lessing, *König Oedipus* by Sophocles, *Dr. med. Hiob Prätorius* (1929) by Curt Goetz, *Die Nacht zum 17. April* (1932) by Lajos Zilahy, and *Spiel im Schloss* (1926) by Ferenc Molnár.

75 *X Y Z. Spiel zu Dreien in drei Aufzügen* (1928) by Klabund.

76 About Fritz Melchior (1897–?), see Document 155. Ursula Perlhöfters (1913–2001) married Melchior in Shanghai. She acted in his Ensemble theater group, and also worked as a nurse. After the war the couple lived in the United States; cf. <<http://abacus.bates.edu/muskie-archives/EADFindingAids/SJOH.html>> (September 26, 2016).

77 A comedy by Ladislaus Fodor (1928).

78 Sapiro (c. 1910–?) hailed from Poland. His Sapiro-Bühne in Shanghai staged boulevard theater plays and Yiddish plays, some of which he wrote himself. He appeared in most of his productions; cf. Philipp, *Thespiskarren*, 178. Sapiro also ran the Boris Only Cash Café (Bei Boris), documented in the Werner von Boltenstern photographs collection; cf. <<http://digitalcollections.lmu.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/sjrc/id/238/rec/14>> (September 26, 2016).

79 Max (Brandt-) Bukofzer (c. 1907–1945) was an operetta singer from Germany. In Shanghai, he became an actor and the author of several theater plays; cf. Frithjof Trapp et al. (eds.), *Handbuch des deutschsprachigen Exiltheaters 1933–1945*, Munich 1999, vol. 2, 1, 113. Bukofzer died during an air raid in Shanghai.

80 Berthold Metis (1902–1984) hailed from Rathenow. After his release from imprisonment in Sachsenhausen, he left Germany in December 1938. In Shanghai he worked as a journalist, a cabaret artist, and an actor in Boris Sapiro's group. In August 1947 he and his family settled in Eastern Germany; cf. *ibid.*, 660.

merad Frau“; das von Siegelberg und Schubert⁸¹ stammende Tendenzstueck aus der Emigration „Urlaub vom Jenseits“ grosse Serienerfolge. Anfang 42 startete Robert Weiss⁸² in seinem „Die Buehne“ benannten Unternehmen Schnitzlers „Fraulein Julie“ und Walter Friedmann versuchte im Ensemble „Die Komoedie“ ein Kollektiv, das unter anderem mit der Eisler-Operette „Hanni geht tanzen“ einen grossen kuenstlerischen Erfolg buchen konnte.⁸³ Aber leider bleiben die finanziellen Erfolge aus und so stehen wir zu Beginn des Herbstes 1942 eigentlich ohne Theater da. Wir haben hier natuerlich nur einen kurzen Abriss des Buehnenschaffens gegeben. Mancher Nachwuchs wurde entdeckt, so u.a. Marion Lissner und die begabte Beatrice Lewinsohn. Die junge Eva Schwarcz,⁸⁴ eine unserer staerksten Begabungen, verliess leider Shanghai, ebenso wie auch Bodan. Bei Sapiro wirkten noch Felix Loeschner,⁸⁵ Georg Feldmann, Harry Walden, Fritz Heller,⁸⁶ das Ehepaar Jacoby, Scheige und Mark.

Weit leichter als die Buehnenkuenstler hatten es die Musiker, soweit sie der leichten Muse huldigten und zum Tanze spielten. Gute Musiker sind in Shanghai stets von den vielen Bars und Nachtclubs gesucht und mancher

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- 81 Hans Schubert (also Morgenstern or Wiener; 1905–1965) was a merchant and playwright from Vienna. After his release from imprisonment in Dachau he reached Shanghai, where he was a prolific writer of theater plays; together with Mark Siegelberg he wrote a number of successfully staged pieces. Schubert also worked for the radio station XGDN. In 1947 he returned to Vienna; cf. Philipp, *Thespiskarren*, 179.
- 82 Robert Weiss (-Cyla; c. 1912–?) hailed from Vienna. In Shanghai he presented texts, mainly by Jewish authors living in Shanghai. He began to direct theater plays only after the war, e.g. *Die Masken fallen* in 1946; he eventually returned to Vienna; cf. Michael Philipp, *Exiltheater in Shanghai 1939–1947*; in: Trapp, *Handbuch*, vol. 1, 457–476, here 466.
- 83 Edmund Eysler (1874–1949) was a Viennese Jewish composer; his operetta *Hanni geht tanzen* premiered in 1916; cf. Anonymous, Edmund Eysler, in: Thomas Gnedt (ed.), *Operetten-Lexikon* <<http://www.operetten-lexikon.info/?menu=182&lang=1>> (February 11, 1016).
- 84 Actress Schwarcz (néé Baruch; 1920–1966) hailed from Berlin. She and her husband managed to leave Shanghai for Australia in 1941. As a member of the communist party even before the war, she settled in East Berlin in 1947 where she acted on stage and in films, and also directed theater plays. In 1961 she moved to Western Germany; cf. Trapp, *Handbuch*, vol. 2, 2, 858.
- 85 Löschner was an Austrian cabaret performer and a member of the Shanghai actors' troupe Die sieben Schauspieler; cf. *ibid.*, 899.
- 86 Heller (1893–1966) was an actor and comedian from Vienna. In 1939 after his release from imprisonment in Dachau, he emigrated to Shanghai where he became a member of the actors' troupe Die sieben Schauspieler. In 1951 he returned to Austria.

Immigrant konnte sich hier durchsetzen. Als Kapelle verdient Eddy Weber mit seiner Band erwähnt zu werden, der nach Tientsin fortgangiert wurde. Eis, Zinkower, Rosenow, Stern, Ruff, Oschitzki, Reiss, Winternitz⁸⁷ waren Namen, die im Shanghaier Vergnuegungsgewerbe einen guten Klang hatten.

Weit schwerer hatten es die Vertreter der ernsten Musik, aber sie waren fuer die Immigration von grosser Bedeutung, denn sie fanden [95] Einlass in die beste Gesellschaft Shanghais, sie wurden zu Hauskonzerten und Gastspielen herangezogen, wir finden ihre Namen in den Programmen des Municipalorchesters, des Lyzeums, des neugegruendeten Shanghaier Philharmonischen Orchesters, bei Kirchenkonzerten und grossen Veranstaltungen. Ein grosser Teil von ihnen uebt ausserdem eine bedeutende Lehrtaetigkeit aus. Hans Baer, Professor Wittenberg,⁸⁸ Fraenkel,⁸⁹ Henry Margolinsky [sic],⁹⁰

87 Carl Winternitz (1885–1961?) was a composer and violinist from Vienna. He arrived in Shanghai in 1940, where he eventually founded the Kapelle Winternitz, which played light music at dances and other events, and the symphonic Orchester Winternitz. He was also an active member in the Shanghai Musicians Association of Stateless Refugees union; cf. Sophie Fetthauer, Carl Maximilian Winternitz, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, Lexikon, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00002830?wcmsID=0003> (October 31, 2016). Except for Stern, the other musicians are also included in this data base.

88 Alfred Wittenberg (1880–1952) was a noted musician from Berlin, where he was first violin at the Königliches Opernhaus. He taught violin and piano at the Shanghai Conservatory and at the University, and remained in Shanghai after the war; cf. Xu Buzeng, Jews and the Musical Life of Shanghai, in: Goldstein, *The Jews of China*, vol. 1, 230–238, here 234 f.

89 Wolfgang Fraenkel (1897–1983) studied music and law in Berlin. Until 1933 he was a judge at the local appeal court, and thereafter made his living as a musician. In Shanghai he became a member of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra in 1940 and taught at the Conservatory. In 1947, emigrated to the United States; cf. Christian Utz, Wolfgang Fraenkel, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, Lexikon, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00001444> (September 28, 2016).

90 Margolinski (1902–1980) studied piano and conducting in Berlin. In 1923 he was engaged with the orchestra in Bamberg, where he met and married the opera singer Irene Seidl (1899–1980), who had also studied in Berlin. In 1933 the couple moved to Berlin, where she was a member of the choir of the Jüdischer Kulturbund. In Shanghai Henri became head of the EJAS, taught at the Conservatory, and managed philharmonic concerts in which he performed as the pianist or conductor. Irene taught singing at the University of Shanghai. In 1949 the couple settled in the United States; cf. Sophie Fetthauer, Irene Margolinski, in: *ibid.*, <http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00005297> (September 28, 2016).

Lisa Robitschek, Sabine Rapp,⁹¹ Rosl Albach-Gerstl,⁹² der leider zu frueh verstorbene Pianist Wilhelm Loewitt sind Namen, die jeder kunstverstaendige Shanghailaender kennt. Einen besonderen Platz nimmt der bereits in Wien beruehmte Violinvirtuose Ferdinand Adler⁹³ ein, ein Kuenstler wirklich grossen internationalen Formates. Josef Fruchter trat neuerdings mit gutem Erfolg an die Shanghaier Oeffentlichkeit. Irene Seidl-Margolinsky, Fritz Philippsborn,⁹⁴ Margit Langer-Kleemann⁹⁵ [sic] sind Namen, die ueber den Immigrationskreis bekannt geworden sind. Fritz Prager⁹⁶ und Leo Schoenbach⁹⁷ betaetigen sich als Kapellmeister von Operetten im Rahmen der „Russian Opera“. Unter Pacis⁹⁸ Leitung wirkten als Gaeste bei den Municipi-

91 Rapp (Rappaport; 1910–?) was born in Blumenau (Silesia); cf. Anonymous, Sabine Rapp, in: *ibid.*, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00003388> (September 28, 2016).

92 Gerstl (Rosa Gerstel; 1898–?) was a Vienna-born soprano; cf. Anonymous, Rosl Albach-Gerstl, in: *ibid.*, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00004977> (September 28, 2016).

93 Adler (1903–?) was born in Klausenburg (today Cluj-Napoca), and studied in Vienna violin; cf. Walter Pass/Gerhard Scheit/Wilhelm Svoboda, *Orpheus im Exil. Die Vertreibung der oesterreichischen Musik von 1938 bis 1945*, Vienna 1995, 393.

94 Born in Berlin, Philippsborn (1915–2006) came via Palestine to Shanghai, where he was a popular basso. In 1953, he immigrated to Australia; cf. Barbara von der Luehe, *Die Emigration deutschsprachiger Musikschaffender in das britische Mandatsgebiet Palaestina. Ihr Beitrag zur Entwicklung des israelischen Rundfunks, der Oper und der Musikpaedagogik seit 1933*, Frankfurt/M. 1999, 140, 149.

95 Langer-Kleemann (c. 1908–?) was a trained soprano from Breslau. In Shanghai, she founded a women's choir that backed opera and operetta performances. After the war, she settled in the United States; cf. *Aufbau*, October 15, 1948, 32.

96 Prager (1883–1962) was born in Kattowitz (today Katowice). As a trained pianist, he was engaged at several music theaters in Germany from 1901 onward. In Shanghai he played piano on various occasions, but due to his poor health he eventually focused on instrumenting operettas for Shanghai stages. After the war, he briefly stayed in Germany and Ecuador before settling in Berlin; cf. Sophie Fetthauer, Fritz Prager, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, *Lexikon*, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00003385> (September 28, 2016).

97 Schönbach (1892–1945) was a cellist, pianist, and musical director from Halle. From 1935 on he appeared at concerts organized by the Kulturbund and at Leipzig's Jewish minor arts theater *Der bunte Karren*. He came to Shanghai in 1939 and became a popular director of operas and operettas. Schönbach died in Shanghai, two days before the premiere of the *Cavalleria Rusticana* (see Document 160); cf. Specht, *Zwischen Ghetto*, 159.

98 Mario Paci (1878–1946) was an Italian conductor who lived in Shanghai since 1918.

palorchesterkonzerten noch Bella Resek, Max Warschauer und Ernst Krasso⁹⁹ mit. Eine Kuenstlerin individueller Bedeutung ist die junge Pianistin Mirjam Magasi, die in zwei Konzerten vor einem internationalen Publikum Proben ihres Koennens ablegte, wie auch besonders der sehr begabte Robert Kohner.

Als Buehnenbildner betaetigten sich Walter Kornitzer, Hans Cassel und Fritz Krauss.

Der Versuch, ein Emigrantenorchester zu begruenden, wurde zwei Male unternommen. Im Jahre 39 gruendete sich das „Kammerorchester 1939“, das immer weiter ausgebaut wurde und als voller Klangkoerper mit einer Spitzenleistung im Eastern-Theatre unter dem Gastdirigenten Dr. Marcuse¹⁰⁰ an die Oeffentlichkeit trat. Als zweiter stellte Albert Einzig ein Orchester zusammen, das bei einem Gartenkonzert zwar einen Achtungserfolg erringen konnte, jedoch nicht in der Lage war, sich zu behaupten. Erna Kempe gruendete dann eine Unterhaltungskapelle, die ganz den Geschmack unseres Publikums traf und daher vielfach bei Veranstaltungen herangezogen wurde.

Die Ejas hatte infolge verschiedener Misserfolge ihre Theatertaetigkeit vollends eingestellt. Dr. Dreyfuss veranstaltete einige sehr interessante Konzerte mit den bereits genannten Spitzenkuenstlern. Er konnte sogar als Dozent an der Shanghai Universitaet wirken und eine Anzahl von Vorlesungen mit praktischen Beispielen halten, zu denen er ebenfalls Kuenstler des Immigrationskreises heranzog. Die geschaeftliche Leitung der Ejas hat A. Robitschek uebernommen als Nachfolger Bruno Pragers.

Unter den jiddischen Kuenstlern war es vor allem Rajah Somina [sic],¹⁰¹ die sich einen grossen Anhaengerkreis schaffen konnte und immer wieder mit brausendem Beifall begruesst wurde. Hersch Friedmann¹⁰² wurde als

99 The tenor Krasso (1890–?) was employed at various theaters in Germany before he came to Berlin, where he joined the Kulturbund in 1936. From June 1939 on he was a member of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra; cf. Anonymous, Ernst Krasso, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, Lexikon, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00003348> (September 28, 2016).

100 Erich Marcuse (1907–?) was a surgeon in Berlin. According to the Report of the Medical Board of the CAEJR, 12 (see Document 76), he continued practicing medicine in Shanghai. On various occasions he appeared on stage playing piano or conducting.

101 According to Document 149, Raja (Raya) Zomina grew up in Vilna, where she acted, sung, and danced on stage since childhood. Later she joined the renowned Warsaw Yiddish Art Theater. She arrived in Shanghai in 1941 and quickly became known as an actress; yet above all she was a popular singer of Yiddish and Hasidic songs. Information regarding her life after the Shanghai exile is not available.

102 Friedmann (c. 1897–?) was a cantor and singer from Breslau. In Shanghai he became a popular Yiddish folk singer, actor, and director; cf. Philipp, Thespiskarren, 165.

„jiddischer Volksliedersaenger“ beliebt. Gretl [sic] Kleiner¹⁰³ betaetigte sich sowohl als jiddische Chansonette wie auch Wiener Liedersaengerin sehr [96] erfolgreich. Mex [sic] Retzler¹⁰⁴ war ein hervorragender Begleiter der jiddischen Kuenstler und erwies sich ausserdem als guter Instrumentator und Kapellmeister. Einen Versuch, die Kuenstlerschaft zu aktivieren, unternahm auch Walter Lewens mit der Gruendung seiner „Pro Arte“. So gut seine Veranstaltungen aufgezogen waren, so sorgfaeltig Lewens die Programmauswahl traf, es gelang auch ihm nicht, die wirtschaftliche Fundamentierung zu begruenden.

Aus der grossen Reihe unserer Kuenstler wollen wir noch Bill Dago, Inge Michelsohn, Hans Bergmann, Siegfried Katznol-Cardo,¹⁰⁵ sowie den vortrefflichen Pianisten und Lehrer Sally Gutkind und die treue „Begleiterin“ Anneliese Wolfers, Olga Hajegg, Richard Stein und Max Guenther nennen sowie Monica Herrnfeld.¹⁰⁶

Einen schweren Existenzkampf hatten besonders die Literaten zu bestehen. Denn fuer sie fand sich kein Boden. Ihre Taetigkeit mussten sie auf die Verfassung einiger Buehnenstuecke beschaerlen. Eines der staerksten Werke war unzweifelhaft das von Dr. Mark Siegelberg und Hans Wiener¹⁰⁷ geschriebene Drama „Die Masken fallen“. Das ebenfalls von diesen Autoren stammende Emigrationsstueck „Fremde Erde“ konnte weniger gefallen, wohingegen das bereits erwachte Schauspiel „Urlaub vom Jenseits“ wieder ein Erfolg wurde. Der produktivste Buehnenschriftsteller ist Max Brandt-Bukofzer, der ausser seinen „Killebergern“ „Ewiges Volk“, „Trouble bei Blumenstein“, „Wer weint um Hagemann“, „Die Frau, die man uebersah“ schrieb, sowie eine

103 Her first name is sometimes rendered as Gretel, yet most sources have Grete or Greta.

104 The pianist Max (Mendel) Retzler (1901–?) was born in Kielce (Poland); cf. Anonymous, Max Retzler, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, Lexikon, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00003391> (September 29, 2016).

105 S. Katznol or S. Cardo (c. 1898–?) was an actor from Berlin; cf. Trapp, Handbuch, vol. 2, 1, 492.

106 Herrnfeld (1913–1980) was the daughter of one of the co-founders of the famous Gebrüder-Herrnfeld-Theater in Berlin. This became the main stage of the Jüdischer Kulturbund from 1935 on, and Monica appeared here as an actor and dancer until she left for Shanghai in 1939. After the war Monica (Herrnfeld-) Oppenheim settled in the United States; cf. Marline Otte, Eine Welt für sich? Bürger im Jargontheater von 1890 bis 1920, in: Andreas Gotzmann/Rainer Liedtke/Till van Rahden (eds.), Juden, Bürger, Deutsche, Tübingen 2001, 121–146.

107 This was Schubert, see above, n. 81.

Neudramatisierung des „Pojaz“¹⁰⁸ vornahm. Auch Sapiro betätigte sich als Bühnenautor, seine wirkungsvollsten Stücke dürften „Extraausgabe“ und „Pander Bellachoff“¹⁰⁹ gewesen sein.

Die bildende Kunst ist zwar wirklich international, aber gerade ihre Ausübenden bedürfen einer besonderen Individualität, um sich durchzusetzen. Shanghai ist kulturell ein undankbarer Boden. Zudem kommt, dass der bildende Künstler eine geraume Zeit braucht, ehe er in der neuen, ihm völlig fremden Heimat den Stil gefunden hat. Umso erfreulicher ist die Feststellung, dass eine ganze Anzahl von bildenden Künstlern der Immigration die Anerkennung des internationalen Publikums fanden. Die Firmen „Modern Homes“¹¹⁰ und „Western Arts Gallery“¹¹¹ halfen durch Ausstellungen,¹¹² den Weg in die Öffentlichkeit zu ebnen. Jacoby,¹¹³ Bloch,¹¹⁴ Fred Fredden,¹¹⁵

108 *Der Pojaz* (1905) is the posthumously published and most famous novel by Karl Emil Franzos (1848–1904).

109 A printed announcement of a public performance reads “Belachoff;” cf. Philipp, *The-spiskarren*, 74.

110 Formerly (The) Modern Home enterprise, it sold its own furniture and interior design. Between 1934 and 1936 the owner was Victor Sassoon. Richard Paulick (see ch. 7, n. 69) was its manager from 1933, and from 1937 on its owner; cf. Eduard Kögel, *Zwei Poelzigschüler in der Emigration. Rudolf Hamburger und Richard Paulick zwischen Shanghai und Ost-Berlin (1930–1955)*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Weimar 2006, <<https://e-pub.uni-weimar.de/opus4/files/929/diss+koegel.pdf>>, 149 (September 29, 2016).

111 The owner was the bibliophile Heinz Egon Heinemann (c. 1912–?) from Berlin; cf. Frey Eisen, *Shanghai*, 435. He owned book shops in Shanghai, Beijing, and Nanjing. After the war he remained in China, but was imprisoned on charge of espionage in 1951. In 1953, Heinemann settled in Canada.

112 See Document 137.

113 Hans Jacoby (1900–1984) studied arts in Dresden. He reached Shanghai via the Netherlands in 1940. In 1947, he settled in the United States and wrote a diary, which is kept along with other personal documents in the LBI, Hans Jacoby Collection, ME 774; cf. <<https://archive.org/details/hansjacobycollection01jaco>> (September 29, 2016).

114 David Ludwig Bloch (1910–2002) studied porcelain painting in Munich. After his release from imprisonment in Dachau, he fled to Shanghai in 1940 where he produced graphic reproductions and works in other genres. After the war he settled in the United States; cf. Messmer, *Jewish Wayfarers*, 178.

115 Fred Goldberg (also Fred Fredden or Fred Fredden-Goldberg; 1889–1973) was an autodidact painter and printmaker from Berlin who taught arts in Shanghai. After the war he settled in the United States.

Heimann,¹¹⁶ Beermann, Wollstein, Schwarcz,¹¹⁷ Fischer und der Bildhauer Peter Paul Fechner waren die Vertreter dieser Kunstgattung. Bloch, neuerdings Michael Brenner und Fischer sind wohl als die staerksten Begabungen anzusehen. Uebrigens betaetigte sich auch Melchior als Graphiker, er verlegte sich allerdings hauptsaechlich auf die Gebrauchsgraphik. Dr. Franz Saxl trat mit einer Ausstellung bei „Arts and Books“ (Inhaber Dr. Dreyfuss) [sic] mit einer vielbeachteten Ausstellung hervor, ein Kuenstler, der Shanghai und das chinesische Motiv sehr realistisch festhaelt.

[97] Peter Paul Herrnstadt beschaefigte sich anfangs ebenfalls mit Malerei, ehe er nach dem Grundsatz, „Kunst geht nach Brot“ einer der besten und begehrtesten Innenarchitekten Shanghais wurde. Herrnstadt ist ein Schue-ler Anton von Werners,¹¹⁸ mit dem Rom-Preis ausgestattet und Lehrer von Grace Vanderbilt gewesen.

Unsere Kuenstler hatten es besonders schwer, sich irgendwie durchzu-setzen. Keine rechte Buehne, kein Vortragssaal, keine Moeglichkeit, richtig zu proben, taegliche Nahrungsorgen liessen ein Kunstleben trotz der groes-ten Anstrengungen und ehrlichsten Bemuehungen eigentlich nicht erstehen. Dennoch aber gelang es, Leistungen zu vollbringen, die bei gerechter Wer-tung als durchaus ueber dem Durchschnitt stehend bezeichnet werden mues-sen. Und, wie bereits erwaehnt, gelang es einigen, sich bei dem so schwierigen internationalen Publikum Shanghais durchzusetzen. Sicherlich harrt unserer Kuenstler noch eine grosse kulturelle Aufgabe, die sie loesen werden, wenn stabilisierte Verhaeltnisse im Immigrationskreis es zulassen.

116 Max Heimann (1909–?) hailed from Berlin. After the war he settled in the United States.

117 Josef Schwarcz, born in Vienna, was a scenic painter in Berlin before he escaped to Shanghai. He and his wife Eva Schwarcz left Shanghai for Australia in 1941; cf. Peter Vanlaw, Who Were the Shanghai Twelve?, <<http://forthelifeofme-film.com/2016/06/01/the-shanghai-dozen/>> (October 4, 2016).

118 Von Werner (1842–1915) was one of the most noted painters of the German Empire. He made official historical paintings and taught at the Hochschule der Bildenden Kuenste in Berlin.

Document 68*Horst Levin*¹¹⁹*June 25, 1941*¹²⁰*Radio broadcast (transcript), 3 pages.**YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/42*Mit dem Mikrophon um die Welt

Trompetensignal ... Achtung Achtung, hier spricht der Sender XMHA¹²¹ auf 600 Kc. Guten Abend liebe Hoererinnen und Hoerer, in einigen Minuten beginnen wir mit unserer heutigen Sondersendung vom Dachgarten Mascot und schalten um auf das Mascot. Bitte bleiben Sie am Apparat, es lohnt sich. Und viel Spass fuer den heutigen Abend ... Haloh [sic], Hallo Mascot, fertig zur Übertragung [sic], wir haben umgescaltet [sic] – ... Trompetensignal ... Macot [sic]: Achtung Achtung, hier spricht der Sender XMHA auf Sonderwelle vom Dachgarten Mascot. Wir beginnen nun mit unserer Sondersendung. Trompetensignal.

Mit unserm Mikrophon sind wir heute auf Shanghais schoenstes Dachgartenetablissement gezogen, wo soeben die grosse Radioschau startet. Eine grosse Menge erwartungsvoller Menscgen [sic] ist heute hier erschienen, um einmal auf einige Stunden all die Sorgen und den Trubel des Alltages zu vergessen und wir wollen alle unsere Gaetse [sic], die heute so zahlreich hier [sind,] auf eine Blitzreise mitnehmen, die uns in eine schoenere Welt fuehre[n] soll, wo man nichts von Kriegswirren und Noeten weiss, wo die schoenen Kuenste regieren, die uns ueber alle Sorgen hinwegtroesten.

Nun lassen Sie sich von uns einladen und unsere neue Radioanlage aus dem Jahre 1950, die wir Ihnen heute schon praesentieren, wird Ihnen die Schoenheiten unserer Erde vor Augen fuehren, unserer Erde, die heute von Kriegswirren tobt und von der wir hoffen, dass sie einmal wieder fuer alle Menschen Platz haben wird ...

119 About Levin, see ch. 2, n. 6.

120 This document has no date; however, the announced Sondersendung on the occasion of a hospital fundraising rally took place on this date. For further information cf. Eber, *Wartime*, 121 f.

121 Both Chinese and international radio stations were located in the city, authorized by the SMC. Among the international ones, the XMHA was the Armed Forces station, and was operated by the United States military, but used by the British forces as well. The XGDN was a British radio station which had a daily program in German.

Hunderte von eleganten [sic] Menschen sind heute im Mascot erschienen, die erwartungsvoll der Dinge harren, die da kommen sollen. Eine lange Reihe von eleganten Autos hat die Gäste von nah und fern herbeigebracht, wie soeben eingetroffene Gäste¹²² berichten, haben die Rickschahkulis an der Gardenbridge ihre Preise um das Doppelte für die Herfahrt erhöht um die Situation auszunutzen ... und viele haben wieder umkehren müssen, da die Plätze des Mascot bis auf dem [sic] letzten Platz gefüllt sind. Ein Riesenprogramm der Überraschungen wird jetzt hier abrollen, in bunter Reihenfolge werden wir Ihnen Unterhaltung aller Art bieten. Leider konnten wir unsere Fernschanlage heute hier nicht installieren, um auch denen, die heute nicht hier erschienen sind, diesen einmaligen Genuss zu übermitteln. Aber die Gesellschaft zur Verhütung von Ein-, Aus- und Ehebrüchen hat heute die Fernschanlage in Beschlag gelegt und ich kann Ihnen verraten, dass die Fernstrahler heute hierhergerichtet sind, und alles was hier vorgeht beobachtet wird. Also recht vorsichtig sein ...

Bevor wir nun mit unserer Blitzrevue „In 60 Minuten um die Erde“ starten, bringen wir Ihnen, wie sich das für eine ordentliche Rundfunkstation gehört, Nachrichten. Unsere Informationen stammen alle aus sichersten Quellen, die Hongkewer Schmonzes-und-Bonkesagentur¹²³ hat uns mit reichlichem Material versorgt.

Aus Shanghai wird berichtet, dass die chinesischen und englischen Behörden, wegen der immer grösser werdenden Anzahl von deutschsprechenden Kriegen [sic] dazu übergehen, von allen Beamten neben der chinesischen und englischen, in absehbarer Zeit auch die [2] Beherrschung der deutschen Sprache zu verlangen. Die Wechselstuben, die Parkwächter, die Rickschahkulis werden den Anfang machen und Zwangskurse in deutscher Sprache einführen. In der Verwaltung toben gegenwärtig schwere Kämpfe wegen des Dialektes. Es scheint jedoch, dass man sich dazu entschlossen wird, den Wiener Dialekt zu wählen, da er für die Chinesen wegen seiner verblüffenden Ähnlichkeit mit ihrer Sprache leichter zu erlernen ist.

Wir leben in der Zeit des Kampfes. Kampf ist gegenwärtig aktuell und da unser, nach einem berühmten Ausspruch kleines aber mißliches [sic] Völkchen auch was zum kämpfen haben will, haben wir Wahlkampf. Jawohl, erbittert wird um Stimmen und Mandate gerungen und gekämpft. Eine Anzahl von Parteien bewirbt sich um die Sitze, dass sich jedoch die betrogenen Ehemänner zu einer Partei zusammengeschlossen haben und ihre Vertre-

122 Gäste.

123 Both words are Yiddish. “Schmonzes” means inconsequential or silly talk, and “bonkes” are rumors.

tung im neuen Parlament haben wollen, ist eine Meldung, die noch bestäetigt werden muss.

Von einer begruessenswerten Neuerung haben wir noch zu berichten, die das beste Licht auf den Weitblick und die Geschaefstuechtigkeit einiger Unternehmer [werfen] wird. Um einem wirklich dringenden oeffentlichen Beduerfniss abzuhelfen hat sich hier ein Unternehmen etabliert, dass [sic] sich damit befasst, voreilig und nicht gerade im Himmel geschlossene Ehen in kuerzester Zeit zu scheiden. Diese Firma arbeitet jedoch nach voellig neuen, noch nie dagewesenen Prinzipien. Eine Reihe der erfahrensten Ehebrecher sind hier taetig, die jedem Wunsche ueberdruessiger Ehepartner beiderlei Geschlechts gerecht werden koennen. Obwohl dies Unternehmen erst seit kurzer Zeit besteht, hat es schon die besten Erfolge aufzuweisen. Die Ehebrecher der Eheverwertungsgesellschaft ohne jede Haftung sind fuer die naechste Zeit derartig mit Auftraegen ueberhaeuft, dass eine Betriebsstockung eingetreten ist, zumal einige der tuechtigsten Ehebrecher bei Ausuebung [sic] ihres gefahrvollen Berufes Betriebsunfaelle erlitten haben.

Die Firma betreibt ausserdem eine Reparaturabteilung, die alle in die Brueche gegangenen Ehen garantiert wieder nach neuestem Verfahren leimt und kittet. Fuer Erfolg wird garantiert. Im Abbonnement [sic] ermaessigte Preise. Da der Betrieb dieser Firma in absehbarer Zeit bedeutend erweitert werden soll, werden Bewerbungen von Personen, die glauben, dass sie den Anforderungen entsprechen, entgegengenommen. Laengere Erfahrung auf diesem Gebiet ist ein Vorteil fuer die Auswahl des Postens.

Wie uns weiter gemeldet wird, hat die chinesische Regierung einen Kredit von [3] 5 Millionen engl. Pfund erhalten, um einige wichtige Reformen einzufuehren. So sollen Z.B. alle Chinesen ab 1. September nur noch europaeisch gekleidet gehen und die chin. Nationaltracht soll abgeschafft werden. Wie wir dazu erfahren, sollen einige Stoffhaendler bereits die Verhandlungen betreffs der Lieferungen aufgenommen haben. Die Regierung laesst sich jedoch noch taeglich weitere Preisangebote machen, da die Angebote taeglich billiger werden.

Schiedsgericht.¹²⁴

Und nun noch eine Meldung aus dem Kunstleben. Nach seinen Sensstionserfolgen [sic] ist der Schauspieler, Regisseur und Dramaturg {Boris Sapiro} dazu ueberggegangen, seinen Auffuehrungen einen groesseren Rahmen als bisher zu geben. Er hat daher den Race Course¹²⁵ fuer ein 14 taegiges Gastspiel gemietet. Er will dort die Premiere seiner Bearbeitung der Oprentri-

124 This word appears here without any obvious relevance.

125 The Race Course (today People's Park) was located in the city center. Horse races and betting were extremely popular among the wealthy population; some members of

logie [sic] „Der Ring der Nibelungen“ von Richard Wagner herausbringen. Der so vielseitige Kuenstler wird das sonst 4 Abende fuellende Werk selbst bearbeiten und was davon ueberigbleibt [sic], in eigener Regie und Sprache auffuehren. Er teilt mit, dass er dabei den Siegfried, den Drachen und die Rheintochter selbst verkoerpern will, auch wird er das Orchester des S.M.C. selbst dirigieren. Man kann ihm und dem Publikum zu dieser Vorstellung alles gute wuenschen. Bei schlechtem Wetter sollen die Auffuehrungen mit etwa 300 Mitwirkenden auf der Buehne 18 Broadway vor sich gehen ...

Soweit unser Nachrichtendienst. Weitere Meldungen entnehmen sie aus unserer Presse.

Doch nun wollen wir Sie nicht laenger auf die Folter spannen, gleich wird unsere Reise losgehen. Hier der Fahrplan: Von Shanghai nach Ungarn, von Ungarn nach Italien, von Italien nach England, dann weiter nach Russland. Hier werden wir Europa verlassen und kommen nach Indien, Arabien, Palaestina, Amerika und von dort wieder zurueck nach Shanghai.

Document 69

*Ernst Pollak*¹²⁶

April 27, 1941

Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Jewish Chronicle, 11.

Department of Asian Studies, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Das Haus des Kindes

Zu Beginn des Monates Maerz wurde die Emigrantenschaft durch die Mitteilung ueberrascht, dass ein Lieblingswunsch des Ehrensekretaers des I.C., Paul Komor, zufolge der Grosszuegigkeit Sir Victor Sassoons in Kuerze in Erfuellung gehen duerfte. Es handelte sich um die seit langem geplante Idee der Errichtung des „I.C. Nursery and Children’s Home“, welches Kleinkindern und insbesondere Kindern von in Arbeit stehenden Eltern ein gesichertes, unter Aufsicht erfahrener Paedagoginnen stehendes Tagesheim bieten soll.

the Baghdadi community, like David and Sir Victor Sassoon and Ellis Kadoorie, were members of the Shanghai Race Club.

126 The journalist Pollak (c. 1894–?) wrote articles for several Shanghai papers, but mainly for the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, see Documents 69, 161 and 165.

Nun ist dieser Wunsch in Erfuellung gegangen. In der Tongshan Road 494 wurde vor wenigen Tagen ein fuer Emigranten-Kleinkinder bestimmtes Tageskinderheim eroeffnet, welches seiner Ausstattung nach jedem europaeischen Kindersanatorium wuerdig Konkurrenz bieten koennte. Viele Eltern, die bisher nur sorgenvoll einer schwer gefundenen Beschaeftigung nachgehen konnten, da sie ihre Lieblinge der Obhut fremder Menschen anvertrauen mussten, koennen nun sorgenfrei ihre Dienstobliegenheiten versehen.

Das Personal

Das neu errichtete Heim steht unter der Leitung der geprueften Kindergaertnerin Frau Liese *Aschendorf*,¹²⁷ die frueher an der Nordsee ein eigenes Kinderheim leitete und vorher durch Jahre einem Kinderheim in Breslau als Leiterin vorstand. Als Assistentinnen sind ihr die Damen Ruth ###, sowie Lizzi *Weiss* und Ruth *Miedzwinski* als Volontaeerinnen zugeteilt. In der Kueche hat Frau *Kamenowich*, als Housekeeper Herr *Mandel* Beschaeftigung gefunden. Durch die Errichtung des Heimes wurde also gleichzeitig einer Anzahl von Emigranten die Eingliederung in den Arbeitsprozess Shanghais ermoeoglicht.

Das hervorstechendste und fuer Shanghai augenfaelligste Moment ist die tadellose Sauberkeit und die einwandfreie Hygiene des unter der Aufsicht des Arztes *Dr. Jacobson* stehenden Heimes, der alle Kinder, sowohl bei der Ankunft als auch beim Verlassen auf ihren Gesundheitszustand hin untersucht. Ein eigenes, modern eingerichtetes Ambulanzzimmer steht dem Arzt hierbei zur Verfuegung. Vor wenigen Monaten bekam man in Shanghai einen Kinderfilm, der sich „Snow White“ betitelte, zu Gesicht. An diesen Film, der uns die Miniatureinrichtungen im Maerchenland der sieben Zwerge vorfuehrte, wird man erinnert, wenn man die Aufenthaltsraeume der Kinder besichtigt. Im Bade- und Duschrom befinden sich, ganz wenig vom Boden entfernt, Waschbecken mit fliessendem Warm- und Kaltwasser, ein grosses Becken, in welchem die Kinder gebadet und mit einer Brausespuelung gewaschen werden koennen sowie eine besondere Duschanlage. Weiter befinden sich in diesem Raum vier sanitaer eingerichtete Miniatur-W.C.

Reinlichkeit ist die oberste Devise, die in allen Raeumen herrscht. Vor jeder Mahlzeit und vor allem vor Verlassen des Heimes werden die Kinder gruendlichst gewaschen und gereinigt.

Der eigentliche Tagesraum, der von Riesenfenstern und Glastueren begrenzt ist, stellt zu gleicher Zeit den Speisesaal und den Schlafraum dar. Die

127 Elisa Aschendorff (c. 1913–?) worked in Shanghai as a nurse, and was married to cantor Jacob Aschendorff (see ch. 8, n. 18).

ganze Inneneinrichtung, Tische, Stuehle, Klappbetten sind in ihrem Format dem Zwecke angepasst, Kindern von 2–6 Jahren zu dienen. Das juengste Kind, das wir bei unserem Eintreffen mit rosigem Gesichtchen und geballten Haendchen in einer Wiege schlafend sahen, war die ein Jahr und vier Monate alte „Shanghailaenderin“ Sonja *Krips*,¹²⁸ deren Eltern Emigranten sind und deren Mutter als Schneiderin auswaerts im Berufe steht. Von den gegenwaertig im Heim untergebrachten 23 Kindern, deren Zahl sich aber bereits in wenigen Tagen auf 40 erhoehen wird, ist das aelteste augenblicklich fuefenfeinhalb Jahre.

Die Raeumlichkeiten

An einer Wand des Tagesraumes haengt ein einfaches Bildchen. Vor einem landschaftlichen Hintergrund steht ein grosser Baum, von dem beschattet ein junger Baum heranwaechst. Und unter dem Bilde befindet sich die Inschrift, die das Motto des Kinderheimes bildet: „*Infans hominis pater*“. Das Kind ist der Vater der Menschheit. In der heutigen Zeit mehr denn je. Auch unser Judentum bildet da keine Ausnahme. Nirgends in der Welt werden jene entwurzelten Menschen, die, wie schwankendes Rohr, vom Windstoss der Geschehnisse unserer Tage haltlos geworden sind, den Stamm fuer ein neues Geschlecht bilden. Auch das Problem des Judentums wird nicht geloest werden von Maennern und Frauen, von einer Jugend, die sich heute nach den *Fleischtoepfen* ihrer einstigen Heimat zuruecksehnen und auf ihrer Wanderung durch die Emigration nur den einen Goetzen kennt: das goldene Kalb. *Aus der Wiege, in der heute noch das juedische Kleinkind schlaeft aus dieser Wiege wird auch das neue Judentum entstehen.*

In einer tadellos sauberen Kueche, auf das Modernste eingerichtet, werden die Speisen, welche die Kinder im Laufe des Tages erhalten, hergestellt. Die Tageseinteilung des Heimes ist folgende: 8 Uhr frueh Eintreffen der Kinder; 8–10 Uhr Spielstunden; 10 Uhr Fruehstueck, bestehend aus Milch und Butterbrot; nachher Spielstunde; 12 Uhr Mittagstisch, bestehend aus Suppe, Fleisch oder Fisch, Gemuese und Obst; 1–3.30 Uhr Mittagsruhe; 4 Uhr Haferflocken oder Pudding; anschliessend Spiel im Freien oder im Saal; 6 Uhr Milch und Brot; anschliessend Reinigung der Kinder. 7 Uhr Abholen der Kinder.

Eine wunderbare Gartenanlage, Kinderautos, Spielsachen stehen den Kindern tagsueber zur Verfuegung. Froehlichkeit und Kinderlachen sollen der Dank sein, den sich die grosszuegigen Schoepfer des juengsten Werkes von Menschenfreundlichkeit und Naechstenliebe erwuenschen. Dass sich Sir

128 The Krips family hailed from Frankfurt/Main, and after the war returned to Germany. Sonja Mühlberger (née Krips; born 1939) became a teacher and published books and articles on Jewish refugee life in Shanghai and her own experiences.

Victor Sassoon ein neues Denkmal im Herzen sorgenvoller Eltern errichtet hat, braucht wohl erst nicht besonders betont zu werden.
Ernst Pollak

Document 70

*Moses A. Leavitt*¹²⁹ (AJJDC) to *Laura Margolis*¹³⁰ (JDC)

October 16, 1941

Typewritten letter (copy), 1 page; on the top of the page is a stamp ("GEN. & EMERG.").

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 462

Miss Laura L. Margolis,
Cathay Hotel,
Shanghai, China.

Dear Miss Margolis:

You are probably aware of the fact that the Ort has started a training school in Shanghai. We understand from Mr. George Backer here that the following people constitute the Ort Committee in Shanghai:

Honorary Chairman	R. D. Abraham
Chairman	E. M. Gran
Vice Chairman	I. Covitt
" "	A. V. [sic] Rodkin
Treasurer	V. Koteliovich [sic]
Secretary	Dr. Fritz Lesser
" "	B. L. Radomishelsky

In due course we shall be glad to receive from you a report of the progress of this training school.

Sincerely yours,
Moses A. Leavitt,
Secretary.

MAL:RM

¹²⁹ About Leavitt, see ch. 3, n. 23.

¹³⁰ About Margolis, see ch. 3, n. 33.

Document 71

Anonymous

July 31, 1945

Printed brochure, Four Years “ORT” Activities in Shanghai, 1941–1945. Shanghai: The Shanghai Herald, 84 pages (excerpts, pp. 9–21).

Microfilm, AJJDC Collection 4/006 2085524

Abstract

According to the preface (not reproduced here) by C. Rozenbes,¹³¹ ORT activities began in Shanghai with the arrival of the Polish Jews from Kobe in 1941. Despite the Pacific War and the cessation of financial support from the United States, ORT taught courses including carpentry and lock smithing; women could take courses like dress making and machine knitting. Later even engineering was added, and laboratory assistants were trained.

Activities of the “ORT” Society in Shanghai

A fair appreciation of “ORT”’s activities in Shanghai will also have to consider, besides the training and schooling, the educational work that has been done by impressing the Refugees gradually with the idea that productive work is most efficient to overcome their social depression. Whilst the idea of the various relief committees was merely philanthropy “ORT”’s work intended to arouse the energies of the Refugees into activity.

Furthermore, those circumstances deserve due consideration that were obstructive to the realization of “ORT” ideas. To begin with, the leading Shanghai people found “ORT” principles far to [sic] troublesome to put them into reality; then, the beginning of “ORT” activities coincided with that period when Japanese Authorities in Shanghai deliberately frustrated any chance to the Refugees. It should be remembered that in those days a most ordinary thing could only be effectuated by utmost persistence; that very often the energy spent was in no proportion to the success attained.

With these facts in mind extent and success of “ORT”’s work in Shanghai are far greater than can be learnt only from the figures in the statistical statements on Training and Schooling. Therefore, it is necessary to add to the

131 Chaim Rozenbes hailed from Warsaw. He lived in Vilna after the German invasion of Poland, and organized the local ORT there. He organized the ORT activities in Shanghai (see ch. 4, n. 3) as well and was a delegate to the World ORT. After the war he settled in Australia; cf. Lewin, *Almanac*, 44; Finnane, *Far from Where*, 57, 89.

recorded figures on the courses a general report on the performance of the "ORT" Society in Shanghai and their representatives. Just this performance of which statistics do not give evidence, had a bearing on the Refugees' mentality with regard to work, its value and judgement of man by what he is doing. [10] The very establishment of a workable "ORT" Committee was bound up with difficulties. The cosmopolite [sic] character of Shanghai had brought about a grouping of her Jews into four organized bodies: 1) the Sephardic Community (most of them being British subjects) 2) the Russian Ashkenazi Community with 3) the affiliated group of Polish Jews, and 4) the Community of Central-European Refugees. While the first three groups were already settled and had attained prosperity, the fourth group of the Central-European Newcomers faced social depression, as most of them found it impossible to range themselves in the economic life of the city. That is why the Sephardic and Russian Jews headed the relief committees for the Refugees.

These were the conditions Mr. Ch. Rozenbes, Delegate of "ORT" Central-Board, had to face at his arrival in Shanghai in May 1941. After many informative conferences with the representatives of all the four groups, finally, an "ORT" Committee in Shanghai could be constituted. After the establishment of an "ORT" office in the former French Concession the board was elected on 16th June, 1941:

Hon. Chairman: D. E. I. [sic] Abraham; Chairman: E. M. Gran, 1. Vice-Chairman: I. Covitt; 2. Vice-Chairman: A. Z. Rodkin; Hon. Treasurer: B. A. Kopoliovich; Hon. Secretaries: B. L. Radomishelski and Dr. F. Lesser; Messrs. L. Pines and Ch. Rozenbes.

Furthermore, the following gentlemen were members of the "ORT" Committee: Rabbi Ashkenazi, M. Birman, J. Bittker [sic], Rev. M. Brown, A. G. Ginsbourg, J. Knoller, B. Liebermann, M. Lipjowski [sic], H. Oppenheim, Dr. B. Rosenberg, Dr. I. M. Steinmann.

Unfortunately, Mr. E. M. Gran, elected chairman, left Shanghai for U.S.A. on the next morning already, and it was up to Mr. I. Covitt, and then to Mr. A. Z. Rodkin to take the chair in the following meetings that brought work in abundance. The next meeting [11] discussed the ways "ORT" might proceed best with its activities in Shanghai. Deliberations resulted in the decision to start with courses in those crafts that are closely connected with the building trade. On the one hand, such vocations offer the best opportunity to get settled in short time; on the other hand, they promise the best chances in the postwar reconstruction for work all over the world. For these considerations preference was given to training-courses for men in electro-fitting, locksmithing, and carpentering; furthermore, a course for confectioners was planned because of the good prospects in Shanghai; for girls and women a course in dressmaking was to be arranged.

Three major difficulties had to be overcome, however, before these decisions could be put into reality: 1) there were no suitable premises; 2) there were no instructors in Shanghai that were fit enough to perform their work as required by the peculiar “ORT” scheme; 3) there were no available tools for the proper equipment of “ORT” workshops.

As to suitable premises, they had to be situated in the vicinity of the Refugees residential center (the district known as “Hongkew”) and, moreover, to house workshops and classrooms that could not possibly be adapted [sic] to the peculiarity of Chinese buildings (usually having such a small base as 15 ft. x 40 ft.). Finally, premises were found in a former knitting factory (475 Jansen Road) which, however, rendered satisfying accommodations only to the three most important courses, i.e. electro-fitting, locksmithing and carpentering. Therefore, “ORT” started with these three courses on account of their connection with the building trade, and had to postpone the courses for confectioners and dressmakers.

As to instructors the problem was solved by entrusting tried craftsmen with the practical training of the students, and expert-engineers to do the theoretical schooling. By time, all of them had grown into the [12] scheme of “ORT” activities and became valuable coworkers with the ideas of “ORT.”

As to the workshops it took much trouble to get at that time imported tools; finally we succeeded in securing equipment of first class quality. Furthermore, the trainees were given working-dresses that they might keep their own clothes in good condition.

The curriculum of the training was scheduled for a period of six to eight months and a preliminary budget amounting to U.S.A.\$ 7000.– was drawn up to cover the expenses for the establishment as well as for the training period, and these plans were approved by the Central Board of “ORT” in U.S.A. Unfortunately, only half of the required sum was remitted from U.S.A. to “ORT” Shanghai prior to the outbreak of the Pacific War (8th Dec., 1941), and consequently, “ORT” had to face financial difficulties.

On 1st Sept., 1941, the three fundamental technical courses (electro-fitting, locksmithing, and carpentering) started and were followed (5th Nov., 1941) by a course for Motorcar-Drivers.

Now, “ORT” had to suffer from the repercussions of the Pacific War. “ORT” found itself cut off from the American resources, and funds had to be raised on the very spot of Shanghai. Mr. Ch. Rozenbes, Delegate of the “ORT” Central Board, tried to secure sufficient means referring to the repayment from the resources in America after the War. Those members of the “ORT” Committee who were Allied subjects had to resign and the re-organization of the Committee had to be arranged; Mr. Topas, then President of the Russian

Ashkenazi Community, was elected chairman, and Mr. G. Rabinowitsch co-opted.

Since financial problems were now prevailing, a special commission was set in to deal with them; besides that, "ORT" started to win more friends and members. Then, a propaganda was launched through [13] the press and by personal connections alike to put the work of the trainees on productive lines.

The arrangement of an exhibition of objects made by "ORT"s trainees at the Shanghai Jewish Club in March 1942 served the same purposes. Although these activities rendered "ORT" city-wide popularity with the Jews and made many of them friends of "ORT" ideas, they did not result in a financial help. The utmost economy required at that time to reduce also the salaries of the staff to a minimum.

In March 1942 "ORT"-Shanghai held for the first time examinations at which 66 students were examined in public by a commission of experts during two weeks. Many representatives of Jewish organizations were attending, among them Miss L. Margulies [sic] and Mr. M. Siegel for JOINT. It is understood that these examinations did not concern only the respective students but also had to justify the way "ORT"-Shanghai had taken. Last not least, these examinations yielded valueable [sic] conclusions for "ORT"s further work. The successful students were given certificates in a special ceremony at the Shanghai Jewish Club with prominent representatives of local Jewish life again attending.

In order to organize the second series of training-courses an informative propaganda was launched on the inmates of the refugee camps; influential speakers talked to them on the value of handicrafts and agriculture, and consequently a great number applied for the admission to the courses.

In the first half of 1942 Refugees in Shanghai were caught in a crucial situation: the Pacific War had caused an almost total stagnation in local economic life in consequence of which most of the Refugees lost their jobs; the disconnection from the American financial resources left the relief organizations without funds; the means that could be collected from local quarters scarcely covered the barest necessities of the [14] most needy among the Refugees; malnutrition was then very common among the Refugees, and "ORT" students were almost unable to perform manual work. Unfortunately, "ORT" had no means of its own to help them to a better feeding, but could come to an agreement with the competent relief organization (then called "Kitchen-Fund") to the effect that "ORT"-students were given preferential support providing them with another warm meal daily. "ORT"s monthly budget was then balanced by donations and subsidies that were contributed by private sponsors, and by "Juedische Gemeinde and "I.C." (International Committee Sassoon-Komor), respectively.

On 31st Aug., 1942, Mr. Topas resigned the chairmanship of “ORT”-Shanghai for political reasons, and his elected successor was Mr. G. Schifrin.¹³² On 8th Sept., 1942, the ladies’ committee of “Centrojewcom”¹³³ arranged a Mah-Jong party with a lottery for the benefit of “ORT,” which helped for a short time.

An intensified support of “ORT,” however, had been gladly welcomed just at that time; the crucial situation—already mentioned above—had now culminated into the necessity to stop with the distributions of warm meals on the part of Kitchen-Fund. Therefore, the “ORT” Committee has to consider how to manage a kitchen for its trainees; before the respective plans were realized Kitchen-Fund could, fortunately, distribute warm meals again.

Another problem “ORT” has to deliberate was the solid education of junior trainees, as both the general conditions and aims for their vocational training differ in some respects from those inherent to the retraining of seniors. After due consideration with all competent quarters “ORT” started on 18th Oct., 1942, a technical junior course with a high aimed program on modern educational lines.¹³⁴

[16] The final examinations at the end of 1942 were featured by these difficult living conditions. Only a relatively small number of students could attend the training throughout the term unto the examinations. Most of them left “ORT” in order to accept even badly underpaid jobs as the support by Kitchen-Fund was well nigh insufficient [sic], and “ORT” had no means of its own to help their trainees. These difficulties of “ORT” reflect the steady deterioration of the Refugees’ situation on account at their increasing unemployment in the course of 1942. “ORT” had been closely watching this trend with grown apprehension and, therefore, discussed the situation with all quarters concerned. Subsequently, a large scale “Conference for Productive Help” was arranged at the end of 1942. In retrospect we understand that this conference could not achieve concrete results. The Refugees’ situation was then al-

132 Grisha (Gregory) Schifrin was a respected Russian businessman and a member of the Ashkenazi community. He worked for several organizations like ORT and SACRA; cf. Yaacov Liberman, *My China. Jewish Life in the Orient 1900–1950*, Jerusalem 1998, 52.

133 After the United States and Japan entered the war in December 1941, several welfare committees could no longer function as they had done earlier. In spring 1942, the Central European Refugee Committee (CENTRALJEWCOM) was founded by L. M. Rogovin as its first head. Its aim was to support refugees from Germany, a task which was denied by the EASTJEWCOM (see Document 89). For more information, cf. Eber, *Wartime*, 166 f.

134 On page 15 is a photograph showing two boys, a girl, and a male adult. The caption reads “The youngest pupils with their master.”

ready conditioned by too many political factors beyond our control to admit of productive measures. This conference contributed, however, to re-impress the public with the advantage of productive help over mere charity.

All these activities of "ORT" as schemed and performed in a period of general depression give proof of its trend towards positive and constructive work.

On 7th Febr., 1943, a new series of training-courses in electro-fitting, locksmithing, and carpentering were started; they were shadowed by the illfamed proclamation of 18th Febr., 1943, issued by the Japanese Military Authorities that restricted residences and business life of the Stateless Refugees to a "Designated Area" which could only be left by special permission of the "Shanghai Stateless Refugees Affairs Bureau."¹³⁵ ["ORT"s Committee had to enter negotiations with that Bureau. Finally, special passes were given to "ORT"s]¹³⁶ [17] staff and students for the shortest route from the "Designated Area" to the training workshop (475 Jansen Road); "ORT," however, was held responsible for any abuse that might occur in this respect.

As it is part of "ORT"s program to promote handicrafts and agriculture alike, the "ORT" Committee had never lost sight of and often had tried to meet the necessity of arranging agricultural courses. Finally, in March 1943 "ORT" could manage to overcome the manifold difficulties and make a start.

The creation of the "Designated Area" had also brought about a remarkable change as to the circles that were interested in "ORT"s activities. Many Refugees who had been moving into this area from other districts of the city got now engaged in Jewish Affairs and became friends of "ORT" whereas non-refugee members of "ORT" retired. This change is illustrated best by the fact that the general meeting dated for 20th June, 1943, could not be held because of too small attendance. Consequently, the "ORT" Committee had to re-establish themselves on account of their own. After that unsuccessful general meeting the board was elected on 29th Aug., 1943 as follows: Chairman: G. Schifrin; Vice-Chairman: H. Reiner; Hon. Treasurer: B. A. Kopeliovich; Hon. Secretaries: Dr. F. Lesser and I. V. Zitrin; Ch. Rozenbes.

By suggestion of Mr. Ch. Rozenbes this meeting decided to aid the trainees over their training period by carrying out productive work; thus, they might get special premiums in fair proportion to their labor. Furthermore, this meeting decided to apply to "S.A.C.R.A." for a subsidy to "ORT"s budget and for suitable premises that might permit to extend the activities.

135 The Shanghai Office (sometimes Bureau) of Stateless Refugee Affairs was established in 1940 by the Japanese Imperial Navy, the central Japanese authority in occupied Shanghai. Its aim was to control all Jewish refugee affairs in Shanghai. It is sometimes falsely referred to as Office/Bureau of Jewish Refugee Affairs.

136 Doublings and the misplacement of four lines in the original text have been corrected.

“S.A.C.R.A.” (Shanghai Ashkenazi Collaborating Relief Association) was constituted under Japanese tutelage as the authoritative Jewish body for all Refugee affairs; the influential functions were with members of the Russian Ashkenazi Community. The [18] relief-section of “S.A.C.R.A.” granted the subsidy “ORT” had asked for.

The meeting of “ORT” Committee on 13th Sept., 1943, co-opted two members of “S.A.C.R.A.,” Messrs. V. Kaffel and J. Yanowitsch,¹³⁷ into the board; they also decided that the general management and responsibility was to remain with Ch. Rozenbes, also for the enlarged sphere of activity. The same meeting appointed a “Technical Commission” to organize new courses and to deal with the problem of productive help to “ORT” trainees.

In the last two months of 1943 courses in machine-knitting and dress-making were started; furthermore evening classes for apprentices were established in order to furnish them with that additional knowledge they could not obtain with their masters. These classes started for electro-fitters, locksmiths, and hairdressers. In April 1944 a course in bookbinding was added, and schoolchildren were given an opportunity to spend their vacations (July, August 1944) gardening with the “ORT” Course for gardeners at the Chaoufoong Camp. Furthermore, preparations were made for a course in cutting which actually started in July 1944; it was intended as a complementary training for tailors already working in their vocation who wanted to widen the range of their abilities.

While “ORT” was thus rendering solid and constructive work, most of its members were caught in surprise in a very displeasing way by the order to reorganize the “ORT” Committee which was given to them by the “Shanghai Stateless Refugee [sic] Affairs Bureau” through “S.A.C.R.A.” Unto this day the circumstances hiding behind that measure of the Authorities have never been cleared up. As it is a matter of fact that there were never given any substantial reasons for this order, personal motives and troubleshooting might have caused it.

[19]¹³⁸ In their first meeting on 31st May, 1944, the board of the 12 assigned members decided to group themselves into two departments, one dealing with financial and general affairs, the other with technical and schooling

137 The spelling of his name is Yanowitsch or Yanovitch, some sources have Yanovicz.

138 At the top of page 19 there is a photograph, the caption of which reads “On occasion of final examination in March 1942. Representatives of American JOINT Committee with the board of examiners and instructors. First row (seating) from left to right: Mr. M. Siegel and Miss L. Margulies [sic] (representatives of JOINT), Mr. Ch. Rozenbes (Delegate of ‘ORT’ Central Board), Mr. G. Rabinowitch, and Dr. F. Lesser (members of ‘ORT’ Committee in Shanghai).”

problems. This committee could not manage to work smoothly, and especially the financial department was a failure. It is understood that in the long run a reasonable change was bound to come, and by time a workable committee was under restoration, as those members who had not proved fit for activities with "ORT" were leaving the board on account of their own. In the end, only reliable and willingly working friends of "ORT" have been remaining who are still today the "ORT" Committee: Chairman: J. Yanowitch [sic]; Vice-Chairman: H. Adler; Hon. Treasurer: B. A. Kopeliovich; Chairman of the Techn. Commission: G. Rabinowitch; Hon. Secretaries: I. V. Zitrin and Dr. F. Lesser; Representative of the craftsmen: S. Ultmann; Ch. Rozenbes.

In the meantime, the general situation of the Refugees in Shanghai had improved, as the "Shanghai Jewish JOINT Distribution Committee" had managed to contact the "American Jewish JOINT" which began sending regular remittances via Switzerland. Already the first negotiations with the Shanghai JOINT proved a full understanding for the value and importance of "ORT"s activities. As from July, 1944, JOINT subsidized "ORT" regularly thus enabling the realization of many ideas "ORT" had been planning since long.

From now on, "ORT" could give allowances equivalent to 1 lb. of bread daily to those students who could not earn anything because they were in training the whole day; moreover, additional allowances were given to especially eager students. In such a way, "ORT" aided their trainees over the training period, and subsequently the number of applicants increased. Numerous conferences with the respective craftsmen resulted in an agreement with the "Craftsmen-Guild" according to which the masters sent their apprentices to the "Complementary School for Apprentices" operated by "ORT" in "Wilhelm-Teichner-Heim."

The climax of "ORT"s activities was reached with the establishment of an "Engineering Seminar" in March 1945 that served technicians to widen their knowledge and was gladly welcome by them. The course in fashion designing, the training into chemical [21] laboratory assistants, and a complementary course for weavers satisfied acute wants of the Refugees, too; prove [sic] of which was given by the good attendance of these classes.

Thus, this review on four years activities of "ORT" in Shanghai will furnish evidence of the fact that notwithstanding the numerous financial and political handicaps and many a troublesome situation, "ORT" has never lost sight of its aims and steadily extended the sphere of its activities.

Three fundamental courses were in the beginning, at present ten courses are running simultaneously. In the beginning, training was performed in "ORT" Center Jansen Road, only; to-day students are educated in four vari-

ous places under the auspices of “ORT.” In the beginning six instructors were teaching with “ORT;” to-day thirty teachers are carrying through its program. During the period under report, 1200 refugees have benefited from “ORT”’s training and schooling. In the beginning of the fifth year “ORT” is planning to extend its work to the best of all Jewish groups in Shanghai.

Document 72

*Eva Hirschel*¹³⁹

May 1943

Handwritten poem, 2 pages; a photocopy is included in: Wilhelm Deman, Ein Verlorenes Jahrzehnt, Shanghai 1939–1949. Tagebuchblätter eines Heimatvertriebenen, unpaginated page after the index. On the top of the page is typewritten “die Gregg School of ###.”¹⁴⁰ Next to the poem a different hand has written, “Shanghai, 25.5.42, Ward Road 24/22.”

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/56B

Nach vieler Arbeit, Müh’ und Qual,
 Haben 3 Gregg-Schüler heute zum ersten Mal
 Ihre Prüfung mit sehr gut bestanden
 Die sie, wie sie behaupten, ganz easy fanden.
 Es war alles nur ein Kinderspiel
 Und angestrengt haben sie sich garnicht viel.
 Die kalten Schweißstropfen sind ihnen am Rücken herunter gerannt
 Und vor Bookkeeping haben sie sich alle sehr geban[gt.]¹⁴¹
 Stella hat gebrüllt: „Zum Kuckuck noch einmal
 Wer hat schon wieder mein Lineal?
 Mein Radiergummi und alles ist weg,
 Verdammtes Bookkeeping, so ein Dreck.“

¹³⁹ Hirschel (1927–2015) hailed from Breslau; she arrived together with her parents and her brother in Shanghai in 1940. In 1947, she settled in the United States; cf. Eva Hirschel, Why We Should Vote, in: The Voice 29 (November 2016), <http://www.shomreitorah.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/Nov2016Voice_web.pdf> (December 13, 2016).

¹⁴⁰ The official name was the Gregg School of Business.

¹⁴¹ The word was written at the very end of the sheet, and the last letters are missing.

Der arme Pepperl war ganz bleich im Gesicht,
 Denn die Balance stimmte immer noch nicht.
 Hans Künstlinger¹⁴² war entsetzlich nervös:
 Sprach einer etwas laut, gleich war er böß'
 „Könnt ihr nicht endlich ruhig sein
 Meine Zahlen stimmen nicht, ach es ist zum wein'.
 Wäre bloß das Examen schon vorüber
 Und wie komme ich glücklich gut hinüber
 Ich weiß nicht, was ich machen soll,
 Dieses Bookkeeping macht mich ganz toll.“
 [2] Aber trotzdem haben sie die Prüfung gut bestanden
 Wofür sie alle Herrn Prof. Deman herzlichst danken
 Herr Prof. Deman hat es ja nicht zu schwer gemacht
 Er hat alle Fragen sorgfältig bedacht.
 Keiner von ihnen ist kleben geblieben.
 Alle sind sie glücklich drüben.
 Und so wünschen wir ihnen eine gute Stellung bald,
 Einen guten Chef und viel Gehalt.

Eva Hirschel (15 1/2 Jahre)
 May 1943

375 Kwenming Rd.

Document 73

*Anonymous*¹⁴³

Spring 1944

Printed announcement, 1 page; a photocopy is included in: Wilhelm Deman, Ein Verlorenes Jahrzehnt, Shanghai 1939–1949. Tagebuchblätter eines Heimatvertriebenen; unpaginated page after p. 155. The graphic element in the title is a circle, encompassing a triangle or stylized “A” which has an “S” in its tip and a small Yin and Yang symbol between its angles.

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/55

142 According to the List of Foreigners, Künstlinger (c. 1927–?) was a Polish refugee who came to Shanghai with his family.

143 Tonn as founder and manager of the Asia Seminar was certainly responsible for the announcement; about Tonn, see chap. 4, n. 4.

ASIA SEMINAR
Volks-Hochschule
Vorlesungsverzeichnis ◇ Fruehjahren-Semester 1944

CHINA

Chin. Kunst, Musik u. Dichtung
W. Y. Tonn

Chin. Ethik und Philosophie
W. Y. Tonn

Chin. Heilkunst u. Heilpflanzen
K. Graftmann

Der universelle Gedanke in China
W. Y. Tonn

JAPAN

Die Tokugawa und Meiji Aera
F. Friedländer¹⁴⁴

Japan. Handel und Industrie
L. Berliner¹⁴⁵

Japanische Musik
E. Felber¹⁴⁶

Der Jap. Farbenholzschnitt
M. Rosenfeld¹⁴⁷

144 Fritz Friedländer (1901–1980) was a journalist from Berlin. From 1933 on he taught in Jewish schools in Berlin and worked for the Jüdischer Central-Verein. Following his release from imprisonment in Sachsenhausen he emigrated to Shanghai in 1939. After the war he settled in Australia. A comprehensive collection of Friedländer's personal documents, including a memoir, is available on <<https://archive.org/details/fritzfriedlaender>> (October 12, 2016).

145 Ludwig Berliner (c. 1888–?) was an insurance lawyer employed by the German civil service. In October 1940 he managed to escape from Berlin. He eventually reached Shanghai after staying for some time in Japan; cf. Stefan Fisch, *Wirtschaftliche Zentralstellen in Deutschland bis zur Gründung eines eigenständigen Reichswirtschaftsamts 1917*, in: Carl-Ludwig Holtfrerich (ed.), *Das Reichswirtschaftsministerium der Weimarer Republik und seine Vorläufer. Strukturen, Akteure, Handlungsfelder*, Berlin/Boston Mass. 2016, 27–95, here 34–36.

146 Vienna-born Erwin Felber (1885–1964) was a historian and music scholar; he was music professor at Shanghai University and artistic director of the European Jewish Artists and wrote many articles and critiques about music performances in the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*. He returned to Vienna after the war; cf. Sophie Fetthauer, Erwin Felber, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, *Lexikon*, <http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00003294> (October 14, 2016).

147 Manfred Rosenfeld (c. 1886–?) was a journalist from Breslau. In Shanghai he wrote articles for various newspapers. He was a member of the board of the Shanghai Jüdische Gemeinde, where he was in charge of media relations and edited the community's notifications in the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*. The AJJDC Collection (193344, 4/12/1/461) contains his letter to Rabbi Hermann Vogelstein, written in 1941, on the situation of Jewish refugees in Shanghai; available on <<http://search.archives.jdc>>

INDIEN

Indische Religion
W. Y. Tonn

Das Indische Märchen
Mrs. M. Deman

Indische Baukunst
L. Ponzen¹⁵⁰

Indische Liebeslyrik
W. Y. Tonn

ISRAEL

Das Buch Kusari
R. Mannes¹⁴⁸

Das Recht im Talmud
R. Adler¹⁴⁹

Medizin im Talmud
P. Bendix

Mystik und Gematria
W. Y. Tonn

SEMINAR-KURSE

Chinesisch für Juristen
R. Michaelis¹⁵¹

Chin. Rohstoffe u. Wirtschaft
L. Berliner

Chinesisch für Mediziner
E. Alexander

Chin. Wirtschaftspsychologie
W. Deman

org/multimedia/Documents/NY_AR3344/33-44_Count_1/AR33-44_Count_08/NY_AR3344_Count_08_00098.pdf> (October 14, 2016).

148 Rabbi Hillel Mannes (c. 1909–1999) was from Lithuania and reached Shanghai via Vladivostok in 1940. While there, he taught at the Talmud Tora School (founded in 1939). He became director of both its branch in the French Concession (founded in 1941) and the Beth Jacob School, an orthodox school for girls where he and his wife taught. Mannes was also a member of the Beth Din (religious court); cf. Lewin, *Almanac*, 56 f. After the war, he settled in the United States.

149 Rabbi Leo Adler (1915–1978) grew up in Germany. He began his rabbinical studies in Würzburg, and continued in Mir/Lithuania. He came to Shanghai in 1940. In 1956 he was appointed rabbi in Basel/Switzerland; cf. Leo Adler, *The Biblical View of Man*. Foreword by Shimon Gesundheit, Jerusalem/New York 2007, xviii f.

150 Leopold Ponzen (1892–1946) was an architect from Vienna. He died in Shanghai; cf. Antje Senarclens de Grancy/Heidrun Zettelbauer (eds.), *Architektur. Vergessen. Jüdische Architekten in Graz*, Vienna 2010, 73–75.

151 Dr. Robert Michaelis (1903–1973) was a judge in Berlin until 1933. He came to Shanghai in 1939, where he worked as a lawyer and served as president of the Association of Central European Lawyers. After the war he returned to Germany where he became Director of the Regional Court at Mainz; cf. Barbara Geldermann, “Jewish Refugees Should Be Welcomed and Assisted Here!” *Shanghai – Exile and Return*, in: *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, 44 (1999), 227–243, here 242.

Chinesischer Text: Lun Yü
W. Y. Tonn

Chinesische Architektur
L. Ponzen

SPRACH-KURSE

Klassisch:

Chinesisch

Japanisch

Sanskrit

Hebräisch

Tonn

Brunn

Tonn

Mannes

Modern:

Shanghai Dialekt

Japanisch

Urdu

Neuhebräisch

Auskunft – Anmeldung 369 Kwenming Road 3–4 p.m.
630 Muirhead Road 8–9 p.m.

ASIA SEMINAR
Leitung W. Y. Tonn

Document 74

*Manfred Rosenfeld*¹⁵²

June 14, 1942

Newspaper article, in: *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 3.

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/56B

Wirtschaftsaufbau durch Koennen

Die Frage des Wirtschaftsaufbaus und der Einordnung der Emigranten in die allgemeine Wirtschaft Shanghais ist gerade im Augenblick ganz ausserordentlich brennend. Wir sind hierhergekommen ohne grosse Erwartungen und vielfach von einem Irrtum befallen, der sich in geradezu beengstiger Weise ausgewirkt hat. Wir glaubten naemlich, dass man um in Shanghai vorwaerts zu kommen, lediglich seine in Europa unterbrochene Taetigkeit fortzusetzen brauche. Auch waeren fuer Shanghai konkretes Wissen und Koennen nicht erforderlich. Die Folgen dieses verhaengnisvollen Irrtums sind nicht ausgeblieben. Wirtschaftliche Fehlschlaege loesten einander ab, und selbst vor Ausbruch des Pazifik-Krieges war die Zahl der stellungslosen

¹⁵² About Rosenfeld, see above, n. 147.

Emigranten erschreckend gross. Den wenigsten ist es gelungen, in Unternehmungen ausserhalb des Emigrantentums Beschaeftigung zu finden.

Faehigkeiten muessen entwickelt werden. Kein Meister faellt vom Himmel auch nicht in China. Wir haben lernen muessen, dass wir hier in Shanghai zumindest denselben Grad von Koennen entfalten muessen wie in Europa, erschwert durch die fremdsprachige Grundlage, ohne die wir nun einmal nicht auskommen. In der Wirtschaft aber, sei es im Handel, Gewerbe oder auch in der Landwirtschaft, genuegt jedoch die praktische Ausbildung allein nicht mehr; sie muss unbedingt durch gruendliches theoretisches Wissen ergaenzet werden. Das hat man in Europa laengst erkannt und daher Wirtschafts-Hochschulen jeder Art gegruendet. Solche Schulen, zugeschnitten auf lokale Verhaeltnisse, konnten uns von den Verwaltungsinstanzen bisher nicht zur Verfuegung gestellt werden. Die Emigranten in Hongkew befinden sich jedoch in der gluecklichen Lage, in ihrem Wohnbezirk ueber eine Wirtschaftsschule zu verfuegen, welche gerade auf die Beduerfnisse des Emigrantentums und auf die besonderen Verhaeltnisse Shanghais abgestimmt ist. Es ist dies die unter Leitung von Prof. Deman stehende „Gregg“ School of Business.

Der gesamte Unterricht an diesem Institut wird in englischer Sprache erteilt. Gelehrt werden nebst den allgemeinen Handelsfaechern wie Stenographie, Maschinenschreiben, kaufmaennisches Rechnen, Korrespondenz, Handelsrecht, Kartotheekwesen u.s.w. auch Verkaufspsychologie, Reklamewesen und kaufmaennische Etiquette, welche von den aus Europa bekannten Grundsuetzen oft abweicht.

Der letzte Punkt duerfte den aus Mittel-Europa kommenden Emigranten neu sein. Hier klafft eine Luecke, die das Emigrantentum schon oft schmerzlich empfunden hat.

Die Ausbildungsdauer betraegt uebrigens nur 6–7 Monate. Da der Ausbildungsgang sehr intensiv ist, wird hier ein mehrfaches von dem erreicht, was in der gleichen Zeit in Europa geleistet wurde. Ein Teil der Absolventen des Winterkurses ist bereits erwerbstaetig.

Und noch ein wichtiger Punkt. In dem von kaleidoskopartiger Manigfaltigkeit [sic] durchwirkten Shanghaier Leben vergehen die Monate mit rasender Geschwindigkeit. Fuer viele duerfte Shanghai nicht der Endpunkt ihrer Wanderung bedeuten. Viele beabsichtigen weiter zu wandern, sobald dies die Verhaeltnisse gestatten. Dann aber wird das, was diese Emigranten hier erlernt haben, die Ausfuellung der noch aus Europa mitgebrachten Bildungsluecken, fuer sie von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung werden. Die Zeit zur Ausbildung, die ihnen hier reichlich zur Verfuegung stand, werden sie in einer aufstrebenden Nachkriegswirtschaft in Shanghai oder einer anderen Welthandelsmetropole niemals aufbringen koennen.

Die mit dem erforderlichen geistigen Ruestzeug versehenen Emigranten werden grundsatzliche Fehler vermeiden und es verstehen, sich der Wirtschaft jedes Wirtslandes reibungslos einzufuegen. So kann der Aufenthalt in Shanghai, wenn richtig ausgenuetzt, zum groessten Segen gereichen. Freilich, es heisst arbeiten, fleissig arbeiten, nicht aengstlich und kleinlich sein.
Manfred Rosenfeld

Document 75

Anonymous

June 1, 1939

Newspaper article, in: Gelbe Post, Ostasiatische Illustrierte Halbmonatsschrift, vol. 1, no. 3, 61.

The transcript follows the reprint in Adolf Josef Storfer (ed.), Gelbe Post. Ostasiatische illustrierte Halbmonatsschrift. Reprint der Shanghaier Exilzeitschrift von 1939, mit einer Dokumentation von Paul Rosdy, Vienna 1999, 61.

Emigrantenspitaeler in Shanghai

Die Zahl der Einwanderer aus Mitteleuropa in Shanghai seit dem 15. August des vorigen Jahres, d.h. seit 9 1/2 Monaten hat 10 000 überschritten. Der Voraussicht nach wird die Zahl in den nächsten 7 Monaten, d.h. bis Ende dieses Jahres, auf 20 000 anwachsen. Das bedeutet, dass die Zahl der mitteleuropäischen Einwanderer (meist deutschsprachige Juden) in einigen Monaten grösser sein wird, als die Zahl aller sonstigen Europäer und Amerikaner zusammen (mit Ausnahme der Russen). Dass zufolge dieser starken Zuwanderung auch eine Reihe von ernststen sanitären Problemen auftaucht, ist begreiflich, von Problemen, die im Rahmen der bisherigen Möglichkeiten nicht zu lösen sind. Da in Shanghai stets auch mit einer Reihe von ansteckenden Krankheiten zu rechnen ist, so wächst das Problem der ärztlichen Betreuung der Neuzugewanderten über den Rahmen der Emigrantenfürsorge hinaus und wird zur allgemeinen Shanghaier Angelegenheit. Daher haben auch, als vor kurzem der Gedanke aufgetaucht ist, besondere Spitäler für die Neuzugewanderten zu errichten, sowohl der Council des Settlements als die Verwaltung der französischen Konzession ihre Vertreter in das vorbereitende Komitee [sic] entsandt, u.zw.,¹⁵³ haben beide Munizipalitäten die

153 Und zwar.

Leiter ihrer Gesundheitsämter mit ihrer Vertretung im Komitee betraut, das Settlement Dr. J. H. Jordan, die Konzession Dr. Y. Palud, daneben auch A. Sadoc.¹⁵⁴

Es ist geplant, unter der gemeinsamen Bezeichnung „European Emigrants Associated Hospital“ zwei voneinander gesonderte Spitäler zu errichten. Ein 150-bettiges für die Infektionskrankheiten, ein 200-bettiges für sonstige. Die neuen europäischen Einwanderer sollen in diesen beiden Anstalten ohne Unterschied von Rasse und Religion behandelt werden.

Das Komitee besteht aus folgenden 21 Mitgliedern: R. D. Abraham, J. M. Alkow, J. Barraud, Major A. Bassett, Rev. M. Brown, S. Y. Euren, Frithjof Hoenneke [sic], Ellis Hayim, Dr. J. H. Jordan, R. M. Joseph, Sir Elly Kadoorie, Paul Komor, Nelson Lurton, Brig. B. Morris, Sir Robert Calder Marshall, Dr. Y. Palud, Dr. F. Reiss, Prof. Bernard Read, A. Sadoc, Sir Victor Sassoon, M. Speelman.¹⁵⁵

In der ersten Sitzung, die im Raume der Firma Sir Elly Kadoorie and Sons stattfand, wurde zum Präsidenten des Komitees Dr. Frederick Reiss gewählt, zum Schatzmeister Ellis Hayim, zum Sekretär J. M. Alkow.

Wie wir aus maßgebenden Kreisen erfahren, ist eine in europäischem Sinne mustergültige Organisation der beiden Spitäler geplant. Angesichts der großen Auswahl, die die vielen jüngst eingewanderten und noch zu gewärtigenden mitteleuropäischen Ärzte bieten, wird es nicht schwer sein, die Posten der Abteilungsleiter und der Sekundärärzte den Erfordernissen solcher Anstalten voll entsprechend zu besetzen.

Das Projekt der Emigrantenspitäler ist von Shanghaier Presse lebhaft begrüßt worden. Die „Shanghai Times“ z.B. beschäftigt sich in einem längeren Leitartikel mit dem aufgeworfenen Fragenkomplex. Man kann nur wün-

154 John Herbert Jordan served for about 20 years as the Commissioner of Public Health of the SMC; he retired in August 1942 and was followed by Tashiro, cf. Shanghai Municipal Council (ed.), Report for the Year 1942 and Budget for the Year 1943, Shanghai 1943, 7. Yves Palud was director of the Bureau of Public Hygiene and Assistance of the French Municipal Council; André Sadoc was a French merchant.

155 The committee members were respected men of the Shanghai international community; Jacob M. Alkow, a former American rabbi, was active in Zionist organizations. In Shanghai he worked for Jewish organizations on behalf of refugees. Julien Barraud was a French lawyer who had already lived in China for many years; Arthur Bassett was attorney for the British-American Tobacco Company; Sigvard Eurén was the Swedish manager of a Shanghai based match company; Frithjof Höhnke was a Norwegian businessman; Raymond Menashih Joseph was a Baghdadi businessman; Lurton was US-Commissioner to Shanghai; Brigadier Bert Morris was a British Salvation Army activist; Marshall was a British merchant; Read was a British pharmacologist who worked at the Henry Lester Institute.

schen, schreibt sie, dass es dem neuen Komitee gelinge, die nötigen Mittel aufzutreiben. Schliesslich handle es sich nicht nur um die Gesundheit der Emigranten selbst, sondern um die sanitären Interessen ganz Shanghais. Die Zeitung rollt bei dieser Gelegenheit die Shanghaier Spitalsfrage überhaupt auf. Der Bettenmangel sei in der Vielmillionenstadt Shanghai so gross, dass unbedingt Abhilfe geschaffen werden muss.

Document 76

*Frederick Reiss*¹⁵⁶

1940

*Printed brochure, Report of the Medical Board. Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai (April 1939 – April 1940). With an Introduction by J. H. Jordan, Commissioner of Public Health, Shanghai Municipal Council. Shanghai, 38 pages (excerpts, pp. 4, 13–22).*¹⁵⁷

Department of Asian Studies, HUJI, 2104 759 MISC–3/044

Abstract

In January 1939 a hospital for emigrants was opened. With the outbreak of the disastrous scarlet fever epidemic in spring 1939, it became necessary to open a second hospital capable of isolating infectious patients. Because of the prevalence of infectious intestinal diseases during the summer months an additional hospital was established for these. However, as increasing numbers of immigrants arrived, more hospital facilities are needed.

¹⁵⁶ About Reiss, see ch. 1, n. 33.

¹⁵⁷ The following was omitted here: p. 2: foreword by John Herbert Jordan (?–1949), praising the “calm and efficient” way in which the refugees dealt with the scarlet fever epidemic in 1939; pp. 5–12: listings of the names of the Shanghai Medical Board, the staff of the hospitals and camps, the names of members of the Medical Board founded on March 10, 1939 on the initiative of Paul Komor, its activities, and the names of “old-established” physicians in Shanghai who assisted in this Medical Board; pp. 22–38 contain a “Hospitalization Plea” by Robert Calder Marshall, an “Appeal” by Paul Komor, listings of the names of members of different Outpatients Departments, and tables showing the numbers of physicians, nurses, and different illnesses treated from March (August) 1939 to March 1940 at the Isolation Hospital, the Emigrant’s Hospital and at several Outpatient Departments.

“Vivere aliis, non sibi,
constituit essentiam medici”¹⁵⁸

INTRODUCTION

When I was asked a year ago to undertake the organization of the health problems of Refugees from Central Europe, I did not realize the many handicaps and difficulties which the health organization of 17,000 persons would entail. I have to admit now that the task was a rather heavy one and difficulties of an almost bewildering variety had to be encountered; but I may state that, despite my many shortcomings, we have fortunately overcome last year's anxiety. We have managed amidst confusion and distress to build up an organisation which has given curtailed and modest but adequate service to our refugees.

Without a sympathetic understanding on the part of the Municipal Council Authorities, our task of handling this unfortunate immigration of despair into our city, would have been much heavier. It is with great pleasure that I acknowledge the full cooperation and support in all health matters of Dr. J. H. Jordan, Commissioner of Public Health, to whom we owe a deep debt of gratitude. Thanks are also due to the Refugee Camp Managers and Hospital and Camp Medical Corps, the members of which fully understood their duties and obligations and performed their works unselfishly, sometimes with great sacrifice in helping with the noble traditions of our profession. I wish also to tender my thanks to Mrs. Altschueler, whose efficiency in secretarial work has been invaluable.

We are far from having accomplished all the desiderate health organization of the refugees. The local situation is tragic beyond description and has been aggravated on account of the outbreak of the European war. We shall have to rely much more than in the past on the generosity of additional benefactors for the relief of the many sick and mentally tortured persons. I trust that charitably minded persons will deeply sympathize with the sad fate of those unfortunate victims and that help will be forthcoming from all those who still possess that broad spiritual striving towards the love for man which is fundamental for the peace of to-day and which may be our happiness of to-morrow.

F. REISS M.D.

Shanghai, April 1940

[...] ¹⁵⁹

158 Living for others, not oneself, is the essence of physicians.

159 Pages 5–12 comprise a list of the members of the Medical Board and the medical staff of hospitals and shelters.

[[13]]

HOSPITALS.

THE EMIGRANTS' HOSPITAL.

Mr. Komor, through his tireless energy, succeeded in obtaining a building in Washing Road as a hospital. It was opened in January 1939 and provided 32 beds for men, 25 beds for women, but only 3 beds for children. This hospital treated all internal, nerve, skin, eye and venereal [sic] diseases, and even minor operations were performed.

Until September 1, 1939, Dr. S. Didner,¹⁶⁰ ably supervised this Emigrants' Hospital which he organized under extremely trying conditions. It was with great regret that the Committee had to accept Dr. Didner's resignation on the 19th August 1939. Dr. O. Freund, formerly chief of the Kinchow Road Outpatients Department and of the Hospital for summer diseases, succeeded Dr. Didner and became Superintendent of the Emigrants' Hospital.

In December 1939 a laboratory for chemical and bacteriological examinations was established in the hospital, with Dr. T. Loewy in charge. Up to date 982 various examinations have been performed for 404 patients, which includes 576 routine urine and faeces analyses and 406 special (sputum, N.P.N., blood-sugar, Bilirubin, etc.) examinations. The laboratory is not only at the disposal of the Emigrants' Hospital, but also serves the camps, as well as all such needy refugees, who are under care of the Committee.

The laboratory received several donations from the National Christian Council¹⁶¹ through the initiative of Mrs. J. C. MacCracken,¹⁶² for the purchasing of chemicals, instruments, etc.

To-day the Emigrants' Hospital provides 31 beds for women, 40 beds for men and 3 beds for children. This accommodation has frequently proved insufficient and consequently we were forced during last summer to place patients even on the verandah.

Unfortunately the Emigrants' Hospital has no space for patients suffering from mental diseases and consequently we were and still are compelled to send them either to the Chinese Red Cross or to the Russian Hospital. The Emigrants' Hospital was also inadequately equipped for surgery. Until December 1939, all major operations were performed in the Shanghai General Hospital. Due to the increasing number of such cases [[14]] and the lim-

160 Samuel Didner (1905–1999) was an Austrian Jew from Graz who arrived in Shanghai in December 1938. After World War II he continued to practice medicine in the U.S.; cf. Ross, *Escape*, 63–65.

161 The National Christian Council of China (founded in 1922) was an interdenominational consultative and advisory organization for Protestant groups in China.

162 Helen Newpher McCracken (?–1944) was the wife of Josiah C. McCracken (1874–1962), the founder and director of the Pennsylvania Medical School, Shanghai.

ited means of the Committee, I was forced to look for another solution. The Shanghai Sanitarium Clinic has kindly entered into an agreement which the Committee accepted. This proved to be definitely much more advantageous to the Committee, as considerable saving of expenses could be done. At the same time excellent care was taken of our patients by the surgical staff of the Shanghai Sanitarium Clinic. I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Dr. H. A. Mourer, and the rest of the staff of the Shanghai Sanitarium.

The problem concerning X-ray examinations and therapeutics was partly solved by the kindness of Dr. J. E. Bowen, Superintendent of the Country Hospital. The Committee was in a position to help a limited number who need X-ray treatment. Up to the present Dr. Bowen offered his services for the benefit of the Committee's patients and treated emigrants with X-rays and radium free of charge.

The B'nai Brith Hospital has also helped many poor patients and the requested diathermy treatments were always given free of charge.

Unfortunately the Emigrants' Hospital is far too small to render hospitalization to sick children and expectant mothers. Dr. W. S. Fu, the Superintendent of the Shanghai Children's Hospital extended a helping hand, as well as Dr. Amos Wong, the Superintendent of the Refugee Maternity Center and both were ready to provide space for emigrants in their hospitals, also entirely free of charge.

The American Foundling-House "The Cradle," a modern and well-equipped institution, is also at the disposal of the Committee and gives shelter to babies whose parents are unable to look after their newborn.

ISOLATION HOSPITAL.

In the beginning of May 1939 a serious epidemic of scarlet fever broke out among emigrants in Hongkew, which made it necessary to establish at once a hospital for infectious diseases. A building located near the Chaoufoong Road Home was considered the most suitable place.

The epidemic began with 18 patients, later bringing it up to 32 patients per day, reaching a peak of 128 patients. Besides the usual complications, we had only one fatal case. Gradually the epidemic decreased and by the end of June 1939, [15] the last 7 patients were transferred to the Isolation Hospital of the Shanghai Municipal Council. Thanks to the good care of Dr. Mosse, Dr. Benedikt, Dr. Szigeti, Dr. Margulies, the epidemic did not spread any further and took a rather favourable course.

For technical reasons summer-diseases were treated in temporary wards installed at the Kinchow Road Home from May to September 1939.

In September the Chaoufoong Road Hospital definitely became the Isolation Hospital for all kind of infectious diseases and those few cases that

were still treated for summer-diseases at the Kinchow Road Hospital, were transferred to the Isolation Hospital.

It was furnished with 45 beds for men, 25 beds for women, and 5 beds for children at the beginning and has now 55 beds for men, 40 beds for women, and 8 beds for children.

The management was taken over by Dr. Bela Szigeti, assisted by Dr. Goetz and Dr. Abisch.¹⁶³ When Dr. Goetz left, he was replaced by Dr. Ritter who also went to the interior of China. His successor is Dr. Ilieff who has been working in the Hospital as a volunteer.

KINCHOW ROAD HOSPITAL FOR SUMMER DISEASES.

Because of the numerous summer-diseases in June 1939, it was necessary to establish a hospital for infectious intestinal diseases. At that time the Isolation Hospital in Chaoufoong Road was not suitably equipped and, therefore, one part of the Kinchow Road Home was furnished with 35 beds for men, 30 beds for women, and 7 beds for children.

Dr. Otto Freund became the head of this hospital working together with the physicians of the Outpatients Department of the Kinchow Road Home. In September, as already mentioned above, those patients still being treated there were sent to the Chaoufoong Road Hospital.

ASSOCIATED HOSPITALS.

The ever increasing number of emigrants made it necessary to make further provision for sick emigrants and I planned to establish two hospitals, one a hospital for infectious diseases, which should meet all the requirements of a modern hospital. Therefore, in April 1939, an international Committee of leading citizens of Shanghai has been formed, under the name of the "European Emigrant's Associated Hospitals for Shanghai." The Committee was composed of the following members:

[|16|] **OFFICERS: President:** Dr. Frederick Reiss. **Treasurer:** Mr. Ellis Hayim.

Hon. Secretary: Mr. Jacob Alkow.

Representative of the Shanghai Municipal Council: Dr. J. H. Jordan.

Representative of French Municipal Council: Dr. Y. Palud.

Executive Committee: Mr. R. D. Abraham, Mr. J. M. Alkow, Mr. J. Barraud, Major A. Bassett, Rev. M. Brown, Mr. Fritjof Hoehnke [sic], Dr. J. H. Jordan, Mr. R. M. Joseph, Sir Ely [sic] Kadoorie, Mr. Paul Komor (resigned in May), Judge Nelson Lurton, Sir Robert Calder Marshall, Brig-

163 David Abisch (1905–1990) received his M.D. from the University of Berlin in 1930, and in 1939 he came to Shanghai. Apart from his work at the Isolation Hospital, he worked as a private practitioner; cf. Schwach, *Jüdische Kassenärzte*, 30.

adier B. Morris, Dr. Y. Palud, Prof. Bernard Read, Prof. F. Reiss, Mr. A. Sadoc, Sir Victor Sassoon, Mr. M. Speelman.

Two meetings were held at which everybody agreed upon the importance of my scheme and to a proposal that if Mr. Alkow, the Secretary of the Associations, would go to the United States of America he could describe there the condition of the present Emigrants' Hospital of the proposed new hospitals. Before Mr. Alkow's departure a permanent office in the United States should be considered in order to collect funds for Shanghai Emigrants' Hospitals.

[17] According to informations received from Mr. Alkow, the outlook is not favourable because the United States are also deeply involved in political uncertainties. But I still hope that Mr. Alkow's mission will finally lead to the attainment of our goal. At the same time amongst others the following appeals appeared in the local press:

EMIGRANTS' HOSPITALS.

Committee Formed. To deal with Health of New Arrivals.

With the influx of large numbers of European refugees to Shanghai, the health and well being of the newcomers and its effect on the rest of the community has ceased to be the concern of any one group. Nearly all are now agreed that this has become a problem for the entire international community.

To face this growing problem and to prepare for any eventuality an international committee of leading citizens of Shanghai has now been formed. This international committee is to serve as the executive committee of a new organisation, that will be known as the European Emigrants' Associated Hospitals for Shanghai.

The new committee will endeavour to find and create hospital facilities for 200 non-infectious and 150 infectious patients of the new arrivals from Central Europe, without distinction of race or creed.

In the event that the local community will be unable to carry the full responsibilities for these vast undertakings, appeals for funds to various countries that are now interested in refugee work will be considered. Such appeals will not, however, prejudice or conflict with, the larger appeals for support that the existing Shanghai refugee committee is now making.

The newly elected officers of the organization are Dr. Frederick Reiss, Pres. Mr. Ellis Hayim, Treasurer and Mr. J. M. Alkow, Honorary Secretary.

The Shanghai Municipal council has delegated Dr. J. H. Jordan to serve the committee on its behalf, while the French Municipal Council has authorized Dr. Y. Palud and Mr. A. Sadoc to serve on its behalf. The full committee consists of the following: – Messrs. R. D. Abraham, Mr. J. Alkow, J. Barraud, Major A. Bassett, the Rev. M. Brown, Messrs. S. Y. Euren, Frithjof Hoehnke, El-

lis Hayim, Dr. J. H. Jordan, Mr. R. M. Joseph, [[18]] Sir Ely Kadoorie, Mr. Paul Komor, Judge Nelson Lurton, Brig. B. Morris, Sir Robert Calder Marshall, Dr. Y. Palud, Dr. F. Reiss, Prof. Bernhard Read, Mr. A. Sadoc, Sir Victor Sassoon, Mr. M. Speelman.

THE REFUGEES:

More Hospital Room wanted. NCDN¹⁶⁴

At the suggestion of the President of the European Emigrants Associated Hospitals I beg you, sir, to allow me to appeal through the columns of your paper for the warm-hearted support of your readers for a cause that affects not alone the unfortunates on whose behalf I appeal, but the entire foreign Shanghai community.

With the arrival of more than 10,000 new emigrants to Shanghai, we are now confronted with an unprecedented problem of health that may affect not alone the health of the hundreds of new comers, but thousands of others. We frankly have almost become desperate in our search for a solution to the serious health problem which can easily be solved with a comparatively small portion of the sums that civilized communities spend for similar health measures, emergencies and eventualities. (Our present cost of maintenance and operation does not exceed Sh.\$ 1.50 per patient.)

The small Washing Road hospital, which is the nucleus of our medical work, has been overcrowded for weeks, and we have been frantically looking for space for additional hospital facilities all over the city, thus far we have met with no success.

There is now left for us but one alternative, and that is to immediately build temporary hospital quarters on the borrowed piece of land adjoining the Washing Road hospital and on some other donated or loaned piece of land in the French or International Settlements. But for this we need money.

We will probably need even more money later on, but for that we will appeal to America, England, France and other countries. What we need now and immediately, is a start.

With deep regret we are therefore compelled to use the valuable space of your columns to ask and plead with your generous readers to help us make the start for the establishment of medical centres for noninfectious and infectious diseases for an additional few hundred patients.

We are desperately in need of immediate funds for both building facilities and maintenance. Any contribution large or [[19]] small, will help us greatly to go on with our work till the time when we will obtain support from out-

164 *North-China Daily News*.

side sources. All contributions can be mailed to our Treasurer of the European Emigrants' Associated Hospitals, Mr. Ellis Hayim, 27 the Bund.

J. M. Alkow

Hon. Secretary.

European Emigrants Associated Hospitals.

Shanghai, June 9.

North-China Daily News

THE REFUGEES: An Urgent Appeal.

To the Editor of the "North-China Daily News"

Sir, – In these days of political and economic unrest and uncertainty, appeals to charitable people are scarcely well placed. One hesitates to add another jeremiad to the many to which the kindhearted Shanghailanders are already accustomed. Yet, if one makes an excursion into the Hongkew District, one cannot remain unimpressed by the misery and distress of a group of innocent human beings. Through great sacrifices, care has been taken of the healthy, but little thought has been given as yet to the sick, to the tuberculous and psychoneurotic, both of which are increasing in number. Starvation and mental agony find easily an ally in tuberculosis and the ever lurking microbe cannot find a more suitable breeding ground than the overcrowded homes of these poorly nourished people.

A new organization, the "European Emigrants' Associated Hospitals," has been created with great enthusiasm, which has a committee composed of leading citizens of our city. Both the International Settlement and the French Concession are officially represented on it. Everybody on the committee realizes that a hospital for 200 non-infectious and 150 infectious cases is necessary. Everybody agrees that this is a problem which has grown beyond the limits of the Refugee Committee, and only an international organization can handle the situation.

It is most regrettable that no encouragement has been given from responsible quarters. Neither the Municipal Council nor the French Concession has given any constructive suggestion. Either ways or means must be devised to stop the further influx of refugees to Shanghai and other places opened, or definite steps should be taken to assume at least part of the responsibility. At present the Refugee Committee is maintaining a hospital for 50–60 patients, which is already struggling [20] for accommodation and maintenance.

But what about the hospitalization of another 150 cases? What shall be done in case of outbreaks of epidemics? How should we handle the increasing number of mental cases? What should we do with the growing number of tuberculous children? Collections and Cocktail parties is a charming suggestion, but I am afraid that the effect of cocktails reacts generally in a slightly

different way, than in the compassionate reaction to help sufferers! We need quick and immediate help! We have to make a start, before it is too late.

Qui cito dat, bis dat!¹⁶⁵ Kindly send donations to Mr. Ellis Hayim, 27 the Bund, and suggestions to F. Reiss, M.D. Chairman of the European Emigrants' Associated Hospitals for Shanghai, 142 Museum Road, Shanghai.

F. REISS

Shanghai, June 20

N.C.D.N. May 23, 1939

HOSPITAL PROBLEM IN SHANGHAI.

With the arrival here already of over 9000 Central European refugees and in the expectation that this number will have been increased to 20 000 by the end of the year, it is obvious that among the problems to which this large influx is bound to give rise is that of the health of the newcomers and its effect upon the rest of the community. Of the refugees now here over 1000 are children and as regards these alone there is a vital health problem to be taken care of. A most interesting and important announcement was made just before the week-end, this concerning the formation of an international committee of leading citizens of Shanghai which is to serve as the executive committee of a new organization which will be known as the European Emigrants' Associated Hospitals for Shanghai. The aim of the Committee will be to find and create hospital facilities for 200 non-infectious and 150 infectious patients of the new arrivals from Central Europe without distinction of race or creed. This last condition is important, for it is recognized that among those now coming into Shanghai are many of other than Jewish religion. It is intended that the health and hospital services to be created shall be available to all European refugees without distinction and it is upon that understanding the scheme has attracted the personal support of several whose names appear on the committee. Both the Shanghai Municipal Council and the French Municipal Council have [21] authorized their principal health officers to serve on the new organization, doubtless in recognition of the fact that the maintenance of the health of so large a number of people has a direct bearing upon the health of the general community. One can only hope that this new organization, which held its first executive committee meeting last evening, will be able to get financial support from various funds overseas which have been raised to aid refugees, and will receive the fullest possible backing from the local authorities and community. Dr. Frederick Reiss, who has assumed the presidency of the committee, and all those who are associated with him deserve the thanks and encouragement of all.

165 Whoever gives quickly gives double!

This question of providing hospital accommodation for indigent refugees of foreign nationality naturally provokes consideration of the whole question of hospitalization in Shanghai in relation to the needs and financial capacity of the inhabitants. As regards hospitals for Chinese, the problem, as is generally well known, is far from satisfactory, but it must be said that the authorities and the various hospital and medical organizations have done a very creditable best to make the facilities both adequate and reasonable in cost. It is an enormous task which this overcrowded and largely impecunious city imposes upon the health authorities and the various managements of hospitals and nursing institutions, but that extremely fine work been done is generally admitted by those acquainted with the facts. Doctors have given freely of their services and, all-in-all, the situation has been well handled. There is, of course, much more that could be done, but the finances of the two Councils and the great many calls which have been made in other directions upon public generosity have led to the postponement of what otherwise would have been considerable overdue development in the provision of public hospital accommodation. With regard to the foreign population, such a large proportion of which has been badly hit financially by the developments since the outbreak of hostilities here nearly two years ago, there is pressing need for more and cheaper hospital facilities. In the existing hospitals there are relatively but few beds for the poorer section of the foreign community, and it is often a case of real hardship to meet the ordinary charges which going to hospital means, especially as charges have had to be raised, in common with increased costs in almost every direction. For a great many foreign residents the question of the increasing costliness of sickness, which few can hope always to avoid, is a serious one, and it would seem that the time has come when [22] much more public thought should be given to this matter.

Any well-organized community takes note of its hospital needs in relation to the ability of the people to pay as well as with regard to the adequacy of the accommodation available, and here in Shanghai, with so many personal incomes down and with the much increased cost of living due to the lower rates of exchange, there are many cases of severe personal hardship arising from the need to go into hospital. This is not as it should be, and it is high time that much more was done to make hospital treatment more cheaply available to low salaried Whites as well as to the great mass of the Chinese population. One admits that Shanghai has been set back over a fair number of years now in the matter of publicly-provided Chinese hospitals due to the budgetary difficulties of the Councils, and it must also be admitted that far too little has been done in the matter of assisted hospitalization for the low-earning class of foreigners and also to make hospital costs as a whole more within the ca-

capacity of a great many patients. While giving the heartiest of welcomes to the effort now being made on behalf of the indigent European refugees whose health must be protected, in the interest not only of themselves but also of the general community, the hope might be expressed that the whole question of hospital accommodation in Shanghai – its adequacy, its cost to patients of differing financial status, and its own financial structure and difficulties – might be brought under fresh comprehensive survey. [...] ¹⁶⁶

Document 77

[Illegible] (German Consulate-General, Shanghai) to German Foreign Office
June 30, 1940

Typewritten report, 17 pages; page 6 is missing (excerpts, pp. 1–5; 11–17). The first page has a printed letterhead, the date was typewritten; it also has several handwritten registry signatures and two registry stamps, one partially illegible, the other one saying “A. A. eing. 1. Aug. 1940.” On the bottom left of the first page appears the addressee, “An das Auswärtige Amt, Berlin”. On pages 4, 8–10, and 13–15, the report has references to the numbered attachments on the left margins.

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/73B

Abstract

This report was official correspondence; it maintains that although fewer Jews have been able to come to Shanghai since the start of war, they continue to find all sorts of illegal means of entry. The economic situation of the newcomers does not look promising, but despite news to the contrary they brought along possessions to Shanghai, which they are now selling. Jewish attacks on Germany and National Socialism continue.

¹⁶⁶ The rest of pages 22 until 38 are taken up by two open letters to the editor of NCDN, an appeal from the editor of the report, acknowledgments of financial help, and a description of the services of several medical units (e.g. the polyclinic, the maternity ward, the blood donor service) including a mention of their staff, and statistics concerning the patients and diseases treated in the various hospitals in 1939 and 1940.

Deutsches Generalkonsulat
Shanghai

Shanghai, den 30. Juni 1940.

B. 389

Akt. Z.: Po 4 L 5a

Inhalt: Judentum in Shanghai

Unter Bezugnahme auf den Bericht vom 11.1.1940

– B. 020 – betr. den gleichen Gegenstand.

Zuwanderung; neue Einreisebestimmungen; Weiterwanderung; Statistik; Organisationen; Wirtschaftslage; Politische Bedeutung der Emigranten; Einstellung zum National-Sozialismus; zu Italien, zu Frankreich und England; Juden unter sich.

– 2 Durchschläge

– 27 Anlagen

Die durch den Ausbruch des europäischen Krieges im Herbst vergangenen Jahres zum Stillstand gekommene Zuwanderung jüdischer Emigranten nach Shanghai setzte, wenn auch nur in geringem Masse, wieder ein, nachdem neue Wege gefunden worden waren. An Stelle der bis dahin benutzten deutschen Schiffe brachten die italienischen Dampfer monatlich über 100 Einwanderer, während ein kleinerer Teil auf holländischen und japanischen Schiffen Europa verliess. Mit dem „Conte Verde“, der übrigens als das 150. Schiff seit Beginn der grossen Einwanderungswelle Juden nach China gebracht hat, sollen Anfang dieses Monats über 150 jüdische Emigranten hier eingetroffen sein. Durch den Eintritt Italiens in den Krieg ist der Seeweg als Zufahrt nach Shanghai versperrt, denn die wenigen japanischen Dampfer, die jetzt noch Europa verlassen, werden mit japanischen Rückreisenden voll belegt sein. Die Hoffnungen vieler bereits hier ansässiger Juden, aufgrund der bereits von den Shanghai Behörden erteilten 2400 „Permits“ ihre Anverwandten bald herauskommen lassen zu können, sind damit zunichte geworden, da die Bahn über Sibirien nur einen geringen Teil hierher bringen kann. Am 14. d. M.¹⁶⁷ trafen zum Beispiel 21 Emigranten aus Oberschlesien, Hamburg und Berlin ein, |2| die am 27. und 31. Mai den letzterwähnten Ort verlassen hatten. Der sibirische Express verkehrt viermal wöchentlich von Moskau aus. Vor Manchukuo teilt sich die Linie; zweimal in der Woche fährt der Express über die Grenzstation Manchouli durch Manchukuo nach Dairen, wo die Einschiffung nach Shanghai erfolgt. An zwei anderen Tagen der Woche umgeht der Express in einem nördlichen Bogen Manchukuo und erreicht beim russischen Hafen Wladiwostok das Meer. In jedem Expresszug ist für 48

167 Dieses Monats.

Fahrgäste erster und zweiter Klasse Platz, wobei zu berücksichtigen ist, dass auch der russische Inlandsverkehr einen Teil der Plätze für sich in Anspruch nimmt, sodass günstigstenfalls mit 60 Permitreisenden jede Woche auf der Strecke Manchouli-Dairen gerechnet werden kann. (Preis Berlin-Shanghai II. Kl. 490,- RM.¹⁶⁸). Im Mai hatten sich die Konsuln von Japan und Manchukuo bereit erklärt, Durchreise-Visa auch für „Permits“ zu geben, die von der Internationalen Niederlassung erteilt sind. In diesen Tagen ist indes eine neue Weisung gekommen, nach welcher nur für japanische „Permits“ eine Durchfahrt durch Manchukuo möglich ist. Für Juden, die nicht japanische Erlaubnisscheine erhalten haben, besteht nur die Möglichkeit, den Weg über Wladiwostok-Japan zu nehmen, der jedoch mit Schwierigkeiten verbunden ist. Zunächst ist eine Sondergenehmigung der Sowjet-Behörden erforderlich, die nur in Moskau erteilt wird. Ausserdem verlangen die Japaner ein Transit-Visum, dessen Beschaffung schwierig ist. Endlich wird der Aufenthalt in Wladiwostok bis zur Abfahrt des Schiffes dadurch kostspielig, weil dort alles in Devisen bezahlt werden muss. Eine unmittelbare Schiffsverbindung zwischen Wladiwostok und Shanghai gibt es nicht. Mit einem regelmässigen Schiffsanschluss auf der Strecke Japan-Shanghai kann selten gerechnet werden, sodass die Auswanderer teilweise Wochen in Kobe und auch in Wladiwostok warten müssen. In letzterem Orte besteht zudem keinerlei [3] jüdische Organisation. Während sonst eine Bezahlung der gesamten Reise in deutscher Währung möglich ist, muss bei der Fahrt über den Hafen Wladiwostok, die 3 Tage länger dauert, die Schiffsstrecke nach Shanghai in Yen bezahlt werden. Nach Mitteilung der Judenpresse sollen von Berlin aus Verhandlungen eröffnet worden sein, um zusätzliche Waggons an die Expresszüge anzuhängen. Hoffentlich führen diese Verhandlungen zu einem Ergebnis, da anderenfalls der Abtransport der eine Einreiseerlaubnis bereits besitzenden Juden aus Deutschland mindestens um etwa 3/4 Jahre verzögert werden würde.

Dass die Juden mit allen erlaubten und unerlaubten Mitteln das Herinholen ihrer Rasseangehörigen zu fördern suchen, ergibt sich gelegentlich bekannt werdender „Schiebungen“. Um z.B. die Erlaubnis für Anverwandte in Deutschland zur Einreise nach der Internationalen Niederlassung zu erreichen, haben Juden, deren Wohnungen in der französischen Konzession oder im japanisch besetzten Gebiet liegen, fingierte Wohnungsanschriften im Internationalen Settlement angegeben. In diesen Tagen werden sich laut Zeitungsnachricht zwei Russen vor den Gerichten zu verantworten haben, die jüdischen Emigranten durch falsche Anstellungsbestätigungen die Einreise hierher ermöglicht hatten. Auch der am Schlusse des Berichts erwähnte „Kriminalkommissar“ Dr. Lax hatte ähnliche Wege beschritten.

168 Reichsmark.

Auf diese Unregelmässigkeiten ist wohl auch die am 1. Juli in Kraft tretende Neuregelung für die Einwanderung nach der Internationalen Niederlassung zurückzuführen. Danach müssen nicht nur die im Vorbericht – Seite 3 – erwähnten Voraussetzungen hinsichtlich Landungsgeld u.s.w. erfüllt sein, sondern darüber hinaus ist eine Eintrittserlaubnis der hiesigen Stadtverwaltung notwendig. Damit kann eine Prüfung der Richtigkeit aller Angaben an Ort und Stelle [4] erfolgen. Die Erteilung oder Verweigerung dieser Erlaubnis liegt vollkommen im Belieben der Polizei, und die Schiffs- und Eisenbahnlinien, die Reisen hierher buchen, tragen die volle Verantwortung dafür, dass diese Erlaubnis nachgewiesen wird.

In diesen Tagen ist eine Mitteilung über die von Juden in Deutschland auszufüllenden Fragebogen [sic] veröffentlicht worden (Anl.¹⁶⁹ 1) mit der gleichzeitigen Aufforderung an die hiesigen Emigranten, sich für die Beschaffung von Einreiseerlaubnissen für Rasseangehörige in Deutschland zu bemühen.

Die hiesige Judenpresse ist infolge der gebieterischen Notwendigkeit für die Juden, Europa zu verlassen und der sich dabei zeigenden Schwierigkeiten voller Sorgen, die nachstehend erwähnt seien, wenn auch Gebiete behandelt werden, die nicht zum hiesigen Amtsbereich gehören.

Es handelt sich nicht nur um die Tatsache, dass mit der Besetzung Belgiens die jüdische Weltorganisation aufgelöst ist, die die Auswanderung aus den totalitären Staaten nach Übersee finanzierte, auch nicht um die prophetische Sorge, dass auch die Juden in Frankreich und England „Daran denken müssten, über kurz oder lang ihre Auswanderung zu betreiben“, sondern um die Frage, wohin die Auswanderung gelenkt werden muss, weil „sich fast alle Länder den Juden verschlossen und lieber die deutschen Nazis hereingelassen haben.“ Die jüdische Presse klagt, dass die „Hicem“ mit jeder Post ganze Haufen von Einreisegesuchen zurückerhalte, wie z.B. aus Australien und Neuseeland, Südafrika und auch anderen Ländern. Australien sende nicht nur die Anträge deutscher Flüchtlinge militärpflichtigen Alters zurück, sondern auch von alten Männern und Frauen, sogar staatenlosen und polnischen Staatsangehörigen. Es würden selbst denjenigen die Visa verweigert, die Erlaubnisscheine der Bundesregierung besäßen; alle südamerikanischen [5] Republiken hinderten die Einwanderung in jeder Weise. Auch zunächst mit grosser Hoffnung begrüßte Niederlassungsmöglichkeit auf den Philippinen scheint erstem Widerstand zu begegnen. Dort soll nach Mitteilung der „Gelben Post“ eine ausgesprochene scharfe Opposition von philippinischen Führern bestehen und Präsident Quezon bei der Einweihung einer Siedlung

169 Anlage.

für jüdische Flüchtlinge ausgeführt haben, er sei damit einverstanden, 10 000 Juden „im Laufe vieler Jahre willkommen zu heissen.“ [...] ¹⁷⁰

[11] [...]

Wirtschaftslage.

Trotz der vorgeschilderten Einrichtungen kann die Wirtschaftslage der Judenflüchtlinge auch nicht annähernd als gesichert angesehen werden, da die hauptsächlichen Quellen von auswärts infolge des europäischen Krieges versiegen und der überwiegende Teil der Emigranten – wie bereits erwähnt – hinsichtlich Unterkunft und Ernährung unterstützt werden muss.

Die israelitische Union, eine Selbsthilfe-Organisation der hiesigen Juden, hat sich allerdings bemüht, ihre Rassenangehörigen in den Wirtschafts- und Arbeitsprozess einzugliedern, um für den Export nachgefragte Artikel herzustellen. Sie hatte sich daher vor etwa 6 Wochen an Fachleute aus dem Bereich der Holz-, Metall- und Glasbearbeitung, der Textilien-Herstellung, Maler, Lackierer und Polierer durch einen Aufruf gewandt. Über das Ergebnis der Bemühungen ist aber Näheres bisher nicht bekannt geworden und es [12] erscheint auch fraglich, ob eine konkurrenzfähige Produktion mit Hinsicht auf die billige chinesische Arbeitskraft möglich ist.

Wenn man sich fragt, warum trotz des Brachliegens eines so hohen Hundertsatzes von Arbeitskräften und trotz Ausbleibens einer finanziellen Hilfe vom Ausland kein grösseres Elend unter den Emigranten festzustellen ist, so muss man berücksichtigen, dass mit jedem Einwanderer wieder Bargeld zufließt, das, hauptsächlich in jüdischen Kreisen ausgegeben, zunächst eine zusätzliche Existenzerhaltung bedeutet. Es wird darauf hingewiesen, dass die nach dem Settlement zugelassenen Einwanderer je US\$ 400.– pro Kopf mitbringen. Anfang des Jahres sollen nach einer Wirtschaftsberechnung die mitteleuropäischen Refugees dem Shanghaier Wirtschaftsleben 1 Million US\$ zugeführt haben. Die mit dem letzten italienischen Dampfer „Conte Verde“ Anfang dieses Monats eingetroffenen Juden haben umgerechnet wieder 2 Millionen China Dollar ins Land gebracht und damit etwas neues Blut in die blassen Adern des jüdischen Wirtschaftskörpers hineingebracht.

Ein Teil dieses Geldes wird von den Rührigeren produktiv angelegt; ein anderer Teil ist allerdings, wie aus der Presse hervorgeht, dadurch verloren gegangen, dass sich Juden in ihrem angeborenen Bestreben, mühelos zu gewinnen, aufs Glatteis der Spekulation begeben haben.

170 On pages 5–11, paragraphs about the following subjects have been omitted: details on the Mindanao rescue plan, refugees continuing to the United States, rescue plans by Finland, New Zealand, and Australia, statistics on the Jüdische Gemeinde, and the activities of the IC.

Da die deutschen Behörden nicht so inhuman sind, wie man sie hier hinstellen beliebt, so ist den Juden gestattet worden, eine Menge ihres persönlichen Eigentums mitzunehmen, unter welchem sich auch wertvolle Sachen befinden. Der mit Unterstützung hiesiger jüdischer Kreise aufgemachte und bereits erwähnte „Thrift-Shop“¹⁷¹ vermittelt gegen eine gering Gebühr den Verkauf solcher Sachen, und so haben von Mai 1939 bis April 1940 in dem erwähnten |13| Laden Verkäufe von rund 130 000 Shanghai Dollar stattgefunden. Vor kurzem hat man eine neue Abteilung des „Thrift Shop“ eröffnet, in welchem Gegenstände zum Verkauf ausgestellt sind, die aus 13 bei Kriegsausbruch in neutralen Häfen stecken gebliebenen mit vieler Mühe weiter hierher beförderten „Möbel-Lifts“ stammen.

Politische Bedeutung der hiesigen Emigranten.

Bis zum heutigen Zeitpunkt kann nicht von einer politischen Bedeutung der deutschen Judenschaft in Shanghai gesprochen werden. Eine solche dürfte aber bei ihrer grossen Zahl für die nächsten Stadtratswahlen zu erwarten sein. Bei den diesjährigen war die Organisation der Wahlbeteiligung noch nicht durchgeführt, ausserdem standen die Juden zwischen zwei Feuern, nämlich zwischen einer Abstimmung für die Engländer und einer solchen für die Japaner. Die Möglichkeit für die Engländer zu stimmen – was ihnen natürlich am meisten gelegen hätte – war durch die Japaner beschnitten worden, die in dem von ihnen besetzten Stadtteil Hongkew offenbar gewissenhaft darauf gesehen haben, dass keiner der dortigen jüdischen Einwohner sich zu den englischen Wahlzetteln verirrt. Die Juden mussten auf der anderen Seite berücksichtigen, dass sie den Japanern für das gezeigte Entgegenkommen und Wohlwollen Rücksicht schuldig waren. So ergab sich eine Politik des Hin- und Herschwankens der jüdischen Presse bis als Schlagwort der Wahlruf „Selbstbestimmung“ gefunden wurde, der wohl die meisten Juden von der Wahlurne ferngehalten hat. Das kann sich in Zukunft ändern, wenn es den um die Ratssitze kämpfenden Parteien gelingt, die jüdischen Stimmen planmässig zu bearbeiten. (Anl. 8–9).

Einstellung gegenüber Nationalsozialismus.

Die Einstellung der Judenschaft zum nationalsozialistischen Deutschland blieb unverändert. Der Ton des 8-Uhr-Abendblattes wurde, gemessen an der Vorzeit, etwas milder, nachdem der Redakteur gewechselt |14| hatte. Offenbar hat letzterer damit nicht die Wirtschaftlichkeit des Blattes erhöht, sodass er es

171 Located on Nanking Road and organized by the IC, refugees could pawn their belongings here in order to obtain cash.

vorzog, eines Tages sang- und klanglos zu verschwinden. (Anl. 10). Zusammengefasst ist die Judenpresse in Shanghai nur ein Abklatsch der englisch-amerikanischen, mit den grössten Verdächtigungen, die teilweise aus amerikanischer Quelle stammen und eine unerhörte Verhetzung und Verdrehung darstellen. (Zu vergl. die Anlagen: 220 000 polnische Juden als Zwangsarbeiter (entnommen aus der Shanghaier Monatsschrift „Israel [sic] Messenger“); Rassenschutzgesetze und die Warschauer Freudenhäuser; Neues aus der Lubliner Hölle; Naziagenten in der Ukraine).

Auch die „Fünfte Kolonne“ spukt in Shanghai und hat die lautesten Weherufe der Juden hervorgerufen, als sie mit dieser in Verbindung gebracht wurden, ganz besonders, da angeblich „800 Deutsche Schiessübungen abhalten und sich offenbar für den Einbruch in die französische Konzession vorbereiten.“

Bekanntlich wollen 50 000 Juden aus allen Ländern gegen Deutschland kämpfen. Das will man auch hier, und da die Gefahr des Eingesetztwerdens geringer zu werden scheint, wird die Begeisterung grösser, sodass in Shanghai bereits 1000 Kämpfer zur Verfügung stehen, (Anl. 15–16) die „für den Dienst in Übersee nur noch geringe Ergänzungsausbildung benötigen würden“ ...!!

Die beiden Leiter der kämpferischen Zionisten¹⁷² sind leider nicht zu fassen, da sie nicht Reichsdeutsche sind.

Einstellung zu Italien.

Mit dem Eintritt Italiens in den Krieg auf Seite [sic] Deutschlands hat sich die bis dahin wohlwollende Stellungnahme der Juden zum italienischen Reich geändert, wenn auch zunächst in den anliegenden Artikeln nicht das gleiche Gift wie gegen Deutschland verspritzt wird.

[15] Gegenüber England und Frankreich besteht die gleiche Liebe, wie bisher, wenn auch – wie bereits erwähnt – in Geldsachen Vorsicht geübt wird. Das französische Rundfunkprogramm wird regelmässig in der „Gelben Post“ veröffentlicht. Das ist umso seltsamer, als die französische Konzession in kühler Zurückhaltung ihr Zuzugsverbot für Juden noch immer aufrecht erhält.

172 Several Zionist organizations existed in Shanghai. The first one was established by members of the Baghdadi community in 1904. Later on branches of several other Zionist organizations were founded, including Betar and THAZO. The Zionist Jewish Labour Bund was launched in 1941 by Polish and Russian refugees. After the Proclamation of the Designated Area, all associations united to form the Zionist Organization of Shanghai (ZOS) in September 1943; cf. Lewin, Almanac, 59.

Juden unter sich.

Ein Zeichen der wachsenden Nervosität infolge der wirtschaftlich und politisch gedrückten Lage ist der Versuch, das dahinschwindende Selbstvertrauen durch Hinweise darauf wiederaufzurichten, welche bedeutungsvolle Persönlichkeiten der Welt aus der jüdischen Rasse hervorgegangen seien, (Anl. 19–21) auf der anderen Seite aber die gegenseitigen Schwierigkeiten immer mehr in der Öffentlichkeit auszutragen. Ein besonderes Beispiel bietet der Fall des polnischen Juden Dr. Gabriel Lax,¹⁷³ der seine gehässigen Angriffe gegen den Nationalsozialismus, insbesondere gegen den Führer, gerichtet hatte. Da er staatenlos war, wäre ein Eingreifen gegen ihn nur im Wege der Strafverfolgung möglich gewesen, was durch dortigen Erlass vom 9.III.40 – 83–76 – abgelehnt worden ist. Angeblich um seinen Rassegenossen zu helfen, hat Lax Unterschriftsfälschungen vorgenommen, und nach Einleitung eines Strafverfahrens den Veranlasser desselben im 8-Uhr-Abendblatt angegriffen, sowie die Kühnheit besessen, eine Erklärung zu veröffentlichen und eine solche ihn deckende von dritter Seite in der Judenpresse zu veranlassen. Seine Verurteilung zu 3 Monaten Gefängnis, wenn auch mit zweijähriger Bewährungsfrist lässt erkennen, wie die nichtjüdischen Gerichte über ihn urteilen.

Eine persönliche Verärgerung veranlasste einen Juden Kaim zu einer Veröffentlichung in der englisch-amerikanischen Presse unter der Überschrift „Nazipropaganda in China“,¹⁷⁴ wobei das Internationale Committee, das sich alle Mühe gibt, den Rasseangehörigen zu helfen, verdächtigt wurde, durch Aufzeichnungen Handlangerdienste für die Gestapo zu leisten, um Geiseln aus den unter Naziherrschaft lebenden Personen zu machen.

Der Sekretär des I.C., Komor, musste dieser Verdächtigung durch eine Gegenerklärung entgegenreten.

Den Juden war früher viel Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl nachgesagt worden. Dies scheint sich geändert zu haben. Anderenfalls würde das Komitee der Hicem nicht „an das Gewissen aller derer appellieren, die sorglos und gedankenlos hier sitzen, sich zu besinnen und die von der Organisation geborgten Gelder zurückzuzahlen. Ohne Geld könnte man nicht den Frauen und Kindern, den Brüdern und Schwestern, vielleicht den eigenen Angehörigen helfen, die im Brand des europäischen Krieges ersticken.“

173 For further sources on the Lax case of forged signatures and SMP seals used to obtain a family entry permit, cf. Eber, *Wartime*, 108.

174 The reference is to the article by Julius Rudolf Kaim, *With Propaganda and Gestapo the Nazis Work Among Us*, in: *Shanghai Weekly Review* (May 25, 1940). Kaim, who was an academic literary scholar, writer, and journalist, published an autobiographical booklet after the war under the title *Damals in Shanghai. Kaiser, Kaufleute, Kommunisten* (Munich 1963).

Es werden ständig Vergehen bekannt, die Juden – sei es gegen Nichtjuden oder auch gegen ihre eigenen Rassegenossen – begehen. Soweit die Täter noch die Reichsangehörigkeit besitzen, wird von hier aus bei den heimischen Stellen die Ausbürgerung angeregt.

Eine Äusserung in der antideutschen China Press anfangs dieses Monats gibt die Einstellung wieder, die die bisher hilfsbereit für die Juden eingetretenen Kreise über das hiesige Emigrantentum bekommen. Man wies in dem Artikel daraufhin, dass die Vergnügungslokale von Juden gefüllt sind, dass diese aber zur Unterstützung ihrer ganz armen Rassegenossen kaum etwas beitragen, sodass die volle Last der Unterhaltung auf den Schultern der Altingesessenen ruhte. Dadurch, dass österreichische und deutsche Flüchtlinge sich einen schlechten Namen gemacht hätten, käme es, dass die Geschäftswelt eine ungünstige Meinung von den Juden erhalte.

Endlich wird auf die kühle Zurückhaltung der Russen, einschliesslich der russischen „Glaubensgenossen“ hingewiesen, welche die freundliche Aufnahme vergessen hätten, die einst in Deutschland den |17| russischen Flüchtlingen erwiesen worden sei.

Der bei Abfassung des Berichtes vom 11. Januar noch nicht in Erscheinung getretene Antisemitismus scheint somit die ersten Wurzeln zu fassen.
{###ücker}

Document 78

*Michel Speelman*¹⁷⁵ (CAEJR) to *Morris Troper*¹⁷⁶ (JDC)

May 6, 1940

Typewritten letter, 1 page. Enclosed was a letter (copy) by Eduard Kann (CAEJR), dated April 25, 1940, to Ishiguro Shirō (Japanese consulate, Shanghai), 2 pages; both letters have the printed letterhead of the CAEJR; on the first letter, the Committee's address, the sender's location, and the date were typewritten; it has a receipt stamp (June 3, 1940) with several handwritten signatures.

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 459

175 About Speelman, see ch. 2, n. 94.

176 About Troper, see ch. 2, n. 206.

COMMITTEE FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF EUROPEAN JEWISH
REFUGEES IN SHANGHAI

7 Avenue Edward VII
SHANGHAI/China
Cable Address: SPEELMAN

Letter No. 226

Airmail

Shanghai, 6th May 1940

M. C. Troper, Esq., Chairman
The American Joint Distribution Committee,
19, rue de Téhéran,
PARIS 8^e

Dear Mr. Troper,

I am enclosing copy of a letter which our Committee member, Mr. E. Kann, addressed to the Japanese Authorities. This letter speaks for itself.

To us it is quite clear that the Japanese are trying to bring in as many refugees as possible who will be allowed to live in Hongkew and eventually will be considered as rate payers, in the hope to have more votes for the next Municipal elections.

The great danger for us is that we will have a further unlimited influx of refugees who sooner or later will be thrown back on us, as we are convinced that none of them have relatives or friends here who can look after them.

Yours very sincerely,

{M Speelman}

Chairman

Encl.

[|1|] COMMITTEE FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF EUROPEAN JEWISH
REFUGEES IN SHANGHAI

Copy.

S. Ishiguro, Esq.,
Consul for Japan.
Shanghai.

25th April 1940.

Dear Mr. Ishiguro,

Re: Immigration

From the "8-Uhr Abendblatt," an emigrant evening paper, of April 23, I learn that 1000 immigration permits for Hongkew residence are about to be

issued. The issue of 20th April of the same paper contains a notice, telling applicants when to apply (according to the alphabet) to the Japanese Consulate General for delivery of the landing permits already referred to. All these applications were submitted without the intermediary of our Committee, so that the latter was not enabled to investigate the bona fides of the applicants, nor could we examine the prospects of the new arrivals to make a living in Shanghai.

While welcoming the idea to help people to get out from Central Europe and enable them to start life afresh in a new land, we feel apprehensive as to the ability of the newcomers to stand on their own feet. Since November last year, when immigration was again permitted under certain restrictions, our Committee has carefully examined the statements made in writing by applicants and has invariably passed on such requests only, which contained a fair chance that the newcomers will not become a burden to either our Committee, or to the Shanghai community at large.

Recently the Electioneering Association, consisting of refugees, a body without juridical standing, has inaugurated a campaign for the issue of immigration permits. We have no desire whatsoever to either criticize, nor to interfere in any way with the decisions of your Consulate General in this respect. On the contrary, we really remain thankful for the great kindness you have displayed towards the unfortunate masses of citizens who are forced to abandon their homes. But on the other hand, I feel dutibound to place on record that:

(a) our Committee cannot accept responsibility for the bona fides of both the applicants and the immigrants, as long as the applications have not been passing through our hands for examination of the statements contained therein.

[2] (b) that, in the event of emigrants arriving here without means – especially if this happens in large numbers – our Committee will most likely be unable to take them to the Homes and maintain there for a lengthy period of time.

Bringing to your notice for your kind consideration the contents of this last paragraph is really the main purpose of this letter. The means at our disposal are dwindling as time goes on and I fear that we should not be able to cope with the requirements of a large mass of people landing here without means and being unable to care for their own support.

This does not mean that our Committee does not want to see an increase in the size of the refugee population here. As a matter of fact, we at all times welcome the growth of the emigrants colony in China and shall gladly place our advice and assistance at its disposal. But what circumstances demand is that newcomers ought to be able to stand on their own feed [sic] and not be dependent upon the very slender monetary resources of our Committee.

I thought it advisable to bring to your kind notice these actualities and desire to thank you once more for the very helpful consideration which you hitherto have been good enough to devote to a really worthy cause.
Believe me, dear Mr. Ishiguro,
Very sincerely yours,
signed: E. Kann

Document 79

Anonymous

April 3, 1940

*Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury, vol. 63, no. 81, 2.
New York Public Library*

Japanese Bribing Emigres for Votes Relatives Getting Landing Permit Canvassers in Council Election Woo Minorities

Japanese canvassers for votes in the Shanghai Municipal Council elections are holding out tempting bait to European emigrés living north of the creek in their latest move. "Vote for the five Japanese candidates," they say, "And we'll give permission for your relatives to enter Shanghai."

The Nipponese have established a canvassing office in Chaoufoong Road, where two Japanese work, aided by four emigrés from Germany. They are doing all they can to secure minority votes, in their drive to put five Japanese on the SMC, instead of the two accepted for years under a gentlemen's agreement.

It is believed, however, that most of the German Jewish qualified voters live south of the creek, where they are not subject to Japanese pressure or blandishments. It is also believed that only half of the German voters in Shanghai are Nazis.

Japanese voters are expected to follow their usual tactics this year in plumping for their representatives, and not voting for anyone else, and for once the American and British voters are expected to follow their example.

In past years the majority of British and American voters have voted for the two Japanese candidates as well as their own with the result that the Nipponese have been top of the poll. This year Britons and Americans are not likely to vote for the Nipponese.

Document 8o

*Meir Birman*¹⁷⁷ (HIAS) to Dr. Braun (Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland)¹⁷⁸

April 15, 1940

Typewritten letter (copy?), 2 pages; page 2 has the typewritten heading “3794 [sic], 15.4.40, Reichsvereinigung, Seite 2.“

CAHJP, DAL 161b

5794

April 15, [194]0

Herrn Dr. Braun,
Reichsvereinigung der Juden
in Deutschland, Abt. Wanderung
Berlin N 4, Artilleriestr. 31

Betr. Einwanderung nach Shanghai.

Sehr geehrter Herr Dr. Braun,

in den letzten 14 Tagen haben die Japanischen Behoerden etwa 150–200 Permits ausgegeben, fuer Verwandte von Personen, die sich schon in Shanghai befinden. Es handelte sich hierbei jedoch nur um eine besondere Gelegenheit, die nicht so bald wiederkehren wird, und es ist nicht daraus zu schliessen, dass es nun etwa in diesem Sinne weitergehen wird.

Da es sich bei diesen Permits um solche des Japanischen Generalkonsulats handelt, nehmen wir an, das zweifellos seitens der Vertretungen Mandschukuos in Europa keine Schwierigkeiten gemacht werden, was das Transitvisum anbelangt. Bis auf Personen, die staatenlos sind, und kein Durchreiserecht durch die USSR haben, koennen also bei all diesen Auswanderern die Devisen gespart werden, abgesehen davon, dass die Landfahrt noch um 2/3 billiger ist. Wir koennen uns vorstellen, und haben auch aus Ihren bisherigen Telegrammen doch wohl richtig entnommen, dass eine Genehmigung des Japanischen Generalkonsulats nur fuer die Settlementspermits benoetigt wird. Denn die Permits, die der Japanische Generalkonsul selber ausgibt, braucht er doch wohl nicht noch zu genehmigen! Wir waeren Ihnen sehr dankbar, wenn Sie uns ueber die Entwicklung der Auswanderung nach diesen Permits auf dem Laufenden halten wuerden, zumal ueber die Visumfrage usw.

177 About Birman, see ch. 1, n. 79.

178 For the Reichsvereinigung, see the General Introduction, n. 12.

Es versteht sich auch dass, falls die Moeglichkeit zum Landweg besteht, wir sie bitten moechten, solchen Personen in keinem Fall eine Schiffspassage zu bezahlen oder auch nur zu vermitteln.

Was nun die Verpflegung unterwegs angeht, so haben wir ein Telegramm aus Bruessel bekommen, dass 100.– U\$.A. [sic] per Luftpost fuer diese Zwecke ueberwiesen werden, die einen Sonderfonds in Harbin bilden sollen. Wir hoffen, dass auch das Tientsiner Komite¹⁷⁹ [sic] einen kleinen Zuschuss wird geben koennen, sodass in dieser Frage Sie es dann nicht noetig haetten, extra mit der Belhicem¹⁸⁰ zu verhandeln. Ausserdem hat auch das Deutsche Konsulat in [2] Moskau seine Hilfe nicht versagt in Faellen, wo absolut alle Mittel fehlten und es sich um etwas Kleingeld handelte.

Wir erwarten mit Interesse Ihre w.¹⁸¹ ferneren Nachrichten ueber die Entwicklung in diese [sic] Frage, und zeichnen,

hochachtungsvoll

M. Birman, Manager

B/N.

179 Founded in Tianjin in the early twentieth century by Jewish emigrés, the Tientsin Hebrew Association aimed to give various kinds of support to local poor Jews; cf. Association of Former Residents of China in Israel [Igud Yotzei Sin] (ed.), *Jewish Communities of China*. Tianjin, <<http://www.jewsofchina.org/tianjin>> (June 3, 2016). For the Tianjin Jewish community, see ch. 7, n. 20.

180 BELHICEM was the Brussels-based special Belgian branch of HICEM.

181 “Weiteren.”

Document 81

*Anonymous (Modern Millinery Company)*¹⁸² to Paula Laufer¹⁸³

August 18, 1939

Cable; 1 page; the sheet is a printed cable form from the Deutsche Reichspost; the English text is typewritten, a German translation was added by hand below.
DÖW, Akt 16230

Deutsche Reichspost

Aus 40 DUNEDINNZ LH933 18 17 1603 IMP = VIA EAST
HMB =

Aufgenommen H 678 18. Aug 39 Hr

DLT = PAUL [sic] LAUFER VIENNA STAUDIJNGERGASSE [sic] 11/28
GERMANY =

GOVERNMENT PERMIT OBTAINED PROCEED NEW ZEALAND IMMEDIATELY = MODERN MILLINERY COMPANY +

{Gouvernement [sic] Erlaubnis erhalten. Kommet [sic] Neuseeland augenblicklich.

Moderne Hutfabrik Gesellschaft.}

182 The New Zealand company acted as guarantor for Paula Laufer's immigration to New Zealand; this document and all other relating documents mentioned in the footnotes below are kept at the DÖW, Akt 16230, now available on <<http://www.doew.at/erinnern/fotos-und-dokumente/1938-1945/vernichtung-deportationen-nach-maly-trostinec-1942/paula-laufer-vermisstes-permit>> (November 6, 2017).

183 Laufer, born May 28, 1908, was a milliner from Vienna. She died on September 18, 1942, in the Maly Trostinec extermination camp. Her entry permit for Shanghai was declared invalid after the outbreak of war (Document 82). A second permit allowing her to enter the International Settlement was issued by the SMC and signed by Paul Komor on April 28, 1942. This permit, however, was not accepted by the German authorities because it was submitted without a proper envelope (Document 83). After all attempts to obtain an entry permit had failed, Laufer and Arthur Ranzenhofer (see below, n. 194) tried to flee together, but were caught on the Austro-Hungarian border on February 13, 1942.

Document 82

*Moritz Adolf Laufer*¹⁸⁴ to *Anonymous (Modern Millinery Company)*¹⁸⁵
 January 15, 1940

*Typewritten letter, 1 page; the page has the printed letterhead of the CAEJR.
 Microfilm, YVA, 4/054 2091243; DÖW, Akt 16230*

COMMITTEE FOR THE ASSISTANCE
 OF EUROPEAN JEWISH REFUGEES IN SHANGHAI
 Disbursement and Housing Committee

Shanghai, January 15, 1940.

Moritz Adolf Laufer
 138 Ward Road,
p. A. Poste restante, General Post Office.

Modern Millinery Ltd.,
 258 Cumberland Street
Dunedin C.1 N.Z.

Gentlemen,

Some months ago I have written to your esteemed firm regarding my sister and await your esteemed reply. Now I have heard from my sister Paula Laufer in Vienna XX., Staudingerg. 11/28 that the permits which are issued before the beginning of war are unvalid [sic] and therefore she is asking that you may be kind enough in sending her a new permit issued from this year.

I should be very much obliged to you if you would be so kind in sending the new permit not to Vienne [sic] but to my Shanghai address.

Thanking you again for the kindness which you have done for my sister and I hope that you will favour me with your esteemed reply by return of mail.

Always ready at your service, I beg to remain,

Gentlemen,

Yours very truly

184 Moritz Adolf (Dolfi) Laufer (1894–1976) was Paula Laufer's brother; he came to Shanghai in 1939. After the war, he settled in the United States.

185 For this company, see above, n. 182.

Document 83

[Illegible] (Auslandbriefprüfstelle)¹⁸⁶ to Paula Laufer¹⁸⁷

June 13, 1941

Typewritten letter, 1 page; the letter has a printed letterhead; the registry number and date were inserted by typewriter.

DÖW, Akt 16230

Auslandbriefprüfstelle Berlin

Nr. 15710 / 41 J

Betr.: Vermißtes Permit

Bezug: Ihr Schrb. v.¹⁸⁸ 3.6.41

Berlin W 62, den 13. Juni 1941

Budapester Str. 20

Fernsprecher 25 92 01

Fräulein

Paula S. Laufer

Wien 2/27

Förstergasse 7/29

In den Anlagen werden der an Sie gerichtete Brief aus Shanghai (R-Nr.4330) und der von Ihnen eingesandte Freiumsschlag zurückgegeben. Das Permit ist sr. Zt.¹⁸⁹ von hier an die Ausstellungsbehörde nach Shanghai zurückgeschickt worden, weil es ohne den dazugehörigen Briefumschlag vorgelegt wurde und der Sachbearbeiter deshalb nicht feststellen konnte, daß es für Sie bestimmt war. Wer das bedauerliche Versehen verschuldet hat, konnte nicht ermittelt werden.

{R

I.A.¹⁹⁰

##enheim.}

2 Anlagen

Gef. v. S.¹⁹¹

186 The Auslandbriefprüfstelle was a department of the Abwehr, the German military intelligence service. Its headquarters were in Berlin. Among its tasks were the translation and censorship of letters.

187 About Laufer, see above, n. 183.

188 Schreiben vom.

189 Seiner Zeit.

190 Registratur (?); Im Auftrag.

191 Gefertigt von S.

Document 84

*Jakob Bauer*¹⁹² to *Paula Laufer*¹⁹³

*Artur Ranzenhofer*¹⁹⁴ to *Jakob Bauer*

June 24, 1942; October 18, 1942

Official ICRC cable, 1 page (recto and verso); the printed letterhead and form text (all in English, German, and French) have not been fully reproduced. The inquiry text on the front was typewritten; the reply on the back was handwritten. Both sides have the stamps of the ICRC.

DÖW, Akt 16230

COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL DE LA CROIX ROUGE
ENQUIRER

Bauer Jakob
Post Office Box No. 1131
Shanghai
China

LIEBSTE PAULA
HOFPE DICH GESUND. BIST DU VERHEIRATET? VON HEDWIG HATTEN
BERICHT. UNS GEHT ES GUT. WAS IST MIT SCHACHERL?
KUESSEN ALLE
FINI JENOE DOLFI
24. Juni 1942

ADDRESSEE
Laufer Paula
Foerstergasse 7/29
Vienna
Germany

192 Jakob (Jenö) Bauer (1892–?), a merchant from Vienna, was the husband of Paula Laufer's sister Josefine (Fini; 1900–?), a dressmaker.

193 About Laufer, see above, n. 183.

194 Artur Ranzenhofer (1899–1943) was Paula Laufer's fiancé. After their failed escape attempt and forced return to Vienna, he was erroneously released from detention by the Zentralstelle, but caught again and finally deported to Auschwitz in November 1942, where he died; cf. <<http://www.doew.at/erinnern/fotos-und-dokumente/1938-1945/vernichtung-deportationen-nach-maly-trostinec-1942/paula-laufer-vermisstes-permit>> (November 6, 2016).

[|v|]

REPLY

MESSAGE TO BE RETURNED TO ENQUIRER

(not over 25 words, family news of strictly personal character).

Meine Lieben!

Paula leider am 14. Sept. verreisst [sic]. Schacherl ebenfalls. Paula lässt Alle herzlichst grüssen. Bitte grüssen Sie meine Verwandten. Käthe ist gesund.

Grüsse

Ranzenhofer

Wien 18. Okt. 1942

Document 85*W. Guttman (UK Search Bureau)¹⁹⁵ to Josefine Bauer¹⁹⁶**September 1946¹⁹⁷**Typewritten letter, 1 page; the letterhead was typewritten.**DÖW, Akt 16230*UNITED KINGDOM SEARCH BUREAU FOR GERMAN, AUSTRIAN
AND STATELESS PERSONS FROM CENTRAL EUROPE.

WG/MES/CF.98531

Bloomsbury House
Bloomsbury Street
London, W.C.1Mrs. Josefine Bauer,
599, House 35,
Tongsham [sic] Road
SHANGHAI
China

195 The United Kingdom Search Bureau for German, Austrian and Stateless Persons from Central Europe (UK Search Bureau) was established in June 1944; it later became a section of the British Red Cross Foreign Relations Department, and was in touch with dozens of other affiliated organizations; cf. Jenny Edkins, *Missing. Persons and Politics*, Ithaca N.Y./London 2011, 65 f.

196 About Bauer, see above, n. 192.

197 The letter has no date, yet the postal stamp on the envelope says that the letter was posted on September 10, 1946.

Dear Madam,

re: Paula LAUFER – 28.5.08 Vienna

Some time ago your [sic] asked us to make enquiries for your sister, Mrs. Laufer, and we have now been informed by the Red Cross that, unfortunately, your sister was sent to Minsk on 14.9.42.

We are extremely sorry to have to convey such distressing news, but should any further information come to hand, we shall notify you immediately.

Yours faithfully,

{W. Guttman

##}SECRETARY

Document 86

*Meir Birman*¹⁹⁸ (HIAS) to *HIAS*¹⁹⁹ (New York)

September 11, 1941

Typewritten letter (copy?), 1 page; several words have been crossed out by typewriter.

CAHJP, DAL 99

By AIR MAIL

22319

“HIAS”

New York.

Sept. 11th [194]1

Re: Judith SPITZER, 14 years
Maison d'enfants, Chateau Montintin,
commune de Chateau-Chervix par
Magnac-Bourg,
& Michael SPITZER 10,
Vitry s. Seine, 22 Av. G. Clemenceau,
Institue [sic] Medico-Pedag

Dear Sirs,

The parents of the children are here, since beginning of 1939, and for two years have been endeavoring to bring them over here. One of them, the girl, is in South of France, while the other in occupied part of France. There lives

¹⁹⁸ About Birman, see ch. 1, n. 79.

¹⁹⁹ For HIAS, see ch. 1, n. 4.

also an uncle of the children, Mr. Willy Spitzer, 29 Blvd. Louis Blanc, Limoges, unoccup. France.

The parents here obtained for the children permits for Shanghai and now prolonged them. These were airmailed to the uncle. As regard [sic] transportation, the parents contributed US\$ 150,000, the utmost they could, they told us. US\$ 50 were lent them by the firm where Dr. Spitzer²⁰⁰ is employed and for US\$ 75 guaranteed Miss L. Margolis of Joint. The latter amount Dr. Spitzer pays us in monthly instalments of US\$ 5.00.

At present the parents are extremely worried, for we have received the following cable from Hicem, Marseille, with whom we are in constant correspondence on this case (air mail and cable):

“Yours August 31 Spitzer participation insufficient ask 150 Dollars each child.”

It was in result of this cable that the firm lent him 50 dol., Dr. Spitzer informed us. They are naturally anxious to have both their children with them and have applied to us with a request that their cousin in your country be contacted with a view of inducing her to be of help in this respect. The cousin is:

Mrs. Kaete Philippsberg, 290 Washington Street,
East Stroudsburg, Pa.

Will you kindly get in touch with her? We understand that Dr. Spitzer has also written you direct on the matter.

~~Mrs. Philippsberg remitted here for Dr. Spitzer's mother US\$ 30, for a permit for her, which unfortunately he has been unable to obtain. He has applied to Mrs. Ph. with a request.~~

Hoping duly to hear from you and thanking you in advance,
yours sincerely,
M. Birman
manager
B/H

200 The physician Franz Spitzer (1895–?), his wife Louise (1900–?), and their two children fled to France in 1938. Leaving the children in French children's homes, the couple arrived in the following year in Shanghai. After the war, the family reunited and settled in Switzerland. For this information, special thanks to Anne Sinclair from Idar-Oberstein for sharing a three-page letter written by Louise Spitzer and dated November 7, 1946. Mrs. Spitzer sent this letter from Shanghai to her friends, the Goerg family in their former home town of Tiefenstein.

Document 87

*Anonymous (Board of the Jüdische Gemeinde, Shanghai)*²⁰¹

December 17, 1941

Printed appeal, in: Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt, no. 25, 1.

Microfilm; YIVO, Y-2003, 1854.7

AUFRUF

Die Juedische Gemeinde fordert die gesamte juedische Emigrantenschaft auf, alle Anordnungen, die von ihr im Auftrag der Japanischen Behoerden erlassen werden, striktest und gewissenhaft zu befolgen.

Jede oeffentliche Diskussion, insbesondere auf Strassen und in Verkehrsmitteln hat zu unterbleiben. Die Juedische Gemeinde kennt ihre Verantwortung und verlangt auch das gleiche Verantwortungsbewusstsein von der juedischen Emigrantenschaft.

Ruhe und Disziplin sind das oberste Gebot in dieser Zeit! Jedes Verhalten, das diesen Grundsuetzen zuwider laeuft, schaedigt unsere Gemeinschaft!

Shanghai, 17. Dezember 1941

Vorstand der Juedischen Gemeinde

201 The Jewish refugees from Austria and Germany founded the Jüdische Gemeinde in November 1939. The first election for its board was held in June 1941. Over time, the Jüdische Gemeinde maintained the Arbitration Court (Schiedsgericht), a Women's Association (Frauenbund), a synagogue, a cemetery and a Chevra Kadisha, a Talmud Torah School, and a press organ, the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*. In April 1943 the Japanese authorities dismissed the board of the Jüdische Gemeinde, demanding that all future matters of the Jewish refugees should be regulated by SACRA.

Document 88

Rose Shoshana Kahan²⁰²

1949

Printed diary, R. Shoshana Kahan, In fayer un flamen. Togbukh fun a yidishe shoyshpilern [In Fire and Flames. Diary of a Jewish Actress]. Buenos Aires: Tsen-tral-farband fun poylishe yidn in Argentine, 406 pages (excerpts, pp. 289f.).

The first of the two passages published here and other parts of the diary have been translated into English in Irene Eber, Voices from Shanghai. Jewish Exiles in Wartime China, Chicago/London 2008, 107–118.²⁰³

Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber

[1941] 8. דעצעמבער

וואס וועט איצט זיין? ווידער זענען מיר אין פייער פון מלחמה. רבנו של עולם, נאך ווייניק "געליטן"? היינט אינדערפרי האָט אויסגעבראַכן די פּאַציפיק-מלחמה. יאַפּאַן און אמע-ריקע. נישטאָ שוין קיין שטיקעלע ערד אויף גאַטס וועלט ווו עס איז רואיק. אַלע חברים לויפן אַרום ווי פאַרסטמע מיז... איצט בלייבן מיר שוין דאָ איינגעזייפטע. פאַרשוונדן די לעצטע האָפענונג... אָן יעדער הילף. ביז אַהער האָט מען נאָך געקריגן אַ פאַר גראַשן פון "דזשאַינט", זייט פרל. מארגוליעס פון דעם "דזשאַינט" איז געקומען, איז בכלל די לאַגע פאַר די פליטים אַביסל לייכטער געוואָרן. איבערהויפט האָט "איסט-דזשוקאָם" איבערגענו-מען צו פאַרוואַלטן מיט די פּוילישע און ליטווישע יידן, און מיר האָבן גאַרנישט צו טון מיטן שפּילמאַןקאַמיטעט. נאָר מיט דעם קאַמיטעט, וואָס באַשטייט פון אַנגעזעענע בירגער. דער "איסט דזשוקאָם" שטייט אין קאַנטאַקט מיטן "דזשאַינט" און איצט וועט מען דאָך נישט קענען דערהאַלטן געלט פון אויסלאַנד. פאַרוואַרפן אין אַן אַזיאַטיש לאַנד... ווער ווייס וואָס עס וועט נאָך פאַרקומען מיט אונדז...

20. דעצעמבער

202 Rose Shoshana (Rosa Shoshano) Kahan (1895–1968; née Esther Ruda Bravarska, also known as Ruzha Yakubovitch) was a Yiddish actress and writer. Born in Łódź, she began acting while still in elementary school. She married Lazar Kahan in 1912 while appearing in numerous performances in the Yiddish theater. Shortly after the outbreak of World War II she fled to Lithuania. In 1940, she was still performing in Kovno, and traveled from there to Kobe, Japan. After her husband passed away in Shanghai, she emigrated to the United States in 1946. There she continued an active writing career with articles in the Yiddish paper *Forverts*; cf. Zalman Zylbercweig (ed.), *Leksikon fun yidishn teater [Encyclopedia of the Yiddish Theater]*, 6 vols., New York 1931–1969, here vol. 3 (1959), 2245.

203 I thank Rabbi Marvin Tokayer for making this rare book available to me.

ביטער! אזוי ווי מען האָט פאַראויסגעזען. קיין הילף איז נישטאָ. ... איך האָב געמוזט די נגען אַ ביליקער צימער. נישט לאַנג געפרייט זיך אין מיין גרויס צימער. גענומען זייער אַ קליין צימערל אויף "בורזשא"־גאַס. מיין פאַרדינטער "אוצר" פון קאַנצערט־אָוונט הייבט אָן טאָגן. ... איך האָב שוין געהאַט בייגעקומען אַלע שוועריקייטן. שוין געהאַט געשמאַק פּראָבירט "דאָס גליק פון מאָרגן", האַט די נייע מלחמה אונדז אַלעמען דערלאַנגט אַ שרעק־לעכן קלאַפּ און קיינער האָט שוין נישט געקלערט |290| וועגן שפּילן. ... איך דריי זיך אויף די גאַסן און זוך צו קויפּן אַ פּאַר שאַכטלעך דזשעם. מען מוז דאָך אויך עפעס פּאַרבערייטן. די געשעפטן זענען כּסדר באַלאַגערט. מ'קריגט שוין גאַרנישט צו קויפּן. איך זע פּאַר זיך וואַרשע. ... וועל איך האָבן כּח נאָך אַמאָל דאָס דורכצולעבן? דאָרט בין איך אָבער געווען אין מיין אייגענער היים צווישן אייגענע און דאָ? ... צווישן אַן אַזיאַטיש פּאַלק. ... און מען מורמלט שוין, אַז אין אַלעם זענען שולדיק די ווייסע טייוולאַגנים. ... זיי ברענגען קריג אויף דער וועלט. ... די "ווייסע" ציטערן. נישטאָ, ווער עס זאָל זיך אָננעמען. שאַנכיי איז אַ הפּקר־שטאַט.

Translation

December 8, [1941]

What will be now? We are again in fire and war. God in heaven, haven't we suffered enough? This morning the Pacific War broke out. Japan and America. No longer is there a little piece of God's world that is at peace. All our friends run about like poisoned mice ... now we remain here completely deceived. The last hope disappears ... without any help. Until now one still received a few cents from the "Joint," after Ms. Margolis of the Joint came here the situation had become somewhat easier for the refugees. Eastjewcom had taken over all negotiations with the Polish and Lithuanian Jews so that we had nothing to do with the Speelman committee. Only with the committee which exists of respected citizens. Eastjewcom has been in contact with the Joint, but now it will no longer be possible to receive money from abroad. Tossed into an Asian country ... who knows what will now happen with us ...

December 20, [1941]

Bitter! As one could have predicted. No help has arrived ... I had to rent a cheaper room. I did not enjoy for long my large room. I have taken a very small room in Rue Bourgeat. The "treasure" that I earned from my concert evening is running low ... I had already overcome all difficulties. Had already tried a taste of "tomorrow's happiness" when the new war gave everyone a terrible jolt. No one any longer thinks of |290| performing ... I roam the streets and search to buy a few containers of jam. One has to prepare something. The stores are literally besieged. There is already nothing to buy. I see

before me Warsaw ... do I have the strength to live through this again? But there I was in my own home among my own people and here? ... Among an Asian people ... Already there are rumors that the white devils are to blame for everything ... They bring war to the world ... the “whites” tremble. No one here will be accepted. Shanghai is a lawless city.

Document 89

*Laura Margolis*²⁰⁴ (JDC)

*Fall/winter 1943/1944*²⁰⁵

Typewritten report (copy?), 23 pages.

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 463

Abstract

This long and detailed report by Margolis deals with several significant issues concerning the refugees. These are: how to raise funds to feed the needy refugees; how to cope with the move to Hongkou; how to select suitable leadership for the refugees; and, after she is interned and unable to offer further guidance, how to assure even their minimal well being. Her insights to the characters of several important individuals in the refugee community are especially valuable.

204 About Margolis, see ch. 3, n. 33.

205 Margolis was interned on February 25, 1943, then transferred to the Shanghai General Hospital, where she was informed that she would be included in a prisoner exchange. When she returned to the camp she began secretly compiling notes on her work for the JDC, which she successfully smuggled out upon her release in early September 1943. She arrived at Goa aboard a Japanese passenger ship on October 19, where she and other American prisoners were finally exchanged. From Goa she went on the MS Gripsholm to the United States, arriving on December 1, 1943; cf. Kerksen, *Life's Work*, 75–80. Margolis typed letters on the Gripsholm, and possibly also the report; Kerksen, however, implies that Margolis wrote the report some time after she had come home; cf. *ibid.*, 81 f.

REPORT OF ACTIVITIES IN SHANGHAI, CHINA,
FROM DECEMBER 1941, TO SEPTEMBER 1943²⁰⁶

The following is a report of the activity and the developments in Shanghai from December 8, 1941 (Pearl Harbor time in the Shanghai Zone) to February 25, 1943, when I was interned. Manuel Siegel, my associate, had been interned three weeks previously, on January 30, 1943. It is a report of the work done by both of us and, with the exception of some of the financial data, is entirely from memory, since we were not allowed to bring out any written material from Shanghai. Inasmuch as any material recorded from memory can lend itself to inaccuracies, I wish to leave this report open for any corrections or changes which Manuel Siegel may want to make upon his return here.

I believe it is important to have a detailed recording of the developments in Shanghai because even though other organizations, such as UNRRA²⁰⁷ or the Red Cross, might be the first to enter the relief picture in the Far East after the war, I am firmly convinced that the J.D.C., too, will play a major role. The J.D.C. has become such a vital force in the lives of the 21,000 refugees in Shanghai that we will be called in again to continue our help and to participate actively in making some constructive plan for those of the 21,000 refugees who will be left.

A detailed chronological recording is also necessary so that no matter who the person might be who will tackle the situation in the future, he might be in full possession of all the facts; and will understand why we acted as we did at the time; and why we used the services of certain people who even as we used them, we knew to be undesirables. "Force majeure [sic]" played a great part in our actions and decisions.

Contrary to what most outsiders might think, our main problem was not the Japanese or their occupation of Shanghai. Working in an occupied country is a definite reality which one accepts, and since we were fully accepted by the Japanese authorities as the negotiators for the refugee population, it was simply a matter of getting to know the Japanese mentality, accepting that mentality as one of the limitations within which we had to work, and proceeding from that point.

206 Though Margolis announces a report up to "February 25, 1943," the headline indicates "[up] to September 1943."

207 The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration program was established in 1943 on the initiative of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China.

Our greatest difficulties and handicaps were: (1) the situation which had developed prior to Pearl Harbor between the refugees and the then existing Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai (please refer to all previous reports from Shanghai); (2) the complete apathy of all local Jewry to the refugee problem; (3) the lack of good leadership both within the refugee group itself and the local Jews; and (4) the absence of a real Jewish community in the Western sense.

I should like to state that at no time did we have a real choice when it became necessary to appoint leaders or committees. We had to accept the best that Shanghai had to offer. The best which Shanghai had to offer (with the exception [of]²⁰⁸ three members of the present Shanghai J.D.C., Mr. J. Bitker, Dr. Lang²⁰⁹ and Mr. Mor[itiz] Glueckman [sic]²¹⁰ were either men who accepted responsibility because they were forced by the Japanese (Ashkenazi community composed for the most part of stateless Rus[sian] Jews at the present time organized into S.A.C.R.A.), or men or groups with stron[g] power drives, like, Mr. C. Brahn,²¹¹ the present chairman of the Shanghai J.D.C., and the Kitchen Fund Committee²¹² composed of refugees.

I think it will be apparent that no matter when the J.D.C. begins to f[unction] again directly, there will be a need for a real reshuffling of local leadership[sh[ip,] an entirely different type of local committee.

[2] One week before Pearl Harbor, Mr. Siegel and I had met with the Committee for Assistance and all present agreed that we were to begin the reorganization of the administrative machinery of the Committee on December 8, 1941. On that morning we were scheduled to go to Hongkew to begin our work, but at 4 o'clock in the morning the battle of Shanghai began simultaneously with the attack on Pearl Harbor and was followed by the occupation of the city. During the first week enemy nationals were ordered to stay in their homes and await instructions regarding registering with the Gendarmerie,

208 Several line endings are illegible because the page is torn.

209 Dr. Lang was a refugee from Austria where he had been a senior official at the Social Security and Public Employment Service. In Shanghai he worked for the JDC, eventually becoming a member of its committee and working closely with Wachsner (later Bitker) and Glückmann. Margolis and Siegel highly appreciated his work (see Documents 89 and 171).

210 Glückmann, a merchant from Vienna, was Margolis's personal secretary; see below in this document.

211 About Carl Brahn, see below in this document.

212 The Kitchen Fund was founded in August 1942 to raise local money for feeding and housing the refugees, see Documents 89 and 171. For further information about the Kitchen fund; cf. Eber, *Wartime*, 166 f., 192 f.; Ristaino, *Port*, 145 f.

securing passes to move about the city, etc. Since most of the Committee for Assistance were also enemy nationals, the Chairman being Dutch and the rest of the members British, they, too, were in the same position as ourselves. The only person free to act was Capt. Herzberg, the paid executive of the Committee for Assistance, a man of German parentage, born and raised in Shanghai (he was stateless). The J.D.C. December allotment had not arrived and in order to give himself time to make some plan, Capt. Herzberg immediately reduced the 8000 refugees then on relief from two meals to just a noon meal a day and reduced the bread rations from 12 to 6 ounces. This simple ration of one meal and six ounces of bread daily cost \$ 5000 CRB²¹³ a day. He estimated that on this basis he could at least operate until the end of December. He also immediately notified the staff of 500 employees that the Committee would probably have to close by the first of January; that they would receive no more pay and that nobody was responsible for what happened after January 1st. This led to chaos in the refugee community, with the staff as well as the refugees threatened by hunger and uncertainty.

By December 15th we were told that the Japanese would not intern enemy nationals "for the present" and that we would have the freedom of the city as long as we were orderly and obeyed all of the regulations placed upon the community by the military authorities. We therefore approached Mr. Speelman, chairman of the Committee for Assistance, and Ellis Hayim, vice-chairman, and suggested that they had the responsibility of letting the Japanese authorities know what the refugee situation was and that no more funds were available after the end of the month. Capt. Inuzuka of the Japanese Naval Landing Party had previous to Pearl Harbor been known to us as the Japanese person in charge of Jewish affairs. Mr. Speelman, Mr. Hayim and Mr. Abraham, three members of the Committee for Assistance, went to see Capt. Inuzuka. He listened to their story, but his only response was that he would have no dealings with any of these three men, who prior to Pearl Harbor had constantly defied him and the Japanese Naval Landing Party (the area in which the refugees lived, Hongkew, had been under the control of the Japanese Naval Landing Party since 1937). Capt. Inuzuka virtually threw the men out of his office.

~~On December 12th~~ {Early in Dec.} we received a cable from J.D.C. authorizing us to borrow a six months' allotment, which was the equivalent of \$ 180000 (U.S.). Prior to the receipt of this cable we had contacted the American Red Cross for any possible help which might be forthcoming from that source and were able to get a promise of 5000 sacks of cracked wheat if the Japanese would release these to us.

213 Central Reserve Bank.

In view of the fact that we had the potentiality for raising money and get[ti]ng²¹⁴ supplies from the American Red Cross, we felt it was our responsibility to [co]ntact the Japanese. We were very graciously received by Capt. Inuzuka about two [hou]rs following our note asking for an interview. Capt. Inuzuka listened very [int]ently and sympathetically to our story. He was already well acquainted with [the] general facts from previous contacts we had had with him (before Pearl Harbor). [We] explained that although we had the possibility of raising money on J.D.C. credit [we] still felt it was our responsibility to tell the Japanese what the situation [rea]lly was in case we would not be successful. We also pointed out that we did not want [3] to proceed with any plans for raising money unless we had the approval of the Japanese. In addition, the Committee had frozen funds in the Chase Bank (Chinese currency) which if released, could keep us going until we began to raise money on our loan. Capt. Inuzuka made it very clear to us that we could depend upon his full cooperation and help and that he would O.K. the raising of money on our loan if the money was borrowed only from neutrals; that he would investigate the possibilities of releasing the frozen funds as well as getting us the necessary permits for releasing the cracked wheat owned by the American Red Cross. However, he stated he would do these things only if we would take over responsibility for the problem and would dissolve the present Committee for Assistance. He was obviously terribly antagonistic toward that group of men. He also insisted that the executive, Capt. Herzberg, with whom he had had many previous clashes, be fired. (Ellis Hayim had already been arrested by this time.)

Capt. Inuzuka was also antagonistic to the International Committee and its executive, Paul Komor. (This is the organization financed by Sir Victor Sassoon.)

Capt. Inuzuka agreed that we might continue to use the services of Mr. Speelman, who, although Dutch, had apparently not displeased him as much as the other members of the Committee.

Captain Inuzuka was very much concerned about why the J.D.C. could not remit funds directly. He also brought in the question of Mr. Morgenthau,²¹⁵ a Jew, being Secretary of the Treasury. Our explanation was simply that our respective countries being at war, we personally could not be responsible for any regulations made by our government no more than he could be responsible for regulations made by his government; but that we were simply

214 The second syllable of this word is at the beginning of the line; from this line on, several line beginnings are illegible because the page is torn.

215 Henry Morgenthau Jr. (1891–1967) was U.S. Secretary of the Treasury from 1934 to 1945.

appealing for his help on a humanitarian basis because we were in the midst of a problem which had to be dealt with regardless of external circumstances.

This was the approach we used with Capt. Inuzuka throughout all our dealings with him and we found it most effective. At one time when he asked us if we would send a direct cable to Mr. Morgenthau we refused on the basis that we personally had no relationship with him and that our only appeal could be to our Home Office. Capt. Inuzuka did succeed, however, in getting members of the Ashkenazi Communal Association and other Jews to send cables to Mr. Morgenthau. However, we felt that this was something which had to be decided between Capt. Inuzuka and these people and something which we could neither approve nor prevent.

Throughout the rest of December and January we were in constant contact with Capt. Inuzuka. His offices were in the Cathay Hotel where we, too, were living until the 15th January, 1942. We were in constant demand by him. On December 28th Capt. Inuzuka released \$ 30,000 CRB which had been frozen in the Committee's account in the Chase Bank. The release of this money enabled us to operate six days in January. In the meantime, the panic in Hongkew was increasing daily. By the end of December we found it necessary to go out there, call a meeting of the staff and explain the situation to them as it actually existed. We also arranged for the staff to receive their salaries on December 31st for the entire month of December, which quieted the situation temporarily.

One of the members of the staff suggested that we contact a Japanese woman by the name of Mrs. Nogami²¹⁶ who had a very prominent position in the Gendarmerie as interpreter to the Chief.²¹⁷ Mrs. Nogami was known to be sympathetic to the refugees. She was a personal friend of a Mr. C. Brahn, a German Jew who had lived in Shanghai for over twenty years. We explained that we could not contact the Gendarmerie since all of our dealings were with the Navy,²¹⁸ but later spoke with the staff member [4] privately and suggested that if Mr. Brahn or Mrs. Nogami got in touch with us it would then be safe to tell them the story. (I should like to point out here that here is terrific competition between the Navy, Army, Gendarmerie and Consulate for power and that it is extremely dangerous to use the power of one against the other openly.)

On January 5th Mr. Speelman called a meeting at his office of 30 prominent and wealthy Jews. They were men of every nationality, including enemy nationals. We also invited to this meeting representatives of the Ashkenazi

216 Kay Nogami, see below in this document.

217 The Gendarmerie (military police), the Kempeitai.

218 Margolis refers to the Japanese Naval Landing Party.

Community and the Juedische Gemeinde, which represented the refugee community. Mr. Speelman and we made a very dramatic plea to these people to help us raise money on a J.D.C. loan. I think I can truthfully say that our appeal was realistic and dramatic but the only positive response came from the two representatives of the Ashkenazi community, who insisted that something had to be and could be done. Mr. E. Kann, a Czech, who had been very active on the Committee for Assistance previously, took this occasion to resign from the committee and from all activity because of his “health.” Mr. Abraham,²¹⁹ representing the Sephardic Jews and the most religious element of the Jewish community in Shanghai, stated that “since the Japanese took Shanghai they could also worry about the refugees.” (The Abrahams are British subjects.)

The meeting broke up with the decision that a small group of five men would explore the possibilities for raising money on J.D.C. credit and that they would report to us within a week. Two days following this meeting we received an anonymous call to be at a given address at a given time. When we appeared we found a Siberian Jew named Zimmerman who had heard of the credit we had but who did not know about the J.D.C. and to whom the names of the leaders of the J.D.C. had no meaning. He agreed, however, that he would be willing to give us the sum of three and a half million Chinese dollars, which would have assured the program for the next six months, if not more than ten of the wealthiest Jews in Shanghai would just underwrite the J.D.C. credit. We were thrilled with this possible solution and immediately took the proposition to Mr. Speelman, who began to look for people to underwrite the J.D.C. loan. He himself underwrote it for \$ 10,000 (U.S.) and beyond that he could only get an additional \$ 15,000 (U.S.) underwritten. It was therefore impossible to get money from Mr. Zimmerman.

Early in January a group of refugees who played a very prominent part in the refugee program later, called us to meet with them in order to try and raise money locally in a “quick campaign.” The leaders of this group were a Mr. Pulvermacher,²²⁰ Dr. Silberstein and a Mr. Glazer. This group of men efficiently organized a campaign within the ranks of the wealthier refugee group and in a week’s time brought to us \$ 30,000 CRB. Thus we operated six more days.

During all of these negotiations with the Japanese and with various committees and individuals, it was also necessary for us to be in Hongkew or in constant touch with Hongkew daily. We immediately placed our secre-

219 This was R. D. Abraham.

220 Erhard Pulvermacher (1904–1975) was a merchant from Berlin who came to Shanghai with his family in 1939. He acted as honorary treasurer of the Kitchen Fund from 1942 to 1945.

tary, Mr. Glueckmann, in the Central Administration office in Hongkew. We closed the Central Administration office in Mr. Speelman's building (in the International Settlement) and released Capt. Herzberg of his duties.

By January 10th it still looked as though we were going to get no response as far as the J.D.C. loan was concerned. Although we kept operating from day to day pushing off creditors and trying to stimulate and interest more and more people in the problem, we recognized that unless we could really raise enough money to insure the program for several months at a time; we might really have to close down [5] and turn the whole problem over to the Japanese. The latter in the meantime had made it quite clear to us in our negotiations with them that they could no more concern themselves with the Jewish refugee problem than they could with the masses of the poor and starving Russians and Chinese who filled Shanghai.

On January 10th we called a meeting of the Juedische Gemeinde and told them that our funds on that day were just enough to feed the 8000 on relief for four more days or feed 4000 for eight days. It was our opinion that if we could gain time in this race we might still "make it" and we wanted their help and cooperation in interpreting to the refugee group why we had to cut 4000 people categorically off relief. Since the Juedische Gemeinde was the official organization representing the refugees, we felt that we had to have their approval and their help in interpreting this measure to the refugee community. They agreed to do this and on that day 4000 refugees were categorically cut from the relief rolls. Those kept were approximately 2500 living in our camps who were the poorest of the group (we excluded all single men, even in our camps), children, old and sick. We also continued operating the two hospitals and the maternity ward.

When we realized that we were going to get no help from either the Sephardic community or the miscellaneous group of wealthy Jews living in Shanghai, we approached Mr. Bitker and Mr. Rabinowitz,²²¹ leading members of the Ashkenazi Community, and asked for their help. These two men accepted the problem as something which had to be met by the Jews and agreed to call a mass meeting of the Ashkenazi community to see what could be done about raising money on J.D.C. credit.

In the meantime Mr. Brahn, whom we did not know at that time, had been told about the situation and invited us to his home to discuss the problem and to find ways and means of helping us. We explained our position to him, namely that we were dealing exclusively with the Navy²²² and that under no circumstances could we go directly to the Gendarmerie to discuss

221 This is David Rabinovitch; the spelling Rabinowitsch was also used.

222 Margolis is referring to the Japanese Navy.

the problem. Mr. Brahn pointed out something which was very true; that is, that should the situation get out of hand in Hongkew, the Gendarmerie would be called in to quiet the riots and it was therefore very dangerous to let the matter reach this point. We agreed that if he wished to tell his friend, Mrs. Nogami, about the situation, and if she then wanted to send some one from the Gendarmerie to contact us, we would at least be clear as far as the Navy was concerned and would protect the refugees at the same time.

Shortly after our visit with Mr. Brahn, we received an official call from the Gendarmerie. We explained the situation to them, and what were our plans for raising money. They were obviously concerned with trying to keep peace and quiet in Hongkew and were most anxious to avoid any trouble at a time when they were trying to occupy the city with as little confusion as possible. They expressed the hope that riots would not break out in Hongkew – and that the local Jewish people would help us raise money.

By January 15th we were practically out of money and had reached a complete stalemate. The Navy had promised cooperation and in all fairness we must state that by releasing the frozen funds and obtaining release of the cracked wheat for us they had really done more for us than they had done for any other charitable or civic group. We recognized that they could not accept the problem of the refugees as their responsibility at this point since Shanghai was filled with hundreds of thousands of poor of all nationalities. The Gendarmerie was anxious to keep law and order, and the community was apathetic and uninterested and the Ashkenazi community was deliberating and debating about the J.D.C. credit. We realized that something very dramatic would have to break in order to stir the community out of its lethargy. It was just at 6 P.M., January 15th, that a reporter from the Shanghai Times came [6] to see us. Up to this point we had avoided the newspapers since we knew that the Japanese did not want this publicity. However, it seemed to us at this point the only thing we risked by breaking the story to the newspapers was the displeasure of the Japanese against our own persons. We could see no way out and so we gave the full story of the “Hungry Starving Refugees in Hongkew” to the Shanghai Times. On January 16th the paper appeared with the headlines. The Gendarmerie was furious that any news about disorder in Shanghai should get into the papers. Through Mr. Brahn we were told that an order had been issued by the Gendarmerie for our arrest. Capt. Inuzuka of the Navy called us and was furious. We had no apologies to offer except to say that we did not realize that giving the story to the newspapers was doing anything wrong. We received a call from the Japanese Consulate and were asked to come down there and “explain,” so we went down and “explained.” Through the efforts of Mrs. Nogami, Mr. Brahn’s friend, the order for our arrest was recalled.

The radio stations also picked up the story of the refugees and began making appeals to the community at large for donations. We were getting the reaction we had hoped for. Money began coming in dribs and drabs and we kept going from day to day. Once the story was broken in the newspapers it became the subject of editorials and feature articles and the Ashkenazi community organized a committee to start raising money on J.D.C. loan. We got our first real break however, about the 20th of January.

Mr. Schumacher,²²³ head of the Chase Bank in Shanghai, knew Mr. Kaufman, a German Jew of long residence in Shanghai who was a Chase Bank patron. He knew that this man had recently made a lot of money and sold him the idea of lending money to us against the “Immigrants’ Deposit Account” which was of course a frozen account but which somehow appealed to Mr. Kaufman more than the J.D.C. credit. When Mr. Kaufman came to see us about the proposition we had no hesitancy in agreeing to give him a note against the “Immigrant’s Deposit Account” because we knew that this note would have to be presented in New York for payment and could become part of the regular \$ 180,000. J.D.C. loan. On January 20th we got our first real money from Mr. Kaufman – the equivalent of \$ 10,000 (U.S.).

By this time the Ashkenazi community also had appointed a Finance Committee to work on prospects for our loan. And it was through the efforts of the Ashkenazi community that we really began to raise money. It was through them that we first met J. Shriro, a Russian Jew who has a Norwegian passport and who is extremely wealthy.²²⁴ Mr. Shriro had considerable goods and cash which he was very anxious to transfer to the United States before the Japanese confiscated same. However, this did not make dealing with him any easier. He is a very difficult and shrewd business man. We had to make many concessions in rate to him, first because we needed money so desperately and second because it was difficult to find any one person in Shanghai who could give us the amounts which he could. Of the \$ 180,000 which we raised on the first J.D.C. loan we got \$ 138,000 from him. (Financial details will be discussed at the end of this report). Some loans were as low as \$ 15.00 and \$ 25.00 per loan.

223 Alfred E. Schumacher (1896–1976) was an American banker who had spent 20 years in Shanghai, serving as manager of the Chase National Bank. He was repatriated in late 1943 on the exchange liner Gripsholm.

224 Jacob Shriro’s family started a trading business in Harbin in 1906. Jacob himself came to Shanghai in 1934 and established a successful branch of the family business. In late 1942, he was interned in the Haiphong Road camp together with other prominent Europeans and Americans; cf. <<http://www.shriro.com/index.php/en/about/the-shriro-story>> (October 14, 2016).

I should like to state here that from the very beginning Mr. J. Bitker, a Polish national and a member of the Ashkenazi community was one of the very few people who saw the seriousness of the situation. He, too, is a very clever business man, but above everything else he is a realist. Mr. Bitker accepted the fact that unless the Jews of their own accord took on the responsibility for the refugees the Japanese would either take the matter into their own hands, to the detriment of the refugees, or would force the local Jews to take the responsibility. He was constantly working towards avoiding either of these conditions. He was our financial adviser in all negotiations. Mr. Bitker was always fully informed about [7] plans which the Japanese had for devaluating certain currencies and kept us constantly advised so that we were able to plan accordingly. For example, in June of 1942, the Japanese took all “fapi” money, which is Chungking money, off the market and issued CRB notes (Central Reserve Bank notes of Nanking) at a 2 to 1 rate.²²⁵ We were advised by Mr. Bitker that this was going to happen so that when the proclamation was issued and everyone was given a week to turn in all fapi monies, the Committee had spent all its fapi and had only CRB notes left. We did not take the losses that most people did. The cost of living practically doubled over night at that time and in anticipation of this we used all our fapi cash to purchase food-stuffs and kept them in stock.

By the end of April 1942 we had practically the entire \$ 180,000 credit pledged. Instead of operating, however, on the former basis, namely taking back all the 8000 refugees on relief, we planned to make this money last for at least eight months instead of six. We had no idea where or when we would get money or credit again. On May 21st we received our last cable from J.D.C. through South America asking that we discontinue all contact. This was probably one of the greatest shocks we received because we somehow felt that even though money could not be transferred directly contact with New York, though indirect, might bring an eventual solution.

While we were working on raising money on J.D.C. credit, we simultaneously began our re-organization of the Committee and the administrative machinery as had originally been planned for December 8th, 1941; and we began working towards more and more local participation as far as local contributions were concerned.

One of the things which we recognized immediately was that we had a tremendously cumbersome and inefficient apparatus, not to minimize the most important factor, a group of hostile, malnourished and desperately frightened people to work with. The refugees on relief in Shanghai had not only been underfed for years (the mass came in 1939 and 1940), but had

225 The fapi was a legal tender introduced by the Chinese in 1935. It circulated until 1948.

been totally and completely humiliated and deprived of every remnant of self-respect as adult human beings through the methods employed by the Committee for Assistance (refer to previous reports from Shanghai). There was a staff of 500 employees. There was an oldfashioned Chinese kitchen which required constant stoking and which was consuming more coal than we could pay for. The management of the kitchen was such that there was constant quarreling [sic] and disunity among the group. The state of malnutrition and poverty among the employees was so bad that they had to steal from the storeroom in order to live. The average salary of a kitchen employee was \$ 25 CRB a month which was just about \$ 1.00 American money. We knew that stealing was going on. It was unavoidable.

Our first move in trying to make some contact with this large mass of employees was to call them to a meeting with us the first week in February, by which time we had some assurance that we might be able to raise money to go on. We told this mass of people exactly what the situation was. We told them frankly what the Committee's indebtedness was; what its cash assets were and what the possibilities were for going on. We admitted that we knew about their hostility and antagonism and admitted that to a large extent they were justified. We explained that the regime of the Committee had ended with the exception of the chairman, Mr. Speelman. We asked for their help and cooperation in building a more efficient internal administration and a more socially minded and representative Committee. We warned them that staff would have to be cut; that the apparatus then existing of 500 employees was not only unnecessary but at this time financially impossible. We explained that more and more responsibility for the running of the camps and the kitchen and the relief department would have to come from within the ranks of the refugee group itself. We also explained that although we felt we could operate for |8| a few months we could offer no guarantees and urged each and every one to find other employment wherever possible and that we would not consider it a sign of disloyalty. In view of the fact that cash was so limited at this time we agreed to issue an I.O.U. to them for their salaries for the month of January which could be cashed at any future date when monies were again transferrable from the United States to Shanghai. We felt that we owed them this since we had not given them any notice prior to January as to what would happen to them. We further explained that we could not guarantee any salary from this point on. Our first job would be to try to feed as many people as possible and to keep the hospitals going. At the end of each month we promised we would take an inventory of our assets, estimate possible future income and would then from month to month try to give the staff as much as we could. We suggested they appoint a staff committee of five people to work out this problem with us as well as other staff problems.

This was one of the most deplorable groups I have ever talked to. Most of them were badly clothed and badly fed. They looked depressed and hopeless, and yet towards the end of the meeting we felt a spirit among the group which told us that they were going to help us to see the problem through. Only one member of the staff resigned after this meeting. All the rest reported to work as usual the next day.

In an attempt to overcome hostility and because we felt it was only fair to the refugees to let them know the insecurity which they were all facing, we called meetings of the residents of each of our five camps separately and gave them a full explanation of the situation. We told them that more and more they would have to take over the administration and the running of their camps through their own leadership because we could not afford to keep paid staff. Each camp organized a small committee of five people with whom we dealt regularly in discussing plans. We also organized a small representative committee of the group of people living outside the camps who were on relief.

One man who was very helpful and who deserves special mention in this report is a Polish Jewish engineer, Mr. A. Lovenspiel [sic],²²⁶ who has lived in the Far East for many years and who is thoroughly familiar with the Chinese and conditions of China. He came in to see us and to offer his help having been sent by Mr. Brahn with whom he is acquainted. Mr. Lovenspiel [sic] had for many years been trying to tell the old Committee for Assistance that their kitchen should be destroyed and a new one built which would be more efficient; but none of his suggestions were ever received kindly by the Committee for Assistance and Mr. Lovenspiel was given no attention. We welcomed his help and from this time on Mr. Lovenspiel spent practically all of his time with us in Hongkew. He calculated that it was costing 60¢ (Chinese money) per meal per person of which 50¢ was coal consumption and 10¢ was going into the food. Mr. Lovenspiel drew up a plan whereby for \$ 100,000 Chinese money (fapi at that time) we could have a very simple, modern and efficient steam kitchen which would have a capacity for feeding 10,000 people at one time. Mr. Lovenspiel further discovered that the most necessary item for this kitchen was a special type of steam boiler which was in the possession of the Cathay Land Company (owned by Sir Victor Sassoon). The estimate for the structure, pipes and fixtures alone was \$ 100,000. The type of boiler required could not be purchased in China at that time and so it became essential that we acquire those boilers owned by the Cathay Land Company which Mr. Lovenspiel knew had not been used for many years. When we approached the

226 Abraham Lovenspiel (1899–1976) was a Polish engineer who came to Shanghai in the early 1920s. After the war, he settled in Australia.

Cathay Land Company requesting them to lend us these boilers for the duration we were refused by the British employees. We felt justified however, in taking possession of the boilers because we knew that sooner or later they would be confiscated by the Japanese and would then be of no use either to the [9] Cathay Land or to the refugees. Therefore, with the help of Mrs. Nogami, we procured a removal permit for those boilers from the Gendarmerie and presented this permit to the Cathay Land Company. At this time the Japanese supervisor in charge of the Cathay Land Co. talked with Mr. Siegel about the matter and was most gracious about giving us permission to take the boilers and use them for the duration. We signed a statement to the effect that we were simply borrowing the boilers. We also immediately put away \$ 100,000 for the new kitchen so that by the time the fapi devaluation came in June 1942 all the materials for the kitchen had been bought with fapi money and building had begun.

By the end of February we felt that we had an obligation to the Committee of Assistance, or rather what was left of it (Mr. Kann had resigned and Mr. Hayim was in jail), to give them some statement of what had happened since Pearl Harbor. There had been no time for a formal meeting although we were in constant consultation and touch with the chairman, Mr. Speelman.

The only people at the meeting were Mr. Speelman (Dutch), Mr. Abraham (British) and Horace Kadoorie (British). Mr. Siegel briefly summarized our findings with regard to the situation in Hongkew and very frankly told the group that the Commission was badly organized; was filled with corruption and that the refugees had been treated worse than coolies. We felt we had to tell them that the executive whom they had appointed and who had apparently been "running the show," Capt. Herzberg, was a man not worthy of dealing with human beings and that many of the refugee staff appointed by him and still functioning in Hongkew were the type of people who would eventually have to be dismissed because they were people of his calibre and mentality.

The reaction to this of course was not very gracious, but with the exception of Mr. Speelman we felt that neither of the other two men present had any intention of helping. Mr. Abraham had already expressed himself and Mr. Kadoorie, a member of a family capable of underwriting the entire J.D.C. note of \$ 180,000, had refused to do anything to help. We therefore felt that for purpose of the record they should be told exactly what the situation was. Something had to be done in order to dissolve this committee [sic] (which was what the Japanese wanted also) and in order to form the basis for creating a new and much more representative community committee.

Mr. Kadoorie and Mr. Abraham resigned and refused to serve on the new Committee, whereas Mr. Speelman was most gracious about accepting the criticism and agreeing to help us see this thing through.

Prior to this meeting we had consulted with Capt. Inuzuka about forming a new committee and he had approved fully, asking however, that the Committee be composed of non-enemy nationals only and that he be given every name for approval. I should like to state here that throughout this period we kept in constant touch with Capt. Inuzuka at his request, seeing him both personally and constantly sending him reports of developments in Hongkew.

By March of 1942 we had definitely overcome the apathy of a very large portion of the community, had enlisted the full cooperation of the refugees in working through their problem and were at least assured of enough money to operate for one whole month at a time. In those days it seemed like a very great accomplishment to have enough money for a month ahead. We felt that this was the time to begin working on the organization of a new Committee. We were determined that this time the Committee would be representative of every section of Judaism in Shanghai. We therefore personally contacted the leaders of Sephardic community (representing the Bagdad and Near Eastern Jews), the Ashkenazi community (representing predominantly white Russians) and the Juedische Gemeinde (representing the refugees and German Jews). By this time also many individuals had come to us and offered to help. Everyone who came with an idea or suggestion was gladly received and numerous lay |10| people were actually taken into the work in Hongkew and given responsibilities in directing the program. Some were successful and some were not; but at least everyone was given the opportunity of participating.

Early in March, a meeting was held of the new Committee for Assistance in Mr. Speelman's office. Every group had sent representation. In addition, we had a Swiss Jew and members at large, such as Mr. Brahn and Mr. Levenspiel, who had both been extremely helpful and active in the work. There were approximately 25 men present. At the request of the Japanese the Municipal Council had sent a member of the police force to sit in at the meeting. Mr. Speelman opened the meeting and explained very effectively what had happened since Pearl Harbor, why the old Committee for Assistance had dissolved, and a new committee had to be formed. We took over the meeting after a brief introduction by Mr. Speelman and organized this large Committee into subcommittees for housing, feeding, fund-raising, finance and budget, purchasing, rehabilitation, etc. We were most emphatic about the temporary nature of our leadership, explaining that it is not J.D.C.'s policy at any time to take over a community's responsibility but that the situation in Shanghai after Pearl Harbor was so unique that we had to step into the emergency. It was our sincere desire to step out as quickly as local leadership was ready to take over. We explained that what we were doing at the present time was a job for a full-time professional executive and that we would be looking anxiously for a

person or persons who within the next few months might be able to take over in our place. We explained the functions of the new committee in working with and supervising the activities of the full-time worker, be he paid or a volunteer. Every man at the meeting signed up to serve on some committee and the first official action of the new Committee was to endorse and approve the building of the new kitchen. This group agreed to function under the same name as the former committee, namely, the Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai.

At this point of the report I think a word should be said specifically about the Polish refugees and the work of the East Jewcom, which committee had been organized before Pearl Harbor to act as a subcommittee of the Committee for Assistance and concerned itself specifically with the 1000 Polish refugees who had come from Japan in September and October of 1941. (Please refer to previous reports from Shanghai regarding East Jewcom.)

Before the Ashkenazi community would agree to help us in raising money on J.D.C. credit, Mr. Oppenheim, the Chairman of East Jewcom, made certain demands of us with regard to J.D.C. contribution for the Polish refugees. There had always been in Shanghai the problem of the difference in relief standards of the refugees from Eastern Europe and those from Central Europe. In view of the temporary nature of the Polish immigration in Shanghai and since we had been working very closely with Mr. Romer, the Polish Ambassador, in moving this group out of Shanghai, thus making mass feeding and housing impracticable, we had agreed, prior to Pearl Harbor, to a higher standard of relief for the Polish refugees. Our attitude, however, after Pearl Harbor was that the temporary status of these people was no longer a fact and that therefore relief should be administered on the same per capita basis. We had long and frequent and difficult meetings with the members of the East Jewcom about this. A few saw our point of view. The majority, lead by Mr. Oppenheim, the Chairman, a very stubborn though brilliant and able man, insisted that the East European refugees had to be given more money. We were forced into a compromise in the early part of 1942 because it was evident that we could not raise any money without the backing of the Ashkenazi community. The experience in fund-raising in Shanghai has since proven that we were right. Without them we could not have raised any money. We therefore had to make a concession to Mr. Oppenheim whereby we agreed to continue the same per- |11| centage of the monthly allotment to the East Jewcom after the outbreak of the war as had been granted previously, namely one-sixth of the allotment from New York had gone to the Polish refugees, or \$ 5000 of the \$ 30,000. Even though we felt that this was wrong, it was only after a bitter struggle that we gave in and compromised. Thus we were able not only to get the help of the Ashkenazi community in raising money for all the

refugees, but they agreed also to give us all of the money raised and then having it redisbursed back to them on the basis of one-sixth of the total raised.

In April of 1942 the rehabilitation subcommittee of the new Committee for Assistance began working with the refugees in the various camps in helping them to use their grounds for vegetable gardens. In the Chaufoong [sic] Road Camp, for example, several acres surrounding the camp were made into very fine gardens. It was amazing the spirit which the people showed during a time when they were definitely underfed. We also tried to call in the services to the Ort, which was functioning in Hongkew and had a very fine school there. Inasmuch as our people were underfed and did not even have the proper shoes, we asked the Ort to start their classes in our camps, offering to give the space and pay for any necessary additional equipment. However, we could not get them to change their program and organize their classes within our camps. They insisted that the young people come to them, something which in the spring of 1942 we could not ask of the youngsters, who did not have the energy for a twenty minute walk.

The problems which presented themselves in the months of April, May and June of 1942 were manifold. We were trying to get work out of hungry people. Rebellion on their part was understandable. The very refugees in need of help were the group which had to work to help themselves. We had to keep cutting staff because money had to go into food and materials. The camps were badly deteriorated and there was constant need for repairs. Nothing had been done to improve the physical conditions of these camps during the years when money was available. The refugees were living in the midst of filth, lice and the worst possible sanitary conditions. The spring and summer of 1942 was a typhus year and our hospitals were overcrowded. The general situation in Shanghai and the insecurity of the refugees themselves resulted in a state of panic among those people not living in the camps. Virtually hundreds of persons came to the Central Administration office every day to apply for admission to the already overfilled camps. At the same time that hundreds were applying to come in, we had to set in motion machinery for re-investigating each case in the camps because there were many people living in our camps who were less in need than some living outside. This was the result of the inefficient way in which the whole relief problem had previously been handled. During this period we needed figures and statistics desperately in order to plan ahead. These figures when given to us were time and again inaccurate and contradictory. Each time we tried to patch up or adjust some gap in the bookkeeping system we would find another gap. It finally became impossible to work without accurate figures and we had to dismiss the old personnel and employ Mr. Alfred Edel, a very competent public accountant, also a refugee, who had held a responsible position with a leading firm in

Shanghai before Pearl Harbor. We made a contract with Mr. Edel to put in full time on reorganizing the books and the entire relief and statistical system. We were very fortunate in finding Mr. Lutz Wachsner, a member of the board of the Juedische Gemeinde, who had become a member of the Committee for Assistance and had taken on a full-time job handling the housing problem. Mr. Wachsner worked and learned rapidly under our supervision. Eventually, he handled all intake and the investigation of the people residing in the camps as well as those receiving relief outside. We were fortunate in securing the services of Dr. Lang, a man who had had a very prominent and important position in setting up the Social Security and Public [12] Employment Service for Austria and who came to help us in starting an employment service in the spring of 1942. Mr. Brahn and Mr. Levenspiel were in Hongkew daily, Mr. Levenspiel directing the various gardening projects, the building of the kitchen, and Mr. Brahn helping primarily through his contact with the Japanese Gendarmerie in securing necessary permits whenever anything had to be moved. Permits had to be obtained for every item which came over the bridge from the International Settlement to Hongkew, including even the daily delivery of our bread. We also enlisted the full cooperation of the Quakers in Shanghai,²²⁷ who worked with the residents at the Seward Road Camp, the largest camp, housing approximately 1000 people. They showed these people how to govern themselves most democratically; organized classes in English and discussion groups. The Quakers eventually took over clothing distribution from us. It was almost unbelievable to amount of activity and life within the refugee community at a time when they were hungrier than they had probably ever been before. An experience like this makes one fully conscious of how much might have been done with this same group at a time when they could have been well fed if the moneys going into Shanghai had been efficiently spent and if people administering those funds had cared more for the refugees.

When on May 21st we received the cable from J.D.C. telling us that we were not to continue any more communication, we realized that Shanghai Jewry was entirely on its own and would from this point on have to survive on its own resources. We first appealed to the International Red Cross and put the problem to them. Mr. Egle,²²⁸ who was extremely sympathetic, explained that the International Red Cross could only act as an agency for the

227 The Quakers ran a small Friends Center in Shanghai in the 1930s and 1940s, providing help to refugees, including daily meals from 1938 on.

228 The Swiss Edouard (Edward) Egle was the director of a Swiss import-export enterprise in Shanghai and Swiss Consul-General. In 1942 he became the official delegate of the ICRC in Shanghai; see also ch. 5, n. 74.

transmission of cables and that he would agree to the supervision of funds transmitted for the use of the refugees but that no financial help could be expected directly from the International Red Cross.

We also explained to the Committee for Assistance, at the May meeting, that an intensive effort would have to be made to get as much money as possible locally. Regular local contributions were very little. Local contributions had at no time been in proportion to the giving capacity of the rich Jews in Shanghai. Since these rich Jews, however, were now enemy nationals it was useless to think of contributions from them. It simply meant that smaller individual contributions would have to be made, but that everyone would have to contribute. A plan was evolved by Mr. Wachsner which he called the “Patenschaft” idea. It was estimated that \$ 50 (Chinese money) a month would feed one refugee, and he began working on a plan whereby the whole community would be canvassed for “Patenschaften,” each “Patenschaft” being \$ 50 a month. This idea was enthusiastically picked up by Mr. Peretz²²⁹ [sic] of the International Committee. At this point I believe a word about Mr. Peretz and the International Committee is in order.

In February 1942 Capt. Inuzuka ordered the International Committee closed and after arresting Paul Komor, the director, and detaining him for a short time only, he ordered him not to return to the International Committee. Capt. Inuzuka, however, turned the funds of the International Committee over to a certain Mr. Peretz. This Mr. Peretz was a German refugee of very bad reputation, who back in 1937, 1938, and 1939 was mixed up with the Japanese in Hongkew in a “racket” to sell refugees permits for the immigration of their relatives to Shanghai. These permits were unnecessary documents, since immigration to Shanghai has always been wide open. The Japanese working closely with Mr. Peretz in this “racket” was a Mr. Katawa.²³⁰ Mr. Peretz and Mr. Katawa had become members of Capt. Inuzuka’s staff and at the latter’s request were always invited to the meetings of the Committee for Assistance. Although we knew the reputation of both these men we were in no position to exclude them from our meetings and in no position to refuse to cooperate with them. Up to a certain date Mr. Peretz’s efforts on behalf of the refugees were most constructive, [13] inasmuch as he was using International Committee funds for milk, supplementary relief, coal and to operate a nursery. Mr. Peretz was also extremely enthusiastic about the “Patenschaft” idea and

229 This was Robert Peritz.

230 As Margolis stated at the beginning of this report, it was written from memory. She therefore cannot be faulted for the two errors here. Permits were needed for Shanghai, as stated in previous documents, and the name of the Japanese official was not Katawa but Shibata Mitsugi.

began working on a campaign for canvassing the whole community to contribute money.

In June of 1942 the money situation again began to look very serious. We knew that the best and most efficient campaign for raising funds locally could never meet the budget of the Committee for Assistance. At best we could only stretch the funds raised on J.D.C. credit through the middle or end of September 1942. Our two hospitals, including a small maternity ward, were costing us \$ 50,000 CRB monthly to operate. The medical staff, with few exceptions, was of an inferior quality. The equipment was poor and the physical conditions and sanitation deplorable. The doctors and nurses were a substantial part of a staff which we were trying to decrease. We therefore contacted the Shanghai General Hospital and made arrangements with Dr. Vio,²³¹ Italian superintendent of the hospital, to take our cases. We naturally encountered a lot of resistance [sic] on the part of our own doctors when we told them that the hospitals would have to be liquidated. All intake was stopped on June 15th and by the first of July all patients not released were transferred to the General Hospital and our two hospitals were closed. We were convinced then, as I am now, that these hospitals had always been an unnecessary and costly part of the Committee's activities. The Committee had never used the local resources to their fullest extent. Another example of this is that the Committee had been paying full rent and taxes for the camps, three of which were municipal property. They never made any attempt to get free rental, which we were able to get from the Municipal Council in view of their regulations that charitable institutions housed in municipal buildings do not have to pay rent. We merely paid taxes.

In June of 1942 we also sent cables to Sweden, Turkey, Portugal and Switzerland, asking for remittances from those countries. From these sources we received the following:

231 Eric (or Erich Giorgio) Vio (1910–1999), an Italian, had studied medicine in Rome and Japan. He worked at the Shanghai General Hospital from 1937 onward until he was interned in 1943. It was he who informed Margolis that she was listed for prisoners' exchange; cf. Kerssen, *Life's Work*, 77.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Sources</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Feb. 12, 1943	Arbeitsausschuss zur Hilfeleistung fuer Europaeische Juden in Stockholm ²³²	\$ 18,000 CRB
March 23, 1943	" "	23,088 "
June 21, 1943	Comite Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa	136,150 ^{"233}
August 19, 1943	" "	114,354 " (5000 Swiss frs.)
September 1943	" "	686,124 " (30,000 Swiss frs.)
TOTAL		<u>\$ 977,716 CRB</u>

We felt that the Ashkenazi community had no right to confine its efforts merely to helping the Polish refugees. In the spring of 1942, we therefore approached the Ashkenazi community with the suggestion that they participate in the "Patenschaft" plan for the support of the German refugees (up to this time the Ashkenazi community had only been supporting the Polish refugees). Mr. Topaz, who was chairman of the Ashkenazi community, absolutely refused to consider any plan for helping the German refugees. The issue became so vital within the ranks of the Ashkenazi community that it split the community in half and at one time became so violent that brothers were not talking to each other because of this issue. The group which differed with Mr. Topaz organized itself into a new committee, called the Central Jewcom and took on as its responsibility the raising of funds for the feeding of 500 German children. We felt that this had been a real victory because it was the first real expression on the part of the Russian Jewish community that they had some responsibility towards their German brothers. Naturally, there was constant [14] friction between the Central Jewcom and the East Jewcom because each group was drawing funds from the same community but for a different group of refugees.

At a meeting of the Committee for Assistance held the first week of July 1942, we resigned officially. By that time Mr. Wachsner, who had worked under our supervision for six months, was fully capable and willing to take over

232 Support for Jewish refugees in Sweden was managed by the Swedish Jewish communities, mostly by the Jewish Community of Stockholm. The latter founded a help committee which was financed by member's taxes and funds from the AJJDC; cf. Pontus Rudberg, *The Politics of Jewish Refugee Aid and Relief Work in Sweden*, in: Mikael Byström/Pär Frohnert (eds.), *Reaching a State of Hope. Refugees, Immigrants, and the Swedish Welfare State, 1930–2000*, Lund 2013, 80–101, here 85 f.

233 After the United States entered the war, the Jewish Community of Lisbon, concerned that financial support from American organizations would cease, founded the COMASSIS, a committee to help Jewish refugees; see ch. 5, n. 81.

the administration of the Committee, and Mr. Glueckmann, who had served as my secretary since my arrival in Shanghai, was functioning as his assistant. We agreed to remain in the background and advise with Mr. Wachsner and Mr. Glueckmann daily and to continue in our efforts to help the local community raise money. We explained however, that in anticipation of either repatriation or internment by the fall of 1942, it was time for us to step out officially. There was also a noticeable anti-foreign feeling growing in Shanghai, with the new Gendarmerie officers coming from Japan daily to visit the office at Hongkew. Whereas in our dealings with the higher officials our being enemy nationals had not made much difference, it was obviously not a comfortable situation with the lesser officials. Although the administrative machine was by no means perfect, we felt that with men such Mr. Wachsner and Mr. Glueckmann in charge of the housing and feeding, Dr. Lang in charge of employment and vocational work, with Mr. Edel having set up a new financial and statistical system, this was the time for us to pull out. The Committee, of course, had to accept our plan and we gave our promise to help unofficially as long as we remained free in Shanghai.

Shortly after our resignation in July, Mr. Peretz called us to his office one day to tell us that the Japanese were planning a catastrophic thing for the refugees and he needed our help. According to Mr. Peretz, a plan was being evolved whereby the refugees would be loaded on ships, taken out to the ocean and drowned. He wanted us to enter into some plan with him immediately to save the situation. One suggestion he had was that we try to get a cable out to America for help in this matter. (This would have been impossible, even if we had wanted to.) Although we had heard from other reliable sources that something was brewing among the Japanese authorities with regard to "segregation" plans for the refugees, nevertheless, we did not trust Mr. Peretz nor his motive in giving us this information. We told him that as tragic as the situation might be, it was entirely out of our hands now since we were no longer actually and officially connected with the Committee.

I should mention here that Capt. Inuzuka had left Shanghai in June 1942 and Capt. Saneyoshi, who replaced him, was not as interested in the Jewish problem as Capt. Inuzuka had been.

We heard nothing more from Mr. Peretz until we were notified that Mr. Speelman, Mr. Hayim, Mr. Kaufman, Mr. Topaz, Mr. Bitker, Mr. Peretz and Mr. Katawa (Japanese) had all been arrested by the Gendarmerie and were in Bridge House (Bridge House is the Japanese jail, which is reputed to be something like the jails of the Spanish Inquisition). We were able to learn that Mr. Peretz and his Japanese friend, Mr. Katzwa [sic],²³⁴ called a meet-

234 This was Shibata, not Katawa.

ing of the aforementioned men at Mr. Speelman's house in order to acquaint them with the plans the Japanese had for getting rid of the refugees.

To this day it is not quite clear to us or to anyone just what the motive of these two men was in passing on this information. As developments later proved, there had actually been a meeting of the Army, Navy and the Gendarmerie to discuss plans for doing something about the refugees. Knowing the records of both Mr. Peretz and Mr. Katawa, we all think that they had hoped to get these men present at Mr. Speelman's home to pay some money to try to stop this action and that in these negotiations they would make their percentage. The meeting however, took on a [15] different character from that which these men had planned. The decision made at the meeting was that Mr. Kaufman should contact Mr. Brahn, who had influence with the Gendarmerie, and ask Mr. Brahn to verify this story. Mr. Brahn went directly to the head of the Gendarmerie and not being a very tactful person, told the whole story giving away all the facts about the meeting, etc. The Gendarmerie chief became so furious that the plans which had still not crystalized [sic] were prematurely divulged, that he ordered the arrest of all the men present at the meeting, including Mr. Peretz and Mr. Katawa. All of these men were eventually released. Their arrest, however, precipitated the resignation of every member of the Committee for Assistance, this time including Mr. Speelman. Everyone was afraid at this point to be connected with the refugee problem.

It was during this period that we felt the need for organizing a local committee to handle any matters pertaining to J.D.C. In spite of his unpleasant experience, Mr. Bitker never refused to consult with us, although he refused to serve on any committee officially. At his time it was also not clear just what the attitude of the Japanese would be regarding the Polish nationals and so we were not certain as to whether Mr. Bitker was or was not an enemy national. In discussing the appointment of a J.D.C. committee with Mr. Bitker, it was agreed that Mr. Brahn, although undesirable as far as a person and a leader is concerned, had such close contact with the Gendarmerie and to date had shown considerable influence so that he would be a desirable chairman. I should like to say here that Mr. Brahn was appointed chairman of the J.D.C. committee simply because of his influential contact with the Japanese. He is a very unreliable, frustrated, sadistic person with a strong desire to dominate and show his power over those dependent on him. Here again I must say that we had no choice. In addition to Mr. Brahn, we appointed Mr. Wachner, Mr. Glueckmann and Dr. Lang, three men in whom we had faith and confidence, men who were honest, dependable and reliable and who we knew would serve the J.D.C. loyally but who had neither contacts nor influence.

While Mr. Peretz was in prison, Mr. Pulvermacher and Dr. Silberstein, men who had been members of the Committee for Assistance, agreed to take

over local fund-raising. Although there was no longer a Committee for Assistance after July, they organized a very large and active body of the wealthier refugees into a committee called the "Kitchen Fund" and incorporated the "Patenschaft" idea which had been started by Mr. Peretz of the International Committee. They appointed as their chairman a Dr. Berglass [sic], a Polish national and a refugee.

A word about the personalities of the Kitchen Fund leaders is important at this point. Dr. Berglass is a Polish national who came to Shanghai as a refugee from Vienna. He is a mild, intelligent person in very comfortable financial circumstances. He is weak and is being used by the more dominant members of the group simply as a figurehead. He never makes an independent decision. Dr. Silberstein or Mr. Pulvermacher are extremely keen and capable business men. They came to Shanghai as refugees with some means and have in the meantime established good businesses. Their whole approach to any problem is the "Prussian" way. They were the men who in January of 1942, when we were operating from day to day, within one week gathered enough forces to raise \$ 30 000. They are men who have tremendous drive and who once they get power do not delegate responsibility or privileges to anyone outside their own small intimate group of friends. They are the power behind Dr. Berglass.

[16] The circumstances which brought this group into power have already been described. We were in no position in the summer of 1942 to interfere with any group which wanted to take on responsibility. There were too few groups ready to do so.

In August 1942, while the Kitchen Fund was planning a "Patenschaft" campaign for raising money locally and while the Central Jewcom was organizing to take over the feeding of 500 German Jewish children, the realities became even more clear-cut than ever. We had definitely aroused all of the people and were tapping all of the potential resources, but the moneys raised this way could never carry the relief program. Mr. Topaz, the chairman of the Ashkenazi community, called us to a private meeting with a few people and asked us if we would issue another loan in the name of the J.D.C. without telling the community that we did not have right to do so. This we refused to do. We explained that J.D.C. representatives had never misrepresented the situation and that we personally could not be responsible for taking money from people which J.D.C. might not repay. We suggested the alternative of drawing up a contract in which we clearly explained our position, namely, that we firmly believe that J.D.C. has the money to help and wants to help but that due to war-time regulations is unable to contact us. Since we firmly believed this we hoped that the Ashkenazi Community would put every effort forth into selling this contract. Such a contract was drawn up by Mr. Cornell

Franklin,²³⁵ an American lawyer in Shanghai, and on the basis of this conditional contract we began negotiations with Mr. Shriro for additional money (details of financial transactions to be given later).

On September 1st we were notified that on September 6th we would be sailing from Shanghai to be repatriated. The situation then was that there was still no committee in charge, and no centralized responsibility. The office was being run by Mr. Wachsner, Mr. Glueckmann and Dr. Lang; but they were not a committee. The J.D.C. committee was organized for fund-raising purposes only. So, on September 4th, two days before we were supposed to sail, we called a meeting of the Kitchen Fund, which was working assiduously to raise money for feeding, and with the Juedische Gemeinde and made the following proposition to them. It was our suggestion that the Kitchen Fund take over all responsibility for feeding and the Juedische Gemeinde take over the responsibility for housing. In the meantime, a J.D.C. committee would be operating to raise money on J.D.C. conditional contract and would disburse funds as raised to the two groups, in accordance with the need. This meeting lasted four hours. The Juedische Gemeinde refused to take over any responsibility. The leadership of the Juedische Gemeinde has always been weak and although it was the only organization which officially represented the refugee body, it has never really played a major role in the life of the refugees. Dr. Kardegg, the president, is a rather weak and vacillating person, a man who is afraid of everybody.

The members of the Kitchen Fund asked to be excused for a recess and when they returned to the room announced that they were ready to take over responsibility for the whole problem, including feeding and housing, if we would promise that all moneys raised through J.D.C. would be given to them. From the very beginning we had been fearful of the type of leadership personified in Dr. Berglass, Mr. Pulvermacher and Dr. Silberstein, but there was no choice. Everyone had been given an opportunity and these were the only people who agreed to take any responsibility. Te [sic] of course agreed that the J.D.C. funds would always go to any committee which was doing the relief and rehabilitation work in the community provided that the standard of work carried out by that committee would meet with the approval of the J.D.C. committee. These men were of course certain that they would meet with the approval of the J.D.C. committee and at the close of the meeting the Kitchen Fund became the committee to take over responsibility for the refugee program in Shanghai. It was agreed at that time that Mr. Wachsner, Mr. Glueckmann and Dr. Lang would continue in the Administration Office

235 Franklin (1892–1959) arrived in Shanghai at the end of 1921. From 1933 on he was a member of the SMC, serving from 1937 to 1940 as its chairman.

as previously. On September 6th, the day we were sup- |17| posed to sail, our repatriation as cancelled.

Our trouble with the Kitchen Fund began within a week from the time they took office. Immediately upon the transfer of all bank accounts to them they told us that they no longer wanted Mr. Wachsner as their executive. They had decided that most of the personnel of the Committee which by that time had been reduced from 500 to 100, were dishonest. They were, furthermore, convinced that they themselves could run the office more efficiently and were willing to devote all their time to doing so. Although at the beginning we spent considerable time discussing with these men the advisability of a separate governing board and a separate executive staff, going into the reasons why all this was more advisable, we soon realized that all efforts to convince these men of what a good administrative apparatus is like were futile. When we tried to show them how the J.D.C.'s monthly statistical reports should be made out, their answer was that there was no need for all this detail and that they were going to set up their own system of bookkeeping. Mr. Wachsner and Mr. Glueckmann finally resigned after realizing that they were not wanted by the Kitchen Fund, and the latter asked Dr. Lang to become their executive. After consulting with us he agreed to accept the position as an experiment, but after a few weeks he resigned because he felt he was working with a dictatorial and fundamentally dishonest group of men. The situation was very tragic but we had no alternative, since no one was ready to step in and take over. We begged the Ashkenazi community to take the problem over but they flatly refused. We had to reconcile ourselves to leaving the Kitchen Fund in charge. It must be admitted that they worked very hard; they did go out and raise more money than had ever been raised locally before and they were vitally interested. Their attitude toward the refugees, however, was the same hard and dictatorial one which the old Committee for Assistance had shown. Good or bad, however, they were carrying on and the J.D.C. committee was putting forth every possible effort to raise money on the conditional contract.

In the fall of 1942 Mr. J. Shriro approached us about lending us money on the conditional contract. He seemed extremely reluctant to do so inasmuch as legally J.D.C. would not be responsible for our commitment. We had to admit that this was true, namely, that if J.D.C. did not want to meet this obligation it did not have to. Nevertheless, we spent considerable time and effort to try to convince him that to the best of our knowledge and belief J.D.C. would repay commitments made by us in view of the unusual situation in which we all found ourselves.

On September of 1942 we succeeded in getting from Mr. Shriro the sum of 100,000 Swiss francs, but at an extremely low rate of \$ 3 CRB to one Swiss

franc. At that time, as far as I can recall, the official rate of the CRB dollar to the Swiss franc was 10 ½ or 12 to one. As reluctant as we were to accept this rate, we were again placed in the position where we could find no other person who had as much free cash to give at one time as Mr. Shriro, and by September 1942 funds were very low.

On November 5th the American and British communities were surprised to wake up and find that enemy nationals were being picked up for internment. The arrests had started very early in the morning and we were called to Mr. Bitker's office to consult with him before being picked up ourselves. Mr. Shriro, who also knew of the arrest, came to Mr. Bitker's office. Because we expected to be picked up that day or the next, we agreed to allow Mr. Bitker to negotiate with Mr. Shriro for an additional sum of 405,000 Swiss francs which he agreed to give us. That day, while waiting to be picked up, we signed all the necessary documents and papers with regard to any loans which might be contracted by Mr. Bitker in our name. We limited the amount which the Shanghai J.D.C. could borrow to \$ 210,000 (U.S.). Much to our [18] surprise, however, we learned late in the afternoon of that same day that Mr. Shriro had been picked up and that only a selected number of enemy nationals had been arrested by the Gendarmerie for reasons unknown. This group of several hundred persons were later classified as political [sic] prisoners and have been kept in internment. The arrest of Mr. Shriro meant that he had been classified by the Japanese for the first time as an enemy national and in accordance with our agreement with the Japanese, we were not permitted to take money from enemy nationals. We dropped the matter temporarily and gave up hope of ever getting more money from this source.

In December of 1942 the new kitchen erected with J.D.C. money was dedicated and officially opened at a ceremony in which many Japanese officials were present. The Kitchen Fund acted as the official committee and we were advised not to be present because by that time all enemy nationals were wearing red arm bands and anti-American and anti-British feeling was rising.

The first week of January 1943 we were called to meet with Mr. J. Shriro's brother who told us that he had had word from J. Shriro via the underground that he would still like to give the J.D.C. some money. In view of Mr. J. Shriro's arrest, however, we refused to take money directly from him because we felt that no amount of money was worth risking the displeasure of the Japanese after we had given our word that we would only negotiate with neutrals. The sum of 405,000 Swiss francs, however, which was involved was sufficiently large, so that we could not just refuse to participate in any other plan which might make it possible for us to get hold of this money. It was understood and agreed by all those present – Mr. Bitker, Mr. Shriro (J. Shriro's brother), Mr. Siegel and myself – that this money would be transferred to Mr. J. Shifrin,

who was a Russian immigrant and that we would negotiate this loan with Mr. J. Shifrin.

On January 31, 1943, Mr. Siegel was interned and it was not until after his internment that the 405,000 Swiss francs had been transferred to J. Shifrin and we were able to discuss rate. The official rate of the Swiss franc was then 10 1/5 CRB to one Swiss franc. Mr. Shriro wanted to give us the same rate on the 405,000 Swiss francs as on the first 100,000 Swiss francs, that is \$ 3 CRB to one Swiss franc. Although I negotiated this deal just two days before I was interned I refused to accept this rate. At a meeting at which Mr. Shifrin, Mr. Bitker, Mr. Shriro and myself were present, it was agreed that we leave the rate open but that I would do my best to try to convince J.D.C. not to ask for any more than a maximum of \$ 6 CRB to the Swiss franc. On this basis we received an additional 405,000 Swiss francs in the name of J. Shifrin, although Mr. J. Shriro as the real owner. It was also agreed by Mr. Shifrin, Mr. Bitker and myself, with the knowledge of Dr. Lang and Mr. Glueckmann, members of the J.D.C. committee, that the sum of 505,000 Swiss francs (or just 405,000 Swiss francs, I cannot remember exactly.) which we had borrowed from J. Shriro would not be made known to the J.D.C. committee officially nor to the community. I agreed that Mr. Bitker and Mr. Shifrin should invest this money and that from time to time the income from the investment would be used as anonymous contributions to the Shanghai J.D.C. We all felt that the local community had by this time been stimulated to raising money locally and we did not want them to revert to their former habit of "Let the J.D.C. do it." We felt it was much better psychologically for them not to know that we had obtained this loan. We did not even feel that we could share this information with Mr. Brahn, Chairman of the Committee, or Mr. Wachsner, the other member of the Shanghai J.D.C., because they were not people who could be trusted to keep a confidence. I personally have full confidence in both Mr. Bitker and Mr. Shifrin and know that this money will be invested wisely and that the refugees will eventually get the full benefit of every cent

[19] Early in 1943 we knew through confidential sources that plans were in the making for the segregation of the refugees. Actually this was the culmination of the discussions which had started back in July 1942 and because of the arrests, had been delayed six months. On February 6th a very nasty and typically anti-Semitic article appeared in the Shanghai Times, ostensibly written by a Nanking Chinese official.²³⁶ This article mentioned the names of the Abrahams, the Hayims, Sir Victor Sassoon and many of the wealthy and prominent Shanghai Jews. It spoke of how they had made their money through opium and other disreputable means. It mentioned these people as

236 This is the article by Tang Leang-li, see Document 93.

an example of international Jewry. We know then that it was only a matter of days until a segregation plan would be announced. On February 8th [sic] the newspapers and the radio announced that a proclamation had been issued by the Japanese Navy, Army and Gendarmerie which stated that all stateless persons having come to Shanghai since 1937 would have to move into a designated area by May 8th of 1943. This proclamation came as a bombshell to Shanghai Jews, who were taken by complete surprise. There were not more than three or four of us who knew this was in the air. To the refugees this seemed like almost the last thing that could ever happen to them after what they had previously been through. It is interesting that the refugee group itself took this proclamation with considerably more calm than the local Russian Jews and the old resident German Jews, who, although the proclamation said “stateless,” realized that this was the first threat to themselves, even though they are not at that moment directly affected by it. Some of the refugees were quite hysterical about it. The majority who had taken one blow after another, took this as just another blow and their whole attitude toward the situation was that the United Nations were close to winning the war and that they simply had to tighten their belts and see this thing through until the day of victory. I must express my admiration for the way in which the majority of these people took a proclamation which really meant the end of their livelihood. It meant that those refugees – and there were thousands – who had established good and comfortable businesses in the French Concession and in the International Settlement would have to liquidate these businesses and move into the segregated area. Our refugee camps and kitchen are in the heart of this area, which is not more than one-half to three-quarters of a square mile.

Nothing happened from February 8th when the proclamation was first made public until February 23rd, two days before I was interned. On the night of February 23rd, Mr. Kubota,²³⁷ a Japanese official who had been put in charge of the organization of this removal, called a meeting of the Ashkenazi community in the Jewish club. That night he told several hundreds men present that this proclamation had been issued not because of any anti-Semitic feelings on the part of the Japanese people, but that the housing and feeding problem in Shanghai had become so acute that some plan had to be evolved whereby thousands of stateless persons would be put under some form of control. He appealed to the Russian Jews to cooperate with him in making this area a place where people could live. It meant that additional

237 In spring 1943, Navy captain Kubota Tsutomu followed Saneyoshi as Chief Director of the Shanghai Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs. He became honorary chairman of SACRA and as a result presided over SACRA's new committees.

houses or barracks would have to be built. While on the one hand he asked for the cooperation of the Russian Jews, his appeal was virtually an ultimatum in that he gave this group the choice of either cooperating with him and helping him to segregate the stateless people or the Japanese would have to take matters into their own hands and do it their own way. The reports which I received from this meeting were that the Japanese were going to see this plan through and that it was best for the Russian Jews to help.

It is interesting at this point to compare this technique with the way in which the Japanese interned us. All the work relative to interning enemy nationals was done by our own American Association.²³⁸ The Japanese used very little of their own manpower.

[20] Mr. Kubota agreed that for the present the Kitchen Fund should continue its work of feeding and housing and raising funds locally and that the Shanghai J.D.C. should continue its operation of raising money on J.D.C. credit as formerly. The Japanese, however, did not want to work with any other committee except a committee of the Russian Jewish community. It was for this reason that SACRA, which stands for "Shanghai Ashkenazi Communal Relief Association," was organized. The Japanese deal only with SACRA and SACRA men in turn deal with the Kitchen Fund and the Shanghai J.D.C.

Before I was interned I also asked Mr. Bitker to add to the Shanghai J.D.C. two members of the Ashkenazi community, which I later learned he did. I was completely cut off from all news of what was happening in Shanghai from February 25, 1943, when I was interned, until the end of July 1943, when I was removed to the Shanghai General Hospital because of illness. Although the hospital was under Japanese supervision, it was possible for me to see Mr. Glueckmann and Mr. Bitker often enough during the two months that I was in the hospital so that I can bring the situation in Shanghai up to date.

What I learned in August and September of 1943 was not very encouraging. The very thing which had made our own work difficult and frustrating was the very thing which was complicating matters in the midst of the most serious crisis which the Shanghai Jews had ever faced. The politics, personalities and power drives on the part of the leaders of the committees functioning in the refugee work caused so much conflict within our own ranks that the Japanese, who were aware of these conflicts, took advantage. For example, the Kitchen Fund group refused to take any suggestions from the Shanghai J.D.C. even though they were receiving money from them. Mr. Brahn, the Chairman of the Shanghai J.D.C., who also is a difficult personality, was reporting the

238 In the 1930s Americans living in Shanghai founded the American Association to deal with all kinds of civil and cultural issues.

misdeemeanors [sic] of the Kitchen Fund to the Japanese. Dr. Kohn,²³⁹ Chairman of SACRA, was very pro-Japanese and a close friend of Mr. Kubota, chief of the Office for Stateless.²⁴⁰ Politics had gone so far that there was a definite split between SACRA and the Office for Stateless on one side and the Shanghai J.D.C. backed by the Gendarmerie on the other side. Actually the fight was the old traditional one between the Japanese Gendarmerie and the Office for Stateless which was under the Japanese Consulate; but this time our own Jewish group were being used in this deep-seated political quarrel between two factions of the Japanese government.

SACRA had found it necessary to raise funds separately from the Ashkenazi community in order to build barracks and repair houses for additional housing facilities for those persons moving into the segregated area. For this purpose SACRA had raised, by August of 1943, the sum of \$ 1,500,000 CRB. The houses and barracks put up by SACRA are netting at the moment a substantial income, since at least 90 % of those persons who moved into the segregated area²⁴¹ could pay rent. Housing facilities per se were the problem. As time goes on, however, the income on these properties will decrease due to the gradual impoverishment of the refugees living in that area.

In September 1943 Mr. Kubota ordered that all moneys being expended for the refugees should go through SACRA's Relief Department, which meant that all moneys raised by the Kitchen Fund locally would have to be turned in to SACRA and that all moneys raised by the Shanghai J.D.C. would have to go to SACRA. In addition, the Ashkenazi community had imposed upon its members a tax system whereby every person had to contribute to SACRA for the maintenance of the refugees.

By August of 1943 the Kitchen Fund had succeeded in securing 900 "Patenschaften," each "Patenschaft" having been increased from \$ 50 to \$ 100 per month. This was really good work and showed more local effort than had ever been known before. [21] On August 1st, 16,000 people were living in the segregated area. Of this number it was estimated that at least 10,000 were in

239 (Jan) Abraham Jacob Cohn (c. 1908–1972) was born Jan Weinberg. His parents were from Romania; when they died, he was adopted by a German physician named Cohn. He moved to Nagasaki in 1914, going to school there and earning a medical degree. Fluent in Japanese and familiar with Japanese culture, he became an important member of the Jewish community in Shanghai. After the war he remained in the city and owned a pharmaceutical enterprise. From 1957 on he lived in Hong Kong; cf. Ristaino, *Port*, 198, 321, n. 49; Tokayer/Swartz, *The Fugu Plan*, 227, 272.

240 This is the Japanese Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs.

241 Designated Area.

need of full or supplementary relief. But the funds available at that time were only enough to give one meal a day to 3600 people. It was the plan of SACRA to bring this number up to 5000 within a very short time or as soon as their own Relief Department could get started and take over full responsibility. In addition to the one meal a day, 2870 people were living in our five camps and 4669 were receiving six ounces of bread daily. (The number receiving bread includes the 3600 who were also receiving one meal a day and the 2870 living in our camps.)

In September 1943, just before I was repatriated, SACRA estimated that just to maintain the status quo, that is to continue supporting those people included in the figures above, would require a budget of \$ 1,000,000 CRB a month. SACRA planned to be able to raise a total of \$ 400,000 CRB a month and expected that the rest of the budget would come from Shanghai J.D.C.

An analysis of the income of the Kitchen Fund from August 7, 1942, when they began functioning, to June 30, 1943, shows the following:

Kitchen Fund (Patenschaften and one-time contributions)	
17 %	
Income from refugees (some refugees pay a minimum amount for bread and food tickets)	14 $\frac{3}{4}$ %
Shanghai J.D.C.	59 $\frac{1}{2}$ %
Central Jewcom	8 $\frac{3}{4}$ %

It was not possible for all of the stateless to get moved into the area by May 8th and the Japanese extended the time to August 8, 1943. On that day everyone had to be moved into the area, although exemptions were made. These exemptions were considered on an individual basis by the Office for Stateless and extensions were given which were only valid for three months. In August of 1943 only 170 families, 60 doctors, 30 sick and aged and 80 miscellaneous were exempted (that is, were temporarily living outside the segregated area). It is possible to procure a pass to leave the area for the day for business reasons if one can prove to the Office for Stateless that it is essential to the welfare of East Asia. In August, 7000 had applied for passes to leave the area on business and only 3000 passes were issued for three months and 700 passes for three weeks. These passes designate specifically where the stateless person may go and the time when he must be back in the area. He does not need to be back at night but if his pass is only good until 6 P.M. he cannot get back home after this hour. It is the feeling of those few people with whom I spoke before I left that eventually no one will be allowed to leave the area for any reason whatsoever. Even now the granting of passes has become a "racket" whereby passes may be obtained at a price. It is inevitable that this practice will eventually lead to the denial of all passes.

At the barriers surrounding the segregated area there are signs reading: “Stateless refugees are prohibited to pass here without permission.” The barriers are policed by the refugees themselves, who are responsible to the Japanese police in the district.

Just before I left Shanghai Mr. Bitker finally agreed to become officially a member of the Shanghai J.D.C. inasmuch as Mr. Brahn, the Chairman, was getting completely out of hand and Mr. Bitker is about the only person who is not afraid to contradict him. Most people are afraid of Mr. Brahn because of his close connection with the Gendarmerie. In addition, Mr. Shifrin is also serving as a member of the Shanghai J.D.C., so that we have at the present time a total of six people: Mr. Brahn, Chairman; Mr. Glueckmann, Secretary; Mr. Bitker, Treasurer; Dr. Lang, Mr. Shifrin and Mr. Wachsner. For obvious reasons Mr. Brahn cannot be removed as Chairman, but the real work is being done by Mr. Bitker, Mr. Glueckmann, and Dr. Lang. The latter two have just moved into Mr. Bitker’s office.

FINANCIAL SUMMARY

A total of \$ 180,000 (U.S.) was raised by the spring of 1942 and each person was given a regular loan contract issued in U.S. dollars. Due to Japanese restrictions, it was not possible to bring back the names of any of the people who loaned us money, but the Shanghai J.D.C. is keeping a very full record of the persons and amounts owed. These contracts can only be validated upon presentation in the United States. The rate of exchange on each contract varies, depending upon the urgency of our need for money plus the official and black market rates. It is my belief that on our first contract we received fair rates, since we did have definite authorization from New York. It will be possible, however, to compare the rate of each transaction with the official rate after the war, when communications open again and records will be available.

The problem with regard to the “conditional” loan contract was quite different. Although we were sure the J.D.C. really wanted to help in Shanghai, we could not always be 100 % convincing, because we did not know what the situation really was in the United States after we were completely cut off in May 1942. One gets quite a distorted picture of what might have happened here and there were times when we even questioned whether the J.D.C. was functioning at all. The questions regarding the repayment of the moneys under this second loan and our great need for funds made it very necessary for us in the beginning to compromise on unreasonably low rates, as for example, the first 100,000 Swiss francs at a rate of three when the minimum was about 10½ or 12. I would recommend that before any notes issued under the second contract are repaid, the records of the Shanghai J.D.C. be consulted with regard to the rate received as against the official rate of the Swiss franc

at that time, and that the J.D.C. try to make an adjustment accordingly with each individual who loaned us money.

The CRB dollar, which is Nanking money, is rapidly devaluating. Inflation is riding sky high and no one in Shanghai wants to keep money. It is for this reason that I feel that those persons who loaned their money to the J.D.C. found the best and most effective means of safeguarding their funds.

Just before Mr. Siegel was interned we limited the amount which the Shanghai J.D.C. could borrow on our credit to a total of US\$ 210,000, or the equivalent of 900,000 Swiss francs. (By the time we began negotiating our second loan the Japanese had decreed that dealing in American dollars was a criminal offense. Therefore we used the Swiss franc for our transactions.) When I was in the hospital Mr. Bitker asked me for authorization to exclude the 505,000 Swiss francs borrowed from Mr. Shriro from the total of 900,000 Swiss francs. I granted this permission, so that the total obligation of the J.D.C. on the "conditional" loan contract is 1,405,000 Swiss francs. Of this total, 805,000 Swiss francs had been raised up to August 5, 1943 (including Mr. Shriro's 505,000). At that time the Shanghai J.D.C. was getting as high as 15½ CRB dollars to the Swiss franc when the official rate was 22. Mr. Bitker had stopped selling at that time because there was enough money to carry on the work for a few months and he felt he could get a better rate later on. There is no doubt that as soon as the Shanghai J.D.C. learns that we acknowledge the obligation contracted on the second loan that the rates will increase.

[23]

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is dangerous to make too many recommendations now because many things might change the picture in Shanghai with regard to the refugees before the J.D.C. can again become directly active. There are, however, a few facts which no development can change, namely those concerning the persons who at this time are in positions of responsibility and leadership.

Mr. C. Brahn, Chairman of the Shanghai J.D.C. Committee, must be relieved of his duties as soon as it is possible, if he is not already relieved by developments in Shanghai.

The leaders of the Kitchen Fund – Dr. Berglass, Mr. Pulvermacher and Dr. Silberstein – must not be given any responsible work in the reconstruction period.

Dr. Kohn, Chairman of SACRA, must not be trusted because he is definitely pro-Japanese and is justly suspected of making money out of the situation which has developed in Shanghai with the segregation of refugees.

Mrs. Nogami, Mr. Brahn's friend, may still be in Shanghai after the war, and, I should venture to guess, will ask for certain recognition because she

has been so helpful to the refugees. She is known to be a spy and should she ever enter into the picture in the future, she must be given no consideration.

Mr. Bitker, Dr. Lang and Mr. Glueckmann can be used freely and with full confidence in the postwar work, and should be given every recognition for their loyalty and untiring labor, often at great danger to their own persons.

The J.D.C. should make every effort to keep in touch with the Shanghai J.D.C. through the International Red Cross in order to authorize borrowing for the duration. The International Red Cross in Shanghai is willing and ready to supervise SACRA in the distribution of all funds, so that we need have no fear that money raised by J.D.C. will be used by the enemy.

CONCLUSION

I hope that the facts recorded in this report will shed some light on a very complicated and distressing situation. I sincerely feel that everything which could possibly have been done was done in order to save as many of the refugee population as possible. The handicaps were numerous and least of all these handicaps were the Japanese themselves. We have in Shanghai, and have always had, a group of Jews who have no social consciousness and no feeling of responsibility towards the community. Shanghai itself is not a community. Added to this, we have a group of refugees who are underfed and undernourished and terribly discouraged. I doubt that fifty percent of the group will be material for rehabilitation if this war lasts another two years. And one can never know what the attitude of the Japanese will be towards this defenseless element of the Shanghai population once they start losing the war. Knowing the Japanese, I would venture to say that “anything might happen at any time.” The only hope for these people, as for all peoples, lies in the victory of the United Nations.

Laura L. Margolis

Chapter 5

Shanghai Anti-Semitism and the Designated Area, 1943–1945

Introduction

Even if anti-Semitism was not a dominant phenomenon in Shanghai life, it was, nonetheless, not absent from the Shanghai scene. Articles translated from the Japanese press appeared occasionally in Chinese language newspapers like *Xin Shenbao* (New Shenbao; Document 90) and even Chinese writers, whether due to conviction or coercion, wrote anti-Semitic articles at times in the Japanese-controlled press.¹ Nor were local Nazis idle. In addition, anti-Semitic articles, often extremely pejorative, appeared in Shanghai's White Russian papers.² The British had noted the appearance of anti-Semitic materials in Shanghai as early as December 1938, which they regarded with considerable apprehension.³ None of this, however, led to expressions of anti-Semitism among the Chinese population, which in any event did not distinguish between one foreigner and another.

The ambivalent attitude generally on anti-Semitism among Shanghai's Japanese authorities was noted with misgivings by the Germans.⁴ And they no doubt disapproved highly of Inuzuka's friendly attitude toward the refugees and the Russian Jewish community. Meanwhile the war in Europe was far away, and Russian Jewish leaders spared no effort to remain on good terms with the Japanese authorities after the outbreak of the Pacific War.

Although the February 1943 Proclamation ordering all stateless persons who arrived in Shanghai after 1937 into a Designated Area of Hongkou hit the Central European refugees like a thunderbolt, it could not be interpreted as an anti-Semitic act. This was emphasized by Kubota Tsutomu in an interview reported in the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle* (Document 102). The

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- 1 Another example is the anti-Semitic newspaper article by Chen Qian, Shijie dongluan yu Youtai zhi guoji yinmou [World Turmoil and the Jewish International Conspiracy], in: Zhongguo Gonglun [Chinese Public Opinion], 2 (February 1940), 13–24.
 - 2 The Shanghai Municipal Report of September 15, 1939 summarizes one such article forwarded by A. Prokoviev, SMP, reel 42, D8149.F51.
 - 3 Shanghai Political Report for the quarter ending 31st December, 1938, 16, PRO, FO 371/23509 (27388).
 - 4 Krebs characterizes this as “conflicted Japanese attitudes about the Jews;” cf. his excellent article, The “Jewish Problem,” 107.

word Jew was nowhere mentioned in the Proclamation,⁵ and the order did not include the Russian Jewish community. The Proclamation, it should be noted, coincided as well with the beginning of internment of so-called enemy nationals, that is, Americans and British, regardless of their being Jewish or non-Jewish.

Whether the establishment of a ghetto, as it came to be called, was decided on due to German pressure cannot be answered conclusively.⁶ It would seem that the plan to concentrate the Jews in a specific area in Shanghai had been considered for some time by the Japanese authorities.⁷ Although they claimed that the purpose was military necessity, having Jews reside in a specific location was, in fact, a means of controlling them. Moreover, as Fischer's cable (Document 98) indicates, the Germans were taken by surprise by the Proclamation.

The machinery for controlling the Jews was quickly established. An umbrella organization of eighteen men was created at the beginning of 1943 after the Proclamation appeared. This was the Shanghai Ashkenazi Collaborating Relief Association (SACRA), headed by Dr. Jan Abraham Jacob Cohn. Most of SACRA's members were drawn from the Russian Jewish community. SACRA carried out the important reorganization of the Jüdische Gemeinde (established in 1939 for the Central European Jews), and the new organization was now headed by a Russian Jew, L. M. Rogovin. SACRA, furthermore, was in charge of relocating the stateless Jews in Hongkou, and it was also in charge of two powerful committees established earlier, the Kitchen Fund and the Shanghai JDC. But SACRA was by no means independent. It was controlled by the Japanese Shanghai Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs, which in turn was subordinate to the Ministry for Greater East Asia and was headed by Kubota Tsutomu, who was also Honorary Chairman of SACRA.

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- 5 Y. Kahan, *Etlekhe bamerkungn tsu der forgeshikhte fun shankhaier geto* [Some Remarks on the Prior History of the Shanghai Ghetto], in: *Unzer Vort. Zamlheft*, 1 (1945), 34–38. Kahan remarks that the Russian Jews already knew about the forthcoming proclamation in December 1942. It was they who prevailed on the Japanese to change the wording from “Jews” to “stateless.”
 - 6 Fritz Wiedemann (1891–1970), at the time German Consul in Tianjin (so presumably January 22, 1951) declared, “The internment of Central European emigrants [...] had taken place upon the instigation of the German government [...]” cf. Herman Dicker, *Wanderers and Settlers in the Far East. A Century of Jewish Life in China and Japan*, New York 1962, 115. Unfortunately, Dicker does not provide a reference.
 - 7 Krebs, *The “Jewish Problem,”* 121, similarly notes that concentrating the Jews in a specific area was under consideration since 1939.

At the beginning of 1943, therefore, together with the Proclamation, a patron-client relationship came into being between the Japanese authorities and the Russian Jewish leadership. SACRA, despite its title, did not have a collaborationist (in the pejorative sense in which we generally use the term) relationship to the Japanese authorities. It was subordinate, a puppet, carrying out the orders of the Japanese authorities who in this way were able to avoid direct contact with the refugees in day to day affairs. A hierarchical chain of command was thus established, not unlike that of other Chinese puppet governments in areas under Japanese conquest. That SACRA was firmly under Japanese control can be clearly seen in Document 23 where the reorganization of SACRA in spring 1944 is explained.

To be sure, it has not yet been clarified what kind of pressure the Japanese authorities had brought to bear on the leaders of the Russian community in order to obtain their compliant cooperation. The fact is that the animosities between the leaders of the several communities, so well described in Laura Margolis's long report (Document 89), were exacerbated during the remaining war years.

The move into the vastly overcrowded area of the ghetto created great hardships for the refugee population. Most severely affected were those who had managed to establish businesses of one sort or another in what had been the International Settlement or the French Concession. Although some applied for and managed to obtain a postponement, this was but a small minority. Those who had succeeded in finding jobs or had businesses outside the Designated Area, or who just wanted to leave the crowded ghetto, had to apply for passes. The office for passes was under the control of the much hated Ghoya Kanoh,⁸ and the not much better liked Okura. Kubota's attempt to placate the Jews by stating that the purpose of the passes was to aid in the development of the Designated Area was a lame excuse for what was generally perceived as one more punishment.

To what extent were the refugees aware of the catastrophe that had befallen their families in Europe? Or even of the progress of war in Europe and Asia? Not much can be gained from later interviews, because post-war information intrudes on earlier memories. There were, of course, Soviet broadcasts, but it is impossible to know how many Russian speakers actually

8 From August 1943 on, Japanese officer Ghoya was responsible for issuing passes to leave Hongkou, becoming the personal representative of all the evils of Japanese occupation. After the end of the war Herbert Zernik wrote a satiric poem (*Ein Affe wurde Mensch*) about the sadistic man. I am grateful to Dr. Ruth Kollani for making the original poem available to me. An English translation is included in my *Voices from Shanghai. Jewish Exiles in Wartime China*, Chicago Ill./London 2008, 104–106.

listened to Soviet broadcasts,⁹ and such important turning points in the European war as Stalingrad in February 1943 and Guadalcanal also in February 1943 coincided with the disaster of the Hongkou segregation,¹⁰ which seemingly occupied the refugees' attention to the exclusion of all else.

No doubt unknown to the refugees, their plight was noted in Switzerland, as conveyed by members of the International Red Cross. Not that its Relief Division did anything to alleviate the refugees' dire situation. It was through the good offices of Saly Mayer of the JDC in Switzerland that some funds could be channeled to Shanghai (Documents 111 and 116). However, the refugees were well aware that they were living under the tight control of the police. Residency law was strictly enforced, and permission for public events had to be obtained from the Japanese authorities.

Clearly, however, the scarcity of documents for the sixteen months of the ghetto period is obvious. Little or no mail reached Shanghai during this time. Newspapers were barely available for the refugee community, even if there still were the highly censored weeklies *Nasha zhizn*, *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, and *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*. Japanese documentation for this period has disappeared, and it is not known where the Russian documents might be. Even the Shanghai Municipal Police Files for this period do not yield significant documentation on Jewish affairs. To reconstruct this period of time, one must rely on the very few available diaries and later memoirs. Valuable and indispensable as they are, each of these materials cannot be corroborated by other records.¹¹

The end of war came late to Shanghai in August 1945. It was preceded by a final catastrophe that occurred only one month before when on July 17, 1945, American planes bombarded Hongkou. This and the question whether to remain in Shanghai or leave, and where to if the latter, will be taken up in chapter eight.

9 R. Shoshana Kahan, *In fayer un flamen. Togbukh fun a yidisher shoyspilern* [In Fire and Flames. Diary of a Jewish Actress], Buenos Aires 1949, 138, mentions (entry July 25, 1944) that according to Soviet radio the Soviet army had entered Lublin.

10 The battle for Stalingrad took place between July 1942 and February 1943, and is generally considered the turning point in Germany's war against the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that much of Southeast Asia had come under Japanese control by the first half of 1942, the battle of Midway in June 1942 is often seen as the turning point in the Pacific, leading to the battle of Guadalcanal in February 1943 and the beginning of the end of Japanese supremacy.

11 A collection of more than 20 memoirs and autobiographies by Shanghai refugees can be accessed online at the website of the LBI Digital Memoir Collection, cf. <<https://www.lbi.org/collections/archives/memoir-collection/>> (September 13, 2016).

Document 90

Gao Qing¹²

September 29, 1939

Newspaper article, in: *Xin Shenbao*¹³ [*New Shenbao*], 1.

Chinese; translation by Shirley Burdick and Madlen Mählis

Harvard-Yenching Library, Newspaper Collection, FC-N274

時論
中國和猶太人問題
高情

王龍先生曾經討論德意兩國的排斥猶太人問題和猶太人在東亞的問題，藉以喚起中國人對於猶太人活動的注意，但是，我想更進一步，指摘猶太人在中國的活動狀況，以供一般中國人參考。研究世界猶太人問題的某學者批評這次的日華戰爭，並不是日本民族和漢民族的鬥爭，祇是日本民族和英國系猶太財閥的鬥爭。何以呢？他說：

猶太財閥用他們過剩的財富樹立五十年計劃，投資到利益最多的國家。他們一八七〇年投資於阿富汗、印度、緬甸的五十年計劃的開發殖民事業，到一九〇〇年在華資金的收回，一九三〇年他們爲了開發遠東的第二次計劃，將根據地搬到上海，在南京路角上建設沙遜大樓，於是他們踏出對華投資五十年計劃的第一步。他們的資本號稱二十五億元，每年投資一億，如能繼續二十五年，中國的經濟財政就完全握在他們的掌中了。然而他們的投資因有投資契約的優先權，如果收回材料銷賣的利益和本利，二十五年二十五億元的投資，實際祇需十億。他們這樣的支配中國，著著進行，和日本在中國的摩擦，就自然尖銳化了。自從滿洲事變以後，他們猶太財閥的滿洲投資計劃給日本拒絕以來，他們更趨反日，他們的反日傾向立即強化國民政府的反日政策，以致誘發了這次的日華戰爭云云。

這批評用來分析現在日華戰爭的諸現象，確有相當的根據。具體的說起來，例如沙遜財團是著名的猶太財閥，在中國的任何人都無不知的。又像英國對華經濟援助的領袖英蘭銀行總裁諾爾曼氏也是猶太

12 No biographical information about the author is available.

13 This Chinese language paper appearing in Shanghai was controlled by the Japanese authorities; in fact it was just the Chinese edition of the Japanese daily *Shanghai godo*; cf. Frederic Wakeman Jr., *The Shanghai Badlands. Wartime Terrorism and Urban Crime, 1937–1941*, Cambridge Mass. 1996, 10.

人。英國派來做中國鐵道總監督的卡克，巴特里克，衛生顧問的拉錫曼，幣制改革的主角李滋羅斯諸氏，全部都是猶太人。李滋羅斯氏提議的橫斷華中南鐵道建設計劃也是由猶太財閥而成的，像杭州南昌間和貴陽緬甸間歸英國系猶太財閥，長沙貴陽間歸德國系猶太財閥，成都貴陽間歸法國系猶太財閥投資，這就足以窺見國際猶太財閥在中國活動狀態的一斑。再用眼前的例講起來，據說 [上海是猶太人的街]。要是分析這句話的意義，就可以明瞭猶太人的如何活躍了。

最近日本發見猶太人的擾亂日本金融事件，日本當局曾經逮捕多數的猶太人。這類事件是充分表現猶太民族性格的一例。

總之猶太人的信念，把猶太人以外的民族認作[戈伊]（豬糞之意），來苦惱世界的一切民族。德，意，匈，澳等國家，都採取反猶太人的行動，不外是不堪其弊。我們並不是勸中國排斥猶太人，不過忠告大家認清這所謂猶太人，切莫弄錯應付的對策。

Translation

China and the Jewish Question

By Gao Qing

Mr Wang Long¹⁴ discussed the problem of expelling Jews from Germany and Italy and the problem of Jews in East Asia. He called on Chinese to pay attention to their activities but I wanted to push the issue further and explain to the Chinese reader the state of Jewish activities in China for them to consider.

A scholar looking at the Jewish Question in the world points out that the war between China and Japan is not a war between the nation of Japan and the nation of China, but a war between the nation of Japan and the Jewish financial magnates of England. He explains that Jewish financial magnates are using their excess wealth to establish a 50-year plan of investing in the most profitable countries. In 1870, they started a 50-year investment in Afghanistan, India, and Burma to develop plant and labour industries; by 1900, they had already recouped their investment money. In 1930, in order to quickly expand a second round of the investment plan, they moved their headquarters to Shanghai and built the Sassoon Building on Nanjing Road. Thus they took the first step in starting a 50-year investment in China. Their seed money is 2.5 billion Yuan with the plan of investing 100 million per year. If they were

14 Wang Long is a very common Chinese name.

to continue for 25 years, they would have the Chinese economy completely in their palms. Yet, because their investment has contract priority rights, if they are able to get back their investment by selling back materials and re-investing interest payments and profits, then the investment of 2,5 billion Yuan in 25 years, in fact, only needs 100 million Yuan. Because they steadily make progress in dominating China this way, from time to time, it naturally causes more conflict between Japan and China. Ever since the Manchurian incident,¹⁵ since the Jewish financial magnates' Manchurian investment plan was refused by the Japanese, they speeded up their anti-Japan operations. Their anti-Japanese attitude has strengthened the government's anti-Japan policy to such an extent as to cause this Japan-China war, and so on.

This critical analysis of the current Japan-China war phenomenon is supported by a considerable amount of evidence. Specifically, magnate Sassoon, for example, who is a famous Jewish magnate, is known by everyone in China. Also the British leader aiding the Chinese economy, Sir Norman,¹⁶ the Governor of the Bank of England, is Jewish. In order to build the China railway,¹⁷ Britain sent Inspector General Patrick *Ka-ke*,¹⁸ health advisor Rajchman,¹⁹ and the leader of the currency reform Sir Leith-Ross,²⁰ all of them are

15 Usually called "Mukden incident" when Japanese officers carried out a bomb attack near Mukden (today Shenyang) in Manchuria on September 18, 1931. It is seen as the beginning of the Manchurian crisis between Japan and China, which led to the Japanese occupation of Manchuria.

16 The gentile Lord Montagu Collet Norman (1871–1950) was Governor of the Bank of England between 1920 and 1944.

17 Apart from the Japanese, French, Russians, Germans, and Americans, the British also built railways in China, e.g. between 1905–1908 the Shanghai-Nanjing Railway and a bit later the Kowloon-Canton Railway and the Jinpu Railway (together with the Germans).

18 Unclear name, rendered in pinyin.

19 The baptized physician Ludwik Rajchman (1881–1965) came from a Polish-Jewish family. He was sent several times by the Health Section of the League of Nations as health coordinator to China from 1929 onward. In 1933, he was nominated as technical agent for China by a special commission of the League of Nations in order to encourage Western economic investments in China. The League of Nations, however, withdrew his mandate in the following year because of Rajchman's strong pro-Chinese attitude; cf. Messmer, *Jewish Wayfarers*, 91–96.

20 The gentile Sir Frederick Leith-Ross (1887–1968) was chief economic adviser to the British government during World War II. He was sent as official government emissary to China in 1935 in order to promote the reform of its *fapi* currency; cf. Niv Horesh, *Shanghai's Bund and Beyond. British Banks, Banknote Issuance, and Monetary Policy in China, 1842–1937*, New Haven Conn./London 2009, 139.

Jewish. Leith-Ross' suggestion to cut across the building plan of the China Central-South railway, comes also from Jewish magnates, similar to the Hangzhou-Nanchang railway, the Guiyang-Burma railway; the investment turns back to the Jewish magnates of Britain, that of the Changsha-Guiyang railway to German Jewish magnates, the Chengdu-Guiyang railway to the French Jewish magnates. All that is enough to get a glimpse of the movements of international Jewish financial groups in China. Taking those examples, there is a saying that "Shanghai is the Jews' street." If we analyze the meaning of that saying, it is easy to understand how active the Jews are.

Recently the Japanese discovered that Jews had created disturbances in Japanese banking. Following this, Japanese authorities already arrested many Jews. These cases display adequately the characteristics of the Jewish people.

In conclusion, the Jewish people's belief, they regard non-Jewish people as "geyi" (meaning swine)²¹ vexing all peoples of the world. Germany, Italy, Hungary, Austria and other states have all taken anti-Jewish actions, this is because of nothing more than being unable to tolerate their malpractice. We do not try to persuade China to eliminate the Jews, but advise everybody to discern those so-called Jews, be sure not to get them wrong and to take countermeasures against them.

Document 91

Anonymous

November 1, 1941

Journal article, in: The China Weekly Review,²² 257.

Harvard-Yenching Library, Newspaper Collection, (W) D8501.C5x

21 The Chinese word *geyi* (swine, pig) alludes to the similar sounding Hebrew word *goy* for "people" or "gentile."

22 I thank Professor Bernard Wasserstein for making the article available to me. The owner and chief editor of *The China Weekly Review* (published in Shanghai under this name from 1923) was the American journalist John B. Powell (1888–1947). He used the American magazines *The Nation* and *New Republic* as models for his progressive journal. Powell, who opposed Japanese aggression and supported Chiang Kai-shek, regularly reported news regarding the Japanese occupation. His son John W. Powell supported his work for the magazine from 1940 to the summer of 1941. *The China Weekly Review* was closed by the Japanese in early December 1941, and J. B. Powell was interned. He was repatriated in 1943; cf. O'Brien, *American Editor*, 2f.

Anti-Semitism Makes Appearance in S'hai

Organized anti-Semitic propaganda made its first overt appearance in Shanghai on October 25 when thousands of leaflets denouncing local Jewry fluttered over the city in the vicinity of the Race Course on Bubbling Well Road after being released on a brisk breeze from an upper floor of the Park Hotel where the local German propaganda and espionage organization is understood to have its headquarters.

The leaflets were printed in English and bore the signature of a body styled the "Aryans' Union."²³ The text called upon local Aryans to boycott Jewish businessmen, claiming that profits made by Jews were used to make bombs with which Aryans were being killed.

"Remember," the leaflets said, "that any dollar or cent you spend in Jewish shops, restaurants, or other Jewish establishments will be turned out in bombs against our own people fighting for world liberation from this Jewish yoke."

The Chinese-language Japanese Army organ, the *Sin Shun Pao*²⁴ as if by prior arrangement with the disseminators of the leaflets, the same day accused Jewish traders and brokers of manipulating local commodity and share prices – "not the Jews who hang about street corners begging for alms, but those who own sizeable fortunes." The Jews, the paper asserted, played a prominent role in Shanghai's notorious "black market."

More anti-Semitism from a Japanese source reached the press on Oct. 26 when Mr. Shinro Miyazaki, ex-Japanese minister to Iraq, arrived in Kobe and told interviewers that British troops were able to invade and occupy Iraq only because of the Jewish elements in that country. He said that when he arrived in Bagdad [sic], the Iraquian [sic] army was already in the hands of the British and when British troops moved in, they were aided by more than 80,000 Jews who had been residing there.

After the British troops arrived, Mr. Miyazaki said, more than 5000 Jews were massacred in Bagdad by natives who were "angered over the fact that the Jews not only aided the British but also hampered the Iraquis [sic] efforts to attain independence."

23 The Arier Union was founded by Shanghai-based German businessmen who were members of the local chapter of the NSDAP.

24 *Xin Shenbao* (New Shenbao).

Document 92

Anonymous

November 8, 1941

Journal article, in: The China Weekly Review, 273 f.

Harvard – Yenching Library, Newspaper Collection, (W) D8501.C5x

Nazis Continue Anti-Jewish Campaign Despite Their Denial of Circular

The German Nazi party organization in Shanghai followed up its distribution of the anti-Semitic circulars from an upper floor of the Park Hotel on Sunday afternoon, Oct. 26, by distributing this week a circular letter ordering the boycotting of some 270 Jewish and Soviet business establishments in the city by Aryan Germans. Many of the shops listed in the letter belong to German and Austrian Jews who are attempting to re-establish themselves here, following expulsion from their homes by Hitler and his followers.

The distribution of the circular letter threatening those who disobeyed the boycott order, had the effect of confirming in the minds of the Shanghai public the Nazi responsibility for the original anti-Semitic circular, despite their denial of responsibility. The letter declared that anyone violating the order to boycott Jewish shops would be photographed and a report of his action, together with the picture, would be sent to Berlin and placed on file for future consideration. The list which accompanied the letter contained a number of Soviet and White Russian concerns, and one German “Aryan” concern, the proprietors of which are political refugees from Hitler’s paradise. One Swiss firm and one British firm were also listed among the concerns to be boycotted, the British firm apparently because it employs a few Jews. The reason for boycotting the Swiss firm was not stated.

The firms to be boycotted were described as “Judengeschaefte in Shanghai,” (Jewish shops in Shanghai) and the list included fur stores, pharmacies, women’s tailors, photographers, leather and hand-bag shops, shops selling children’s garments, stores selling shoes and stockings, food and provision establishments, jewellers, art dealers, men’s tailors shops selling cloth, artisans and specialty shops, beauty parlors, cabarets, theaters, night-clubs, etc. Each shop name was accompanied by its address. At the bottom of the list, which included several non-Jewish stores employing Jewish assistants, were a number of Soviet Russians. There are thirty places of amusement which are barred to “Aryans,” and also included in the list is one hotel (not the Park) and one theater. There are 69 women’s dress-making and tailor shops.

There also were several notable exceptions, which obviously could not have been overlooked by those who compiled the list, leading to the supposition that the proprietors may have had advance notice and took action, possibly of a financial nature, to prevent their concerns being listed. This was true of one popular night club, known to be Jewish-owned, which was omitted from the published list. This place happens to be popular with the local Nazis, who are its chief patrons.

Some persons were inclined to regard this latest example of Nazi “terrorism” with amusement, believing it would cause the local Nazis more inconvenience than loss suffered by the Jewish shops. However, responsible circles in the city viewed the development with considerable apprehension, because it is certain to engender racial hatred and may lead to violence, especially if (or when) the local Nazis decide to take the next step and paste labels on the shops or attempt to picket them.

This latest action of the local Nazis, following the distribution of the anti-Jewish circular from the windows of the Park Hotel, lends emphasis to the editorial suggestion in last week’s issue of *The Review* that the Nazi Propaganda Bureau on the 16th floor of the Park Hotel should be closed, despite denials by the Nazi leaders as well as the management of the Park Hotel that such an Axis headquarters exist on the premises. As stated in our previous reference to the subject, the Park Hotel is located within the U.S. Marines defense sector, hence the American authorities – in cooperation with the Municipal Police – should not hesitate to make a thorough search of the entire hotel and issue a definite warning to the hotel proprietors and the Nazi guests, who monopolize most of the rooms and facilities of the hotel, against any acts likely to disrupt local peace and order.

Japanese Also Have Propaganda Center²⁵

It is quite understandable that Nazis prefer to reside in the Park Hotel, which is Chinese owned, rather than other leading hotels which are owned by

25 Photo below the last line of a large multi-storey building, the caption reads: “The above is a picture of one of the leading Japanese propaganda centers, located in the International Settlement south of the creek, that is, in the area supposedly controlled by the Anglo-Americans. The white spot on the ground floor is a large sign which states that here is located the ‘Modern Science Library of Japan.’ The building is located on Szechuen Road between Canton and Foochow and is adjacent to the well-known building of British Imperial Chemicals. The entire ground floor of the building is occupied by a school where hundreds of Chinese youths are taught the Japanese language and other things Japanese. The large white sign states that the Library contains books concerning Japanese industry, economics, and civilization,

Britons, and there can be no logical objection to this situation, so long as the Nazis do not use the hotel as a center for conducting activities inimical to the peace and welfare of the city. But when they engage in activities likely to cause a breach of the peace, such as the distribution of anti-Semitic circulars and boycott letters and lists, those responsible should be immediately ordered to discontinue such activities or withdraw into Japanese-controlled territory.

The Nazi Propaganda Bureau and headquarters was established on the sixteenth floor of the Park Hotel about six months ago, following the arrival here of several Nazi publicity experts who had been expelled from the United States. These men were said to have brought with them considerable amounts of Nazi money previously on deposit in American banks. There are two apartments on this floor consisting of three rooms each, the monthly rental being between \$ 8000 and \$ 10,000. Located two floors above the sky-terrace, where the hotel grill-room and ballroom are located, the sixteenth floor provides an excellent view of the entire city and [274] is unexcelled for observation purposes. The local Municipal Police took cognizance of this factor during the Sino-Japanese hostilities and compelled the hotel management to close the sky-terrace and ballroom, this action being taken following a complaint by the Japanese military authorities that the place was being used for observation purposes.

Following the arrival of the Nazi experts and the establishment of the Nazi Propaganda Bureau and Headquarters at the Park Hotel, the city has literally been flooded with Nazi propaganda of practically every known type of booklet and circular, some being of a most expensive nature. All bear the earmarks of expert production, with art work well above the Shanghai average.²⁶ The subject of Nazi propaganda is discussed elsewhere in this issue of *The Review*, but it is said that Nazi publicity has become so extensive that it has over-taxed the capacity of the local Nazi-owned printing plant and has over-flowed into printing plants owned by Britons and Americans. The publication of a “blacklist” here similar to the Anglo-American action in South America would have some interesting repercussions, particularly in the printing industry.

‘both at home and abroad.’ The sign states that the library is open to all persons from 9 a.m. to 8:30 p.m.; that all books and magazines are supplied free for reading on the premises, but if anyone wishes to take them out, a deposit of \$5 is required. The deposit is refunded when the book is returned. It also states that the Library includes a ‘circulating’ department where anyone may obtain books for a small charge.”

26 Regarding German efforts to popularize Nazi-propaganda in Shanghai in a professional way, cf. Freyeisen, Shanghai, 274–278.

One American office in Shanghai exhibited this week a collection of thirty different pieces of Nazi propaganda which had been received in the past four or five months. The list ranged from an 80-page illustrated magazine to books consisting of 300 pages. The latest to be distributed was a 38-page booklet entitled, "How They Lie ..." consisting largely of excerpts from news reports distributed here by Reuters and United Press, arranged in parallel columns to emphasize the difference between official statements of British political and military leaders and the final outcome of particular events referred to in the dispatches, such as the Balkan campaign, the campaigns in Greece, Crete, etc. Another late pamphlet entitled, "Two Men on a Boat," dealt in detail with the Roosevelt-Churchill "Eight Point Declaration."²⁷ On the last page appeared this paragraph referring to the President of the United States:

"Surrounded by a group of rapacious financiers and money-sharks, resentful and vindictive Jews, armament profiteers, and other rogues, the sought re-election for a third term by deliberate lying. He solemnly promised to keep the United States out of war. So soon as the third term was secure, he all of a sudden discovered all manner of perils allegedly threatening the Western Hemisphere. When the American people still persisted in declining participation in Britain's war, Roosevelt cast away the mask ... His latest order to the American Navy to shoot on Axis vessels at sight, is a plain act of war. To pursue the selfish aims of his plutocratic war-clique, he will sacrifice American lives ... He feels no compunction at making all decent and peaceful Americans labour and toil for their own enslavement ... History will call it the greatest betrayal ever perpetrated by a President against the American people ... Look for the outcome!"

Space is unavailable for a summary of all of these booklets containing thousands of words of attacks on Americans and Britons and their policies and institutions. Many of the booklets consist of virulent attacks on Great Britain, one being a clever imitation of "Parliamentary Debates – Official Report of the House of Commons."

Britons, who appear to view Nazi activities here so calmly, should be aware of the fact that the Germans have a deep-seated desire for revenge which they are planning to satisfy as soon as the opportunity is offered. This desire for revenge on local Britons is concerned with the deportation of Germans from Shanghai – after the Armistice – in World War I. While the deportation of Germans from Shanghai resulted from official action in Peking, the Germans have always held the British responsible and have planned to even scores. The

27 This was the Atlantic Charter, drafted by Churchill and Roosevelt and issued on August 14, 1941, in which the Allied policy for the postwar order was formulated.

Nazi program in this regard was outlined in a recent book, written by a local Nazi, for circulation in Germany.

Document 93

*Tang Leang-li*²⁸

February 16, 1943

Newspaper article, in: *Shanghai Times*, 4.

Microfilm; LC, Center for Research Libraries, no. 3977

Shanghai, Hunting Ground of Thriving Jewish Racketeers
 Prominent But Shady Part Played by Unscrupulous Jews
 In City's Economic Life and Development
 By Ambassador Tang Leang-li

In the course of one of his discourses President Wang Jingwei²⁹ had some very pertinent remarks to make on the character of the Jew: “Anarchists and communists, who take special pride in their condemnation of all things traditionally dear to China, have an ancestor of their own in the Jew. The latter has neither a State nor a national instinct which he can call his own, and so he entertains a bitter hatred for other people’s countries and their national characteristics. He has lost his own culture and his moral scruples, and so cherishes a strong abhorrence of other people’s cultural accomplishments and moral principles. In this hatred for other people’s statehood and national instinct, and in this abhorrence of other people’s cultural and moral attainments, as entertained by the Jew, is then to be found the spring fountain of anarchism and communism.”

28 Tang Leang-li (1901–1970), was a Chinese journalist born in Indonesia. He was active in the Nationalist government and in Wang Jingwei’s (1883–1944) puppet regime, in which he was given the title “Ambassador on special assignment.” He was arrested by the Nationalist government in 1945. Released in 1949, he returned to Indonesia, where he continued his journalistic activities; cf. Zhou Xun, *Chinese Perception of the “Jews” and Judaism. A History of the Youtai*, Kondon 2013, 146.

29 Wang (1883–1944) originally belonged to the left wing of the Kuomintang (National People’s Party of China). He eventually found himself completely at odds with their leader, Chiang Kai-shek. On March 30, 1940 he founded the anti-communist government of the Republic of China in Nanjing under Japanese control.

In these few sentences are given, not only the spiritual forces responsible for the rise of anarchism and communism, but also a remarkably penetrating analysis of the character of the Jew. This personage has often been dubiously referred to as “a man without a country,” but the true import of this meaningful phrase has never before been so strikingly explained.

For the principal trait of the Jew’s character, as has been pointed out over and again, is intrigue combined with racial hatred – a machination, social, national, and international. The Jews claim that the word “revolution” is their own invention, a means by which to strive to get at the accomplishment of their ultimate purpose – world domination and world rule.

Jewish Danger Felt

The Jewish danger to world civilization has longer been felt by farsighted leaders in all parts of the world. In Japan, for instance, in the elections held in May 1942, Lt.-Gen. Nobutaka Shihoden,³⁰ a retired soldier, was elected to a House of Representatives, polling the heaviest number of votes throughout the country on a platform of anti-Semitism, Lt.-Gen. Shihoden, who is known to the Japanese people as the leader of the “Jew Ostracism Movement,” stated after his election: “I am determined to sacrifice myself for the nation’s cause – especially to drive Jewish influences out of Japan.”

More recently, Mr. Toshio Shiratori,³¹ former Japanese Ambassador to Italy, also gave public expression to his denunciation of Judaism. The well-known Japanese diplomat said: “The ideal of the Jewish people is to establish hegemony over the world by bringing about the decline of other peoples and enforce a form of oligarchy which may be termed theocracy.”

Explaining the success which this minority people who have lost their fatherland has so far gained in the pursuance of their inordinate ambition to dominate the world, the Japanese diplomat correctly diagnosed the world prior to the outbreak of the present war as one in which each individual was a god unto himself, keen on materialistic gains and given to pugnacity –

30 Shiōden (1878–1962) was a high ranking officer in the Imperial Japanese Army, and a member of the House of Peers from 1942 on. He was a fervent anti-Semite, propagating Jewish conspiracy theories during and after World War II; cf. David G. Goodman/Masanori Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese Mind. The History and Uses of a Cultural Stereotype*, Boston Mass. 2000, 122–130.

31 Shiratori (1887–1949), a Japanese diplomat, became an adviser to the Japanese Foreign Minister in 1940. He advocated Japanese military expansionism and the axis between Germany, Italy, and Japan. In November 1948 he was sentenced by the International Military Court for the Far East to life imprisonment for supporting a war of aggression; cf. *ibid.*, 114 f.

a world reduced to an inorganic state and therefore admirably vulnerable to Jewish intrigue.

Reactions in Germany

National Socialist Germany, of course, has been the first country to attend thoroughly to the work of ousting the undesirable Jewish community from her domains – for it was Germany which, in order to save her own people from ruin first laid bare most vividly the true character of Judaism, having witnessed the outrageous conduct of the Jews in Germany following the first World War.

The wave of anti-Semitism started in Germany, soon spread all over Europe, and in the course of its development the true character of the Jews, as they wandered across the continent, became all the more exposed. With his entry into a new country, the Jew loses no time in the acquisition of a new nationality, and becomes the most ardent vocal patriot of the land that gives him shelter, but never contributing any real effort to its welfare. Devoid of any national consciousness as he is, the Jew's immediate concern is the acquisition of wealth and worldly goods and the power they bring.

When forced to leave the land of his temporary refuge, the Jew's antagonism towards that land becomes as ardent as his erstwhile professed patriotism, and his nominal allegiance is transferred to the new country that happens to give him asylum. This action is repeated again and again until the Jew finds himself practically barred from the whole of Europe.

Thus driven from the countries of Europe, the Jews have been forced to seek a haven elsewhere across the seas. Shanghai has thus become one of the principal centres where these people, unwanted elsewhere, have found not only a refuge but also a happy hunting-ground for the exercise of their latent powers of self-aggrandizement at the expense of public interests.

Jewish Influx in China

Jewish immigration into China, of course, has been traced to the middle of the 6th century. Jewish refugees from Palestine trekked their way through Central Asia and some of them settled in Shensi. In the 9th century other groups of Jews also came to Kwantung.³² In the middle of the 12th century, moreover, a large number of Jews arrived in Honan,³³ and a fairly large colony was found in Kaifeng. All these Jews, however, were absorbed by the Chinese, and their traces can no more be definitely established in this country.

32 Guangdong, a province in Southern China.

33 Henan, a province in central China.

The history of modern Jewish intrusion on Chinese soil began in 1832, when a group of them connected with the East India Company and headed by the Sassoon family came here to engage in the infamous opium trade. Since then they have gradually planted themselves firmly in the commercial and financial life of China, especially of Shanghai. But their dealings have never been connected with straightforward commercial or industrial enterprises of real benefit to the community. What we connect their names with is opium dealing, or more usually opium smuggling, or real estate operations of a less reputable nature, of financial jugglery through their banking and similar institutions, or stockbroking and general chicanery in connection with the stock-exchange. They have been parasitic entrepreneurs pure and simple, using their financial acumen and lack of scruples to make millions out of Chinese ignorance and gullibility.

Practically all these Jews – the Ezras, the Judahs, the Hayims, the Harpoons, the Kadoories, the Sassoons, the Arnolds [sic]³⁴ – claimed to be British and thus the British in Chinese eyes, got the discredit for their actions. Indeed, these people gained for the British a bad name with the Chinese far more than the genuine Britisher, whose activities have generally been of a legitimate straightforward nature, even if he has been wont to make the utmost of his extraterritorial privileges. Another Jewish family whose activities have been to the detriment of Shanghai and the Chinese people are the owners of the now defunct North-China Daily News, the mouthpiece of British Imperialism, notorious for its diehard attitude on both local and Chinese national affairs.

American Jews Appear

America, too has had her Jews to help in discrediting Americans in Chinese eyes; not that normal American business methods do not carry hard dealing as near as possible to sharp practice, if not well over the border line. The case of the Raven group is a good example and the career of its leader, Mr. C. V. Starr,³⁵ a Jew if not by paternal but certainly by maternal descent,

34 Harry Edward Arnhold (1839–1950) was born in Hong Kong into a British-Jewish family originating in Germany. He settled in Shanghai and became an entrepreneur with close business ties to Victor Sassoon. Arnhold was chairman of the SMC from 1929 to 1931, and from 1934 to 1937.

35 Cornelius Vander Starr (1892–1968) was a gentile American entrepreneur. He came to Shanghai in 1918 and established several insurance agencies. He was committed to the promotion of American business interests in Shanghai, and in this context managed his newspaper the *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury* until he was ordered by the Japanese to leave Shanghai in 1940; cf. Paul French/Carl Crow, *A Tough Old*

is typical – first attempting to make money out of the East in Japan, where he arrived in 1920 until he found that Japanese patriotism, combined with Japanese law, did not allow any opening for his particular types of business genius, and so moved on to Shanghai.

Here, he joined forces with a fellow American, a Mr. Raven,³⁶ who in later years was to find himself behind prison bars as a result of his dishonest practices in connection with the American Oriental Banking Corporation and its allied companies. Starr, with the help of Raven, started a local insurance company, the American Asiatic Underwriters, which was successfully developed chiefly with the assistance rendered by a staff of American-educated Chinese. The success of the American Asiatic Underwriters led to the establishment of associated organizations, the Asia Insurance Company (the assets of which, namely, the money of the policy holders, were later used to buy up the United States Insurance Company), the International Assurance Company and the Underwriter's Savings Bank. The money belonging to these various companies, however, was steadily transferred to New York, so that when the Pacific hostilities broke out in December 1941, there were no funds locally available to meet liabilities. The policy holders, the great majority of whom were Chinese, are thus left, completely unprotected. Their money to the tune of US\$ 8,000,000 is in the United States, in the hands of and at the disposal of Mr. C. V. Starr, who absconded in time to America.

Yellow Journalism

Besides his insurance companies he had his finger in such pies as Reliance Motors, the Metropolitan Land Company, the Cosmopolitan Land Company and the *Shanghai Evening Post* under Starr's direction was a typical product of cheap American journalism, used far more as a propaganda and publicity instrument to further the business aims of its proprietor than to give the public news. At the same time it typified American methods and policy in regard to Chinese affairs generally. While the British have been at least pen in their imperialism and assumption of superiority, the Americans have made a

China Hand. The Life, Times, and Adventures of an American in Shanghai, Hong Kong 2006, 171–174.

36 Frank J. Raven (1875–1943), a pious Christian, came to Shanghai in 1904, where he made a fortune in his realty, finance and investment enterprises. Very active in Shanghai social life and held in generally high esteem, his unexpected bankruptcy in 1935 was a scandal, especially after he was found guilty of fraud and embezzlement by Shanghai's American court; cf. Eileen P. Scully, *Bargaining with the State from Afar. American Citizenship in Treaty Port China 1844–1942*, New York 2001, 183, 187–192.

pretence of friendship and good-fellowship, while claiming exactly the same privileged position as the British and exploiting the Chinese even more.

Thus the *Evening Post* under Starr's direction outwardly professed to be a Chinese protagonist, but its professed friendship was a mere sham, behind which selfish American interests were sedulously fostered. On no occasion could the paper be found to have worked genuinely for China or to have put justice for China above the narrow interest of America. Of recent years this was notably the case. Its rancorous opposition to the Peace movement, its almost unveiled support of Chungking terrorism, its consistent attempts to deepen Sino-Japanese antagonism and prevent any rapprochement and the achievement of the New Order in East Asia stamped it as a bitter enemy of the Chinese people.

Latest Invading Horde

We have so far only referred to the Jewish community of Shanghai which played a considerable, but none too honourable, part in Shanghai's commercial and financial life, long before the latest horde arrived to engage in multifarious minor activities which only tended to blacken further the name of their race, and helped to dispel much of the genuine sympathy that the Chinese people might have originally felt for them.

For as a result of the intensification of the anti-Semitic movement in Germany and Central Europe, Shanghai became subjected to a writable Jewish plague, and over 30,000 managed to make their way in before authority could find a means to keep them out. Though they had chiefly lost their homes because of their parasitic activities, unfortunately for Shanghai, expulsion from Europe did not lead to reform. All these Jews knew and still know is how to be parasitic, contributing very little if anything in the way of honest and worthwhile endeavour to Shanghai's life.

Thus these Jews prefer to devise shady financial and similar transactions as a means of gaining a living. The "black market" has become their happy hunting-ground, in connection with which the counterfeiting of well known products is one of their favourite devices. Then, just recently, we have had the lawyer who, declaring that the retail tax on sales was irregular and that he could arrange for it not to be paid, collected quite a considerable sum in retaining fees before his game was stopped by pronouncements by the authorities.

House Rent Racket

One of the worst rackets in Shanghai in recent years has been that in connection with housing. The shortage and the consequent necessity of the public have been exploited to the utmost by certain conscienceless, anti-

social individuals, almost entirely drawn from the Jewish fraternity. House [sic] have been taken on lease and then subdivided and let out to sub-tenants on oppressive terms, little or no attention being paid to such matters as overcrowding, sanitation, and the like.

There has been the key-money racket, and the exorbitant prices demanded for a few sticks of worthless furniture before possession can be obtained. Though the local authorities have since taken steps to try to put an end to this evil, so far they have found it impossible to stamp it out altogether and the exploiters have continued to batten on the public need. Agencies have actually been formed to exploit the situation, and their advertisements appear regularly in the press, with long lists of premises allegedly at their disposal. These have introduced a new form of robbery in the “registration fees.” Registration of itself, however, produces nothing, before the advertised houses can be seen, a “viewing fee” must be paid, and even then the premises, when finally their address is obtained, often prove to be occupied.

Disowned by Reich

While they have further blackened the name of their own race by their shady activities, these Jews, who have often been regarded as, and have indeed sometimes presented themselves to be, people of Germany (whence indeed many of them had been expelled), they have nevertheless not blackened that country’s name, for they are not under Germany’s aegis. Indeed, Germany has taken pains to disown them.

Thus in every department of Shanghai’s life can be found the malign influence of Jewry, responsible for the worst aspects of British imperialism and American double-dealing and sharp practice. Fortunately, the wings of the traditional major practitioners have been effectively clipped by the events of the past year, but there still remain the host of recently arrived minor parasites to plague the city. Already they have considerably inflamed local distress by their operations. One of the most urgent problems to be studied to-day by the various local authorities is that of keeping Shanghai out of Jewish clutches, and keeping the financial activities in accordance with the well being of the community.

Document 94

*Inuzuka Koreshige*³⁷ (*Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs*) to *Michel Speelman*³⁸ (CAEJR)

August 27, 1940

Typewritten letter (copy), 2 pages; the copy was obviously prepared by the CAEJR, both pages have the printed letterhead of the CAEJR. On the first page is a receipt stamp (October [day illegible] 1940).

Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 460

Copy.

August 27th, 1940.

Dear Mr. Speelman,

With reference to your letter of 15th August, I have been asked by one of the Japanese Authorities to submit to your Committee the following questions. I would appreciate your responsible answers thereto at an early date.

1. The Committee rejected cooperation with the scheme broached by Captain Inuzuka to Mr. Speelman on the ground that it was a political scheme. Does not the Committee realize that no country in the world admits aliens who do not render services calculated to enhance the prosperity of the country which gives them refuge, as well as their own prosperity? Are the leaders of local Jewry aware of that fact? If so, are they prepared to agree to the application of the above principle to the local Jewish refugees?

2. Japan agreed to accommodate in that section of Shanghai now under her occupation Jewish refugees totaling 20 % of the Japanese population of the said section. This she did purely out of sympathetic and humanitarian consideration for the Jews upon whom such calamity had befallen in Central Europe. The Committee's attention is invited, in this connection, to the fact that every inch of Hongkew and Yangtsepoo areas in which the Jewish refugees are now enjoying peaceful life was secured by the blood shed by Japan's armed forces. And in view of the sweeping anti-Semitic propaganda and anti-Semitism which it is feared might spread to and be aggravated in the Far East, it would appear to be to their own best interest for the Jewish people living within Japanese-occupied territories to refrain from any expressions of opinion likely to prove irksome to the Japanese Authorities and people, and to endeavour at all

37 About Inuzuka, see ch. 3, n. 11.

38 About Speelman, see ch. 2, n. 94.

times to make the best possible impression upon them. Does the Committee realize that this question is one having a direct bearing on the happiness and welfare of the Jewish people in Shanghai? It is feared that refusal on the part of the Jewish Gemeinde to cooperate in the scheme, following the example of the Committee, might be productive of consequences they little desire.

3. It may be recalled that at the last convention of the Far Eastern Jewish Congress at Harbin, a resolution was adopted to the effect that Jews in the Orient should cooperate with Japan for their common prosperity.³⁹ No similar expression of intention, however, has been made by the Jewish people living in the Japanese-occupied territory of Shanghai.

[2] It is therefore suggested that the Committee should not let slip this opportunity to cooperate with the Japanese Authorities in the above-mentioned scheme, so that the Japanese Authorities might be duly impressed with the sincere desire which the Committee doubtless cherishes to assist in Japan's cause.

Yours sincerely,

signed: Captain K. Inuzuka.

Document 95

*Anonymous*⁴⁰

November 27, 1940

Typewritten newspaper article (copy, 3 pages), originally in: Shanghai Jewish Chronicle, November 24, 1940, 7.

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/73B

39 Inuzuka refers to the third conference of the National Council of Far Eastern Jewish Communities, held in December 1939. Despite its name, the Council represented only the Russian Jewish community, and primarily that of Harbin and what was then Manchukuo. For the Japanese the meetings were occasions to affirm Jewish compliance with Japanese control and assure themselves of Jewish loyalty.

40 The copy of the newspaper article, obviously prepared by the German consulate in Shanghai, was completely faithful to the original. Words that have been typed here in a spaced manner or which have been underlined were Romanized in the newspaper article.

Anlage zu Ber. d. Gen. Kons.⁴¹ Shanghai vom 27. Nov. 1940

– B 764 –

Abschrift.SHANGHAI JEWISH CHRONICLE, 24. NOVEMBER 1940.Japans Stellung zur Judenfrage.Captain INUZUKA sprach im Tokioter Rundfunk über
das Emigranten-Problem in Shanghai

Captain Inuzuka, in dessen Händen die Betreuung der jüdischen Angelegenheiten seitens der japanischen Marine des auswärtigen Amtes und des Kôain⁴² (Asia Developing Board) liegt, hielt vor einiger Zeit in Tokio eine grosse Rundfunkrede, welche wohl die persönliche Meinung von Captain Inuzuka zum Ausdruck bringt, sicher jedoch auch die Stellungnahme der amtlichen japanischen Kreise wiedergibt. Captain Inuzuka hat sich in Shanghai durch sein ~~in Europa heimatlos~~ Verständnis für die seelischen und materiellen Nöte der in Europa heimatlos gewordenen Juden, die gezwungen waren, in Shanghai Zuflucht zu suchen, starke Sympathien in jüdischen Kreisen erworben. Er gilt mit Recht als ein aufrichtiger Freund des Judentums. Sein Verständnis für jüdische Probleme, das in der Rundfunkrede so klar zum Ausdruck kommt, wurde durch ein Dankschreiben der Ashkenari [sic] -Gemeinde in Kobe,⁴³ eine der größten jüdischen Gemeinden in Japan, entsprechend gewürdigt. Wir veröffentlichen nachstehend sowohl die interessanten und grundlegenden Ausführungen Captain Inuzukas als auch den Inhalt des Dankschreibens der jüdischen Gemeinde in Kobe.

Jeder Besucher Shanghais – so führte Captain Inuzuka aus – muß über die grosse Zahl hier lebender Juden aus Deutschland, Österreich und dem übrigen Mitteleuropa erstaunt sein. Der größte Teil von ihnen, nämlich

41 Bericht des General-Konsulats. The copy of the article was attached to a report by M. Fischer (Consul-General, Shanghai) and E. Bracklo (German Legation, Beijing) that was cabled to the Foreign Office in Berlin; cf. Heinz Eberhard Maul, Japan und die Juden. Studie über die Judenpolitik des Kaiserreiches Japan während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus 1933–1945. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Bonn 2000, 135, <<http://hss.ulb.uni-bonn.de/2000/0225/0225.pdf>> (October 18, 2016).

42 The Kôain (East Asia Development Board) was established by the Japanese government in 1938 to coordinate official China policy. Its original purpose was to promote economic development in China. The Japanese Army, however, turned it into an institution for organizing slave labor in war industries. The Kôain functioned until 1942.

43 For the Jewish community in Kobe, see Document 59.

11 000, wohnt in dem von der Japanese Naval Landing Party besetzten Teil des Internationalen Settlements nördlich des Soochow-Creeks. Diese Zahl bedeutet 20 % der japanischen Einwohnerschaft Shanghais. Der Grund, warum diese Menschen alle nach Shanghai kamen, ist in der Tatsache zu suchen, daß zur Zeit des Anschlusses Österreichs, Shanghai der einzige Ort war, dessen Betreten nicht von Besitz eines Passes oder Visums abhängig war. Nach den Prinzipien der japanischen Militärbehörden, keinen Teil der Bevölkerung in irgendeiner Weise zu diskriminieren, gemäß der Forderung nach der Gleichheit aller Völker und Rassen, die die Japaner bei der Friedenskonferenz nach dem ersten Weltkrieg als ihr Grundprinzip erhoben, wurde auch den jüdischen Flüchtlingen Unterkunft gewährt. Die jüdischen Flüchtlinge haben dies umso höher anerkannt, als sie eben erst den Verfolgungen entronnen waren.

Diese Flüchtlinge hatten aus Deutschland nur 10 Mark pro Person mitnehmen können und kamen hier völlig mittellos an. Die einflußreichen Juden Shanghais organisierten Hilfskomitees für die Flüchtlinge und öffentliche Gebäude wurden ihnen zur Verfügung gestellt. Als jedoch der Zustrom von Emigranten kein Ende nahm, ersuchte das jüdische Hilfskomitee um Sperrung der Einwanderung. Die Japaner untersuchten die Sachlage und nach einer Konferenz mit den Behörden des Internationalen Settlements und den deutschen Behörden, sowie den jüdischen Stellen, wurde die Einwanderung von nach Shanghai vorübergehend gesperrt. Die Französische Konzession schloss sich diesen Massnahmen an. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt waren 8880 Emigranten bei den japanischen Behörden registriert. Die Sperre erstreckte sich nicht auf die bereits unterwegs befindlichen Juden. Für die Einwanderung von Eltern, Ehegatten und Kindern wurde eine besondere Regelung vorgesehen. Heute leben 11 100 Refugees in Hongkew und Yangtsepoo [sic]. Ohnehin wurde jedoch durch den inzwischen ausbrechenden europäischen Krieg und die damit verbundenen Transportschwierigkeiten die Möglichkeit zur Reise nach Shanghai stark eingeschränkt. Entgegen den völlig unbegründeten Zeitungsmeldungen, die von der bevorstehenden Ankunft weiterer tausender jüdischer Emigranten sprachen, sind seit November 1939 nur einige hundert Emigranten im japanischen Sektor eingetroffen.

Anfangs – so fuhr Captain Inuzuka fort – litten die Emigranten an Heimweh und träumten von einer Rückkehr nach Europa. Schon längst haben sie jedoch begonnen, Ostasien als ihre neue Heimat zu betrachten, um so mehr als sie erkannt haben, dass die Gleichberechtigung aller Rassen und die Freiheit der Religionsausübung ein Grundprinzip der Japaner ist.

Captain Inuzuka gab nunmehr seinen japanischen Hörern einen Überblick über den jüdischen Aufbau in dem von Japanern besetzten Teil des

Settlements. Besonderer Erwähnung tat er hierbei der „Shanghai Jewish Chronicle“. Der Vertreter der japanischen Marinebehörden führte aus, dass die „Jewish Chronicle“, in voller Erkenntnis der von den Japanern vertretenen Grundsätze der Gleichheit und Humanität, in hohem Maße zum gegenseitigen Verständnis beitrage.

Im weiteren Verlauf seines Überblickes über den jüdischen Aufbau in Hongkew ging Captain Inuzuka auch auf die teilweise erhobene Frage ein, ob die jüdischen Unternehmen den japanischen Betrieben nicht Konkurrenz machen. Hierzu erklärte er, eine moderne Gemeinschaft von 11 000 Menschen habe ihre eigenen Organisationen und Bedürfnisse, überdies sei das jüdische Geschäftszentrum von dem japanischen Geschäftsmittelpunkt weit entfernt und unsere Behörden unternehmen die notwendigen Schritte, um unerwünschte Konkurrenz zu verhindern. „Ich habe oft mit einflußreichen Juden dieser Stadt gesprochen“, erklärte Captain Inuzuka, „und diese Gespräche haben viel zum gegenseitigen Verständnis beigetragen.“

Im weiteren Verlauf seiner ausführlichen Rede [sic] ging Captain Inuzuka auch auf den jüdischen Beitrag zum Aufbau Shanghai Konzessionen ein und erinnerte daran, daß General Gordon,⁴⁴ der im englischen Auftrage die Stadt erbaute, in Erkenntnis der Fähigkeiten der Juden diese in weitestem Maße zur Erfüllung seiner Aufgabe heranzog. Daher ständen auch heute in der Finanz- und Kulturwelt Shanghais die Juden mit an führender Stelle.

In seinen weiteren Ausführungen ging Captain Inuzuka auf die Geschichte der europäischen Judenverfolgungen ein und wies, unter Hinweis auf Spanien, darauf hin, dass die Nazis nicht die ersten auf diesem Gebiet sind. Es sei letzten Endes doch der Konflikt zwischen Judentum und Christentum. Die Juden hätten sich dem westlichen Individualismus nicht anpassen können und eine Vermischung mit Völkern Europas sei ebenso unmöglich wie zwischen Öl und Wasser. Mehr denn je mache sich heute unter den Juden der Drang „Zurück nach Osten“ bemerkbar. Der Zionismus, der den Aufbau eines jüdischen Staates in Palästina erstrebe, habe bereits 90 Prozent der 17 Millionen Juden erfasst. Die Juden seien in ihrem Ursprung ein orientalisches Volk. Japan habe die Mission [3] und die Verantwortung übernommen, die asiatischen Völker zum Wohlergehen zu führen. Das neue Aufbauprogramm der Juden trage zu neuem Frieden und Ordnung in Ostasien bei. „Wir werden im Umgang mit den Juden immer das Prinzip der Gleichheit walten

44 Charles George Gordon (1833–1885), major in the British Army, arrived in China in 1860. He was appointed senior engineer officer of the British troops and surveyed the city of Shanghai and its surroundings after the Taiping rebels were vanquished in the early 1860s.

lassen, wenn die Juden sich gegenüber den japanischen Behörden immer loyal verhalten werden.“

DANKSCHREIBEN DER JUEDISCHEN GEMEINDE IN KOBE.

Eine der größten jüdischen Gemeinden Japans, die Gemeinde in Kobe, richtete an Captain Inuzuka nach seiner Rede ein in herzlichsten Worten gehaltenes Dankschreiben, in dem es heisst:

„Ihre Worte, wie man sie in der Verteidigung und Begrüssung einer verwaisten und heimatlosen Nation heutzutage so selten hört, haben unsere Herzen mit tiefer Bewegung erfüllt und wir danken Gott dafür, dass wir Freunde besitzen, die zu unserer Verteidigung aufstehen und gute Worte über uns sprechen. Die Sprache ist zu arm, um unsere tiefempfundene und von ganzem Herzen kommende Dankbarkeit für ihre Rede auszudrücken. Nehmen Sie bitte den Dank der immer-leidenden, immer-wandernden, heimatlosen Nation für Ihre edle Begrüssungsrede und Ihr Verständnis entgegen und seien Sie versichert, dass unsere Nation zutiefst und in höchster Dankbarkeit die Freundschaft und Gastlichkeit des grossen japanischen Reiches anerkennt.“

Document 96

Anonymous

December 26, 1941

Newspaper article, in: Nasha zhizn, no. 34, 1, 3, 5.

Russian; translation by Yuri Pines

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Банкет в честь полк. Н. Ясуе и капитана К. Инозука в Шанхайском Еврейском Клубе

В воскресенье 21-го с. м. в Шанхайском Еврейском Клубе был устроен большой банкет в честь прибывшего сюда на время полковника Н. Ясуе и капитана К. Инозука. На банкете присутствовал также секретарь полковника Н. Ясуе г. Фужита. В банкете приняли участие более 25 лиц – представителей местных еврейских общественных организаций и Дайренской Еврейской Общины.

Речь капит. К. Инозука

Во время банкета капитан К. Инозука выразил пожелание сказать несколько слов о современном положении. «Я прибыл сюда» – сказал

он – «три года тому назад. За это время в Шанхае произошли большие перемены, резким образом изменилась вся политическая конъюнктура. Вы все прекрасно знаете, что Япония не желала войны, что все наши Императоры на протяжении всей нашей истории стремились к миру и справедливости. Мы стремились к миру и в Тихом Океане. В целях устранения угрозы войны, предотвращения уничтожения цивилизации и бесцельного уничтожения жизней, Япония послала в Соединенные Штаты специальных делегатов. Соединенные Штаты, однако, неправильно поняли наши намерения – они думали, что мы ищем мира из-за нашей слабости. Они, однако, глубоко ошиблись. Япония всегда стремилась к миру и никогда не прибегала к силе не будучи вынужденной к этому. Америка этого не поняла или не хотела понять, она не желала прислушиваться к нашим делегатам. Это очень печально, но раз Япония решила воевать, она не сложит оружия до окончательной победы. Наши цели и задачи ясны, но за то американский народ не знает, из-за чего его правительство втянуло его в войну, и у них начнется внутренняя раздуха, которая облегчит нам нашу победу.»

Обращаясь затем к председательствовавшему на банкете г-ну Б. А. Топазу, капитан К. Инозука продолжал:

«Вы и ваша община всегда были лояльны к нам, всегда сотрудничали с властями. Вы всегда советовались с нами [3] перед тем, как предпринять те или иные шаги. Так, например, г. Топаз советовался со мной в связи с покупкой этого вашего клуба, и я сказал ему, что этот Клуб следует купить, что он отвечает вашим нуждам. Раз власть здесь будет в руках Японии, здесь будет мир и порядок. Мир и порядок в Шанхае хорошо охраняется.» «А теперь,» – продолжал капитан Инозука – «мне хотелось бы дать местному еврейству совет. Шанхай стал в настоящее время центром еврейства Восточной Азии, и он станет центром Нового Порядка Азии и всего мира. Я думаю, большая часть американского еврейства в настоящее время чувствует себя несчастными, и их чувство возмущения будет с каждым днем расти. Мы должны разъяснить еврейству Америки и еврейству всех стран смысл и значение этой войны, смысл и задачи Нового Порядка и, когда этот Новый Порядок будет осуществлен, еврейский народ во всем мире будет жить в мире и спокойствии. Нужно, чтобы еврейство поняло нашу идеологию, идеи наших Императоров о мире и справедливости.»

«Я желаю от всего сердца» – закончил свою речь капитан К. Инозука – «чтобы этот Клуб стал духовным центром еврейства Шанхая и Восточной Азии, духовным центром всего еврейского мира, идущего по пути Нового Порядка.»

Речь г. Б. А. Топаза

Яркая речь капитана К. Инозука вызвала энтузиазм всех присутствовавших. Отвечая ему, г. Б. А. Топаз выразил ему от имени еврейской общины свою искреннюю благодарность за сказанное им слово, за его постоянно внимательное отношение к нам и нашим нуждам. «Вы слышали» – сказал он – «что нам говорил капитан К. Инозука о наших задачах. Эти задачи и идеи нам понятны и близки. Мы вынесли из глубины Азии идеи справедливости и мира, и идея Нового Порядка, превозглашенная великим народом, находит живой отклик в нашем сознании и душе.»

Г. Б. А. Топаз приветствовал полковника Н. Ясуе от имени нашей общины и всего дальневосточного еврейства. «Полковник Н. Ясуе – наш большой и искренний друг» – сказал он. «Он провел непосильную работу по упорядочению жизни еврейства на Дальнем Востоке, он пожертвовал многим во имя справедливости, и еврейство никогда не забудет его.» Предложив всем налить бокалы, г. Топаз превозгласил тост за здоровье и долголетие полковника Н. Ясуе и капитана К. Инозука, за великую Ниппонскую Империю и за Новый Порядок.

В след за г-ном Б. А. Топаз с речью на русском языке выступил полковник Н. Ясуе. «Капитан К. Инозука» – сказал он – «произнес прекрасную речь. Я – обыкновенный полковник и поэтому мне нельзя молчать, я тоже должен сказать вам несколько слов» – так скромно начал свою речь полковник Н. Ясуе, непрерывно прерывавшуюся бурными аплодисментами присутствовавших. Ввиду ее исключительного содержания и глубокого интереса мы ниже приводим ее полностью:

Речь полк. Н. Ясуе

«Господа! Нам с вами пришлось встретиться на этот раз в необычной обстановке. Неожиданно вспыхнула Восточно-Азиатская война. Эта война была вызвана Америкой и Англией, но я более склонен верить, что если действительно существует Бог, то эта война ниспослана Богом. Большими победами в этой войне Япония обязана, поэтому, не только высоким качествам своих военных сил, но и тому, что в данном случае творится Суд Божий.

«Что же заставило меня выбрать для приезда в Шанхай именно этот момент? Я ничуть не сомневаюсь, что влияние войны коснется и шанхайского еврейства и принесет большие перемены в его судьбе. Что касается меня, то судьбы еврейского народа всегда служили для меня предметом заботы и я никогда не переставал искренне желать евреям всякого счастья. Мне, поезтому, очень хотелось повидаться с руководящими кругами еврейской общественности и выслушать их откровенное мнение по поводу момента.

«Я полагаю, что для Шанхайского еврейства настала необходимость наметить свои будущие пути, исходя не только из развертывающихся перед глазами событий, но и предвидя ту обстановку, которая создается в будущем в Восточной Азии. Точно также, как и Япония, еврейство в настоящее время стоит на распутьи, ведущем либо к расцвету, либо к гибели. Это относится не только к дальневосточному еврейству – в таком же положении находится и еврейство в Англии и Америке. Я думаю, что, в случае поражения Америки и Англии, первым вопросом, который возникнет в этих странах, будет вопрос об антисемитизме. Дай Бог, чтобы мое предположение не сбылось, но оно вселяет у меня в душе убеждение, что дальневосточному еврейству действительно необходимо поскорее освободиться от национальной розни, от этого пагубного деления на евреев русских, немецких и т. д., необходимо объединиться в одно целое по признаку принадлежности к еврейскому народу и прокладывать пути к своим новым судьбам.

«Я говорю в данном случае как частное лицо и как старый друг дальневосточного еврейства. Это позвалнет мне быть совершенно откровенным с вами.

«Как вам, вероятно, уже известно, командующий японскими вооруженными силами в Шанхае объявил, что никто из иностранцев, даже граждане воюющих с нами государств Америки и Англии, не будут подвергаться в Шанхае арестам и будут пользоваться свободой, поскольку они не будут действовать против Японии.

«В Японии лица, содержащиеся под арестом, как агенты враждебных держав, по распоряжению министра иностранных дел, пользуются пищей, жилищем и предметами ежедневного обихода в соответствии с их привычками, обычаями и вкусами, а их жены и дети даже свободны от ареста. И это делается несмотря на то, что в странах враждебных Японии японские граждане поголовно арестовываются и с ними обращаются как с врагами. Поступать так Японию заставляет дух рыцарства, дух бусндоо [!]. И я твердо верю, нисколько не сомневаюсь, что в отношении евреев, из-за того только, что они евреи, не будут применяться меры давления, если только евреи проявят себя лояльными к Японии и не будут действовать ей во вред. Если же Япония почему либо вынуждена будет применять в отношении евреев меры давления, то это будет значить, что такие меры были вызваны самими же евреями.

«На подобные меры Япония идет только в крайнем случае, как это было теперь с Америкой и Англией. Вы сами, господа, знаете, что во время переговоров Японии с Америкой, длившихся восемь месяцев, Рузвельт, несмотря на сделанные Японией большие уступки, до самого последнего момента прелявлял к Японии невыполнимые требования

в роде немедленного вывода японских войск из всех пунктов Китая и тому подобное, а, тем временем, Америка [!] и Англия усиливали экономическую блокаду Японии, поспешно укрепляли свои вооруженные силы на Дальнем Востоке, угрожая Японии, а Англия даже заключила с Чжан-Кай-Шеком секретный договор, по которому все природные богатства Китая отходили к Англии. Но чрезмерная жадность бывает наказуема: жадный лишается и того, что имел раньше. Действия Америки и Англии вынудили, наконец, миролюбивый японский народ ответить на их грубый натиск об'явлением войны. О причинах, побудивших Японию на этот шаг, ясно говорится в Высочайшем Манифесте по поводу об'явления войны и в декларации премьер-министра Японии.

«Я питаю надежду, что еврейская общественность с пониманием отнесется к нетинным побуждениям, двигавшим Японией, проявит свою солидарность и позволит Японию причислить еврейство к своим друзьям. Я считаю возможным выразить эту надежду как частное лицо и как давнишний друг евреев, всегда с участием относившийся к еврейскому вопросу на Дальнем Востоке.

«Прошу извинения, если в моих откровенных словах прозвучало что либо неприятное для вас.»

Речь г. М. С. Блоха

Когда энтузиазм, вызванный речью полковника Н. Ясуе, несколько улегся, с коротким приветствием выступил г. М. С. Блох. «Господин полковник» – сказал он – «я не хочу затруднять ваше [!] внимание длинной речью. Я хочу только подчеркнуть, что Ваше присутствие несомненно сыграет большую роль в нашей жизни, окажет глубочайшее влияние на нашу психику. Мы все рады вам [!], мы все знаем и искренне благодарны Вам за Ваши труды, и я прошу Вас передать Вашим друзьям, что Дальневосточное еврейство всегда готово идти по Вашему пути и всегда будет с Вами всем сердцем и душой.»

Речь г. Д. Б. Рабиновича

Вслед за этим г. Б. А. Топаз предоставил слово редактору «Нашей Жизни» [!] г. Д. Рабиновичу.

«Нам выпала сегодня большья честь» – сказал г. Д. Рабинович – «видеть среди нас высоких наших гостей. Мы приветствуем их как представителей великой империи, мы приветствуем их как друзей нашего народа, мы приветствуем их как наших личных друзей. Кто из нас, евреев Шанхая и Восточной Азии, не знает имен полковника Н. Ясуе и капитана К. Инозука? За наше двухтысячелетнее странствование, за двухтысячелетний период преследования нас мы не научились ненавидеть, мы быстро забываем причиненные нам муки и обиды, но

зато мы на [!] забываем наших друзей. Евреи всего мира помнят имена [!] наших друзей, оказавших нам ту или иную помощь в тяжелые периоды нашей жизни, и имена полковника Н. Ясуе и капитана К. Инозука будут золотыми буквами вписаны в анналы нашей истории.»

[5] «Капитан К. Инозука и полковник Н. Ясуе» – продолжал далее г. Рабинович – «являются историковедами. Они изучают древнюю историю Японии и нашего народа и, на основании своих тщательных изисканий, приходят к выводу о какой то связи между этими народами в сумерках истории.» – «Я не историк, не археолог, не филолог» – указал г. Рабинович – «но, тем не менее, я знаю, что между этими народами есть какие то общие психологические черты. Мы все знаем, как глубоко патриотичен японский народ, мы все знаем, что каждый из них готов отдать свою жизнь за Императора и свою страну, но и мы глубоко проникнуты чувством привязанности к родине, и мы за двухтысячелетний период нашего изгнания, нашей оторванности от земли, не забыли своей родины и стремимся к ее возрождению. Пожелаем же, чтобы великий японский народ и наш народ осуществили высокие идеалы государственности и справедливости.»

Речь г. Рабиновича произвела весьма сильное впечатление, и капитан К. Инозука, обратившись к нему, просил его передать всем присутствовавшим содержание его интервью, помещенного в журнале «Наша Жизнь», в котором он сообщал о результатах своих исторических исследований. Г. Рабинович ознакомил присутствовавших с этим чрезвычайно интересным интервью и указал при этом, что капитана К. Инозука можно часто видеть изучающим библию и что в его апартаментах висит портрет д-ра Теодора Герцля. Это замечание вызвало новый изрыв аплодисментов всех присутствовавших.

Речь г. Б. Копелиовича

После некоторого перерыва с краткой речью выступил г. Б. Копелиович, бывший делегатом Шанхая на с'езде Дальневосточного еврейства в Харбине.

Г. Копелиович обратил внимание присутствовавших на то, что этот банкет совпал с последним днем Ханнука. «В этот день мы зажигаем свечи в память о чуде – победы Маккавеев. Но не чудо ли то, что вот сейчас мы сидим с представителями великой империи, борющейся за новый порядок, идеалы справедливости, это должно укрепить нашу веру в конечное торжество гуманности и справедливости.»

Речь г. Бирбраера

По просьбе присутствовавших представителей Дайренской Общины с кратким словом выступил г. Бирбраер. «Все, что мы ни будем говорить о полковнике Н. Ясуе» – сказал он – «не сможет выразить того, что

мы чувствуем по отношению к нему, какой он друг для нас, как много он значит для всех нас. Я хочу верить, что мы будем чаще встречаться с ним, я хочу верить, что японские власти убедятся в искренней нашей лояльности. Пожелаем же ему долголетия для того, чтобы он продолжал свою полезную деятельность в пользу своего народа и справедливости.»

В последующей после речей беседе полк. Н. Ясуге сообщил между прочим, что д-р А. Кауфман намеревался приехать в Шанхай, но по ряду причин задержался с отъездом. Полк. Н. Ясуге выразил надежду, что в скором времени он сможет приехать в Шанхай вместе с д-ром А. Кауфманом на более длительный период времени.

Translation

Banquet in Honor of Colonel N. Yasue⁴⁵ and Captain K. Inuzuka⁴⁶ in the Shanghai Jewish Club

On Sunday, 21st this month, a big banquet was organized in the Shanghai Jewish Club in honor of Colonel N. Yasue and Captain K. Inuzuka. Mr. Fujihita, the colonel's secretary was also present at the banquet. More than 25 guests – representatives of local Jewish community organizations and Dairen Jewish community participated in the banquet.

45 Yasue Norihiro (1888–1950) was a Russian language specialist who became interested in “the Jewish Question.” His translation of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* into Japanese was published under a pseudonym in 1924; its first Japanese translation appeared as early as 1921, with later translations released in 1931 (by Kubota Eikichi) and 1941 (by Shiōden Nobutaka). Yasue and Inuzuka, who authored several tracts on Jews based on the *Protocols*, were considered experts on Jewish affairs by the Japanese authorities; cf. David G. Goodman, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion in Japan*, in: Esther Webman (ed.), *The Global Impact of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. A Century-Old Myth*, Abingdon 2011, 161–174, here 162; Ben-Ami Shillony, *The Jews and the Japanese. The Successful Outsiders*, Rutland Vt./Tokyo 1991, 168 f.; Tokayer/Swartz, *The Fugu Plan*, 48–51, 142.

46 The Russian original reads “Inozuka.” The speeches presented at the banquet shortly after the Japanese conquest of all of Shanghai by both the leaders of the Russian Jewish community and the Japanese authorities are extremely significant. They foreshadow the role Russian Jews were to play in Jewish life in Shanghai, and indicate in no uncertain terms the Japanese demand for absolute loyalty from the Jews.

Captain Inuzuka's speech

During the banquet Captain Inuzuka expressed his wish to say a few words about the current situation. Said he: "I arrived here three years ago. Big changes have since taken place in Shanghai, the whole political situation has changed radically. You all know well that Japan did not want the war, all our emperors throughout our history aspired to peace and justice. We have strived for peace in the Pacific as well. In order to eliminate the threat of the war, to prevent the destruction of civilization and meaningless loss of lives, Japan sent special delegates to the US. The US, however, misinterpreted our intentions – they thought that we were seeking peace because of our weakness. However, they were deeply wrong. Japan has always aspired to peace and never resorted to force without being forced to do so. America did not understand or did not want to understand this. It did not listen to our delegates. This is very sad, but as Japan decided to enter the war, it will not lay down the arms till the final victory. Our aims and tasks are clear, but the American people do not know why its government has dragged it into the war, there will be internal devastation which will make our victory easier."

Addressing the chairman of the meeting, Mr. B. A. Topaz, Captain Inuzuka continued: "You and your community have always been loyal to us, and have always cooperated with the authorities. You have always consulted us [3] before making any steps. Thus, for example, Mr. Topaz consulted me in connection to purchasing this club of yours, and I told him that you should buy this club, that it meets your needs. As the power here will be in the hands of the Japanese, there will always be peace and order here. Peace and order in Shanghai are very well guarded. And now, continued Captain Inuzuka, I would like to give an advice to the local Jewish community. Shanghai has recently become a center of Eastern Asian Jews, and it will become the center of the New Order in Asia and in the whole world. I think that the majority of the American Jews feel miserable these days, and their feeling of indignation will grow every day. We are to explain to the American Jewry and to the Jews of the whole world the meaning of this war, the meaning, and the tasks of the New Order, and when this New Order has been established, the Jewish people all over the world will live in peace and quiet. Jews should understand our ideology, the ideas of our emperors on peace and justice."

"I wholeheartedly wish," Captain Inuzuka finished, "that this center becomes a spiritual center of Shanghai and Eastern Asian Jewry, a spiritual center of all the Jewish world following the path of the New Order."

Mr. B. A. Topaz's speech

The illuminating speech of Captain Inuzuka aroused the enthusiasm of the entire audience. In his answer, Mr. B. A. Topaz on behalf of the Jewish

community expressed his genuine gratitude for the captain's speech, for his constantly attentive attitude to us and our needs. "You all heard," said he, "Captain Inuzuka's words about our tasks. These tasks and ideas are clear and close to us. We have brought from the depth of Asia the ideas of justice and peace, and the idea of the New Order proclaimed by a great people, evokes a keen response in our minds and hearts."

Mr. B. A. Topaz greeted Colonel N. Yasue on behalf of our community and all Far Eastern Jewry. "Colonel N. Yasue – our big and honest friend," said he. "He has carried out a big work which is beyond one's strength, for bringing order in the life of the Jews in the Far East. He sacrificed a lot for the sake of justice, and the Jews will never forget him." Suggesting that everyone fill their glasses, Mr. Topaz proposed a toast to health and long life for Colonel N. Yasue and Captain K. Inuzuka, to the great Nippon Empire and the New Order.

After Mr. B. A. Topaz, Colonel N. Yasue took the floor and delivered a speech in Russian. "Captain Inuzuka," said he, "made a wonderful speech. I am an ordinary colonel, and therefore I cannot keep silence. I also must tell you a few words" – with these modest words Colonel n. Yasue began his speech, continuously interrupted by storms of applause. Due to the exceptional content and deep interest of this speech we are quoting it here in full:

Colonel N. Yasue's speech:

"Gentlemen! This time we meet under unusual circumstances. The East Asian war has unexpectedly broken out. This war was caused by England and America, but I am more inclined to believe that if God exists, this war was sent by God. Therefore Japan owes its big victories in the war not only to the high standard of its Army, but also to the fact that God's Judgment is being made here.

What made me choose this particular moment for visiting Shanghai? I do not doubt at all that the war's influence will bear also on the Shanghai Jewry, and will bring considerable changes in its wake. As for me, the fate of the Jewish people has always been an object of my concern, and I have never ceased to honestly wish the Jews every possible happiness. Therefore I wanted to meet the leadership of the Jewish community and hear their frank opinion about the current situation.

I believe that it is necessary for Shanghai Jewry to outline its future path, based not only on current events, but in anticipation of the situation which will be in the future in East Asia. Like Japan, Jewry today is at the crossroads leading either to a flourishing future, or to death. This is true not only for Far Eastern Jewry, the Jews in England and America are in the same situation now. I think that if England and America are defeated, the first issue to

emerge afterwards will be that of anti-Semitism. May my suspicion not come true, but it creates a conviction in my soul that Far Eastern Jewry should rid itself of national discord, of this baneful division into Russian, German, and other Jews, and immediately unite into one whole based on the identity with the Jewish people, paving the way to their new destiny.

I speak now as a private person, and as an old friend of Far Eastern Jews. As such, I can be perfectly frank with you.

As you probably already know, the Chief of Staff of the Japanese Armed Forces in Shanghai declared that no foreigners, including citizens of England and America who are at war with us, will be arrested in Shanghai, and they will enjoy freedom as long as they refrain from hostile actions against Japan.

According to the instruction of the Japanese Foreign Minister, people in Japan who are under arrest as agents of hostile countries have food, rooms, and utensils according to their everyday habits, customs and tastes, and their wives and children are not under arrest. This is so despite that fact that in countries hostile to Japan Japanese citizens are being arrested and treated as enemies. Japan acts in this manner because it is compelled by its knightly spirit, the spirit of bushido.⁴⁷ And I firmly believe and do not doubt that Jews will not be persecuted just for being Jewish, if they display their loyalty to Japan and do not act to the detriment of Japan. If Japan for some reason will have to resort to repressive measures against the Jews, it will mean that these measures were caused by Jews themselves.

Japan has recourse to such measures only in extreme situations, as was now the case with England and America. You, gentlemen, know yourselves that during Japanese-American negotiations that went on for eight months, Roosevelt, despite big concessions made by Japan, made impossible demands on Japan till the last moment, like the demand for immediate withdrawal of the Japanese army from all places in China, etc. America and England at the same time were tightening their economic blockade of Japan, strengthening their armed forces in the Far East threatening Japan, and England even made a secret agreement with Chiang Kai-shek according to which all natural treasures of China were to pass to England. Excessive greediness is often punished: a greedy person may lose even what he had in his possession before. Actions of England and America have finally forced the peaceable Japanese people to answer the attack by declaring war. The reasons which led Japan to do so are clearly described in the Imperial Manifesto on the declaration of war, and in the Japanese Prime Minister's declaration.

I cherish the hope that the Jewish community will treat with understanding the reasons which moved Japan, will display solidarity and allow Japan to

47 A feudal-military Japanese code of behavior valuing honor above life.

list the Jewish people among its friends. I consider it possible to express such hope as a private person, and as an old friend of the Jews who always took great interest in the Jewish question in the Far East.

I beg your pardon if you heard in my frank words something unpleasant for you. I will be happy if what I have told you turns out to be of use to you.”

Speech of Mr. M. S. Bloch⁴⁸

When the enthusiasm aroused by the speech of Colonel N. Yasue calmed down, Mr. M. S. Bloch addressed the audience with a short greeting. “Mr. Colonel,” said he, “I do not wish to burden your attention with a long speech. I only want to underline, that your presence will undoubtedly play an important role in our lives and will have the deepest influence on us. We are all glad to see you, we all know and are genuinely grateful to you for your concern, and I am asking you to tell your friends that Far Eastern Jewry is always ready to follow your path, and will always be with your heart and soul.”

Speech of Mr. D. B. Rabinovitch

Then Mr. Topaz gave the floor to the editor of *Nasha zhizn*, Mr. D. Rabinovitch.

“We have a great honor today,” said D. Rabinovitch, “to see here with us our important guests. We are greeting them as representatives of a great empire, we are greeting them as friends of our people, we are greeting them also as our personal friends. Who of us, Jews of Shanghai and Eastern Asia, does not know the names of Colonel N. Yasue and Captain K. Inuzuka? During two thousand years of our wanderings, two thousand years of persecution we have not learned how to hate, we quickly forget torment and insults, but we do not forget our friends. Jews in the whole world remember the names of our friends, who helped us in one way or another in hard periods of our lives, and the names of Colonel N. Yasue and Captain K. Inuzuka will be engraved in gold in the annals of our history. [5] Colonel N. Yasue and Captain K. Inuzuka are historians. They are studying the ancient history of Japan and of our people, and on the basis of the most careful studies arrive at a conclusion on a certain connection between these two peoples which existed in the twilight of history. I am not a historian, not an archaeologist, not a philologist,” pointed out Mr. Rabinovitch, “but nevertheless, I know that these two peoples have some psychological features in common. We all know how patriotic

48 Morris S. Bloch came from Poland to Asia before World War II. He owned a lumber manufacturing company in Kobe in the early 1920s. It is not clear when he came to Shanghai; however, he was the first chairman of the Shanghai Jewish Club; cf. Ristaino, *Port*, 67. Bloch also acted as president of the SAJCA.

is the Japanese people, we all know that every Japanese is ready to give his life for the Emperor and his country, but we too are filled with the feeling of affection for our motherland, and during this two thousand year period of exile and separation from our land we have not forgotten our motherland, and we are aspiring to its rebirth. Let us wish the great Japanese people and our people the realization of their high ideals of statehood and justice.”

Mr. Rabinovitch’s speech made a powerful impression, and Captain Inuzuka asked him to pass to the audience the contents of his interview published in *Nasha zhizn*, in which he reported the results of his historic research. Mr. Rabinovitch informed the audience of the contents of this extremely interesting interview, and remarked that it was often possible to see Captain Inuzuka reading the Bible, and that a portrait of Theodor Herzl is hanging in the captain’s apartment. This remark caused a new burst of applause.

The speech of Mr. B. Kopeliovich

After a short interval, Mr. B. Kopeliovich, former delegate of Shanghai at the Congress of Far Eastern Jewry in Harbin,⁴⁹ made a brief speech. Mr. Kopeliovich directed the attention of the audience to the fact that this banquet coincided with the last day of Hanukkah.⁵⁰ “On this day we light candles in the memory of the miracle – the victory of the Maccabees. But is it not a miracle that we are sitting now with the representatives of the great empire fighting for the establishment of the new order, the ideals of justice, and this should strengthen our belief in the final victory of humanism and justice.”

The speech of Mr. Beerbrayer

On the request of the representatives of the Dairen community, Mr. Beerbrayer gave a short speech. “Whatever we say about Colonel N. Yasue it will fail to express what we feel towards him, what a big friend of ours he is, how much he means to all of us. I want to believe that we will meet him more often. I want to believe that the Japanese authorities will become convinced of our genuine loyalty. Let us wish him long life to continue his useful activity for the benefit of his people and justice.”

49 This was the Conference of Jewish Communities in the Far East. Three of them were held in Harbin from 1937 to 1939. They were organized by the Far Eastern Jewish Council, established in Harbin in 1937, and were chaired by Abraham Kaufman (see below, n. 51).

50 The Hanukkah holiday usually occurs in December and lasts for eight days.

In a conversation that followed the speeches Colonel Yasue said, among other things, that Dr. A. Kaufman⁵¹ intended to come to Shanghai, but was delayed due to a number of reasons. Colonel Yasue expressed the hope that in the near future he will be able to come to Shanghai together with Mr. Kaufman for a longer stay.

Document 97

Anonymous

February 26, 1943

Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 95, 1.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

The Proclamation

On February 18th the Commanders-in-Chief of the Imperial Japanese Navy and Army in the Shanghai Area issued a joint Proclamation concerning restriction of residence and business of stateless refugees who have arrived in Shanghai since 1937. This proclamation, which will become effective on May 18th, affects many thousands of Jewish refugees from Europe who reside and have businesses in French Concession and Settlement and who will have to move within three months into the designated area in the northern district.

We are publishing below the official text of the Proclamation and the map showing the restricted sector in the northern part of the city where stateless refugees will be segregated as from May 18, 1943. The border is indicated by the shaded line running through the centre.

51 Abraham Kaufman (1885–1971) was born in Russia and studied medicine in Switzerland. From 1912 on he lived in Harbin where he became head of the Jewish community (1919–1931; 1933–1945). From 1937 on he was chairman of the National Council of the Jews of Eastern Asia (Far East). He was also active in several other Jewish organizations. After the war he was imprisoned in a Soviet labor camp for 11 years. In 1961 he immigrated to Israel; cf. Takao Chizuko, *Prewar Japan's Perception of Jews and the Harbin Jewish Community. The Harbin Jewish Community under Japanese Rule 1932–1941*, in: *Cismor. Journal of the Interdisciplinary Study of Monotheistic Religions* 10 (2014), 32–49, <<http://www.cismor.jp/uploads-images/sites/3/2015/05/617667a09722574c04d7108677837c1d.pdf>> (November 22, 2016).

Proclamation Concerning Restriction of Residence
and Business of Stateless Refugees

1. Due to military necessity places of residence and business of the stateless refugees in the Shanghai area shall hereafter be restricted to the under-mentioned area in the International Settlement:

East of the line connecting Chaoufoong Road, Muirhead Road and Dent Road;

West of Yangtzepoo [sic] Creek;

North of the line connecting East Seward Road, Muirhead Road and Wayside Road;

and South of the boundary of the International settlement.

2. The stateless refugees at present residing and/or carrying on business in the districts other than the above area shall remove their places of residence and or business into the areas designated above by May 18, 1943.

Permission must be obtained from the Japanese authorities for the transfer, sale, purchase or lease of the rooms, houses, shops or any other establishments, which are situated outside the designated area and now being occupied or used by stateless refugees.

3. Persons other than the stateless refugees shall not remove [sic] into the area mentioned in Article 1 without permission of the Japanese authorities.

3. [sic] Persons who will have violated this Proclamation or obstructed its enforcement shall be liable to severe punishment.

Commanders-in-Chief of the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy in the Shanghai Area.

February 18, 1943.

Document 98

*Martin Fischer*⁵² (German Consulate, Shanghai) to German Foreign Office
February 20, 1943

Typewritten cable; 1 page; the page is a transcript of a cable that was originally encrypted; on the bottom left is a registry stamp ("Verteiler Nr. 4"), dispatching the cable to other sections of the Foreign Ministry. The page has several underlines by hand.

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/13A

52 About Fischer, see ch. 1, n. 40.

Telegramm
(Geh. Ch. V.)⁵³

Shanghai,	den 20. Februar 1943	4.10 S
Ankunft:	" 20. " "	12.10 Uhr

Nr. 195 vom 19.2.

Unter Bezugnahme auf DNB⁵⁴ Telegramm Nr. 249 und Nachrichten für Ausenhandel Shanghai vom 18. Februar.

Unerwartete japanische Massnahme erstreckt sich auf alle seit 1937 eingewanderten Juden und betrifft rund 16 000 Personen. Dagegen bleiben etwa 8000 staatenlose Juden aus Sowjetunion von Umsiedlung unberührt. Grund Massnahme nicht nur wie angegeben militärische Notwendigkeit, sondern neben allgemeiner Bekämpfung ausländischen Einflusses Absicht, Juden, denen immer stärkere Durchdringung hiesigen Wirtschaftsleben gelungen war, zum Verkauf ihrer Geschäfte an Japaner oder Chinesen zu veranlassen. Massnahme ist hiesiger erster japanischer Schritt gegen die Juden. Erfolg noch nicht abzusehen.

Fischer

Document 99

Anonymous

March 12, 1943

Newspaper article, in: Nasha zhizn, no. 93, 3.

Russian; translation by Yuri Pines

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Состав Ашкен. Комитета Содействия Бесподанным Беженцам

Шанх.-Ашкеназ. Комитет Содействия Бесподанным Беженцам
(Шанхай Ашкенази Коллаборэйши Рэлиф Ассоцивши, сокращенно

53 Geheimes Chiffrier-Verfahren.

54 Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro. Formally an independent, private news agency, it was part of the media office of the German Reich government (section IV of the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda).

«САКРА») в настоящее время организован и состои [!] из следующих лиц:

ПРЕЗИДИУМ: Г-н М. Кано – Почетный Советник, Д-р А. И. Кон – поч. председатель, Б. Л. Радомышельский – заместитель председателя, Я. Бент и Г. Шифрин – вице-председатели, Т. Немченко – поч. казначей, М. Н. Капцан и Б. Лангодский – поч. секретари.

ФИНАНСОВАЯ КОМИССИЯ: Г. Шифрин – председатель, И. Биткер – вице-председатель, С. Либерман – секретарь, А. Бент, И. Каган, Л. Роговин, П. Цукерман, Г. Клебанов, С. Тукачинский и А. Оппенгейм.

КВАРТИРНАЯ и [!] СТРОИТЕЛЬНАЯ КОМИССИЯ: И. Левитин, Г. Шифрин и Г. Клебанов.

КОМИССИЯ ПО ЗАЯВЛЕНИЯМ: Т. Немченко и Л. Роговин.

ЮРИДИЧЕСКАЯ КОМИССИЯ: Б. Л. Радомышельский.

КОМИССИЯ ПРЕССЫ: Д. Рабинович и С. Либерман.

ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКАЯ КОМИССИЯ: И. Каган, А. Бент и П. Цукерман.

Наряду с этим, беженские группировки выделили своих представителей во все вышеупомянутые комиссии:

КВАРТИРНАЯ и [!] СТРОИТЕЛЬНАЯ КОМИССИЯ: Д-р Берглас, Д-р Вахнер [!], Д-р Зильберштейн, Д-р Маркузе, Д-р Кракауер [!] и Рабби Эпштейн.

КОМИССИЯ ПО ЗАЯВЛЕНИЯМ: Д-р Зильберштейн, Пульвермахер, Д-р Кардег, Г. Вольф, О. Левин, Маргулис и Махлис.

ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКАЯ КОМИССИЯ: Г. Рейнер, Парнес, Пульвермахер, Т. Розенцвейг [!], Е. Штарер и д-р Дриллер.

ЮРИДИЧЕСКАЯ КОМИССИЯ: Д-р Кардег, Д-р Редлих, Маргулис.

КОМИССИЯ ПРЕССЫ: О. Левин и Шайнигер.

Беженские группировки избрали свой президиум, который вместе с «САКРА» образует «Объединенный Административный Комитет» (Джоинт Администрэйтив Комити). В этот президиум входят следующие лица: Д-р Берглас – председатель, Д-р Кардег – вице-председатель, Д-р Зильберштейн – поч. казначей, Г. Рейнер – поч. секретарь.

Руководителями беженских комиссий являются следующие лица: Квартирной и Строительной – Д-р Берглас, Вакснер и Эпштейн; Комиссии по Заявлениям: – д-р Зильберштейн, Пульвермахер и Марголис; Экономической – Рейнер и Парнес; Юридической – д-р Кардег и Комиссии прессы – О. Левин.

*Translation***The Composition of Shanghai Ashkenazi Collaborating Relief Association**

The Shanghai Ashkenazi Collaborating Relief Association (“SACRA”) has been by now completely formed. It consists of the following persons:⁵⁵

PRESIDIUM: Mr. M. Kano⁵⁶ – honorary advisor; Dr. A. J. Cohn – hon. chairman; B. L. Radomishelsky – deputy chairman; Y. Bent and G. Schifrin – vice-chairmen; T. Nemchenko – hon. treasurer; M. E. Kaptzan and B. Langodsky – hon. secretaries.

FINANCIAL COMMISSION: G. Schifrin – chairman; J. Bitker – vice-chairman; S. Liberman⁵⁷ – secretary; A. [sic] Bent, I. Kagan, L. Rogovin, P. Zuckerman, G. Klebanov,⁵⁸ S. Tukaczinsky,⁵⁹ and A. Oppenheim.

HOUSING AND CONSTRUCTION COMMISSION: I. Levitin, G. Schifrin, and G. Klebanov.

COMMISSION FOR APPEALS AND REQUESTS: T. Nemchenko and L. Rogovin.

JURIDICAL COMMISSION: B. L. Radomishelsky.

PRESS COMMISSION: D. Rabinovitch and S. Liberman.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION: I. Kagan, A. Bent, and P. Zuckerman.

In addition, groups of refugees have sent their representatives to all these commissions:

HOUSING AND CONSTRUCTION COMMISSION: Dr. Berglas, Dr. Wachner,⁶⁰ Dr. Silberstein, Dr. Marcuse, Dr. Krakauer [sic] and Rabbi Epstein.⁶¹

55 SACRA was largely composed of Russian Jewish community leaders. Unfortunately biographical information about some of its members is not available.

56 Kano was the Japanese adviser and assistant to A. J. Cohn. He later served as General Secretary of SACRA and supervisor of the construction department at the Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs.

57 Sema (Semyon) Liberman (1893–?) came from Sevastopol to Harbin in 1916; in 1932 he and his family settled in Shanghai. His son wrote a memoir about his years in Shanghai; cf. Liberman, *My China*, 17.

58 Grisha Klebanoff came from Harbin to Shanghai in the 1920s, where he opened The Siberian Fur Company. After the war, he immigrated to the United States; cf. <<http://www.shanghaijewishmemorial.com/80.htm>> (October 18, 2016).

59 According to Lewin, *Almanac*, 54, S. Tukashinsky [sic] was honorary treasurer of the SAJCA.

60 Obviously a mistake, should read Wachsner.

61 Rabbi J. D. Epstein, secretary of the head of the Mir Yeshivah.

COMMISSION FOR APPEALS AND REQUESTS: Dr. Silberstein, Pulvermacher, Dr. Kardegg, G. Wolf, S. Levin, Margulis, and Machlis.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION: H. Reiner, Parnes,⁶² Pulvermacher, T. Rosensweig [sic], E. Starer, and Dr. Driller.

JURIDICAL COMMISSION: Dr. Kardegg, Dr. Redlich, Margulis.

PRESS COMMISSION: O. Lewin and Scheiniger.

The refugee groups elected their own Presidium which forms, together with SACRA a Joint Administrative Committee consisting of: Dr. Berglas – chairman, Dr. Kardegg – vice-chairman, Dr. Silberstein – hon. treasurer, H. Reiner – hon. secretary.

The refugee commissions are headed by the following persons: Housing and Construction – Dr. Berglas, Wachsner, and Epstein; Commission for Requests – Dr. Silberstein, Pulvermacher, and Margolis [sic]; Economic – Reiner and Parnes; Juridical – Dr. Kardegg; Press – O. Lewin.

Document 100

*David Rabinovitch*⁶³

March 26, 1943

Newspaper article, in: Nasha zhizn, no. 99, 1.

Russian; translation by Yuri Pines

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

С.А.К.Р.А.

Прокламация военных и морских властей от 18 Февраля, вводящая ограниченный район жительства для бесподданных беженцев, затрагивает большую массу еврейских беженцев и тем самым налагает большую и серьезную моральную ответственность на всю местную еврейскую колонию, в задачи которой должно, естественно, войти содействие к наиболее гладкому, спокойному и безболезненному осуществлению этого мероприятия. Эту ответственность, мы рады отметить, наша еврейская община поняла и приняла на себя, и созданные ею организации САКРА (Комитет Содействия Бесподданным Беженцам)

62 The lawyer Dr. Paul Parnes (1897–?) hailed from Vienna. He was also chairman of the Zionist Organization of Shanghai.

63 About Rabinovitch, see ch. 4, n. 13.

и Об'единенный Административный Комитет практически осуществляют шаги и мероприятия, логически вытекающие из этого сознания нашей ответственности. Достаточно зайти в канцелярию этих обеих организаций на Пекин Род, чтобы убедиться в этом. Ведется большая работа, реальная, практическая. Результаты ее пока еще не всем выдавы и не могут так скоро сказаться, но, отдавая этому делу свое время, энергию, нервы и труд, руководители и сотрудники САКРА не сомневаются в том, что намеченные ими вехи деятельности приведут к реальным результатам, конечно при условии общей поддержки со стороны всей местной еврейской колонии.

Эта общая поддержка со стороны всей местной еврейской колонии абсолютно необходима. Необходима не только моральная поддержка для того, чтобы люди, добровольно взявшие на себя такие огромные задачи, чувствовали бы, что они опираются на общественное мнение, общее единодушие, необходима также помощь активная, вытекающая из сознания, что не только руководители САКРА, но и каждый из нас в отдельности и одинаковой мере ответственны за осуществление задач этой организации. Было бы абсолютно неправильно предполагать, что мы, стоящие в стороне от работы САКРА, можем оставаться в положении сторонних наблюдателей и критиков. Ответственность, налагаемая на нас Прокламацией от 18 Февраля, в равной мере ложится на всех нас. Положение, когда мы могли позволить себе роскошь оставаться инертными и, усмехаясь про себя, смотреть со стороны на «чудаков» – наших общественных работников – все время волнующихся и суетящихся из-за «общественных» вопросов – такое положение в настоящее время невозможно. Хотим мы или нет, мы все призваны к ответственности и чем скорее мы все это осознаем, тем лучше будет для всех нас.

Огромная работа, которую должна осуществить САКРА, не может, конечно, пройти без ошибок и шереховатостей. Ляпсусы, ошибки неизбежны – не делает ошибок тот, кто ничего не делает. Но если бы даже такие ошибки и были допущены, нельзя относиться к ним со злобной усмешкой и злопыхательством, нельзя, основываясь на наших ошибках, снижать значение этой организации и ее работы. Дюди, стоящие во главе САКРА, несомненно внимательно отнесутся ко всякой конструктивной критике, которая имеет своей целью улучшить и развить ее деятельность, но не может быть и не должно быть допущено попыток препятствия к выполнению огромных общественных заданий, поставленных жизнью перед всем местным еврейством. Разместить, создать соответствующие жилищные условия для тысяч людей, дать им возможность стать на ноги – это такая великая цель, что для осуществления ее мы все должны позабыть о наших личных интересах. Время и

обстоятельства требуют от нас единодушия и жертвенности – будемте же все на высоте этих требований, поднимаемся выше наших мелких личных забот, выйдем из пределов нашего узкого обывательского кругозора.

Д. Р.

Translation

SACRA

The Proclamation of the military and naval authorities of February 18th introducing a restricted area of residence for stateless refugees affects a large mass of Jewish refugees thus imposing a serious moral responsibility on the whole local Jewish colony, whose task should naturally consist in ensuring as painless and smooth realization of this measure as possible. We are pleased to note that our community has understood and accepted this responsibility, and the organizations created by the community for this purpose (SACRA and Joint Administrative Committee) are implementing in practice the steps which follow logically from understanding this responsibility. It is enough to enter the office of both organizations at Peking Road to be convinced of that. The important practical work is in full swing. The results are not yet felt by everybody and cannot come so quickly, but SACRA leaders and employees feel confident that their energy, nerves and hard work given to this cause will bring concrete results, granted naturally the support of the whole local Jewish colony.

This support on the part of the Jewish colony is absolutely indispensable. We need not only moral support to make people who took upon themselves such important tasks feel that they are supported by public opinion, we need also active help based on the understanding that not SACRA leaders only, but all of us are equally responsible for the fulfilling of the task of this organization. It would be absolutely incorrect to assume that standing apart from SACRA work, we can remain detached on-lookers and critics only. The responsibility imposed by the Proclamation of February 18th rests equally on all of us. The situation when we could afford remaining inert and take a detached view, smiling to ourselves, at the activity of our “eccentrics,” the public activists, who were always worrying about “public” matters, is now impossible. Whether we want it or not, we all now shoulder a responsibility, and the sooner we realize it, the better.

The tremendous work to be done by SACRA cannot naturally be fulfilled without mistakes and blunders. Roughness and mistakes are unavoidable –

only those do not err who do not do anything. But even when such mistakes happen, we should not treat them with spiteful grins and malignant looks, and underrate the importance of this organization and its work on the basis of these mistakes. The SACRA leaders will undoubtedly pay attention to constructive criticism which aims at the improvement and development of the organization's activity, but there should be no attempts at placing obstacles to the fulfilment of tremendous public tasks life has given to all of local Jewry. To find accommodations and provide normal conditions for thousands of people, to let them stand on their feet is such a great goal that to achieve it we all should forget our private interests. The time and circumstances demand from us unanimity and sacrifice – let us all be above these requirements, let us rise above petty individual problems and step outside the limits of our narrow Philistine views.

D. R.

Document 101

*Anonymous (SACRA)*⁶⁴

April 1, 1943

Typewritten minutes, 2 pages.

Microfilm; YIVO, RG 243, Shanghai collection, folder 13

Shanghai, April 1, 1943

MINUTES NO. 7

EXTRAORDINARY MEETING OF S.A.C.R.A. COMMITTEE

Present: All members of the Committee, except Mr. Rogovin.

Chairman: Dr. Cohn. Secretaries: Langotsky, Kaptzan.

Opening the meeting Dr. Cohn advised that this extraordinary meeting was called on the initiative of Messrs. Kubota and Kano, to once again explain to the Committee of S.A.C.R.A. the situation resulting from the Proclamation of February 18th 1943, especially the fact that not much time is left before the transfer of Stateless Refugees to the designated area must be completed. The Committee must understand that they are not to expect any post-

64 For SACRA, see the General Introduction, n. 9.

ponement after May 18th, therefore they must complete their work in one and a half months. They must work with increased energy – up to date much work has been done but this work must be systematised and put in order to move on with the work of building, renovating and exchanging. Further, the aims and problems of S.A.C.R.A. were pointed out, as well as the rights given to S.A.C.R.A. by the Authorities, which proves that S.A.C.R.A. must not only work itself but make others who can be useful work too.

Dr. Cohn then informed that the Authorities have long been dissatisfied with the work of the Juedische Gemeinde, and in spite of all warnings work had not gone on as desired. Therefore today the Authorities have given the order to dismiss the Committee of the Juedische Gemeinde and S.A.C.R.A. was requested to found a new Committee of workers from the German colony, approved by S.A.C.R.A., and to have one member from the S.A.C.R.A. Committee as supervisor.

Dr. Cohn suggested enlarging the Presidium of the S.A.C.R.A., taking in several members of the Committee, so that the enlarged Presidium could independently decide and enforce important immediate questions, followed by the automatic agreement of the Committee.

Mr. Kano then spoke in his name and the name of Mr. Kubota, explaining their point of view in detail concerning S.A.C.R.A., explaining the aims and problems of S.A.C.R.A. and once again calling for more energetic work in connection with the Proclamation of February 18th.

Mr. Kano went on to say that Mr. Kubota agreed, in order to speed up the transfer, to allow building by private parties, under the supervision of S.A.C.R.A. All private parties or groups must acquire their building material in the open market and S.A.C.R.A. may help in acquiring the necessary permits, passes, etc. For buildings put up by S.A.C.R.A. the Committee may depend on receiving all necessary building materials from the stock of the Japanese Military Authorities and at privileged prices. Mr. Kubota will give his aid in every way for securing building material in this manner.

Mr. Kano next suggested to settle the work of exchanging houses and rooms occupied in Hongkew by tenants of Japanese nationality and others, with houses and rooms in other sectors of the city. For this it is necessary to appoint several persons who could place a valuation on apartments, furniture, etc. In this connection the decision of S.A.C.R.A., with Mr. Kubota's approval, will be final.

[2] If in the next three or four weeks the Committee shall see that all that has been done for providing living quarters for the Stateless Refugees does not solve the problem in full, it will be necessary to immediately begin building barracks, so that the transfer will be completed by May 18th, later continuing the work of improving living conditions.

Mr. Kubota gives his assurance that he will take all measures that members of the Committee will get maximum support from the Authorities, for which he gives his personal guarantee for the Committee as a whole and each member separately. Each member shall receive a special certificate which will protect him from interference in his work and Mr. Kubota has agreed with the Authorities on uninterrupted work for the Committee. In connection with this it is desirable that each member of the Committee give Dr. Cohn his brief biography.

Further Mr. Kano stated that it would be desirable to have a medical examination of all those living in the “Heims” so as to have the necessary data with regard to their ability for work.

Returning to the question of the desirability of receiving material for the press, which would illuminate the Jewish question and could be used to counter balance the material spread by other groups concerning the Jewish question, Mr. Kano informed that Mr. Kubota would give all his aid for spreading such material.

In conclusion Mr. Kano mentioned Mr. Kubota’s desire for speedy completion of formalities of the S.A.C.R.A. Committee as a business organisation, so that Mr. Radomishelsky, for whom Mr. Kubota will give his full guarantee, could be brought in as a permanent member.

Dr. Cohn informed that Mr. Kubota had given him the letter from the Russian Emigrant Committee,⁶⁵ in which the latter asks for a decision about the Russian Jews who came here from Europe after 1937 and never had a foreign passport. Dr. Cohn promised to answer the letter in the next few days and hoped that several groups concerned would be freed from transfer to the designated area.

Mr. Radomishelsky thanked Dr. Cohn in the name of the Committee for the information given and assured him that the Committee would take all measures to complete all suggestions.

65 The Russian Emigrants’ Committee was established in 1926; it claimed a leadership position among the various rival Russian emigrant organizations. The majority of the Shanghai Russian Jews (numbering from 6000 to 8000) preferred to abstain from membership, even though the establishment of a Russian Jewish organization was requested by the Japanese authorities in 1940; cf. Ristaino, *Port*, 171 f.

Document 102*Anonymous**June 4, 1943**Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Jewish Chronicle, 3.**DNB, Deutsche Exilpresse***Interview T. Kubotas mit der „Evening Post“**

In einem Interview mit der „Shanghai Evening Post“ hat der Leiter des Stateless Refugee Bureau, Mr. Tsutomu Kubota, erneut darauf hingewiesen, dass die Proklamation, die den staatenlosen Fluechtlingen einen bestimmten Bezirk zuweist, aus Gruenden militaerischer Notwendigkeit erfolgt sei und keinesfalls einen diskriminierenden antisemitischen Akt darstelle. Japans Politik gegenüber anderen Nationen sei hauptsaechlich auf dem Hakku-Ichiu⁶⁶ begruendet, dem jahrhunderte alten Prinzip der Verstaendigung und allumfassenden Bruederschaft, die jede religioese oder rassische Diskriminierung ausschliesse. Der den staatenlosen Fluechtlingen zugewiesene Bezirk sei daher kein Ghetto, sondern solle ein lichtvoller Platz sein, an dem sie sich heimatlich geschuetzt und wohl fuehlen sollen.

Weiter fuehrte Mr. Kubota aus, dass die Fluechtlinge zu ihrem materiellen Wohlergehen und gleichzeitig zum Nutzen der Shanghaier Wirtschaft Gelegenheit zu produktiver Arbeit erhalten wuerden, aehnlich dem System des „Kinrohoshi“⁶⁷ in Japan, wo die Taetigkeit den wirtschaftlichen Erfordernissen angepasst wird. Er pruefe gegenwaertig entsprechende Plaene, unter anderem Plaene fuer die Errichtung einer Fabrik zu [sic] Herstellung medizinischer Instrumente, einer anderen Fabrik zur Fabrikation von Leder sowie mehrerer anderer aehnlicher Unternehmen produktiver Natur. Nach Inbetriebnahme dieser Werke wuerden die Erzeugnisse zu angemessenen Preisen auf den Markt gebracht werden. Die Errichtung derartiger Betriebe werde unter dem Schutz japanischer Kreise durch die S.A.C.R.A. erfolgen.

66 *Hakkō ichiu* (Japan., “all the world under one roof”) is a historical term from the eighth century CE referring to the mythical origin of the first Tennō and the construction of his palace. From 1940 to the end of World War II, it served as a slogan of official Japanese government policy and war propaganda, expressing the establishment of a new order in East Asia. It was also occasionally used as a term for universal brotherhood.

67 The *kinrō hōshi* (Japan., “labor service”) was a program of volunteer work by school pupils and students in Japan.

Mr. T. Kubota erklarte, dass die Arbeit voellig freiwillig, also keine Zwangsarbeit, sein werde, doch sei zu hoffen, dass alle Betroffenen volle Mitarbeit zeigen.

Vorgesehen ist ferner die Errichtung eines Marktes durch die SACRA [sic], um den durch die erhoehte Einwohnerzahl im Bezirk gesteigerten Bedarf an Lebensmitteln zu decken.

Mr. Kubota teilte ferner mit, dass er die Schaffung eines Sportzentrums zu genehmigen beabsichtige, da es sein besonderer Wunsch sei, dass alle Einwohner, vor allem die Kinder, durch koerperliche Ertuechtigung eine gute physische und geistige Entwicklung durchmachen.

Document 103

*Harry Gonda*⁶⁸ (SMP)

May 7, 1943

Typewritten report, 3 pages; each page has a printed heading; the date and subject were typewritten. On the front page is an illegible stamp.

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/78A

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE REPORT

Station *File No.* *Date* ... May 7th 1943

SUBJECT: Problem of Stateless Refugees

Consternation is prevailing amongst the Stateless Refugees, since the 18th of May is now so very near and the situation in every respect has become far worse for them and is still daily growing more serious. From the numerous problems confronting them, the most important are the ones connected with their work and their housing.

As to the first of the two problems, the Refugees clearly realize that in the long run it will be the more serious one because there are very few people who are in a position to cover their daily expenses for an uncertain period without earning money. And whether they will be able to earn money is – at

68 Gonda (1918–?) hailed from Hungary. He joined the SMP in 1939; cf. the online list of Shanghai Municipal Policemen by Robert Bickers, <<http://eis.bris.ac.uk/~hirab/smpeg.html>> (October 20, 2016).

least in their eyes – very questionable. Owing to the very deplorable fact, that until to-day, that is 11 days before the Military Proclamation is to become effective, not one clear regulation has been issued by the authorities, the people not only suffer financial losses and inconvenience, but what is more important, they still don't know what will happen to their business and whether they will be able to continue their work. According to the rumour circulatin [sic] amongst the Refugees the Doctors, Pharmacies, and some people, who have friends in the SACRA will be exempted, but this will be not more than about 500 people, the rest of about 16,000 Refugees, so continue the rumours will after two or three months be locked up in the designated area and will be unable to obtain permits to continue their work. Now the average amount of money, which a [2] Refugee can have saved is around 10,000 Dollars and if he is one of the few very rich Refugees he might have around 50,000 Dollars. Thanks to the damnable practice of some of the Refugees living already in the designated area – but not only Refugees – amount [sic] around \$ 5000.– to \$ 15,000.– had to be paid for rooms or suitable living quarters and all they have left to live is now a very small sum of money which will be spent after a few weeks. After that actual starvation will set in.

The second not less important problem is the housing question, which is growing more serious day by day. Apart from the fact that there absolutely are not sufficient accommodations for the number of people requiring rooms or flats, certain practices have made themselves noticeable [sic], which have multiplied the difficulties of the Refugees. The Keymoney Racket, which officially has been prohibited by the authorities, came into existence again and cases are known where people had to pay for one unfurnished room \$ 7000.– just to move in.

The Refugees themselves blame the Authorities, who have shown themselves very weak in this respect but even more they blame the SACRA, who as an official organization had all the possible means of drawing the attention of the Police to this matter. There is little doubt, that if the Police would punish one or two of the offenders the rest would get so afraid that this racket would be stopped. But to crown the whole racket the SACRA instead of attempting to stop the keymoney racket, are commencing themselves to charge so called repair fees⁶⁹ [3] which are after all nothing else but key-money.

In view of all the above it is not surprising that the Refugees are not only dissatisfied with the Sacra [sic] but that demands are being heard that the SACRA be replaced by a committee consisting only of those groups who are

69 The last four lines, beginning with “offenders,” have been marked by hand on the right margins.

actually concerned with the matter. Because the Russian Jews, who only were supposed to give the money, and even that they did not do, or very unsatisfactory, have no other concern than to make a lot of money out of the Refugees. It is furthermore absolutely not clear why the Russian Jews should be made the arbitrary judges over the destiny of the European Refugees, who are partly not even Jewish.

In connection with this it is rumoured that after the 18th of May, when Mr. Kubota will have convinced himself of the inability of the SACRA, that the whole SACRA will be dissolved and reorganised.

O i/c Foreign Affairs
 Crime & Special Branch
 {H. L. Gonda}
 DS 12

Document 104

*Eduard Gigarson*⁷⁰ (SMP)

May 22, 1943

Typewritten report, 2 pages; the pages have a printed letterhead; the station, date, and subject were inserted by typewriter. On the front page is a receipt stamp and a registry stamp (both dated June 12, 1943).

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/78B

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE REPORT

Station ... Foreign Affairs ... *File No.* *Date* ... May 22-nd, 1943.

SUBJECT: Stateless Refugees – Removal to the Designated Area.

In connection with the removal of the Stateless Refugees into the Designated Area it can be stated that the majority, about 90 %, have now [been] removed into the area or together with the persons who were already res-

70 Eduard Ivanovich Gigarson (1889–?) joined the SMP in 1923; cf. *ibid.*

idents of the area, there are at present not less than 13,600 stateless refugees, of whom about 6600 moved into the area about 7000 lived inside the area.

About 250 refugees received prolongation, mostly consisting of doctors, lawyers, and religious persons. Most of them have to move in by the 1-st of June.

About 1400 refugees received prolongation, because of special circumstances they were unable to accomplish the removal owing to some unforeseen reason without loss of property.

Change of houses: About 415 cases of change of houses have been registered. Accomplished in 145 cases.

251 houses were changed with Japanese subjects and this consists 60 % of all changes. Accomplished in 80 cases.

110 houses were changed with Chinese citizens. Accomplished in 36 cases.

54 houses with various foreigners. Accomplished in 29 cases.

The stateless refugees have now to apply for Special Passes to leave the Designated Area to the Stateless Refugee Affairs Office. The following particulars are required for the application:

- a) Applications to be made between the 25-th and 30-th of May, 1943.
- b) Name and address of employment.
- c) Route by which applicant wishes to proceed from his home in the area to place of employment.
- d) Time required for the employment – daily.
- e) Applicant is responsible for the correctness of the information furnished on the application.
- f) Must have a guarantor or the signature of the employer, who shall be responsible for the action of the applicant.

The Jewish Refugee organizations are warning their members to adhere in all details to the instructions of [2] the Special Passes if such are issued in order to avoid further restrictions against all stateless refugees affected by the proclamation.

It must be stated that a number of refugees were handicaped [sic] in removing into the designated area, owing to the high room repair charges of the former Chinese School premisses [sic] on East Yuhang Road as set down by the SACRA.

The charges are from \$ 15.00 to \$ 25.00 per sq. foot only to move into the premisses and then rent from 60 cents to 75 cents per sq. foot per month.

This means that a person who wishes to rent a room from the SACRA in the above premisses has to have a capital at least of \$ 20,000 for the first six months, excluding electricity and water, etc.

However at present 80 % of the 114 rooms in the above mentioned place have already been taken by stateless refugees, who could not find suitable houses or rooms elsewhere in the designated area.

The Polish Jewish Refugees, supported by the “Eastjewcom” have been told to move into the Salvation Army Shelter at 630 Muirhead Road, which premisses are specially being prepared at present. However it is known that these refugees are not satisfied with the premisses, owing to the cement floor, and recently went to the SACRA, 137 Peking Road, where the [sic] caused trouble, demanding to be accommodated in private houses in the designated area.

Further enquiries are being made and reports will be forwarded in due course.

{E. Gigarson}

D. S. I.

Officer i/c Foreign Affairs Section,
Crime & Special Branches.

Document 105

*Gerhard Schaie*⁷¹ (SMP)

August 11, 1943

Typewritten report, 2 pages; the pages have a printed letterhead; station and date were inserted by typewriter. On the front page is a receipt stamp and a registry stamp (both dated August 16, 1943).

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/78B

71 Gerhard Schaie (1914–?) was a Jewish refugee from Posen (Poznań, Poland). He was employed in the SMP’s Special Branch (later known as the Foreign Affairs Section) from 1939 to 1945. He eventually immigrated to the United States; cf. <<http://www.magnes.org/collections/archives/western-jewish-america/mattimore-lillian-papers-and-photographs-circa-1876-19>> (January 18, 2017). Special thanks to Robert Bickers for his help in deciphering the name and for biographical references.

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE REPORT

Station ... Foreign Affairs Section; C&S Branch File No. Date ... 11-8-43

SUBJECT: The Situation of Refugees After the Start of the Segregation on Aug 10th, 1943

Through the coming into effect of the segregation, the situation of refugees inside the area has changed drastically. From the day when the date of segregation became known, purchases by merchants inside the area have been very small because they did not know whether they will be able to keep up their connections with outlying areas, where they used to sell their goods and products. Anybody forced to sell goods in the area for reasons of obtaining ready cash will receive ridiculous prices, because at the very moment, merchants prefer to have some cash to buying goods, of which they do not know whether they will be able to sell them. Hardest hit are those small tradespeople and hawkers who lived from their day-to-day earnings. This class of people can already say until when their means will last and when they will have to apply for public charity. Due to these reasons, refugees are deeply concerned over the future of the inmates of the area. This question forms the topic of all conversations.

It is learnt, that the Jewish Gemeinde through its Economic Section will assist in the issue of passes over short periods. If a person has a legitimate reason to leave the area on one or several days, he makes an application at the Jewish Gemeinde. The latter forwards it to the 70 Muirhead Rd. office⁷² and, after approval, issues it.

Doubts are still existing with holders of special passes as regards the proper extent of districts given on the back of special passes. One category of passes [2] was issued with the backside chopped "Yangtsepoo" [sic]. It is not known whether this refers to the Police District or any other district. The same refers to passes chopped "Settlement." An explanation given in the S'hai Jewish Chronicle of Aug. 11th, is not clear enough to avoid misunderstandings. It would seem advisable to publish a map showing the exact limits of the districts according to the meaning of the Shanghai Stateless Refugee Affairs Bureau.

After a number of persons still residing outside the designated area have got into trouble when visiting the designated area, i.e. on leaving the area, such persons are now avoiding to enter the area unless it is absolutely nec-

72 The Shanghai Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs was located here.

essary, for instance when they exchange their allotment or extension [sic] against the application for a removal permit.

Since most of the extensions will expire at the end of August 1943 and allotment holders have been called up by S.A.C.R.A. notification No. 34 to prepare their removal into the area, it can be expected that nearly all affected refugees will reside inside the area by the end of this month.

{G. Schaie}

D. S.

Foreign Affairs Section

C & S Branch

Document 106

Anonymous

September 3, 1943

Newspaper article, in: Nasha zhizn, no. 123 (English supplement), unpaginated. Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Special Passes are Issued only to Assist the Progress of the Designated Area Warns Mr. T. Kubota in a Special Interview Granted to “Our Life”

In a special interview granted to “Our Life” Mr. T. Kubota, Director of the Bureau for Stateless Refugee Affairs, made a few important and far reaching statements.

Informing Mr. Kubota of the pending publication of a special issue of “Our Life” devoted to the Designated Area, our representative requested him to express his views and opinions as to economical prospects of the Area and the significance of Special Passes issued to the refugees.

Since 10th of August – said Mr. Kubota – restriction of movement of people affected by the Proclamation of 18th February and residing in the Area was enforced, and persons who wish to leave the Area to attend their work now must obtain Special Passes. This restriction is but a normal and natural outcome of the Proclamation of the High Command of Febr. 18th. It must be borne in mind however, that the Special Passes are being issued not with the idea just to enable the people to leave the Area and attend their businesses but in order to assist the construction and progress of the economical development of the Area. The normal status should be that every person affected by the Proclamation and living within the Area should eventually reinstate

himself in such a business or employment which could be pursued within the limits of the Designated Area. All private persons and groups should be encouraged to create enterprises of productive nature so as to develop the Designated Area, make it economically self-sustaining, as well as to cooperate with the Great East Asiatic S. [sic] Prosperity Sphere.⁷³

Naturally – continued Mr. T. Kubota – I expect that SACRA will continue to do its good work and will redouble its efforts in assisting the affected people in the Area with their enterprises and undertakings and also spiritually, but I also expect the affected people not to rely too much upon others and more upon themselves remembering that “God helps those who help themselves.” I feel certain that by mutual cooperation of SACRA and the people affected, various productive undertakings will be established which will bring prosperity into the Area and make it sooner and quicker self sustaining – concluded his interview Mr. T. Kubota.

Document 107

*Anonymous (Relief Division, ICRC)*⁷⁴

June 24, 1943

Typewritten report (copy), 1 page.

CZA, file C2/1125–102

73 The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was a propaganda concept, invented by the Japanese imperial military and government. Its aim was to create a block of Asian nations under Japanese leadership that would be free of Western influence. This block was to consist of China, Japan, Manchukuo, and parts of Southeast Asia.

74 In autumn 1944 the ICRC received the Nobel Prize for Peace. The official website of the Nobel Prize reads, “The main reason given [by the Nobel Prize Committee for choosing the ICRC] was its work on behalf of prisoners of war. [...] The Nobel Committee was not aware that the Red Cross was fully informed of the Nazi extermination of Jews. This was not known until the 1980s. It then emerged that in 1942 the organization had adopted a resolution to keep silent. It feared that publication of the atrocities might trigger reprisals against prisoners of war or provoke military action against neutral Switzerland. It was also afraid that the cooperation between the ICRC and the Swiss government might collapse. The Red Cross has since expressed regret for this suppression of the facts.” Cf. The Norwegian Nobel Institute, The Nobel Peace Prize 1944, <https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1944/red-cross-facts.html> (August 28, 2016).

Copy

Relief Division Secretariate [sic]
DM/RA.

Geneva, June 24th, 1943.

NOTES ON THE NEWLY CREATED AREA IN SHANGHAI IN WHICH
STATELESS REFUGEES WILL RESIDE

(Compiled from information received from our delegate⁷⁵)

The Japanese authorities in Shanghai recently issued a proclamation to the effect that all stateless refugees will have to be moved into a designated area by the 18th May. This area, comprising some 40 blocks, slightly less than one square mile, is in the eastern section of Shanghai; all the usual services exist, viz. water, gas, electricity, trams, etc.

The proclamation affects all stateless persons who arrived in Shanghai since 1937, estimated at 20,000 to 25,000. Included in this number are some 6000 Jews who are utterly destitute and just manage to exist on the meagre meals they get from the Jewish Communal kitchens. About 9000 Jews more are in only slightly better condition and are likely also to become destitute in a few months. A further number of approximately 2000 to 3000 Jews at present earn a modest living as tailors, shoemakers, hair dressers, etc. or as office employees in commercial firms, but they may lose this income when they move into the designated zone. About 3000 Jews have means of their own, individual fortunes ranging from a few thousand CRB Dollars to a few Millions. Also affected by this proclamation are arrivals since 1937 who, although of Jewish stock, are of Protestant or Catholic faith; it also affects such people as Latvians, Lithuanians, etc. In short, people who are not represented by any Government.

It is still premature to form an idea of how the transfer will affect the living conditions of these people, but this is by no means a new problem, having existed ever since the refugees came to Shanghai, where they have been many years and where, at the best of times, many were never able to earn their living. It will largely depend upon themselves what they can make out of it. Those people who have shops, factories, professional of-

75 The delegate in Shanghai was Edouard Egle. The official ICRC delegation was set up in Shanghai in March 1942 after receiving the approval of the Japanese authorities. Originally allowed to extend relief work only to POWs, the Japanese authorities eventually permitted relief service for civilians as well; cf. ICRC (ed.), Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on its Activities During the Second World War (September 1, 1939 to June 30, 1947), vol. 1: General Activities, Geneva, May 1948, 447–449.

fices at present in other parts of the town and who will have to remove into the designated area should have no great difficulties to liquidate their present positions and re-establish themselves in the new area. The housing problem neither should prove too serious a problem, as the number of persons who are living now in the designated area and who will have to move out is much larger than the number of people who have to move into this area, it is largely a matter of the exchange being properly organised. There is also no reason to anticipate that the designated area will not get sufficient foodstuffs, or that factories in the designated area will enjoy fewer facilities to obtain raw materials and to sell their products freely than factories in other parts of the town. It has to be admitted that many of the shop-owners, professionals, brokers, etc., who now have to move into the designated area, have during recent years built up their prosperity through dealing with Chinese and Foreign nationals who had money to spend, whilst in future they can cater only to residents in the designated area and whose average purchasing power probably will be very low. For instance, a furrier shop or a high class establishment of ladies' dresses would naturally have been operating more profitably in French town than they can ever expect to do in the designated area.

As mentioned already, many of the people who have to move into the designated area, have sizeable fortunes, and it is largely a question whether or not they will use their means for the development of industrial and commercial activity in the new area, thereby providing opportunities for a great number of poorer people to earn their living. However, even under the most favourable conditions, a great deal of the distress prevailing now amongst the many thousands of destitutes is bound to remain.

„Dieser Brief des jüdischen Informationsbüros „Hicem“ in Shanghai wurde über Istanbul dem jüdischen Büro in Lissabon zugesandt. Aus dem Briefe geht hervor, daß gegenwärtig alle nach 1937 in Shanghai eingetroffenen Ausländer ohne Nationalität sowie alle Flüchtlinge festgestellt werden und mit Hilfe der Behörden in einem besonderen Stadtteil (Hongkew) untergebracht werden sollen. Es wird ausdrücklich betont, daß es sich in keiner Weise dabei um antisemitische Maßnahmen handle.

Die betreffende Stelle im Brief lautet: „Von Mitte Mai an werden alle Flüchtlinge ohne Staatsangehörigkeit, die hier (Shanghai) nach 1937 aus Europa angekommen sind, einschließlich der Flüchtlinge aus Polen, Litauen, Lettland etc. in dem Stadtteil von Shanghai (Hongkew) leben, in dem gegenwärtig über die Hälfte von ihnen leben, und wo sich auch die Flüchtlingsheime und Hilfseinrichtungen befinden. Die Behörden erklären dazu, daß das nicht als eine besondere gegen die Juden gerichtete Maßnahme oder als irgend eine antisemitische Handlung angesehen werden soll. Eine besondere soziale Kommission wurde hier eingerichtet, die Shanghai Ashkenazi Collaboration Association (Sacra), die in Zusammenarbeit mit den Behörden dafür sorgen will, daß die Flüchtlinge untergebracht werden. Unsere Organisation wird eine Zweigstelle in dem Flüchtlings-Bezirk haben. {"#}

Der Chef des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht

Im Auftrage

{###}

only remaining office in Europe at that time was in Lisbon, where it had relocated after leaving Paris in 1940; cf. Ronald Weber, *The Lisbon Route. Entry and Escape in Nazi Germany*, Lanham Md. 2011.

Document 109

*Henry Wasmer*⁸² (Relief Division, ICRC) to *Marc Peter*⁸³ (ICRC)

June 15, 1943

Typewritten letter, 3 pages (copy?).

Microfilm; YVA, JM 11.728, reel 16

COMITE INTERNATIONAL
de la CROIX ROUGE

Note for the Delegation of the International
Committee of the Red Cross, Washington, D.C.

AGENCE CENTRALE
DES PRISONNIERS DE GUERRE

Relief Division

DM/eh

S. 200

Geneva, June 15, 1943

Dear Mr. Peter:

With reference to the situation of the civilian population in Shanghai, we give you below the summary of a report recently arrived from our delegate.⁸⁴ This report clearly indicates that the conditions are very grievous and steadily becoming worse.

We would earnestly request you to submit each separate case to the Welfare Committee or Societies, who might possibly be able to render financial assistance. We cannot stress sufficiently the importance of this action on our part as even the smallest contributions can save untold lives.

A) German Jewish refugees

The worst distress exists undoubtedly amongst the German-Jewish immigrants, of whom at least 6000 are on the point of starvation and about 9000 more are not far better off. The local Jewish Committee told our delegate a fortnight ago that they can raise local contributions to an amount of max-

82 Wasmer (1901–1992) was a Swiss ICRC official since 1942. He was responsible for the Relief Division's procurement, transportation, and distribution of care packages to POWs.

83 Peter (1873–1966) was a longtime Swiss diplomat to the United States before he became representative of the ICRC in Washington in 1941. He was head of its central agency for POWs.

84 This was Edouard Egle.

imum CRB\$ 10.– per capita per month and which is next to nothing when you take into account the high cost of foodstuffs at Shanghai, even a Chinese coolie requiring CRB\$ 150.– a month to feed himself. For the moment the Jewish Committee have still some of the 3000 bags of flour left which was donated last July, but even that will be exhausted by the end of next month, when the Committee will no longer be able to provide the one slice of bread daily which at present keeps precariously body and soul together of thousands of these poor wretches. It need hardly be mentioned that medical care is practically non-existent because to furnish even the most necessary medicaments would cost more than all the money which the Jewish Committee can raise. The comfort of heating can be dismissed as a dream, and the little threadbare clothing gives no protection against the coldness and humidity of the Shanghai winter climate.

Unfortunately the conditions of distribution are not so easily settled as our delegate has had the occasion to see, as a great deal of corruption prevails amongst certain members of the Jewish Administration.

Our delegate would therefore be unable to undertake a systematic distribution unless the entire organization can be altered and the distribution placed completely under the control of the International Committee of the Red Cross, preferably with the cooperation of the Japanese or Municipal Authorities. To carry through such systematic relief even by providing only the most necessary in the way of food, medical attention and clothing would require an amount of at least CRB\$ 1,000,000 (1 million) a month (approximately Swiss Francs 100,000). The only alternative to this extensive plan would be to attend to the most desperate cases. In such a case an amount of Swiss Francs 10,000–20,000 monthly, spent carefully, could save hundreds of lives.

We believe that provided the funds are made available, we could overcome the [2] difficulties of distribution by working closely with one or two prominent Jews whose names we already have.

B) WHITE RUSSIANS

The next largest needy community are the White Russians, numbering about 30000 and of whom 7000–8000 can be considered as destitute. This problem is however not quite so acute, because the Russian Community has had to carry on relief work on a vast scale for the last twenty years and has therefore a better organization and more experience. Credit must be given to the Russians that they are making almost incredible efforts to solve the problem themselves. A Russian when he barely earns enough to support himself will always manage to contribute a few dollars to his less fortunate fellow countrymen, even if he has to deprive himself of some necessary food to do

so. Likewise, if he has got only one room, he will at his own personal discomfort take in one or several of his fellow countrymen rather than let them freeze out in the street. This spirit of solidarity and self-sacrifice amongst the Russians is simply marvellous. The majority of the Russians at Shanghai reside in the French Concession, and the destitute receive a good deal of assistance from the “Caisse des Oeuvres.”⁸⁵ This is an institution operating under the control of the French Consul General, the income being provided through special taxes levied on various amusement places in the concession. The soup kitchens operated by the Russian community under the control of the Caisse des Oeuvres provide at present about 7000 free meals daily. Under the same system the Russian community maintains several hospitals where destitute patients find accommodation and competent treatment free of charge. All this however does not mean that the relief problem of these White Russian destitutes is solved, because the majority of the employed Russians earn small salaries and more and more of them are losing the jobs, and the income of the Caisse des Oeuvres is dwindling because the business of the amusement places is not so brisk anymore and the amount collectable as amusement tax is falling off.

C) VARIOUS

There are several hundred destitute persons who either have no nationality or who have no Consular representation at Shanghai, such as former citizens of Danzig, Latvia, Esthonia [sic], Lithuania, Jugoslavia [sic], Iraque [sic], also Germans, Czechs and Slovaks who cannot obtain any support through the German relief society, either because they refuse to acknowledge their political affiliation with Germany or because they are of mixed ancestry and are therefore not considered as Aryans, whilst the Jewish Committee also does not recognize Protestants, Catholics, or Orthodox as Jews. There is some truth in the remarks made by some of these destitute people that even the dogs have someone to care for them in the Shanghai Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals,⁸⁶ whilst human beings are just left starving and freezing to death.

85 The charitable Caisse des Oeuvres, established in 1927 in the French Concession, was funded by the profits from the auditorium and Canidrome tax; cf. Christine Cornet, *The Bumpy End of the French Concession and French Influence in Shanghai, 1937–1946*, in: Henriot/Yeh, *In the Shadow*, 257–276, here 265.

86 This organization existed since 1898, when it was established by foreigners of various nationalities.

As far as the Foreign destitutes are concerned, our delegate does not anticipate any objection on the part of the Japanese Authorities to relief work being undertaken by the I.C.R.C. as long as he advises the Authorities of what he intends to do. On the other hand, the Japanese Authorities definitely do not wish the I.C.R.C. to mix up in any systematic relief work on behalf of the Chinese or other Eastern races. The problem anyhow would be far too big for us to tackle, it would need enormous sums which certainly could not be raised in Europe or in America under present conditions. The fact that during the recent first cold spell 534 dead bodies were picked up in the streets after one night may give you an indication of the extent of the misery which prevails amongst the poorer classes of the Chinese population.

Reverting to the question of distribution to needy cases, it is obvious our [3] delegate would be unable to publish information that funds would be available, as he would then be swamped with requests. The only method possible would be to carry out this relief work "on the quiet" and in respect of the most needy cases only, and this after each application has been carefully investigated. The extent of such relief work would depend entirely on the funds which could be placed at our disposal and tabulation as to nationality, etc. could be made on AFTER the money has been spent.

Finally, as you will see from this report, the needs are desperate and an urgent action must be undertaken to provide if only the barest relief.

We thank you in advance for everything you can do in this respect and await your early reply.

Yours sincerely

For the International Committee of the Red Cross

H. Wasmer

Manager of the Relief Division

Document 110

*Moses A. Leavitt*⁸⁷ (AJJDC) to *John W. Pehle*⁸⁸ (U.S. Treasury Dept.)

December 10, 1943

Typewritten letter (copy?), 2 pages.

87 About Leavitt, see ch. 3, n. 23.

88 Pehle was an assistant to US-Secretary of the Treasury Henry J. Morgenthau. He was the main proponent of the idea of a central US-institution for rescue operations. The War Refugee Board was finally established by President Roosevelt in January 1944, with Pehle as its de facto director.

Microfilm; YVA, JM 11.728, reel 16

Mr. John W. Pehle
Foreign Funds Control
Treasury Department,
Sloan Building,
12th and G Sts., N.W.
Washington D.C.

December 10, 1943

Dear Mr. Pehle:

With the return on the Gripsholm of Miss Laura Margolis, we had occasion to ascertain the present situation of the refugees in Shanghai. Prior to her internment in February 1943, Miss Margolis set up a local Joint Distribution Committee composed of the following individuals: –

Mr. C. Brahn, former German
Mr. M. Glueckmann, stateless
Dr. Lang, stateless
Mr. J. Bitker, Polish
Mr. M. Schifron, Russian Emigrant
Mr. L. Wachsner, stateless

These individuals – all Jews, of course – were empowered by Miss Margolis to secure funds locally on the following understanding: although not authorized by the J.D.C. to borrow funds in Shanghai, it was in accordance with the best knowledge and belief of Miss Margolis that the J.D.C. would honor such borrowing when the notes would be presented in New York, or six months after the conclusion of the war with Japan on this basis. Miss Margolis authorized the borrowing of the equivalent in local currency of 1,405,000 Swiss francs, of which 805{000} Swiss francs had actually been borrowed by August 1943.

As you can readily understand, the rates secured in Shanghai under these conditions were very low. The average runs about 7 to 8 Shanghai dollars to the Swiss franc, although the free market rate was closer to 25, and the official conversion rate of the Swiss franc in August 1943 was 22.50 Shanghai dollars.

Miss Margolis is definitely convinced that if the committee named above were to be informed they can and would be authorized by J.D.C. to borrow against eventual repayment after the war, the rate at which they could raise funds would be considerably higher than the present rate which they are receiving.

[2] You will be interested to know that at the present rate of borrowing, and with the contributions received from the local Shanghai community, there

should be sufficient funds available to provide 5000 refugees with one meal a day of about 500 calories until July 1944. There are 5000 other refugees who are in desperate need and who also ought to receive a minimum of food. In order to meet the needs of the 10,000 refugees and perhaps give them a light supplemental meal a day, we believe that it will be necessary for us to authorize equivalent of borrowings at the rate of \$ 25,000 a month. We are anxious to be permitted to send an authorization to Shanghai to cover a period of 12 months.

Miss Margolis assures us that the delegate of the International Red Cross, Mr. Edward Egli [sic], has signified his willingness to supervise the expenditure of funds on behalf of the refugees. The committee of six, named above, is empowered only to raise funds locally by borrowing. These funds, in turn, are turned over to SACRA, which is the Shanghai Ashkenazi Communal Relief Association. Mr. Egli works very closely with SACRA, and we believe that it would be helpful in every way if the International Red Cross were to retain their interest in and supervision of the relief funds.

In light of the above, we would respectfully request the Treasury Department to license us to send the following cable to the International Red Cross in Geneva:

“PLEASE ADVISE YOUR DELEGATE EDWARD EGLI IN SHANGHAI CHINA TO NOTIFY JDC COMMITTEE SHANGHAI THAT IT IS EMPOWERED TO BORROW THE EQUIVALENT IN SWISS FRANCS OF ONEHUNDRED TEN THOUSAND SWISS FRANCS PER MONTH FOR A PERIOD OF TWELVE MONTHS STOP BORROWING IS NOT NECESSARILY RESTRICTED TO THAT SUM EVERY MONTH BUT THE OVERALL TOTAL AUTHORIZATION MUST BE ADHERED TO STOP WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD FEEL FREE TO INSTRUCT YOUR REPRESENTATIVE EGLI TO SUPERVISE EXPENDITURES OF FUNDS THUS RAISED LOCALLY STOP WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR REQUESTING CONFIRMATION RECEIPT OF THIS CABLE FROM SHANGHAI”

Sincerely yours,
Moses A. Leavitt
Secretary
#AL:bf

Document 111

Henry Wasmer⁸⁹ (*Relief Division, ICRC*) to Saly Mayer⁹⁰ (*JDC, Switzerland*)
 March 15, 1944

Typewritten letter, 3 pages; the first page has a printed letterhead; the date was inserted by typewriter. On the upper left corner of first page is the stamp of the Red Cross (“Comité International Genève”), and on the upper left corner a handwritten note (“Tel 17 III 44 M Friedrich thanks”).

Microfilm; YVA, JM 11.728, reel 16

COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL DE LA CROIX-ROUGE
 DIVISION DE SECOURS

Rappeler dans la réponse:

EXO JF/GL

S. 8/I/200

GENÈVE, den 15. März 1944

Hôtel Beau-Séjour

Herrn Saly Mayer

Tigerbergstrasse 26

St. Gallen.

Betrifft: Hilfe für Shanghai.

Sehr geehrter Herr Mayer,

Wir bestätigen Ihnen unsere letzte Zuschrift vom 9. Februar und sind heute in der Lage, Ihnen einige weitere Informationen zu geben.

Vorerst sind wir im Besitze eines Briefes unseres Delegierten in Shanghai, Herr Egle, von Ende Dezember 1943, worin er sich auf unseren Telegrammwechsel vom November 1943 bezieht, betreffend Hilfe für die religiöse Gruppe. Im besonderen erwähnt Herr Egle, dass die SACRA ihn Mitte November veranlassen wollte, ein Telegramm folgenden Inhalts an uns abzusenden:

⁸⁹ About Wasmer, see above, n. 82.

⁹⁰ Saly Mayer (1882–1950) of St. Gallen was the JDC emissary in Switzerland. Despite the efforts of Margolis prior to her internment in 1943 to raise local funds on AJJDC credit, Shanghai’s financial situation had become significantly worse. In March 1944 the AJJDC was finally able to transfer funds to Mayer who in turn moved Swiss francs to Shanghai; cf. Hanna Zweig-Strauss, *Saly Mayer 1882–1950. Ein Retter jüdischen Lebens während des Holocaust*, Cologne 2007.

“Religious group getting relief from Polish Aid Society⁹¹ and others, totalling not less than double amount of what other needy refugees get. Religious group are getting housing accommodation from S.A.C.R.A. organization and other necessary relief. Last remittance of Swiss francs 30,000.– was used exclusively for one hot meal daily for most needy refugees. The amount received was not sufficient for even one month. For your information, S.A.C.R.A., which is Central Refugee Relief Organization, has 18 best known Jewish social members representing all local Jewish organizations. All needy Refugees are treated as fairly as possible. Additional help is urgently required.”

Da Herr Egle, abgesehen von der Länge dieser Mitteilung, offenbar andere Gründe hatte, nicht „tel quel“ zu telegraphieren, schickte er uns ein Telegramm mit folgendem Wortlaut:

“Religious group getting relief from Polish Aid Society and housing accommodation from Sacra stop Sacra states total relief granted religious group approximately double what other needy refugees obtain stop local Jewish organisations represented on committee of Sacra,”

[2] von welchem wir Ihnen mit unserem Telephon vom 22. November 1943 Kenntnis gaben. Dieses Telegramm wurde nun leider in der Tat missverstanden. Zudem enthielt die Mitteilung der SACRA an Herrn Egle, wie sich später herausstellte, eine kleine Unrichtigkeit in bezug auf die Wohnung („housing accomodation“), die der religiösen Gruppe angeboten wurde. Die SACRA liess nämlich während des letzten Sommers ein Gebäude renovieren und stellte es der religiösen Gruppe zur Verfügung. Der religiösen Gruppe schien aber der Vorschlag nicht angenehm zu sein, weil das Gebäude früher der Heilsarmee diene und somit rituelle Gründe gegen dessen Benützung sprachen. Die SACRA sorgt somit nicht für die Unterbringung der religiösen Gruppe, die auch sonst keine besondere Unterstützung von ihr bezieht, wie wir Ihnen dies bereits in unserem Schreiben vom 19. Januar mitteilen mussten.

In diesem Brief von Ende Dezember bestätigt Herr Egle nochmals, dass weder die Polish Aid Society noch die SACRA zu dieser Zeit über irgendwelche Mittel verfügten, womit sie der religiösen Gruppe, bzw. andern [sic] Gruppen oder Einzelpersonen spezielle Unterstützung gewähren konnten.

Im weitem kommen wir zurück auf unser Schreiben vom 4. Februar, und wir erhielten gestern von unserem Delegierten in Lissabon einen Bericht von

91 The Polish Aid Society supported the Polish war refugees, while the London Polish exile government supplied the funds. Later on, the Japanese authorities prohibited the activities of the Polish Aid Society; cf. Lewin, Almanac, 80.

Fräulein Laura Margolis, den unser Delegierter von Herrn Dr. Schwartz⁹² erhielt. Eine textuelle Kopie dieses Berichtes legen wir bei.

Wir fürchten, dass Sie über diesen Bericht ebenfalls nicht sehr erbaut sein werden, denn er enthält nichts über die Punkte, über die wir im besonderen unterrichtet sein müssten, um uns ein klares Bild von der ganzen Situation machen zu können, wie Z.B. über die Meinungsverschiedenheiten in Shanghai, das Bestehen verschiedener Gruppen innerhalb der SACRA usw., usw. Auch enthält der Bericht keinerlei konkrete Verbesserungsvorschläge. Auf alle Fälle wird darin nochmals bestätigt, was wir Ihnen früher mitteilten und was auch weiter oben wieder erwähnt wird, nämlich dass der Erlös Ihrer Rimesse nicht für den vorgeschriebenen und von Herrn Egle ausdrücklich verlangten Zweck verwendet wurde, sondern dem „Küchenfonds“ zufluss.

Auch sind die Angaben von Fräulein Margolis betreffend die verschiedenen Tätigkeiten der SACRA und der JOINT nicht sehr klar. Nach der bisherigen Erfahrung – soweit wir es natürlich von hier aus beurteilen können – scheint sich eher die SACRA für die ganz allgemeine Unterstützungsaktion einzusetzen, währenddem die JOINT den „Küchenfonds“ unmittelbar verwaltet. Wir können uns zwar natürlich irren.

Es heisst zwar in einem weiteren Telegramm, das wir soeben von Herrn Egle erhielten und Ihnen wörtlich wiedergeben [3] möchten:

“Sacra with help of Joint have increased their assistance to Polish Jewish refugees in designate area thereby mitigating hardship which otherwise would have been caused through reduced relief activities of Polish aid.”

Die in dieser Nachricht erwähnte reduzierte Tätigkeit der Polish Aid Society ist eine Folge der neuen Regelung, wonach Ueberweisungen des Internationalen Komitees vom Roten Kreuz in Schweizerfranken zum offiziellen Kurse von CRB\$ 5.50 für Fr.s. 1.– verhandelt werden müssen. Der Erlös der monatlichen Ueberweisungen ist hierdurch viel kleiner geworden. Die Donatoren sind indessen über die Situation genau im Bilde, und wir hoffen nunmehr, grössere Ueberweisungen machen zu können.

Punkt 6 des Berichtes von Fräulein Margolis, wie übrigens der letzte Absatz von Punkt 2, erhellen die Schwierigkeiten, die sich einer zweckmässigen Koordinierung aller Hilfsaktionen in den Weg stellen. Es würde uns interessieren zu erfahren, ob Sie etwas über diese Ueberweisungen aus Schweden und Portugal wissen.

Wie Sie wissen, haben wir bei Herrn Egle insistiert, damit er trotz aller ihm im Wege stehenden Schwierigkeiten bei der Durchführung der Hilfs-

92 Dr. Josef (Joe) Schwartz (1899–1975), chairman of the European Executive Council of the AJJDC and head of the JDC office in Lisbon.

aktion in dem in Frage stehenden Bezirke mitwirkt, und wir hoffen somit, bald weitere drahtliche Mitteilungen hierüber zu erhalten. Auch bitten wir unseren Delegierten in Washington, sich womöglich mit Fräulein Margolis in Verbindung zu setzen, denn wir sind überzeugt, dass sie nähere Angaben machen könnte, die viel zu unserer besseren Ueberblickung der Situation in Shanghai beitragen könnten.

Wir werden nicht verfehlen, Sie weiterhin auf dem Laufenden zu halten und begrüßen Sie inzwischen
hochachtungsvoll

Für das Internationale Komitee vom Roten Kreuz

{Friedrich}

{#} H. Wasmer

Direktor der Abteilung für Hilfsaktionen.

Beilage.

Document 112

*Anonymous (SMP)*⁹³

March 14, 1944

Typewritten report, 1 page; the page has a printed letterhead, the date was typewritten. The page has a receipt stamp (March 28, 1944) and a few illegible handwritten remarks on the left margins.

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/78B

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE REPORT

Station *File No.* *Date* ... March 14th, 1944

SUBJECT: Re: Mr. Benno Hirschmann⁹⁴ [sic]

According to an information received Mr. Benno Hirschmann [sic], a stateless refugee, at present still residing in the former French Concession is

⁹³ For the SMP, see ch. 1, n. 25.

⁹⁴ According to the List of Foreigners, Hirschmann (c. 1901–?) was a refugee from Austria.

actively engaged in black market transactions. Hirschmann, who was before a respectable [sic] merchant has recently turned to various kinds of business and amongst other is dealing in chemicals, goldbars, currencies and other controlled commodities.

Hirschmann is a stateless refugee, who at one time got an allotment from the SACRA, this allotment expired in January and at present he is living without any document and illegally in the 8th district.

His associate is one named Egon Winter, also a refugee residing in the French Concession, and who also enjoys a very bad reputation in business circles.

Document 113

*Anonymous (SACRA)*⁹⁵

March 15, 1944

Typewritten memorandum, 3 pages.

Microfilm; YIVO, RG 243, Shanghai collection, folder 12

MEMORANDUM

Simultaneously with the issuance of the Proclamation of the 18th of February 1943, the Shanghai Ashkenazi Communal Association [sic] elected and appointed a Committee of eighteen and inaugurated the S.A.C.R.A. on the 28th of February 1943, in order to extend their utmost assistance and relief to the Refugees affected by the above mentioned Proclamation, in full co-operation with the Authorities. S.A.C.R.A. has during this period of one year been able to complete its preliminary assignment of registration and securing of premises for those who could not secure them for themselves and they have almost completed this work. Unfortunately it could not get sufficient support to put into effect the various plans for constructive work which it had in mind but could not realise. On this occasion, the completion of its first year of operation, the Committee members of S.A.C.R.A. have, after lengthy discussions, resolved as follows:

1. To completely reorganise its present formation, thereby eliminating such members who are too occupied with their numerous other social duties

95 From the content of the document it is clear that this memorandum was prepared by a person appointed by SACRA; see the General Introduction, n. 9, and Document 99.

and therefore could not give their full time towards the necessary work of S.A.C.R.A. Furthermore, to invite a certain number of new members who will be more active and beneficial for the promotion of the plans which S.A.C.R.A. intend to put into effect in the Designated Area for the benefit of the Refugees.

2. The present members who thus will not become active workers to remain as Councillors as well as supporting members, assisting the active members in discussions, planning and promotion of the various ideas and aims.

3. The most important decision reached was to ask the [2] Director General, Mr. T. Kubota, to become the Honorary Chairman of S.A.C.R.A., in order to guide and lead us in a most effective, beneficial, and proper way towards the achievement of the main aims of S.A.C.R.A.

4. The new active Committee members of the Finance Section with their accepted and supporting members will draw up a complete assessment of amounts for the supporting members, which, with the approval of the Authorities, will become a form of taxation to be imposed by order of the Stateless Refugee Affairs Bureau⁹⁶ and/or the new Honorary Chairman.

5. The Shanghai Ashkenazi Communal Association will undertake to take charge, as it has heretofore, of all the Ashkenazi Charity Organisations such as Shanghai Jewish Hospital, School, Shelter House, Synagogue, Cemetery, etc. and will not confuse issues of a similar nature with the issues of S.A.C.R.A. That is to say S.A.C.R.A. will only undertake the necessary work which concerns the Designated Area and the Refugees affected by the Proclamation, while the Ashkenazi Communal Association will take care of the collections for the above mentioned organisations of the Jewish Community, as well as the Jewish portion of the Russian Emigrants Association.

6. It is decided to request Mr. M. Kano, the Honorary Advisor of S.A.C.R.A. and Supervisor of the Construction Department of the S.S.R.A.,⁹⁷ to undertake and arrange the understanding for this realisation [sic], which will increase the capabilities of S.A.C.R.A. in realising its plans.

7. It is further decided that if the above proposed reorganisation, through the efforts of Mr. Kano, is accepted by the Director General, the present Committee will temporarily remain at [3] its post under the new Chairmanship and select exact numbers of new members or old members who will be reinstated, as well as define the necessary Departments for the execution of the plan and hand over the organisation to the newly appointed Committee, over which Mr. T. Kubota, the Director General, will preside as Chairman.

March 15/44.

96 This was the Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs.

97 This was the (Office of) Shanghai Stateless Refugee Affairs.

Document 114

Walter Joel⁹⁸ (ZOS) to Shanghai Censorship-Office⁹⁹

March 23, 1944

Typewritten letter (copy?), 1 page; the attachment mentioned was not available. Microfilm, YIVO, RG 243, Shanghai collection, folder 29.VII

Chairman Dr. Paul Parnes

897 Point Road Tel. 50313
den 23. Maerz 44

To the
Shanghai First Police Bureau
Censorship-Office
Foochow Road

Sehr geehrte Herren,
wir beabsichtigen, anlaesslich der Oster-Feiertage eine Matinee zu veranstalten, die am 2. April 1944, Vormittags 10 Uhr im Broadway Theater, Wayside Road stattfinden soll.

Verantwortliche Person: Dr. Paul Parnes, 897 Point Road
Telephon 50313
Lawyer, former Austrian, 47 Jahre alt
Res. Cert.¹⁰⁰ Nr. 4108

Eintritt frei.

Programm:

1. A-capella-Chor „Hasomir“ (Dirigent M. Epstein)
 - a.) Hallelujah – Lobpreisung Gottes
 - b.) Emeklied – Verherrlichung des Bodens in Palestine
 - c.) Had gadjo – Religioeses Lied aus dem Gottesdienst.
2. „Pessach-Vision“, verfasst und vorgetragen v.a. Winzer
3. Begruessungsansprache Dr. Paul Parnes

98 Joel was from Breslau, where he had owned a travel agency. He functioned as secretary of the ZOS.

99 The Japanese authorities had installed strict information censorship policies, and the refugees had to submit all papers, radio broadcasts, and stage productions to the censor; many were banned in part or in whole; cf. David Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jews. The Jewish Refugee Community of Shanghai, 1938–1945*, New York 1976, 369 and passim.

100 Residence Certificate.

4. Sabine Rapp: Hebraeische Lieder lt. inlgd.¹⁰¹ Text.
5. S. Antman:¹⁰² " " " "
6. Erdsteinsches Kinderballett: 3 verschiedene Taenze
7. Raja Zomina: „Rosinen und Mandeln“; „Manasse“; „Baranowitz“
8. Prof. Walter Joachim:¹⁰³ Cellovortreage [sic]
9. Herbert Zernik: „Wilhelm Tell“ – Teufel-Song – Hokus Pokus
10. Epilog – Alfred Winzer

Wir bitten Sie um Ueberpruefung unseres beabsichtigten Programmes und bitten um Genehmigung.

Mit vorzueglicher Hochachtung

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF SHANGHAI

Walter Joel

Secretray [sic]

Anlagen

Document 115

Anonymous

May 5, 1944

Newspaper article, in: Nasha zhizn, no. 49, 1f.

Russian; translation by Yuri Pines

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Первое Общее Собрание Реорганизованного Комитета САКРА

Важная Речь г-на Т. Кубота

В четверг 27-го Апреля состоялось Официальное заседание членов нового Комитета САКРА под председательством г-на Т. Кубота, Глав-

101 Laut [e]inliegendem.

102 Samuel Antman, a cantor and ladies' tailor from Berlin, came with his wife and three children to Shanghai in 1939; cf. Fred Antman, *A Tale of Three Cities*. Berlin, Shanghai, Melbourne, Melbourne 2011.

103 Joachim (1912–2001) came from Düsseldorf. He started his career as a cellist in Germany and Prague. He reached Shanghai in 1940 via Kuala Lumpur, where he had worked as cellist. He was principal cellist in the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra and taught cello at the Shanghai Conservatory until 1951, settling later in Canada.

ного Директора Шанхайского Бюро по Делах Безгосударственных Беженцев теперь совмещающего этот пост с постом Поч. Председателя Генерального Секретаря САКРА г-на М. Кано.

Собрание открыл д-р Кон, Поч. Председатель Административного и Исполнительного Комитета, который в своем слове представил новых членов Комитета получивших назначения, и затем попросил секретаря зачитать протоколы предыдущих собраний. После некоторых прений и исправлений эти протоколы были приняты Комитетом и утверждены Поч. Председателем.

Содержание протоколов, принятых собранием и утвержденных председателем, таково:

1. Все безгосударственные евреи – резиденты Шанхая, не подпадающие под действие Прокламации от 18-го Февраля 1943 года, изданной Высшим Командованием Императорских Ниппонских Армии и Флота в районе Шанхая, считаются членами САКРА и им надлежит зарегистрироваться в качестве таковых.

2. Все евреи резиденты Шанхая, не являющиеся безгосударственными, считаются членами-соревнователями САКРА, и к ним надлежит обратиться за добровольным содействием в целях развития благородной деятельности САКРА на благо беженцев.

3. САКРА должна контролировать, поддерживать, управлять или руководить работой всех еврейских организаций в районе Шанхая.

4. Объединенный Административный Комитет (J.A.C.) должен быть реорганизован путем назначения новых членов из разных организаций в Ограниченном Районе (как напр. Идише Гемайнде, Польской Эмигрантской Ассоциации, Чешского Клуба, Католической Федерации, Протестантской Ассоциации) и должен взять на себя заботу о многочисленных нуждах беженцев в Ограниченном Районе под наблюдением САКРА.

Финансовый вопрос

5. Все члены САКРА должны уплачивать как налог суммы, определенные финансовым Комитетом совместно с особо избранным Правлением Налогового Комитета.

6. В Воскресенье, 7-го Мая должно состояться Общее Собрание всех евреев для избрания Комитета по Обложению.

7. Необходимо немедленно приступить к сбору всех недополученных сумм.

8. Необходимо просить всех членов соревнователей САКРА сделать свои взносы.

Жилищный вопрос

Из-за недостатка места, полный отчет о деятельности Жилищного отдела будет помещен нами позднее.

Ввиду наступления теплой погоды, по предложению д-ра Кона, было решено просить Врачебный Совет Шанхайского Еврейского Госпиталя делегировать нескольких врачей, которые бы взяли на себя совместно с Ассоциацией Врачей Органиченного Района и Врачебным Советом Китчен Фонда наблюдение за здравоохранением и принятие предохранительных мер в Органиченном Районе.

Еврейский Рекреационный Клуб (J.R.C.)

В связи с закрытием поля Еврейского Рекреационного Клуба и распоряжением о распуске его Комитета ввиду плохого управления делами Клуба, было предложено поручить г-ну Тучинскому и г. Яновичу в порядке назначений взять на себя задачу реорганизации Е. Р. К. и представления комитету САКРА плана возможно скорейшего открытия.

Речь г-на Кубота

Поч. Председатель, г. Кубота произнес речь, подробное содержание которой приводится ниже:

«Реорганизация САКРА вызвана следующими причинами: Власти полностью отдают себе отчет в том, какая трудная и ответственная работа была взята на себя и весьма успешно проведена Комитетом САКРА за прошлый год. Однако, я должен заметить, что эта работа сильно затруднялась различными элементами как среди беженцев так и уленов САКРА, которые из-за непонимания или нежелания кооперировать с Комитетом обременяли его различными жалобами и мелкими просьбами, что не оставляло им времени ни физической возможности для осуществления более необходимой конструктивной помощи. С другой стороны неплятеж некоторых членов препятствовал важной работе САКРА в финансовом отношении. Все это привело к ослаблению первоначальной активности САКРА в направлении ее главной задачи – конструктивной помощи, что я приписываю тому, что САКРА не имела достаточно авторитета. Теперь нужно надеяться, что после реорганизации САКРА сможет добиться осуществления своей главной задачи.

Во-вторых, я всегда считал, что местной еврейской колонии нужно предоставить возможно больше прав самостоятельно организовать и правлять своими делами под наблюдением организации, которая имела бы право представлять надлежащие Власти.

Например, ниппонские резиденты здесь подлежат непосредственной юрисдикции и наблюдению Консульства, но Ниппонская Резидентская Ассоциация здесь получила права осуществлять необходи-

мый контроль, собирать налоги, заведовать медицинской помощью и осуществлять прочие необходимые функции, таким образом, частично проводит в жизнь то, что в ином случае непосредственно лежало бы на Ниппонских Властях.

Таким же образом новый Комитет САКРА, благодаря реорганизации поднятый до положения Ниппонской Резидентской Ассоциации и находящийся под председательством представителя Ниппонского Императорского Правительства, имея полный авторитет и поддержку, должен руководить, контролировать, управлять и наблюдать над работой всех еврейских организаций в районе Шанхая и направлять их работу в соответствии с политикой Властей.

Новое положение САКРА

Благодаря своему новому положению, члены Комитета САКРА несомненно, смогут увидеть реальные результаты своей деятельности и достигнуть конечных задач в то время как реорганизация САКРА и ее координация с Шанхайским Бюро по Делах Безгосударственных Беженцев автоматически создает тесное содействие для достижения целей помощи. В связи с этим все члены Комитета должны помнить что против всех уклоняющихся от своих обязанностей и тем мешающих работе САКРА будут приняты соответствующие меры.

Излишняя мягкость

«Шанхайское Бюро по Делах Безгосударственных Беженцев до сего времени чрезвычайно снисходительно относилось – слишком снисходительно, говоря по правде – к нарушающим закон» – сказал г. Кубота. До 20 го Марта они не подвергались никаким наказаниям, и только трое беженцев были арестованы, причем все эти трое по обвинению в подделке паспортов, и прочих серьезных преступлениях. Теперь, когда излишне долгий срок был дан всем для исполнения своих обязанностей, необходимо помнить, что всякое непослушание будет сурово караться, и было бы ошибкой выявлять по отношению к ним возможное сожаление.

Дерзость польских беженцев

«Весьма прискорбно отметить» – заметил в связи с вышеуказанным г. Кубота – «что большинство из нарушителей закона, если не все, являются польскими беженцами. Мы не отрицаем, что они являются польскими подданными, но Власти из чувства сострадания решили считать их за безгосударственных ввиду их фактической безгосударственности, а не за вражеских подданных, в каком случае их имущество было бы конфисковано согласно закону и т. д.

Однако, несмотря на эту особую мягкость по отношению к ним они все время держат себя самым непохвальным образом и вызывают не-

довольство Властей, мешая гладкому проведению прокламации, изданной военными Властями.»

К вопросу о благотворительности

Новый комитет САКРА – повторил г. Т. Кубота – организован для наблюдения над работой всех еврейских организаций в сотрудничестве с Властями, и поэтому он в этих целях принял на себя пост Поч. Председателя. В качестве такого – заявил он – он желает дать всем членам Комитета возможно больше свободы и защиты для того чтобы помочь САКРА осуществлять работу по руководству, в то время как все остальные организации должны стараться возможно более продуктивно осуществлять свои функции. В то же самое время он желает чтобы все еврейские организации как в самом Районе так и вне его активно и добровольно кооперировали с САКРА и помогали Комитету в его работе, избегая недоразумений и трений по незначительным личным мотивам.

«Благотворительность, несомненно, необходима для тех, кто совершенно беспоможен и не в состоянии работать, но благотворительность без разбора является скорее вредной чем полезной.»

Деятельность оценена

Заканчивая свою речь, г. Кубота предупредил членов Комитета САКРА, что их задача не является легкой. Он сказал: «Ваша работа начинается с трудностей, и Вам придется преодолеть много препятствий, она может даже закончиться трудностями, но я могу сказать, что Ваши старания не пройдут незамеченными и будут полностью оценены моим Правительством. Ваша работа уже получила очень широкое признание и я надеюсь, что Вы заслужите еще большую похвалу Вашей дальнейшей работой. Я прошу членов Комитета разработать подробный план работы и надеюсь, что они сделают все, что в их силах для блага своего народа.»

Резолюция благодарности

После речи г. Кубота, умело переведенной на английский язык Председателем Административного Комитета д-ром Кон, Комитет единодушно под шумные аплодисменты, принял резолюцию предложенную г. Ковнером, поч. Секретарем Административного Комитета, о выражении благодарности г-ну Кубота за принятие на себя поста Председателя и за бесценное содействие оказываемое им работе Комитета.

Назначения

Все члены нового Комитета САКРА получили официальные назначения. Назначения эти были сделаны в письменной форме. Текст этого назначения следующий: «Настоящим вы назначаетесь членом Комитета САКРА, и Вас просят почтить своим присутствием первое собрание нового Комитета, которое состоится...»

Назначение было подписано Главным Секретарем г. М. Кано и поч. Председателем д-ром А. Я. Коном по приказу Председателя, г-на Т. Кубота.

(Бюллетень № 2)

Translation

First General Meeting of the Reorganized SACRA Committee
Important Speech by Mr. T. Kubota

An official session of the new SACRA Committee took place Thursday, April 27 with Mr. T. Kubota in the chair. Mr. Kubota is the Chief Director of the Shanghai Office for Stateless Refugees, now combining the office with that of Honorary Chairman of the SACRA Committee. Also present was the SACRA General Secretary, M. Kano.

The meeting was opened by Dr. Cohn,¹⁰⁴ Hon. Chairman of the Administrative and Executive Committee. He presented the newly appointed committee members, and then asked the secretary to read the minutes of the previous meeting. After some discussion and corrections, the minutes were accepted by the Committee and endorsed by the Hon. Chairman.

According to the accepted and endorsed minutes:

1. All stateless Jews residing in Shanghai who do not come under the Proclamation of February 18, 1943, issued by the Supreme Command of the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy in the Shanghai area, are considered members of SACRA and are required to register as such.
2. All Jews residing in Shanghai who are not stateless are regarded as cooperating members of SACRA; they are to apply for voluntary cooperation with the aim of developing activities by SACRA for the benefit of the refugees.
3. SACRA must control, support, supervise and guide the functions of all Jewish organizations in the Shanghai area.
4. The Joint Administrative Committee (J.A.C.) is to be reorganized by appointing the members required from various organizations in the Designated Area (as for example, the Juedische Gemeinde, Polish Emigrant Association, Czech Club, Catholic Federation, Protestant Association), and must assume care for the numerous needs of the refugees in the Designated Area under the supervision of SACRA.

104 This was A. J. Cohn.

Finances

5. All SACRA members must pay a tax to be set by the Finance Committee. A special tax committee to be chosen by the Board.
6. On Saturday, May 7, there will be a general meeting of all Jews to choose a committee for setting tax rates.
7. It is necessary to start immediately with collecting the outstanding still not obtained amounts.
8. All cooperating members of SACRA must be asked to make their contributions.

Housing

For lack of space now, we will publish a full report of the Housing Committee's work at a later date.

In view of the onset of warm weather, it was decided according to the proposal by Dr. Cohn to ask the Medical Board of the Shanghai Jewish Hospital to delegate a few doctors to jointly with the Physician's Association of the Designated Area and the Kitchen Fund Medical Council to supervise public health affairs and take preventive measures in the Designated Area.

Jewish Recreation Club (J.R.C.)

With the closing of the Jewish Recreation Club and the order to disband the board because of its poor functioning, it was proposed to assign Messrs. Toochinsky¹⁰⁵ and Yanowitsch to reorganize the club and submit a plan to the SACRA Committee to open it again as soon as possible.

Mr. Kubota's Speech

The Hon. Chairman, Mr. Kubota, gave a speech with details below:

The reorganization of SACRA was due to the following reasons: The authorities fully realize the difficult and responsible work the SACRA Committee has taken upon itself and conducted quite successfully. However, I must note, Mr. Kubota said, that the work was very much complicated by various elements, both among the refugees and the SACRA members who, because of lack of understanding or of the desire to cooperate with the Committee, burdened it with various complaints and insignificant requests, which allowed no time or physical possibility to provide more necessary constructive assistance.

On the other hand, the speaker said, certain members made no payments, hampering the SACRA's important financial efforts. This all weakened the

105 The Japanese authorities allowed the JRC to reopen only six months after closing it, a victory ascribed to E. S. Toochinsky (Toochinski). He eventually became the president of the JRC; cf. Lewin, *Almanac*, 70.

original activity of SACRA in its main task of constructive aid. [2] I attribute this to SACRA's insufficient prestige. We can now hope that with the reorganization SACRA will be able to achieve fulfilment of its main task.

In the second place, Mr. Kubota said, I have always maintained that the local Jewish community must be afforded as much rights as possible to independently arrange and run its affairs under the supervision of an organization possessing the right to represent it to the appropriate authorities.

For instance, the speaker continued, Japanese residents here have direct jurisprudence and supervision from their Consulate, but the local Japanese Residents' Association¹⁰⁶ has been given the right to effect necessary control, gather taxes, manage medical care, and carry out other necessary functions, thus partially conduct affairs that would otherwise burden the Japanese authorities.

In the same way the new SACRA Committee, thanks to its reorganization, was elevated to the position of the Japanese Residents' Association and chaired by a representative of the Japanese Imperial Government, will enjoy full prestige and support. It will guide, control, manage, and observe the work of all Jewish organizations in the Shanghai area and guide their efforts in keeping with the policies of the authorities.

New Status of SACRA

Thanks to its new status the SACRA Committee members will doubtlessly be able to see actual results of their efforts and will achieve the ultimate goals while SACRA is being reorganized. In coordination with the Shanghai Office for Stateless Refugees it will automatically create close cooperation for achieving the goal of aid. All committee members will have to remember that appropriate steps will be taken against those who by shirking their duties hamper the work of SACRA.

Excessive Leniency

Mr. Kubota said, the Shanghai Office for Stateless Refugees has till now been extremely lenient, too lenient, to tell the truth, toward law breakers. No one was punished till March 20. Only three refugees were arrested, all charged with forging passports and other serious crimes. Now that too much time has been allowed for all to do their duty it must be remembered that any disobe-

106 The Japanese Residents' Association came into being in the early twentieth century. It managed the public affairs of the growing Japanese community, including education. Its functions increased with the Japanese population; cf. Joshua Fogel, "Shanghai-Japan." The Japanese Residents' Association of Shanghai, in: *Journal of Asian Studies* 59,4 (2000), 927–950.

dience will be punished severely. It would be wrong to show any regret about such people.

Audacity of Polish Refugees

“It is very grievous to note,” Mr. Kubota continued, “that most of the law breakers, if not all, are Polish refugees. We do not deny that they are Polish nationals, but out of sympathy, since they actually have no state,¹⁰⁷ so they are not enemy nationals, in which case their property would be confiscated by law, etc.

“However, in spite of our special leniency toward them, they always deport themselves most unpraiseworthy, rousing the dissatisfaction of the authorities and hampering the smooth conduct of the Proclamation issued by the authorities.”

On Charity Matters

The speaker said that the new SACRA Committee had been forced to supervise the functioning of all Jewish organizations in cooperation with the authorities. For that reason he had assumed the office of Hon. Chairman. As Hon. Chairman, he said, he wished to give all Committee members as much freedom and protection as possible in order to help SACRA play its leading role, while all other organizations should try to carry out their functions as productively as possible.

At the same time Mr. Kubota wished all Jewish organizations, both in the Area and outside of it, to cooperate with SACRA actively and voluntarily and to help the Committee in its work, avoiding misunderstanding and friction over insignificant personal problems.

Mr. Kubota said that charity is undoubtedly essential for the completely helpless and unable to work, but indiscriminate charity is more harmful than useful.

The Work Appreciated

The speaker concluded by cautioning the SACRA Committee members that their task was not an easy one. He said that your work is beginning with difficulties and you will have to overcome many obstacles. The conclusion may also be difficult, but I can tell you that your efforts will not pass unnoticed; they will be fully appreciated by my government. Your efforts have

107 The Polish refugees claimed that they were not stateless because they had a government in exile in London. However, the Japanese government did not recognize the Polish government in exile.

already received wide recognition. I hope you will earn still greater praise by your further work.

“I am asking the Committee members to draw up a detailed plan of work and I hope they will do everything in their power for the good of their people.”

Resolution of Gratitude

After Mr. Kubota's speech, capably interpreted into English by Dr. Cohn, Chairman of the Administrative Committee, the Committee unanimously and to loud applause adopted a resolution tabled by Mr. Kovner, Hon. Secretary of the Administrative Committee, expressing their gratitude to Mr. Kubota for assuming the post of Chairman and for his priceless cooperation in the work of the Committee.

Appointments

All the members of the new SACRA Committee were given official appointments. These were issued in written form, stating: “You are hereby appointed a member of the SACRA Committee, requested to honor with your presence the first meeting to be held ...”

The appointment was signed by General Secretary Mr. M. Kano and Hon. Chairman Dr. A. J. Cohn on orders by Chairman Mr. T. Kubota. (Bulletin No. 2).

Document 116

*Adolf Silberschein*¹⁰⁸ (RELICO) to *Saly Mayer*¹⁰⁹ (JDC, Switzerland)

August 9, 1944

Typewritten letter, 1 page; the page has a printed letterhead; the date was inserted by typewriter.

Microfilm; YVA, JM 11.728, reel 16

108 Adolf Alfred (later Abraham) Silberschein (1882–1951) was a lawyer from Poland. He was stranded in Geneva in 1939, where he had come to take part in the 21st Zionist Congress. In the same year he founded the Relief Committee for (or Committee for Relief of) the War-stricken Jewish Population (RELICO), which was financially supported primarily by the World Jewish Congress and which provided support for Jewish refugees. After he and his co-manager Gerhart Riegner separated in 1941, Silberschein focused on rescue activities; cf. Zweig-Strauss, Saly Mayer, 191.

109 About Mayer, see above, n. 90.

COMITÉ POUR L'ASSISTANCE A LA POPULATION JUIVE FRAPPÉ PAR
LA GUERRE
COMMITTEE FOR RELIEF OF THE WAR-STRICKEN JEWISH
POPULATION
KOMITEE ZUR HILFELEISTUNG FÜR DIE KRIEGSBETROFFENE
JÜDISCHE BEVÖLKERUNG

K/Bn.

GENÈVE, den 9. August 1944.
7, RUE GAUTIER
TEL. 2.76.60
ADR. TÉLÉGR.: SILBADO

Herrn
Saly Mayer,
Postfach 262,
St. Gallen.

Sehr geehrter Herr Mayer,

Ich möchte heute auf die Angelegenheit Shanghai zurückkommen. Es handelt sich dort um zwölf Familien von Intellektuellen und Journalisten. Mir sind die Namen aller Familien nicht bekannt. Die Gruppe wird jedoch von drei Personen geleitet, nämlich von den Herren Lazar Kahan, Owsiej Rapoport¹¹⁰ und Jankiel Fischmann,¹¹¹ [sic] alle drei bekannte Redakteure an grossen jüdischen Tageszeitungen in Warschau, deren Persönlichkeit Gewähr für die gute Erledigung der uns interessierenden Angelegenheit gibt.

Da die Verteilung der für diese Gruppe bestimmten Hilfsgelder durch die Hicem, Shanghai, erfolgt, genügt es, der Hicem mitzuteilen, dass das Geld für die von den drei genannten Herren geleitete Intellektuellengruppe bestimmt ist.

110 Yehoshua (Owsiej) Rapoport or Rapoport (1895–1971), born in Białystok, was a well-known literary critic and translator in pre-war Warsaw. He reached Shanghai via Lithuania and Kobe in 1941. In Shanghai he frequently contributed essays to *Nasha zhizn*. After the war, he settled in Australia. Rapoport wrote a Yiddish diary (NLI Archive, Arc. 4°, 410); excerpts have been translated into English and published in Eber, *Voices*, 91–95.

111 Yankiel (Jacob) Fishman (1891–1965) was an accomplished Yiddish writer from Poland who published a number of short stories in Shanghai, about the city. He left China in 1948, first for Canada and then in 1950 for New York.

Ich habe, da, bei der Erledigung der Sache ja schon eine rechte Verzögerung eingetreten war, zunächst von hier aus den Betrag von Fr. 1200,— durch den VSJF,¹¹² Zürich, nach Shanghai geschickt und zwar zur Deckung bereits früher eingegangener Verpflichtungen. Ich bitte Sie jedoch um die Freundlichkeit, in Zukunft regelmässig bestimmte Beträge für die genannte Gruppe nach Shanghai zu überweisen und wäre Ihnen recht dankbar, wenn Sie mir, sobald es Ihnen möglich ist, antworten würden, damit ich weiss, ob Sie und in welchem Umfange diesen Leuten helfen werden.

Mit freundlichen Grüssen

{für} Dr. A. Silberstein

{i.A. Kl##.}

112 Verband Schweizerischer Jüdischer Fürsorgen/Flüchtlingshilfen. This organization emerged in 1943 from its predecessor, the Verband Schweizerischer Israelitischer Armenpflegen (VSIA).

Chapter 6

The Shanghai Jewish Exile Press, 1939–1946

Introduction

In works on exile publishing the Shanghai Jewish exile press is barely, if at all, noted. The omission is surprising, because until the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941 a relatively large number of both German and Yiddish papers, even if short-lived, had appeared. Although three years of war ended this rather extensive journalistic activity, two papers and a third one in Hebrew were published during the war years. Before describing this journalistic activity in greater detail, including its difficulties and vicissitudes, it might be good to compare it to the Chinese Shanghai publishing scene generally, though a direct connection cannot be established at this stage.

China was not a stranger to printed periodic papers conveying news, and printing by movable type was known for hundreds of years. The earliest of these papers was the so-called *Peking Gazette* (*dibao* or *jingbao*), published by the imperial court for dissemination to scholar-officials serving in the provinces.¹ It consisted of memorials, imperial edicts, and similar materials, and was not intended for popular consumption. Later there were also provincial papers issued by the provincial administrative offices (*yamen*) in which local official news could be read by lower ranking officials and literate members of the public. Modern Chinese newspapers, that is papers with local advertisements and the like, began appearing in the nineteenth century under the impact of Western colonialism. Clearly, therefore, modern Chinese journalism was a phenomenon of port cities like Hong Kong, Guangzhou (Canton), and Macao and, after the Opium Wars of 1839–1842, the China coast treaty port of Shanghai. It was in Shanghai that lithography workshops, the reprint industry, displaced woodblock printers by the nineteenth century.²

1 It may have appeared as early as the Han dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE); cf. Barbara Mittler, *A Newspaper for China? Power, Identity, and Social Change in Shanghai's News Media, 1887–1912*, Cambridge Mass. 2000, 25.

2 Christopher A. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai. Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876–1937*, Vancouver 2004, has an excellent discussion regarding early printing.

Protestant missionary papers had an early role in the development of the modern press,³ but their work in the 1820s and 1830s must not be overestimated. No doubt the appearance of the *Shenbao* in 1872 heralded the beginning of modern Chinese journalism. Founded by Ernest Major in Shanghai, the paper, however, had a Chinese staff.⁴ Other newspapers followed soon thereafter that were also staffed by Chinese and addressed to an increasingly large readership in Shanghai as well as elsewhere. Yet, as Barbara Mittler emphasizes, they were “newspapers of Shanghai,” featuring extensive local advertisements, Shanghai affairs, and Shanghai poetry.⁵

Newspapers where one could read about events nearby and far away were becoming an increasing part of the Chinese scene, and among these were also foreign papers. The *North China Herald* was founded already in 1850 as a weekly, and became in the 1860s the *North-China Daily News*. The *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*, founded in 1929, followed some decades later. Aside from English language papers, German newspapers of longer or shorter duration also appeared in the nineteenth century.⁶ The increasing number of both Chinese and foreign language newspaper reflected the growth of Shanghai’s population.

Thus by the beginning of the 1930s Shanghai was the indisputable publishing center of China. Not only newspapers: journals, literary journals, and books as well proliferated. Most of the publishing houses were concentrated around Fuzhou Road. Among these, the Commercial Press (*Shangwu yinshu guan*), until badly damaged by Japanese bombs in 1932, was most important. In addition, there were several foreign presses, such as Millington Press and Mercury Press. And the North China Press and Rotary Press, for example, published Russian language books.⁷ There were more than three hundred bookstores with new and used, foreign language and Chinese books. In the

3 For this topic, cf. Roswell S. Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800–1912*, Taipei 1966, chapters 2–4.

4 For the British entrepreneur, cf. Rudolf G. Wagner (ed.), *Joining the Global Public. Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers 1870–1910*, Albany N.Y. 2012, 51.

5 Mittler, *A Newspaper*, 312 f.

6 For a useful background summary, cf. Hartmut Walravens, *German Influence on the Press in China*, in: 62nd IFLA General Conference, Beijing, China. Conference Proceedings, August 25–31, 1996, 1–5.

7 During a visit to the New York Public Library, Professor Altman found Russian translations of several Yiddish language writers (Yosef Opatoshu, Shimen Frug, and Sholem Asch, among others) published by the two presses.

numerous tea rooms in the area writers could meet and exchange information.⁸

The purpose of this somewhat lengthy digression is to show that when the refugee journalists arrived in Shanghai, whether they were aware or not, they encountered a lively scene of publishing and readers. We shall probably never know if any contacts between Chinese and refugee writers existed in the tea rooms or bookstores, but obviously the infrastructure for publishing existed, meaning paper and ink were available, as were Chinese typesetters who, obviously not knowing foreign languages, could set type by sight. Finally, the machinery, printing presses, existed as well and, without doubt, contacts were had between some refugee journalists and those who wrote for the English language papers.

By 1940 presumably forty Jewish journalists had arrived in Shanghai.⁹ The number may not be entirely accurate, yet there is no disputing the fact that this is a fairly large number, which was augmented by several more Yiddish language journalists when the Polish contingent arrived from Japan. But why were newspapers important? Were there not more urgent considerations and needs in this displaced and penniless community where funds for a journalistic enterprise, moreover, were not easily obtained?

Seywald points out correctly that newspapers had been a part of life for these middle-class people before they became refugees.¹⁰ Newspapers that kept them in touch with one another and told them a little of what was happening “out there” might be conducive to help establish some semblance of normalcy in Shanghai. To this might be added that journalism is part of contemporary culture, as Michael Schudson has it.¹¹ In the case of the Jewish exile press, newspapers, therefore, were a means of each Jewish community asserting its cultural distinctiveness. Secondly, it was a way of earning a living, however skimpy and circumscribed. After all, in Shanghai jobs for German or Yiddish speaking refugees were few and menial employment for “white” men was frowned upon. Finally, some financial help for establishing papers was with a great deal of effort available from several of the committees. No doubt, however, the reason that most papers were short-lived was that they could never become self-supporting from advertisements and sales.

A major problem when dealing with the Shanghai Jewish exile press is that between 1939 and 1942 it is nearly impossible to ascertain for most of

8 Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern. The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945*, Cambridge Mass. 1999, 123–125. Cf. also Seywald, *Journalisten*, 155.

9 *Ibid.*, 168.

10 *Ibid.*, 78 f.

11 Michael Schudson, *The Power of News*, Cambridge Mass./London 1995, 2.

the papers how long a run they had. Only some examples are preserved in the archives, and in many cases even the first issue is missing. In addition, the number of pages often varied and what this was due to – whether lack of funds for paper, or other reasons – has not yet been clarified. Still, wherever available, the introductory article, stating the intent of the paper, is presented below. These introductions are of special interest; from them we can learn that the editors had by no means uniform goals in mind for publishing a paper. For example, the intention of the Yiddish paper, *Yedies* (News), was quite different from say *Shanghai-Woche* (Shanghai Week), which already in the introduction cautioned against overly sharp criticism. “We are, after all, guests in a foreign land,” wrote Wolfgang Fischer, the editor (Document 117).

The first German language paper addressed to the refugee problem was *Shanghai-Woche*, established by Fischer in March 1939.¹² It was followed in May 1939 by *Gelbe Post* (Yellow Post), published by Adolf Josef Storfer, and a month later by the bi-lingual *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, published by Ossi Lewin. In the next two years six additional German language papers and four Yiddish papers appeared. In addition, there were three medical journals by exiles, one each in English, German, and Chinese, and in 1944 a Hebrew language paper for the orthodox religious public appeared. This extensive journalistic activity came to a halt during the war years, when only two papers remained in print: the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle* and *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* (Jewish Newspaper). The Russian language paper *Nasha zhizn* (Our Life), together with its English supplement *Our Life*, also continued throughout the war years.

Many journalists wrote for one or another paper and even for several papers.¹³ Yet, the papers were not uniform and had for the most part distinctive features, this despite the fact, as Seywald remarks, that they had to maneuver carefully and tactfully in Shanghai’s political thicket.¹⁴ Among the papers, the *Gelbe Post* (Yellow Post) was unique.¹⁵ In it Storfer and other journalists wrote about Chinese theater, film, and literature. The nature of Chinese writ-

12 The other German language daily, the *Ostasiatischer Lloyd*, would not be read by the refugees, having by then turned into a Nazi paper.

13 La France (i.e. Ladislaus Frank; c.1890–?), *Die Presse der Emigration*, in: *The Shanghai Herald*. Sondernummer, 37 (April 1946), 11, gives a detailed account about editors and contributors.

14 Seywald, *Journalisten*, 80.

15 The seven issues of the *Gelbe Post*, which appeared in 1939 as a bi-monthly, resembled a journal. They were reprinted in Vienna in 1999. In late 1939 its format was changed to more closely resemble that of a newspaper, but it ceased publication shortly thereafter.

ing was explored and aspects of Japanese life were explained. German translations of the works of such writers as Lin Yutang¹⁶ were featured, and there was much useful information about Shanghai life. Articles by He Fangshan¹⁷ dealt with current political matters.

Der Mitarbeiter (The Coworker) was quite a different paper. It included financial news, crossword puzzles and, even for a brief time, world news, advice on how to manage rentals in Shanghai and a page of humor. Prior to the outbreak of the Pacific War journalists could obtain the latest news easily enough from several foreign wire services and news agencies in Shanghai. All this changed, however, when the agencies were closed down. But even in the years before then most journalists exercised caution and self-censorship when reporting on world events, lest they offend the Japanese authorities.¹⁸ During the war years, when only two papers remained, the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* printed no news, its reporting being confined to community events: marriages, births, performances, sport, and the like. Thus it hardly deserves to be called a newspaper. Japanese censorship was evident in the second paper, the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, which by accepting close censorship continued to appear until 1945.

The arrangement of the documents in this chapter is somewhat different from that of previous chapters. Instead of a chronological arrangement, the first part consists of introductory matter featured in several papers whenever first issues were available. For the second part representative articles and two poems were chosen in order to show the kinds of materials editors wanted to present to their readers.

16 The writer and linguist Lin (1895–1976) had studied at universities in China, the United States, and Europe. His Chinese writings were translated into European languages from the middle of the 1930s on.

17 He (also Ho Feng Shan; 1901–1997) had studied in China and Germany, receiving a Ph.D. from the University of Munich in economics. From 1937 on he worked for the Chinese Consulate in Vienna. Between 1938 and 1940, he issued hundreds of exit visas for Shanghai to Austrian Jews. He was awarded the title “Righteous Among the Nations” by Yad Vashem in 2001.

18 *Ibid.*, 160.

Document 117

Wolfgang Fischer¹⁹

March 30, 1939

Newspaper editorial, in: *Shanghai-Woche*, no. 1, 1.

Microfilm; courtesy Hartmut Walravens

Zur Einleitung

Es bedarf wohl keines besonderen Hinweises, dass die Gründung dieser Zeitschrift eine dringende Notwendigkeit war. Uns fehlte hier ein deutsch geschriebenes Organ, in dem wir alles das, was uns bewegt und interessiert in Wort und Bild wiedergeben können.

Den Neunmalklugen sei aber gleich gesagt, dass es auch ungeschriebene Gesetze gibt, die gehalten werden müssen. Wir leben hier als Gäste in einem fremden Land, das von Kriegswirren heimgesucht ist und haben dies (und andere Gesichtspunkte!) immer wieder zu berücksichtigen. Ueberlaute Kritik hat übrigens noch niemals grossen Wert gehabt und es sei denen, die alles stets besser wissen wollen, einmal in aller Deutlichkeit gesagt: Disziplin und Radau sind zwei grundverschiedene Begriffe. Tadeln ist sehr leicht, Bessermachen jedoch weitaus schwieriger.

Rom ist bekanntlich auch nicht an einem Tage erbaut worden und auch unsere „Wochen Rundschau“ wird langsam, aber sicher ausgebaut bzw. aufgebaut werden. Wir bringen allwöchentlich Tatsachenberichte und Weltpolitik, wir bringen unterhaltende und belehrende Artikel, wir berichten über Sport-, Theater-, Film- und Kunstereignisse, wir bringen einen englisch-deutschen Teil zur Erlernung notwendigster Sprachkenntnisse; wir bringen einen grossen Roman und werden auch in einer Rubrik: „Hier spricht der Leser“ unseren Freunden Gelegenheit geben, Wünsche und Anregungen vorzubringen. Ja, wir bitten sogar um eine rege Mitarbeit, wobei wir gleich betonen möchten, dass es für uns keinen Gegensatz Berlin-Wien gibt. Dies ist eine der hier leider zu Tage getretenen Unerfreulichkeiten, die unbedingt im Allgemeininteresse behoben werden muss.

19 Fischer (1898–1975), who hailed from Berlin, began his journalistic career during World War I in Germany. He came to Shanghai in 1939, and soon after began editing the German weekly *Shanghai-Woche* and working for the paper *8-Uhr Abendblatt*, jobs he continued until 1941. In 1946 he returned to Berlin, where he was active as a film journalist; cf. *ibid.*, 346.

Schaffen wir uns ein Organ, das unserer würdig ist. Wenn alle mithelfen,
dann muss dieses Werk gelingen.
Wolfgang Fischer.

Document 118

*Enno Bracklo*²⁰ (*German Consulate, Shanghai*) to *German Embassy, Shanghai*
May 9, 1939

*Typewritten letter, 1 page (copy); on the top of the page is a receipt stamp ("May
1939") and a handwritten receipt date ("May 12, 1939"). The addressee of
the original letter is unknown.*

Microfilm; YVA, JM 11.697, reel 17

DEUTSCHES GENERALKONSULAT SHANGHAI.	Abschrift f. d. Deutsche Botschaft, Shanghai
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B. 283. den 9. Mai 1939.

Aktz.: Pr. 2 j.

Inhalt: Jüdische Emigranten-Wochenschrift.

„Shanghai Jewish Chronicle.“

– 3 Durchschläge

– 1 Anlage

Seit dem 5. ds. Mts.²¹ erscheint in Shanghai die jüdische Emigranten-Wo-
chenschrift „Shanghai Jewish Chronicle“ in deutscher Sprache mit teilweiser
englischer Übersetzung. Das Blatt wird herausgegeben von dem hier nicht
näher bekannten staatlosen Juden Osias (Ossi) Lewin und dem am 14. März
1901 in Breslau geborenen, zuletzt in Berlin-Halensee, Johann-Georgstr. 6
wohnhaf gewesenen Juden Ferdinand Kasstan.²²

Kasstan hat hier vorgeschlagen um zu versichern, dass die Zeitschrift sich
jeder antideutschen Propaganda enthalten und etwaigen Beschwerden des
Generalkonsulates Rechnung tragen werde. Nach den einleitenden Worten in

20 About Bracklo, see ch. 2, n. 34.

21 “Des Monats.”

22 Kasstan (c. 1901–1972) was chief editor of and author for the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle* in 1939. After the war he settled in the United States.

der ersten Nummer zu urteilen, von der ich ein Exemplar hier beifüge, ist die Zeitschrift zionistisch eingestellt.

Die Botschaft in China erhält Durchschlag dieses Berichtes ohne Anlage. gez. Bracklo.

Document 119

*Reuben David Abraham*²³

August 2, 1940

Newspaper editorial, in: *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, no. 1, 1.

Microfilm; YIVO, Y-2003, 1854.7

ZUM GRUSS!

Der Ehrenpräsident der Jüdischen Gemeinde Mr. R. D. Abraham,²⁴ hat ein Geleitwort zur Verfügung gestellt, das in deutscher Uebersetzung wie folgt lautet:

Die Jüdische Gemeinde hat mir die Ehre zuteil werden lassen, mich um ein Geleitwort für die erste Ausgabe des „Jüdischen Nachrichtenblattes“ zu bitten, und ich bin glücklich, diese Gelegenheit benutzen zu dürfen, um einige Worte an Sie zu richten.

Die Gründung unserer Gemeinde ist der Schritt zur Verwirklichung eines Gemeinschaftslebens, in welchem wir die Tradition unserer Väter fortpflanzen sollen. (Wenn wir auch die jüngste Vereinigung von Juden in Shanghai sind, so sind wir zahlenmässig doch am stärksten). Angeregt durch dieses Gefühl sollen wir erkennen, dass Selbstachtung untrennbar ist von einem guten Zusammenleben mit unseren Schwestervereinigungen in Shanghai, gleichgültig ob jüdischer oder nichtjüdischer Art.

Unser Ziel ist, unserer Gemeinschaft zu dienen und unsere Mitglieder fühlen zu lassen, dass, obwohl weit entfernt von ihrem Heimatland, trotzdem das enge Band des geistigen Judentums ihre Erbschaft ist, eine Erbschaft, welche verspricht, ihr Leben zu bereichern und zu verschönen [sic]. Wir sind ein Volk, ausgestattet mit geistiger Stärke und obwohl wir die Wichtigkeit materiellen Segens erkennen, können wir auf ihn doch verzichten, wenn Anlass

23 About Abraham, see ch. 3, n. 75.

24 Photo on the left margin of the article, with a caption that reads “With compliments of Mr. R. D. Abraham.”

dazu vorliegt. Das ist das Gefühl, mit dem ich Euch, meine Brüder, aufrufe, fortzupflanzen die Würde und Ehre Israels. Es ist in Euren Händen, unseren Namen zu verbessern oder zu verderben. Es liegt deshalb an Euch, vorbildlich zu sein in Eurer Führung, tolerant, höflich und geduldig. Wenn Euch das gelingt, erst dann werdet Ihr wirklich stolz sein, denn die Fackel, die man Euch gereicht hat, wird hell und glänzend brennen.

Bei diesem Anlass müssen wir uns erinnern an die Güte unserer Brüder in England und Amerika, die uns zu Hilfe gekommen sind, sowie der nicht-jüdischen und jüdischen Vereinigungen in Shanghai, die uns ihr beachtliches Wohlwollen gezeigt haben. Wir schulden Dankbarkeit allen hiesigen Behörden und Autoritäten. Wir danken den japanischen Marine- und Armeebehörden, die wiederholt unsere religiöse [sic] Veranstaltungen mit ihrem Besuch beehrten, sowie der gesamten Bevölkerung Shanghais, mit welcher wir zusammenleben. Mit diesem Gedanken schliesse ich mein Vorwort.

„Seid stark und guten Mutes, auf dass der Segen des Allmächtigen auf Euch ruhe und Euch beglücke!“

R. D. Abraham

Ehrenpräsident der Jüdischen Gemeinde

Document 120

*Anonymous*²⁵

November 22, 1940

*Newspaper editorial, in: Der Mitarbeiter,*²⁶ *no. 1, 1.*

Microfilm; HCL, Judaica Collection, reel 96–270226061

Der Mitarbeiter stellt sich vor

Der Mitarbeiter bin ich genannt,
Will wirken und helfen als foerderndes Band.

Dem ersten bringe ich „Kurze Berichte“,
Dem zweiten den Ablauf der Weltgeschichte.

25 Possibly written by Arthur Kornik from Berlin (also Document 155), see the next note.

26 The weekly *Der Mitarbeiter* was a short-lived periodical, appearing between September 9, 1940 and January 10, 1941; its publisher was Arthur Kornik; cf. Seywald, *Journalisten*, 319.

Dem dritten zeig ich den Weg zum Glueck,
Den vierten fuehr ich zu Goethe zurueck.

Den fuenften lehr ich die Kunst der Bilanz,
Dem sechsten zeig ich der Sterne Glanz.

Den siebenten fessle ich durch den Roman,
Dem achten erzaehl ich von Konten-Plan.

Der neunte und zehnte lernt Englisch durch mich,
Der elfte den dreizehnten Bridge-Kartenstich.

Der zwoelfte, – das weiss ich nicht ganz genau,
Der zwoelfte, – das ist naemlich eine Frau.

Und Frau'n sind die besten Mitarbeiter,
Wer sie hat, so heisst's, kommt am sichersten weiter.

Das galt in der Heimat seit langem schon,
Das gilt erst recht in der Emigration.

Und wenn mich die Frauen erst wohl aufgenommen,
Dann werde ich sicher zum Ziele kommen.

So hoff ich, ich werd auch den Frauen gefallen,
Vielleicht recht vielen, vielleicht auch allen.

Drum bitt ich auch Sie um geneigtes Interesse,
Gleich unten, da steht meine volle Adresse.

Somit verbleib ich Ihr stets bereiter,
Allzeit getreuer.
Der Mitarbeiter

Document 121

Anonymous

May 2, 1941

Newspaper editorial, in: Unzer lebn, no. 1, 1.

Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

די ערשטע יודישע צייטשריפט אין שאנכאי

אין דעם ווייטען שאנכאי, טויזענטער קילאמעטער ווייט פון די גרויסע יודישע ישובים, ערשיינט היינט צום ערשטען מאל א יודישע צייטשריפט. געדרוקט מיט אונזערע היימישע פיר-קאנטיקע יודישע אותיות. מיט 18 יאהר צוריק איז אין כארבין ערשינען א יודישע צייטונג "דער ווייטער מזרח", נאך א געוויסער צייט איז די צייטונג געווען געצוואונגען זיך צו שליסען, היינט בעגייען מיר דעם פרוואו פון געבען דעם היגען יודישען לעזער א צייטשריפט אויף דער יודישער שפראך. מיר טוען דאס אין א טראגישער צייט. ווען די וועלט איז איינגעהילט אין פלאמען פון קריג, ווען דאס אמאליגע ברויזגע יודישע לעבען אין אייראפע ליגט צעשמעטערט אין חורבות, ווען מיליאנען פון אונזערע ברידער שמא-כטען אין פיין און אין שאנד, ווען אונזער יודישע לאגע אין דער וועלט קאן פערגליכען ווערען נאר צו דער לאגע נאכן חורבן ירושלים.

מיר, יודען אויפן ווייטען מזרח, זיינען דערווייל געשווינט געווארען דורכן גורל, דער גרויל פון דער צייט האט נאכנישט אנגעקלאפט אין אונזערע טירען. אבער צי קאן אונז רוהיג בעקומען אונזער טעגליך ברויט צו דער זעט, ווען ארום אונז איז אזא ריזיגער ים פון אומגעהויערע מענשליכע ליידען? צי קאנען מיר פערבלייבען גלייכגילטיג צום גורל פון אונזערע פאלקס-ברידער, וואס געהען אב אין א ים פון בלוט און טרעהרען?

מיר קאנען נישט טראגען קיין גרויסע הילף. אבער דאס, וואס מיר קאנען יא – איז – על כל פנים וויסען וועגען דעם פערנעם פון דער קאטאסטראפע, טיילען די טראגעדיע פון אונזער פאלק, וואס איז אויך אונזער אייגענע טראגעדיע. דער הויפטצוועק פון אונזער צייטשריפט איז דעריבער: פערבינדען ענגער און פעסטער דעם קליינעם יודישען ישוב אויפן ווייטען מזרח מיט דער איבעריגער יודישער וועלט. אהן א פערבינדונג מיט דעם ברייטען טראגישען יודישען לעבען שטעלען מיר פאר מיט זיך בלויז א פערדארט צווייגעל אויף א גרויסען בוים, וואס איז פערמשפט פערטריקענט צו ווערען און אומצוקומען.

קליין און ארעם איז דערווייל דער פערנעם פון דער יודישער צייטשריפט, אבער מיר רעכענען אויף די יעניגע שאנכייער יודען, וואס זיינען פערבונדען מיטן יודישען ווארט, אז זיי וועלען אונז העלפען אויסברייטערן אט-די אויסגאבע און פערוואנדלען זי אין אן אמתער טריבונע פון ארגאניזירטען יודישען קיבוץ אין גרעסטען צענטער פון יודישען לעבען אויפן ווייטען מזרח – אין שאנכאי.

*Translation***The First Yiddish Periodical in Shanghai**

Today, in far away Shanghai, thousands of kilometers from the large Jewish communities, a new Yiddish paper makes its first appearance, printed with our familiar four-corner Yiddish letters. Eighteen years ago, a Yiddish paper, *Der vayter mizrekh*,²⁷ appeared in Harbin. The paper had to close down after a short time. Today we endeavor to give to the local Yiddish reader a periodical in the Yiddish language. We are doing this at a tragic time, when the world is enveloped in flames of war, when the once thriving Jewish life in Europe lies smashed in ruin, when millions of our brothers languish in anguish and disrepute, when our Jewish condition in the world can be compared only with the ancient destruction of Jerusalem.

We Jews in the Far East are meanwhile spared by fate. The horror of the times has not yet knocked at our doors. But can we peacefully eat our daily bread with this gigantic human suffering all around us? Can we remain indifferent to the fate of our brothers, who exist in an ocean of blood and tears?

We cannot offer great help, but what we can do is above all to know about the distant catastrophe, and to share the tragedy of our people, which is also our own tragedy. The main purpose of our paper is, therefore, to forge a stronger and closer connection between our small Jewish community in the Far East and the rest of the Jewish world. Without connection with the broader, tragic Jewish life we represent only a withered little branch on a large tree that is in danger of drying up and perishing.

The reach of this Yiddish paper is small and poor, but we count on those Shanghai Jews who have an attachment to the Yiddish word, who want to help us enlarge the issue and to change it into a true platform for the Jewish community in the biggest center of Jewish life in the Far East – in Shanghai.

27 *Der vayter mizrekh* (The Far East) was printed from 1921 to 1922; it appeared three times a week. Its editor was Meir Birman, who shaped it as a left-leaning newspaper similar to the New York periodical *Forverts*; cf. Robert Bickers/Christian Henriot (eds.), *New Frontiers. Imperialism's New Communities in East Asia, 1842–1953*, Manchester 2000, 101 f., 107.

Document 122

Heinz Ganther²⁸

June 14, 1941

Newspaper editorial, in: *Die Laterne. Unabhaengige Wochenschrift für freies geistiges Schaffen*,²⁹ no. 1, 1.

Microfilm; YIVO, Y-2003, 1854.6

Was will „Die Laterne“?

„Die Laterne“ will in das Dunkel der Immigration hineinleuchten. Sie will versuchen, dadurch auch etwas mehr Licht in die Schattenseiten der Immigration zu bringen. Damit soll nicht gesagt sein, dass „Die Laterne“ sich zur Aufgabe macht, nur das Düstere in den Reihen unserer Immigration zu sehen oder zu beleuchten. Im Gegenteil, „Die Laterne“ will vor allen Dingen das Positive unseres Immigranten-Daseins besonders beleuchten. Sie wird sich jedoch keineswegs abschrecken lassen, auch dort ihren Lichtkegel hinzuwerfen, wo manche vielleicht glauben, im Verborgenen, nicht immer gerade zum Nutzen unserer Immigranten, wirken zu können. „Die Laterne“ beabsichtigt keinesfalls, jeden Winkel eines jeden Hauses abzuleuchten, um irgendetwas mit Gewalt ans Licht zu bringen. „Die Laterne“ hat einzig und allein das Bestreben, im Interesse einer gesunden geistigen und kulturellen Weiterentwicklung unserer gesamten Immigration zu wirken. „Die Laterne“ will von Anfang an nicht als Konkurrenz irgendeiner der bestehenden Zeitungen betrachtet werden. Sie legt größten [sic] Wert darauf, mit ihnen und deren Mitarbeitern in kollegialer Weise zusammenzuarbeiten zum Wohle Aller. „Die Laterne“ erhebt lediglich den Anspruch, in jeder Beziehung das zum Ausdruck bringen zu dürfen, was sie im allgemeinen Interesse für notwendig hält. Hierbei wird sie allerdings keine Rücksicht auf irgendwelche persönlichen Dinge nehmen und sich durch keine irgendwie gearteten Umstände und Beziehungen beeinflussen lassen. Eine besondere Aufgabe hat sich „Die

28 About Ganther, see ch. 3, n. 134.

29 It is not clear when exactly in 1941 *Die Laterne* ceased publication. Each issue of about 12 to 16 pages contained features about events in Europe, including sports, bridge, and entertainment, and regular columns entitled “The Free Mind,” “Echo Across the Sea,” and “From Our Cultural Creativity;” cf. Itamar Livni, *The German Jewish Immigrant Press in Shanghai*, in: Raoul David Findeisen et al. (eds.), *At Home in Many Worlds. Reading, Writing and Translating from Chinese and Jewish Cultures – Essays in Honour of Irene Eber*, Wiesbaden 2009, 273–283, here 277.

Laterne“ damit gestellt, ihren Lichtkegel auch über die Länder und Meere zu senden, um die Immigrationen in anderen Ländern zu beleuchten, damit auch wir hier daraus lernen können. Sie hofft, auf diese Weise auch einen Kontakt mit den überall verstreuten Emigranten zu finden, um Erfahrungen untereinander auszutauschen und der Allgemeinheit zum Nutzen zu machen. Hierbei dürfen wir keinesfalls zu schwach sein, in Offenheit das zu sagen, was wir denken. Wir Immigranten hier in Shanghai sollten nunmehr schon so viel Selbstbewusstsein besitzen, um ein offenes Wort sowohl auszusprechen, wie auch einstecken zu können. Auf der anderen Seite muss man uns einem Gebilde von 18 000 Seelen auch das Recht zuerkennen, ein offenes Wort sagen zu dürfen, ohne dass man uns hierbei den Vorwurf macht, dass wir nur kritisieren wollen. Jeder verantwortungsbewusste Mensch, ob Immigrant oder nicht, dürfte oder sollte wenigstens das Bestreben haben, nicht nur sich selbst, sondern der Gesamtheit zu nützen. Ihm darf es nicht verwehrt sein, durch ein offenes oder vielleicht zu offenes Wort dem allgemeinen Interesse zu dienen. Wenn wir mit klaren Augen durch die Welt gehen und die Dinge so sehen, wie sie sind und nicht so, wie wir oder Andere sie sehen möchten, werden wir vielleicht auch entdecken, wieso manche Mängel entstanden sind. Jeder, der den Willen hat, mitzuhelfen am weiteren Aufbau unserer Immigration, gleich auf welchem [sic] Gebiet, soll uns willkommener Helfer sein. Jeder kann auf diese Weise Mitarbeiter unserer Redaktion werden. Macht in dem düsteren Shanghai keinen Schritt ohne „Die Laterne“; denn „Die Laterne“ wird auch keinen Schritt gehen ohne Euch.

Heinz Ganther

Document 123

Y. R.

November 1941

*Journal editorial, in: In Veg. Zamlheft³⁰ [On the Way. Collection], 2f.**Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber**Microfilm; YIVO, Y-2003, 1855.5*

אין וועג

אין מיטן פון א געצווונגענער טראגישער וועלט־רייזע, – פון ווארשע קיין ווארשע, – האט א גרופע יידישע שרייבער און זשורנאליסטן אויפגעשלאגן איר וואנדער־לאגער אויף א קורצער צייט אין שאנכיי.

און מיר ווילן דא קומען צום ווארט.

דאס איז אזוי נאטירלעך: אין צייט־ווייליקסטן, אומבאקוועמסטן וואנדער־לאגער כאפט מען אפ דעם אטעם, און אונזער אטעם־אפכאפן איז דער ווארט־אויסדרוק.

מיר זענען דא קליין אין צאל און – צו וואס לייקענען? – שוואך אין כחות. מיר מאכן זיך נישט קיין אילוועס און מיר ווילן זיי נישט ארויסרופן אויך ביי אנדערע: ביי אונזערע ליטערארישע און מאטעריעלע כחות, אין די היגע שווערע קלימאטישע באדינגונגען, קאנען מיר נישט האפן צו זאגן אלץ, וואס מיר האבן צו זאגן און וואס וואלט געדארפט געזאגט ווערן. אבער ווי ארעם אונזער ווארט זאל נישט זיין, זענען מיר עס שולדיק קודם כל זיך גופא. דאס איז א בארעכטיגטער פארלאנג אויסצופרובירן אונזער ווארט־אינסטרומענט, איבערצייגן זיך גופא, אז מיר לעבן נאך, אז מיר פירן מיט זיך מיט אומבאריט אונזערע טיפסטע ווארצלען און פון צייט צו צייט קאנען זיי נאך, אפילו ביי די ערגסטע קלימאטישע באדינגונגען, ארויסטרייבן אויף דער ליכטיקער שיין שפראצונגען.

דאס דאזיקע ווארט, ווי אנעמיש עס זאל נישט ארויסקומען (אן טיפן באדן און אן מאַ־מעדיקער זון!), זענען מיר שולדיק זיך גופא, אי אלס פסיכאלאגישע איינשפריצונג, אי אלס סימבאלישן גראשן, וואס ווערט אנערקענט יעדן געליטענעס, וואס האט צופיל געליטן, מען זאל אים קאנען אומקערן זיין שאדן אין דער פולער מאס.

אויב דער דאזיקער סימבאלישער גראשן וועט אנדערע אויך עפעס געבן, וועלן מיר זיין גאר צופרידן, אבער קודם כל איז דער איצטיקער זאמלבוך א אינערלעכע נויטווענדיקייט אין א סך א גרעסערער מאס, ווי דאס איז תמיד דאס עכטע געדרוקטע ווארט.

געדענקט איר נאך היינריך היינעס געדיכט וועגן קינד, וואס זינגט אין דער פינסטער, כדי צו פארטרייבן די שרעק?

30 The title page informs the reader that the journal was “*aroytsgegebn durkh der faraynikung fun di yidishe shrayber un zhurnalistsn, pleytim fun Poyln*” (published by the Association of Yiddish Writers and Journalists, Refugees from Poland); cf. also Krasno, Strangers, 192.

ווער נויטיקט זיך נאך ווי מיר אין פארטרייבן די שרעק, די שאטנס פון טויט, די דעמא-
 ראליזאציע פון וואגליוועגן און פון דער אוממעגלעכקייט נארמאל צו ארבעטן?
 |3| מיר גופא זענען דאך די גרעסטע גייסטיקע נצרכים!
 אין די אלע, וועלכע האבן אונז פארשאפט די מעגלעכקייט צו געבן זיך גופא דעם
 סימבאלישן אנטשעדיקונגס־גראשן – אונזער אויפריכטיקסטן דאנק. זיי האבן אונז מעגלעך
 געמאכט א כלומרשטן לוקסוס, וואס איז אין דער אמתן א נויטווענדיקייט – זיך אויסלעבן
 אביסל גייסטיק.
 לא על הלחם לבדו יחיה האדם!
 סיידן ער ווערט אויס מענטש.
 און קעגן דעם פירן מיר אויף אונזער וואנדער־וועג דעם שווערסטן קאמף: קעגן דעם
 ארום און קעגן זיך קופא.
 דער איצטיקער זאמלהעפט איז איינער פון די אויסדרוקן פון דאזיקן קאמף.
 י. ר.

Translation

On the Way

In the midst of a forced and tragic world journey – from Warsaw to War-
 saw – a group of Yiddish writers and journalists has erected a temporary
 travel camp in Shanghai.

And we want to have a say.

This is natural. In a temporary and uncomfortable traveling camp one
 catches one's breath. And our breath catching is verbal expression.

We number a few and we are – why deny it? – weak, without strength. We
 have no illusions and we don't want to call forth these in others; considering
 our literary and material resources under these difficult local climatic condi-
 tions, we cannot hope to say everything we have to say and what is allowed
 to be said. But no matter how poor our words will be, we first of all owe it
 to ourselves. It is a justified demand to try out our verbal ability, to convince
 ourselves that we are still alive, that we have brought along our unspoiled
 deepest roots. And from time to time they still can even under the worst cli-
 matic conditions bring forth sprouts in bright light.

We owe to ourselves this very word, no matter how anemic it appears
 (deep in the soil without real sunshine!), be it psychological infusion, be it
 symbolical coin, it shall acknowledge every suffering, everybody who has al-
 ready suffered too much; it shall compensate the damage in its entirety.

If the symbolic coin will give others something, we will be satisfied. But
 first and foremost, the present collection is in large measure an inner neces-
 sity, as is always the truthful printed word.

Do you still remember the poem by Heinrich Heine about the child that sings in the dark to drive away terror?³¹

Who, more than we, needs to drive away terror, the shadow of death, the demoralization of the path where we wandered, and the impossibility of working in a normal way?

[3] It is us who have the greatest spiritual needs!

Our utmost thanks to all those who afforded us the possibility to give to ourselves this coin of compensation. They made a veritable luxury possible for us – a real necessity indeed – to live life with a little spiritual content.

Man lives not by bread alone!

Unless he is no longer human.

And this is our fiercest battle on the path we walk: against the surroundings and against ourselves.

The present collection is one manifestation of this battle.

Y. R.

Document 124

Anonymous (editorial staff of Yedies)

November 1941

*Newspaper editorial, in: Yedies. Vokhnblat far di interesn fun di poylishn krigs-pleytim*³² [*News. Weekly for the Interests of Polish War Refugees*], no.1, 1.

Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber

Microfilm; HCL, 4071, reel 1

וואס ווילן מיר?

אונזער קליינע באשיידענע ארבעט באטראכטן מיר ניט פאר קיין גרויס געשעעניש און פאר קיין היסטארישע דערשיינונג געוויס נישט. איינס אבער גלויבן מיר יא: דער צוקונפֿטיקער היסטאריקער פון די יידיש־פּוילישע באציאונגען וועט זיך מיט אונזער אויסגאבע אן א ספק פאראינטערעסירן.

31 Heinrich Heine (1797–1856) was a major German poet. Born to Jewish parents, he converted to Protestantism in 1825. The poem alluded to is Heine's *In mein gar zu dunkles Leben* (1823), included in *Buch der Lieder* (1827); cf. Manfred Windfuhr (ed.), Heinrich Heine. Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke, vol. 1,1, Hamburg 1975, 206.

32 The secular weekly was probably conceived as a bilingual Yiddish and Polish paper.

ווען עס וועט אריינפאלן אין זיין האנט א נומער פון אונזערע "ידיעות", וועט דער היסטאריקער אפשר זיינע אויגן נישט קאנען אפרייסן פון דער צייטונג. ער וועט קוקן אויף די פוילישע און אויף די יידישע אותיות און זיך ווונדערן, הויבן מיט די אקסלען און זיך פרעגן פארהינדערט: ווי איז מעגליך געווען אזא ווונדער? פויליש און יידיש אונטער איין דאך? יידישע אותיות פון דער רעכטער זייט באגעגען זיך מיט פוילישע בוכשטאבן פון דער לינקער זייט? נאכמער, זיי דערלאנגען זיך סימבאליש די הענט און גיסן זיך צונויף אין א הארמאניש ווארטגעזאגט פאר איין געמיינזאמער טייערער זאך, פאר איין בשותפותדיקער הייליקער מיסיע – פאר דער ענדגילטיקער באפרייאונג פון פוילן.

"פאר אונזער און פאר אייער פרייהייט" – איז שוין אמאל געווען א היסטארישער לאזונג, וואס האט צעמענטירט און באפליגלט אפילו געגנעזעצטע עלעמענטן. אט דער הייליקער ציל – די באפרייאונג פון פוילן – קען און וועט, אויך היינט, וואונדער באווייזן!

* * *

אונזער היימלאנד ליגט אין חורבות. ברוינע שטיוול צעטרעטן מיט א נישטגעוועזענער גרויזאמקייט אלץ, וואס איז מענטשלעך און וויל אטעמען און לעבן פריי. די נעכטיקע פרייע בירגער פון אומאפהענגיקן פוילן זענען דערדריקט און דערשטיקט, פארשקלאפט און פארפייניקט. מיט פייער און בלוט, מיט רשעות און סאדיזם, וויל דער ברוטאלער אקרפאנט באפעסטיקן זיין הערשאפט איבער פוילן, עס גלוסט זיך אים צו פארשניידן, אויסצואווארצלען און צו פארטיליקן יעדן איינציקן פוילישן בירגער, וואס האט די "העזע" צו חלומען וועגן א ניי אויפגעריכט פוילן.

אין אזא מאמענט מוזן אפגעשטעלט ווערן אלע קאמפן צווישן איין פוילישן בירגער און דעם צווייטן. אלע חשבונות מוזן פארגעסן ווערן. אלע מוזן זיך דערלאנגען די הענט און מארשירן געאייניקט, אין געשלאסענע רייען, קעגן בלוטיקן שונא ביזן ענדגילטיקן זיג פון דער גערעכטיקייט.

די רואנירטע און פארמאטערטע פאליאקן פון יענער זייט געטא האבן שוין אויסגעשטרעקט זייער האנט פון פארברידערונג און שלום די געפייניקטע און געשענדעטע יידן פון געטא. פוילישע פרויען האבן דעם לעצטן ראשהשנה אריבערגעווארפן איבער די ווענט פון געטא גרויסע בוקעטן לעבעדיקע בלומען און אן א שיעור גרינסן. דאס האט געהייסן: – יידן, מיר זענען מיט אייך, מיר זענען געאייניקט און צונויפגעבונדן אין אונזער געמיינזאמען קאמף.

די דאזיקע הערלעכע פארברודערניגס־פרוון צווישן די געפייניקטע איינוווינער פון ווארשע מוזן נאכגעטון ווערן דורך אלע פוילישע בירגער – וואו זיי זאלן נישט זיין און וואו זיי זאלן זיך נישט געפינען אין איצטיקן מאמענט.

די אויפגאבע פון אונזער צייטונג וועט זיין די דאזיקע דערהויבענע היטערלעכע אידי – פון געמיינזאמען קאמף פון אלע פוילישע בירגער – צו פארשפרייטן צווישן די פליטים פון פוילן אין שאנכיי.

די מענטשהייט מוז און וועט באקומען אן אנדער פנים. אלע מוזן זיין פריי. גלייכהייט מוז הערשן פאר אלעמען, אן אונטערשיד פון נאציע, רעליגיע און קלאס. דאס איז די פאן, וואס מיר טראגן הויך אויף אונזער וואנדערזונג און מיט וועלכער מיר ווילן זיך אויך אומקערן א היים.

און אויב אונזער צייטונג וועט געלינגען צו פארגרעסערן די קאדרן פון אזעלכע פאנען־טרעגער, וועלן מיר עס האלטן פאר א וויכטיקע און גרויסע דערגרייכונג.

מיר זענען א צייטונג פאר פליטים, וואס האבן פארלאזט פוילן אין אנהויב פון איצטיקן קריג. מיר וועלן זיך נישט פארנעמען מיט קיין אבסטראקטע פראבלעמען. מיר וועלן נישט באהאנדלען קיין דראסטישע פאליטישע פראגן. מיר וועלן אויך אויסמיידן אלע פונקטן, וואס קאנען צעשיידן און צעטיילן. מיר ווילן נאר זוכן יענע בארירונגספונקטן פון אונזער שווערן לעבן, וואס קאנען פארבינדן, פאראייניקן און סטימולירן צו א הארמאנישער צוזאמענארבעט.

מיר וועלן אביעקטיוו, ערלעך און אומפארטייאיש באהאנדלען אלע פראגן, וואס שווימען ארום פון אונזער איצטיקן פליטים־לעבן.

דעם הויפט־ארט אין אונזער צייטונג וועלן מיר אפגעבן, פאר אינפארמאציע. און אינפארמירן סאליד, ערנסט און פאראנטווארטלעך. און כדי יעדער פליט זאל קאנען ארויסזאגן זיין מיינונג אין א פייער, טאקטפולער פארם פירן מיר אין א ~~###~~ ~~###~~ ~~###~~ ³³ טריבונע. פאלע־מיק באפרוכפערט די געדאנקען. קריטיק מאכט געזונט יעדע ארבעט. עס מוז אבער איינגעהאלטן ווערן די פארם פון קעגנזייטיקער אכטונג און סאלידער באציונג פון איינעם צום צווייטן.

נישט איינער וועט אפשר פרעגן: צו וואס טויג א צייטונג פאר פליטים? שטרעבן דאך אלע פליטים אין שאנכיי וואס גיכער צו פארלאזן די שטאט און וואס שנעלער צוצושווימען צו א ברעג פון אזא לאנד, ווו מען זאל קאנען איבערווארטן.

יא, דאס איז ריכטיק. אלע ווילן מיר וואס פריער באקומען די מעגלעכקייט ווייטער צו פארן. אבער כל־זמן מיר זענען אין שאנכיי דארפן מיר נישט בלייבן פאסיוו צו אונזערע בא־דערפענישן און זיין אומפראדוקטיוו געזעלשאפטלעך. אומעטום, ווו מיר זאלן נישט זיין, אפילו די קורצסטע צייט, טארן מיר זיך נישט פילן ווי לעסטיקע געסט, נאר ווי מענטשן, וואס האבן זייער מענטשלעכע ווירדע נישט פארלוירען. מיר דארפן זיין גרייט צו ווירקן אומעטום ווי פראדוקטיווע מענטשן און זיך אויך גייסטיק און קולטורעל אויסצולעבן.

אין שאנכיי האבן מיר די מעגלעכקייט פריי זיך אויסצולעבן און צו שאפן אן שום שטערונגען. דארפען מיר באווייזן, אז מיר זענען נישט קיין צעבראכענע שארבענס, קיין אויסגעטריקנטע סקעלעטן פון געוועזענע לעבעדיקע מענטשן, נאר אז מיר באזיצן א שטא־לערנעם ווילן, נאך אלע גרויליקע און טראגישע איבערלעבונגען, צו בלייבן לעבעדיקע און שעפערישע מענטשן.

אט דער אומדערשיטערטער ווילן האט אונז נישט איינמאל דערמוטיקט אויף אונזער געפארפולן וואנדער־וועג און וועט אונז אויך ווייטער באפליגלען, וואו מיר וועלן זיך נאר געפינען, צו פראדוקטיווער ארבעט און צום העראאישן קאמף פאר דער אויפריכטונג פון אונזער היימלאנד.

און ווען אונזער בלאט וועט קאנען מיטהעלפן צו קרעפטיקן און באפעסטיקן אט דעם ווילן – וועט אונזער ציל זיין דערגרייכט. מיר וועלן דעמאלט קאנען זאגן מיט א רואיק געוויסן: די ארבעט האט געלוינט, מיר האבן עפעס אויפגעטון, פאזיטיוס געשאפן!

די רעדאקציע

*Translation***What Do We Want?**

We do not regard our small, modest work as a big event, and certainly not as a historical happening. One thing, however, we believe: future historians of Jewish-Polish relations will, without doubt, be interested in our publication.

When an issue of our *Yedies* will come into his hands, the historian may be unable to tear his eyes away from the newspaper. He will look at the Polish and Yiddish letters and will wonder. He will shrug his shoulders and ask astonished, how was such a miracle possible? Polish and Yiddish together? Yiddish letters from the right side meet Polish letters from the left side? Even more, they reach out to one another symbolically and flow together in a harmonious word-song about a mutually precious matter, for a joint holy mission: the final liberation of Poland.

“For our freedom and yours” – this has been a historical slogan before, and it solidified and spurred even opposed elements.³⁴ The holy aim – the liberation of Poland – can and will, even today, work wonders.

Our fatherland is in ruin. Brown boots trample down everything that is human, that wants to breathe and live in freedom, with unprecedented cruelty. Yesterday’s free citizens of independent Poland are crushed and suffocated, enslaved and tormented. The brutal occupier strengthens his dominance over Poland with fire and blood, with viciousness and sadism; he lusts to excise it, to uproot and to exterminate each and every Polish citizen who has the “boldness” to dream about a re-established Poland.

At such times all battles between one Polish citizen and another must cease. All unsettled accounts between them must be forgotten. They all must grasp one another’s hands and march together in closed ranks against the blood-stained enemy until the final victory of justice.

Ruined and tormented Poles from the other side of the ghetto already extended hands of brotherhood and peace to the tortured and violated ghetto Jews. Last Rosh Hashanah Polish women threw large bouquets of fresh flowers and a portion of vegetables over the ghetto wall. The meaning of it was:

34 This famous political slogan (Pol. *Za naszą i waszą wolność*) originated from the November uprising in partitioned Poland against the Russian Empire (1830–1831); the slogan demanded Polish liberty.

– Jews, we are with you, we are united and connected in our common fight.

This magnificent evidence of fraternization between the tormented inhabitants of Warsaw must be reproduced by all Polish citizens – where they are now and where they should not be in this moment.

The future task of our newspaper is to spread this noble, emboldening idea of a common struggle of all Polish citizens among the Polish refugees in Shanghai.

Humanity must and will show another face. Everyone must be free. Above all, equality must reign among nations, religions, and classes. This is the banner that we carry on our road and with which we return home.

We consider it an important and grand achievement if our newspaper will enlarge the ranks of such standard bearers.

* * *

We are a newspaper for refugees who left Poland at the beginning of this war. We don't want to occupy ourselves with abstract problems. We don't want to deal with dramatic political questions. We also want to avoid all aspects that can be divisive. We only want to look for those issues of our difficult lives which are shared by all, which can connect, unite, and stimulate a harmonious togetherness. We want to deal objectively, honestly and impartially with all questions which arise from our present refugee life.

The main object of our paper is to convey information, solidly, seriously, and responsibly. And in order that every refugee can state his views in a dignified and tactful way we are introducing a ### ### tribune. Polemics may fertilize the thoughts. Criticism is healthy for every kind of work. But the forms of mutual respect and good manners must be maintained.

* * *

More than one person may ask, what is the point of a newspaper for refugees? After all, all refugees in Shanghai strive to leave the city, and the sooner the better, to swim as soon as possible to the shore of any country where one can wait and see.

Yes, that is correct. We all want to travel on – the earlier the better. But as long as we are in Shanghai we cannot passively face our needs and remain socially unproductive. Wherever we are forced to stay, even for the shortest period, we must not feel like unwelcome guests but like human beings who have not lost their human dignity. We must be prepared to act everywhere like productive human beings and to express ourselves spiritually and culturally.

In Shanghai we have the possibility to live freely and to work without any interference. We can prove that we are not broken pieces, not dry skeletons of once alive human beings. Only if we have an iron will after all our terrible and tragic experiences can we remain alive and productive.

Thank to our unshakable will we haven't once been discouraged on our dangerous road, and this will continue to fire our productive work and our heroic struggle to re-establish our homeland, wherever we may be.

And if our paper should help strengthen and affirm our will – our goal will be reached. At that time we shall be able to say with a clear conscience: the work was worth it, we have accomplished something positive!

The editorial staff

Document 125

*Wolfgang Fischer*³⁵

May 28, 1942

Newspaper editorial, in: Shanghai-Woche, no. 1, 1.

Microfilm; courtesy Hartmut Walravens

Unsere Tendenz

Erstmalig erscheint heute, nach längerer Unterbrechung, wieder die „Shanghai-Woche“, das erste Organ unserer Gemeinschaft hier im Fernen Osten. Die Zeiten haben es so mit sich gebracht, dass aus einer täglich erscheinenden Abendzeitung wieder eine Wochenschrift wurde. Selbst diese erscheint in verkleinertem Umfang. Wir werden uns bemühen, Quantität durch Qualität zu ersetzen. Die wichtigen Tagesereignisse politischer Art sind ja schliesslich aus der Mogenzeitung [sic] zu ersehen. Wir sollen nicht „in Literatur“ machen, sondern in allgemein verständlicher Schreibweise alle interessanten Dinge des täglichen Lebens, alle Dinge, die uns interessieren, inbesondere [sic] die Kunst und den Sport darlegen. Wir sind vollkommen unabhängig und werden, falls das Interesse der Allgemeinheit dies erheischt, wie immer in den dreieinhalb Jahren, vor einem offenem [sic] Wort niemals zurückschrecken. Wir hoffen, damit eine Lücke auf journalistischem [sic] Gebiet auszufüllen und erbitten gleichzeitig die Unterstützung Aller, denn nur dann kann das Werk, der erhoffte Ausbau der Zeitung gelingen. Die Zeitschrift erscheint vorläufig, das heisst in den Sommermonaten, abwechselnd vier und sechs Seiten stark. Indem ich nochmals Allen, die das Herauskommen der Zeitung durch ihre Beihilfe bei der Veranstaltung „Eine Zeitung wird

35 About Fischer, see above, n. 19.

geboren“ ermöglichten, schönsten Dank sage, übergebe ich das Blatt der Öffentlichkeit. Auf eine bessere, glückliche Zukunft!

Wolfgang Fischer

Herausgeber und Chefredakteur

Document 126

*Anonymous*³⁶ (editorial staff of *Me'or Torah*)

July 1944

Newspaper editorial, in: *Me'or Torah. Koveẓ le-ḥidushei torah be-inyanei halakhah [Expounder of the Torah. Collection of Explanations of the Lore on Halakhic Issues]*, no. 1, 1.

Hebrew; translation by Itamar Livni

Microfilm; YIVO, Y-2003, 1855.10

לראשית הופעת ה"מאור תורה"

הקובץ הנוכחי נועד לחד"ת³⁷ בעניני הלכה. מגמתו לחדש ולהמשיך את אשר החלו טובי הירחונים וקובצים לחד"ת, במקום מוצאנו פולין (כמו: "אהל תורה" <ברנוביץ>, "כנסת ישראל" <וילנא> ועוד). ואם אז בשנות השופי מצאו גדולי התורה להכרח. יסוד ירחונים וקובצים לחד"ת – מה מאד גדל ערכם וחיבתם בימינו אלה, שעת הפיזור ושעת חירום שאין דוגמתה לעמנו מימות עולם, אוי לנו שכך עלתה בימינו.

מדי הופעת ה"מאור תורה" ישתקף בו המראה הגדול הזה, הצלת תופשי התורה מתוך הסער המתחולל ע"פ התבל. שיורי ישיבות פולין, וישיבת מיר הדגולה על כל תלמידי כ"י³⁸, המה גדולי התורה והיראה. והנה בתוככי שנגהי ההומי' נתונים במצבים שונים, עוסקים הם בתורה כמאז ת"ל³⁹, וקול התורה הולך וחזק.

מי פילל כזאת, שגם במקומות הנדחים תוכל להתקיים ישיבה בכל מלואה ותפארתה, אשר בה חכמי התורה ימשיכו את תפלת חייהם הארוכה, היא תפלת "ולמאור תורתך עינינו גל!" תכתב זאת לדור אחרון ועמנו המלומד בנסים יראה ויהלל י"ה.

36 The editor was Rabbi Mordechai Ephraim Ginsburg (?–1960), one of the members of the Mir Yeshivah to reach Shanghai. In 1947 he and his family settled in the United States, where he eventually became head of the Mir Yeshivah.

37 חידושי תורה.

38 כל יחיד.

39 תהילה לאל.

בהגישנו את קובצנו זה לפני הקהל, אנו תקווה, אשר כל העמלים בתורה, שוחררי' והוגי',
 ימצאו בו את חפצם המבוקש. ואשר הנו גם חפצנו אנו, – להגדיל תורה ולהאדירה.
 אלול תש"ד
 ועד "מאור תורה" שנגהי.

Translation

At the first appearance of the "Me'or Torah"

The present volume is meant as a renewal of halakhic lore. Its purpose is to renew and to continue what the best halakhic monthlies and volumes that were to be found in Poland (like *Ohel Torah*⁴⁰ <Baranowicze>, *Knesset Yisra'el*⁴¹ <Vilna>, and others) had already begun. In those quiet years the Torah sages considered it necessary to found monthlies and journals for the renewal of Torah. Their value and importance is even greater now that we are dispersed and living in a state of emergency unknown heretofore. Bitter is our lot!

Whenever "*Me'or Torah*" will appear, it will reveal to us like a big mirror the rescue of those who are learned in the Torah in these tempestuous times. Every single student from the remnants of the Polish Yeshivot and the grand Mir Yeshivah is a distinguished scholar of the Torah and the fear of God. Although amid the bustle of Shanghai where they are facing various situations, the students nonetheless study Torah, praise to the Lord, as before, and the voice of the Torah is getting ever stronger.

Who would have thought that a Yeshivah could exist and thrive in all its glory even in a remote place, and where the sages can continue to pray their lifetime prayers, which is the prayer "For the light of your teaching our eyes are open."⁴²

When this volume will be presented to the public we hope that all those who strive and seek for the Torah and reflect upon it will find in it what they and we wish for – namely the Torah's increase and elevation.

July 1944

Staff of the "*Me'or Torah*," Shanghai.

40 In 1924 the first of three volumes of the Hebrew halakhic compendium *Ohel Torah* was published by the orthodox, non-hasidic Rabbi Elhanan Wasserman (1875–1941), founder and head of the Yeshivah Ohel Torah in Baranowicze (today Baranovich, White Russia).

41 *Knesset Yisra'el* was a monthly magazine that appeared from 1930 to 1935 in Vilna, edited by Moshe Karelitz (1882–1941). The periodical discussed halakhic and talmudic subjects, and included halakhic novellas by Polish and Lithuanian rabbis.

42 Cf. Psalm 119:18.

Document 127

Anonymous

1945

*Journal editorial, in: Unser vort. Zamlheft [Our Word. Collection],⁴³ no. 1, 1f.**Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber**Microfilm; YIVO, Y-2003, 1855.9*

"אונז ווארט"

זעקס יאר זענען מיר געלעגן פארשאטענע אונטער חורבות און סיי דער געראנגל, סיי דער פיין פון דער וועלט – און אין דער ערשטער ריי פון אונזער יידישער וועלט – איז דער גאנגען צו אונז ווי א ווייטער אפקלאנג, פארטויפט, פארנעפלט. און ווען מיר פלעגן שוין יא דערגיין דעם שרעקלעכן אמת, פלעגן מיר אויך נישט קאנען שרייען, שוין אפגערעדט פון העלפן.

פארשאטענע אונטער חורבות, מיט געבונדענע גלידער און צינגער, האבן מיר איבערגעלעבט איוב'ס צרות, אויב נישט תמיד פיזיש, איז אבער שטענדיק גייסטיק.

ווען די קאשמארן – די ווייטע, ווי נאנטע – פלעגן אונז פייניקן, פלעגן מיר מוזן דער רשטיקן אין זיך אונזערע געשרייען, אונזער פראטעסט, מיר פלעגן מוזן מותר זיין אויף דער דאזיקער עלעמענטארער רעכט, וואס די נאטור האט געגעבן אלס מינימום טרייסט אין זייער פיין אלע העכערע קלאסן באשעפענישן; מיר זענען געווען ווי פיש, וואס צאפלען זיך שטומע אין די נעצן, מיר זענען געווען ווי די ווערים, וואס מען טרעט מיט די פיס און מען הערט קיין קרעכץ נישט פון זיי.

איצט נעמען מיר ארויסגיין פון אונטער די אפגעגראבענע חורבות און אונזערע צינגער ווערן אויפגעבונדן און דאס ערשטע, דאס סאמע ערשטע, וואס אונז ווילט זיך, וואס אונז קומט, איז אויסלייזן אונזער לאנגפארהאלטענעם געשריי, לאזן הערן "אונזער ווארט". דער זשורנאל "אונזער ווארט" איז קודם כל א געשריי, אונזער ערשטער געשריי. אבער נישט נאר דאס.

* * *

אונזער אומגליק איז אזוי טיף און גרויס, אז ס'איז נישטא אזא געשריי, וואס זאל אים קאנען ארויסשרייען. אונז דאכט זיך אמאל, אז אונזער אלטער מעכטיקער "איכה" איז ווי פארבלאסט געווארן, ער נויטיקט זיך אין א נייער, פארשטארקטער אויפלאגע. אבער ווו זאלן מיר נעמען א ירמיהו?

אונזער וויטיק איז נישט אויסצושרייען און נישט אפצוויישן, אבער נאך גרעסער און טיפער פארן וויטיק איז אונזער פאלקס-ווילן צו לעבן.

דער געשריי פון "אונזער ווארט" איז דער אויסדרוק פון דאזיקן ווילן צו לעבן, און דעריבער גילט ער נישט נאר דעם אויסערלעכן שונא, נאר אויך דער אינערלעכער פוילעניש.

43 Only one more issue of *Unzer vort* appeared in 1946. It is unknown who edited the journal.

מיר ווייסן, אז נאר א געזונטער פאלקס־ארגאניזם קאן איבערטראגן אזא אויפטרייסלונג, ווי די, וואס אונז קומט אויס איבערצוטראגן. און מיר ווילן מיט אונזער ווארט ביישטייערן צום נויטווענדיקן פראצעס פון געזינטער מאכן אונזער לעבן.

מיר זענען שוין פיר יאר (און וועלכע פיר יאר!) אפגעריסן פון די גרויסע יידישע צענטערן; מיר ווייסן נישט ווי עס זעט אויס אין דער יידישער וועלט נאך דער ביישפיללאזער קאטאסטראפע; מיר האבן קיין אנונג נישט ווי די איבערגעבליבענע פאלקס־טיילן האבן אויפגענומען די קאטאסטראפע, ווי אזוי זיי האבן אינערלעך רעאגירט דערויף, וואסער גייסטיקע רעאקציע זי האט ארויסגערופן און ווי אזוי די פאלקס־כחות ארבי עטן אויף צו גלייכגעוויכטיקן אונזער פון גלייכגעוויכט ארויסגעווארפענעם נאציאנאלן ארגאניזם.

2| מיר ווייסן נישט דאס אלץ, אבער אונזער לעבעדיקער און לעבנסלוסטיקער נאציאנאלער אינסטינקט זאגט אונז, אז קודם כל מוזן מיר רעאגירן אויף דער נאנטסטער צו אונז יידישער סביבה. מיר מוזן רייניקן דעם אייטער אין און ארום אונז. און מיר ווילן דאס טאן מיט "אונזער ווארט".

"אונזער ווארט" איז פון איין זייט א געשריי, און פון דער צווייטער – א פרוו צו טאט.

* * *

"אונזער ווארט" ווערט ארויסגעגעבן נישט דורך א געשלאסענער אידעאלאגישער גרר פע; "אונזער ווארט" איז א פרייע טריבונע, אפן פאר יעדן, וואס פילט און וויל טראגן די אחריות פארן יידישן לעבן, וואס פילט זיך אויף טויט און לעבן פארבונדן מיטן יידישן פאלק און זיין גורל; אפן פאר יעדן, וואס ווארט־אויסדרוק איז פאר אים נישט קיין אויסערלעך מיטל, נאר אן אינערלעכער צוואנג, נישט קיין באשעפטיקונג, נאר א פליכט, א נאציאנאלע און מענטשלעכע פליכט.

מיר טרעטן צו צו אונזער באנייטער דינסט לטובת דעם יידישן עפנטלעכן ווארט מיט קליינע גייסטיקע און מאטעריעלע מיטלען, אבער מיטן באווסטזיין, אז מיר זענען א קליינער פארפאסטן אויף א שוואכן פונקט פון שווער־צושעדיקטן אלוועלטלעכן יידישן קולטור־פראנט.

און אין אזעלכע מאמענטן פון קאטאסטראפע ליגט א גרויסע אחריות אויך אויף די קלענסטע פארפאסטנס.

דער דאזיקער באווסטזיין איז א לאסט, אבער אויך א קוואל פון קראפט.

Translation

"Our Word"

For six years we laid damaged under the ruins, and only a faint, muted echo reached us of struggle and the torture of this world – first of all in our Jewish world. And when we finally learn the awful truth, we cannot cry out, not to mention help.

Damaged under ruins, limbs and tongues constrained, we survived the troubles, even if not always physically, but always spiritually.

Even as the nightmares – the distant and the near ones – are tormenting us, we must choke our voice, our protest; we must give up a fundamental right, which nature imparted on any living creature of the superior classes, i.e. at least to receive comfort in his pain. We have been like fish wriggling dumbly in a net; like worms crushed underfoot without the slightest sound.

Now we emerge from the removed debris and our tongues are untied. The first thing, the very first thing that we are going to do is to release our long suppressed cry, to let “our word” be heard.

The paper *Unzer vort* is above all a cry. Our first cry, but it is more than that.

* * *

Our unhappiness is so deep and great that no cry can express it, that it can be barely voiced. We thought once that our ancient, powerful *Lamentations* has faded, demanding a new and stronger form. But from where can we get a new Jeremiah?

Our pain is unspeakable, it cannot be wiped out. But even greater and deeper than our pain is our national will to remain alive.

The cry of *Unzer vort* expresses this great will to live. Therefore, it is not only limited to the outward foe or to the inner Polishness. We know that only a healthy national organism can bear such a shock like that which we have to bear. And we want to contribute with our word to the necessary process of restoring our lives to health.

It is four years ago (and what four years!) that we were cut off from the large Jewish centers. We don't know what it is like in the Jewish world today after the unprecedented catastrophe. We are completely ignorant of how the remnant of our people understands this catastrophe, how they react to it internally, which kind of mental reaction this has evoked, and how the national strength is working to re-equilibrate our destabilized national organism.

[2] All this we do not know. But our vivid and lively national instincts tell us that first of all we must react to our immediate Jewish surroundings. We must cleanse ourselves of the infections in and around us. And this we want to do with *Unzer vort*, which is, on the one hand, a cry and, on the other, a call to action.

Unzer vort is not published by an ideologically closed group. *Unzer vort* is a podium that is open to anyone who feels responsible for Jewish life and who feels connected to the life and death of the Jewish people and its fate; it is open to everyone for whom verbal expression is not a superficial means, but an inner compulsion, not a mere occupation but a duty, a national and humane duty.

We serve anew the public Jewish word with humble spiritual and material means, knowing that we are but just a small outpost of the weak, heavily damaged, world-wide Jewish culture front.

At such moments of catastrophe there is a large responsibility even in the smallest outpost. This knowledge is a burden, but also a source of strength.

Document 128

*Willy Y. Tonn*⁴⁴

December 13, 1940

Newspaper article, in: Der Mitarbeiter, no. 4, 9.

Microfilm; HCL, Judaica Collection, reel 96–270226061

Essen und Spiele der Chinesen

In chinesischen Haeusern wird das Essen in kleinen Schuesseln aufgetragen. Gegessen wird mit zwei Ess-Staebchen, die man in der rechten Hand haelt. Das eine Staebchen klemmt man am oberen Ende zwischen Daumen und Zeigefinger an der Wurzel. Es wird also in der Daumenbeuge festgehalten (nicht etwa wie ein Federhalter am unteren Ende) und in der Mittee [sic] des Staebchens mit dem vierten Finger festgedrueckt; dieses Staebchen bleibt unbewegt. Das andere obere Staebchen greift, indem es am dickeren Ende links vom Daumen, oben vom zweiten und rechts vom Mittelfinger gehalten und gelenkt wird. Der Mittelfinger liegt also frei am oberen Staebchen und kommt mit dem unteren Staebchen nicht in Beruehrung, wie zunaechst manche Europaeer glauben.

Die Speisen, von denen es zumeist viele Gaenge, bei grossen Festmahlzeiten ueber 30 gibt, werden alle klein zerschnitten serviert, so dass man kein Messer zum Zerteilen benoetigt. Die chinesische Kueche ist die reichhaltigste und neben der franzoesischen die schmackhafteste der Welt, so dass viele Gerichte auch dem Europaeer munden. Da der Raum zu beschraenkt ist, seien nur einige Delikatessen und Speisen herausgegriffen: Haifischflossen, Schwalbennestersuppe, Peking-Ente, Bambussprossen, Froschschenkel, Chopsuey (Gemisch von Huehner-, Enten-, Schweinefleisch, Pilzen, Bohnen- und Bambussprossen); Rinderbraten mit Pilzen in Curry, Huhn mit Maronen in Soja-Tunke, Ruehrei mit Kraeutern, Krabben und Bambus, Gefluegel-

44 About Tonn, see ch. 4, n. 4.

leber mit Kohl und Ingwer, gebackener Karpfen in Weintunke, Entenzunge mit Pilzen, Taubeneier mit Gemuese, Fleischpasteten mit Nudeln, usw. Vor dem Essen erfrischt man das Gesicht mit einem feuchtheissen Mundtuch und trinkt eine Tasse Tee. Aufgetragen werden zunaechst kleine Naepfe mit salziger Bohnentunke (aehnlich Maggi), da die chinesischen Gerichte im allgemeinen nicht gesalzen werden, mit gepoekeltem Gemueseklein, Aprikoosen und Nuessen sowie kleine Teller mit Melonen-, Sonnenblumenkernen, Salzmandeln, von denen man beliebig waehrend der Mahlzeit nimmt. Reis wird zu jedem Gang serviert, Fisch und Suppe nebst Obst stets am Ende des Mahls, danach werden Getraenke gereicht.

Bei und nach Tisch sind Gesellschaftsspiele ueblich wie Raetselraten, Scherzfragen, Erzaehlen von Witzen und Anekdoten, Verseschmieden, Zusammenstellen schwer aussprechbarer Saetze und das Fingerspiel, welches letzteres sehr beliebt ist und dem bekannten „Schere, Stein, Papier“ entspricht, in China seit der T'angzeit (618–906 n. Chr.) bekannt, chinesisch *huo-tchuean* = Oeffnen der Faust. Die Hand wird geballt und, entweder geschlossen oder einen bis fuenf Finger ausgestreckt, vorgeschneelt; gleichzeitig streckt der Gegner eine Zahl von Fingern nach vorn, dabei rufen beide eine Zahl von 0 bis 10. Wer die Summe der ausgestreckten Finger beider Haende richtig ausruft, hat gewonnen; der Verlierende muss einen Becher Wein leeren oder, wie der Chinese sagt, „*gan be*“ (= trocknen einen Becher). Raten beide richtig oder beide falsch, wird das Spiel ohne Straftrunk fortgesetzt.

Andere Gesellschaftsspiele sind Karten- und Geduldsspiele, ferner das Wuerfelpiel [sic], bei dem Pfeile in eine Vase mit engem Hals geworfen werden, bereits im *Li-ki*⁴⁵ erwaehnt, chinesisch: *tou-hu* = Werfen in den Topf. Die bekanntesten und beliebtesten Unterhaltungsspiele sind jedoch die Brettspiele *We-tchi* (japanisch: *Go* = Einkreisung-Schach), gespielt auf einem Brett von 19 mal 19 Linien mit 180 weissen und 181 schwarzen Steinen, und *Hiang-tchi* = Elefanten-Schach, auch genannt: Chinesisches Schach, gespielt auf einem Brett mit 9 mal 10 Linien und je 2 mal 16 Steinen bzw. Figuren, von denen sich die zwei Parteien oder Gegner in Farbe bzw. Schriftzeichen unterscheiden.

Es entspricht dem arabo-europaeischen Schach, hat aber mehr militaerischen Charakter und ist *das* Spiel Chinas. Man sieht es auf der Strasse von Kulis spielen, auch von Wettspielern als Schachaufgabe ausgebreitet und in Laeden, wo es Angestellte und Inhaber spielen, statt die Kundschaft zu bedienen. *Hiang-tchi* ist ein altes, einfaches Spiel, daher schon ab 13 cts. in jedem Warenhaus zu haben. Da jeder Leser es sicher gern erlernen und spielen wird,

45 The *Liji* (Record of Ritual) is a classical, canonical Han text on social behavior and court ceremony.

sei in der naechsten Nummer eine Erlaeuterung und Anweisung des Spiels gegeben, das man sich auch selbst anfertigen kann.

W. Y. T.

Document 129

M. K.⁴⁶

December 20, 1940

Newspaper article, in: *Der Mitarbeiter*, no. 5, 11.

Microfilm; HCL, Judaica Collection, reel 96–270226061

Die Kinder von Hongkew

Zum einjaehrigen Geburtstag der Schule in der Kinchow Road

Vor einigen Tagen gab es einen Geburtstag in Hongkew, der nicht gefeiert wurde: Die Schule in der Kinchow Road⁴⁷ wurde ein Jahr alt.

Und doch waere das Grund genug fuer eine grosse Feier gewesen. Heute ist es eine Selbstverstaendlichkeit, dass die kleinen Refugeekinder in eine Schule gehen. Als die Shanghai Jewish Youth Association vor einem Jahr die chinesische Schule in der Kinchow Road uebernahm, wurden 380 Refugeekinder aufgenommen und vierzehn Lehrer angestellt. Es war damals gar nicht so sicher, dass das Experiment – denn in Shanghai ist jede Neueinfuehrung ein Experiment – gelingen wuerde.

Es ist gelungen. Heute besucht die doppelte Anzahl von Kindern die Schule, die ein Segen ist fuer die junge, entwurzelte Generation.

46 This was maybe Max Eugen Kühnel (1909–1993) who was raised in Vienna. In 1940 he came via England to Shanghai, where he worked for some time as the editor of *Der Mitarbeiter*. In 1941 he managed to receive an entry permit for the United States. There he changed his name to Max Knight; cf. Joseph P. Strelka, *Des Odysseus Nachfahren. Österreichische Exilliteratur seit 1938*, Tübingen/Basel 1999, 125. In 1993 Knight finished his memoir, *The Story of My Life with Documents and Photographs* (unpublished manuscript), held at the UC Berkeley library.

47 The school's official name was the Shanghai Jewish Youth Association (SJYA) School. Founded by Horace Kadoorie in 1939 and supported by him, it became known as the Kadoorie School. Initially it was located next to the Kinchow Road camp, and in 1942 the school was moved to a new building on East Yuhang Road.

Sie ist nicht das, was man sich vermutlich im Ausland unter einer Refugeeschule in Shanghai vorstellen wuerde. Die Schule in der Kinchow Road ist eine praechtige Anstalt, in der diszipliniert und systematisch unter Anleitung von Fachleuten gelehrt wird. Um dreiviertel Acht sind die Strassen in der Umgebung der Schule gekennzeichnet durch hunderte von kleinen Buben und Maedchen, die, wie wir einst in Deutschland und Oesterreich, mit dem Raenzel auf dem Ruecken zur Schule pilgern. Um Punkt Acht laeutet die Glocke, die Kinder haben in den Baenken Platz genommen, der Lehrer tritt in die Klasse. Es werden Sprachen, Mathematik und „general knowledge“ unterrichtet, das aus Tierkunde, Pflanzenkunde, Geographie und Geschichte besteht.

Die Unterrichtssprache ist englisch. Mit einiger Uebertreibung kann man sagen: Je juenger das Kind, desto besser spricht es englisch; manchmal besser als die Lehrer, die selbst meist Refugees sind, und sich redlich bemuehen, sich fehlerfrei und fliessend auszudruecken; sie brauchen sich nicht zu schaeemen – *ihre* Unterrichtssprache war ja nicht englisch.

Die Headmistress⁴⁸ unterrichtet als Hauptfach Mathematik. Ihr besonderer Sport ist „mental arithmetic“, schnellstes Kopfrechnen, das als eine Art Wettbewerb geuebt wird, wobei das Kind gewinnt, das die richtige Loesung am raschesten gefunden hat. Es gibt kleine Wunder unter diesen Kopfrechenkuenstlern. Ich wurde eingeladen zuzuhoren und sass in der letzten Bank wie einst im Mai, als eine solche Konkurrenz begann. Es war in einer unteren Klasse. Die Headmistress nannte irgendeine Zahl, ordnete an, sie im Kopf mit einer anderen zu multiplizieren und – ohne das Resultat abzufragen – verlangte nun soundsoviel davon zu subtrahieren; hierauf zu dividieren, addieren, wieder multiplizieren, das ging so im Schnellzugstempo zwanzig, dreissig, vierzig Sekunden lag [sic], und als sie zuletzt fragte: „Is how much?“ riefen ein halbes Dutzend Spatzenkehlen gleichzeitig „Twenty four!“

„Have you been able to follow?“ fragte mich die Lehrerin. „No,“ sagte ich wahrheitsgemaess und machte ein Schafsgesicht. Ich haette selbst mit dem Bleistift laenger gebraucht.

Eine Schwierigkeit ist die Frage der Schulbuecher. Obgleich der Wohltaeater,⁴⁹ der hinter der Finanzierung der Schule steht, sich bemueht, alles Noetige anzuschaffen, ist es doch bisher nicht moeglich gewesen, jedes Kind mit eigenen Buechern zu versehen. Die Aufgaben und Beispiele aus den vorhandenen Buechern werden diktiert und muessen mitgeschrieben werden. Die waehrend des Unterrichts verwendeten Buecher gehen nach der Stunde

48 The headmistress who taught math and French was Lucie Hartwich (1892–?). She was principal of a private school in Berlin before the war; cf. Hochstadt, Exodus, 244; Buxbaum, Transit, 86.

49 This was Horace Kadoorie.

wieder ins Lehrzimmer zurueck, um auch anderwaerts verwendet werden zu koennen.

Wer sich ordentlich aufgefuehrt hat und in eine hoehere Klasse aufgestiegen ist, darf sich um die Mitgliedschaft zum „Club“ bewerben. Dieser Club, in einem anderen Teil des Schulgebaeudes untergebracht, ist mindestens ebenso bemerkenswert wie die Schule selbst. Hier ist die bedrueeckende Atmosphaere, die viele der Kinder den ganzen uebrigen Tag umgibt, auf einige Stunden gebannt, hier gibt es Luft und Platz, Teppiche auf dem Boden, Blumen in den Nischen und, vor allem, Beschaeftigung. Im „Club“ wird Buchbinden, Radiokonstruktion, Manicure, Naehen, Stricken, Haekeln, Hygiene, Erste Hilfe gelehrt, es gibt eine Musterkueche und eine Leihbibliothek, ein Ping-Pong Zimmer, Musikzimmer, eine Turnhalle and [sic] eine grosse Werkstaette. In der Halle koennen die „Clubmitglieder“ sitzen und spielen, plaudern oder lesen. Ausserdem gibt es eine Reihe von „activities“, Boxen, Hockey, Fussball, Korbball, Kino usw.

Die Kinder des Clubs haben ihre eigene Bank. Diese ist eine genaue Kopie einer echten Bank, mit gleichen Formularen und Kartotheken, mit Schecks und Sparbuechern. Das ist eine neue und ausgezeichnete Idee. Wir mussten diese Dinge erst im „wirklichen Leben“ lernen.

Last but not least, die Schule hat ihren eigenen Schularzt,⁵⁰ der staendig im Schulgebaeude anwesend ist, eine komplett eingerichtete Ordination hat und ueber jeden einzelnen seiner Schuetzlinge genau Buch fuehrt. Jedes Kind hat ein grosses Kartothekblatt, in dem alle wissenswerten Daten verzeichnet und von Zeit zu Zeit ueberprueft werden. Medikamente, Roentgen, Behandlung sind unentgeltlich.

Es ist schon allerhand, was da geleistet wurde. Die Schule als Refugeeschule ist jung, erst ein Jahr alt. Aber die Saat die hier gelegt wird ist schon jetzt unvergaenglich.

m k

50 The school physician was Paul Solomon (c. 1882–?); he was one of the editors of the *Medizinische Monatshefte Shanghai*, published by the CAEJR's medical board.

Document 130

Anonymous

March, 1940

Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Jewish Chronicle (Sonderausgabe), 9–11.

Photocopy, courtesy Howard Levin; NLI, Willy Tonn Collection, Arc. 4° 1899

Unsere Heime Der Rechenschaftsbericht der Zentralheimleitung

Als gegen Ende 1938, in jener Zeit, in der die Verfolgung des deutschen Judentums sich ihrem Hoehepunkt naeherte, der Zustrom der juedischen Fluechtlinge aus Deutschland nach Shanghai grosse Dimensionen auszunehmen begann, entstand das lebenswichtige Problem, wie die Befuersorgung dieser Emigrantenmassen, von denen die meisten ohne Mittel nach Shanghai kamen, in die Wege geleitet werden soll. Es war nicht allein das materielle Problem der Errichtung der ersten Zufluchtstaetten, die den Emigranten gewissermassen das Dach ueber dem Kopfe und ein Minimum an Ernaeh- rung sicherzustellen hatten, sondern vor allem auch ein psychologisches⁵¹ Problem, diesen tausenden aus ihren bisherigen Wohnstaetten vertriebenen und verzweifelten Menschen neuen Lebensmut einzufloessen und ihnen die ersten Schritte in einer neuen Umgebung und unter voellig geaenderten Lebensverhaeltnissen zu erleichtern. Es waren keine geringen Ansprueche, die an die lokalen Hilfsorganisationen in Shanghai gestellt worden waren. Aus diesen Bemuehungen kristallisierte sich im Laufe einer verhaeltnismaessig sehr kurzen Zeit eine grosse Unterstuetzungsorganisation, die die Befuersorgung der juedischen Emigranten in die Haende genommen hat und diese gigantische Aufgabe mit unstreitbarem Erfolg zu loesen wusste.

Es war vor allem das Verdienst des damaligen Praesidenten der ersten Hilfsorganisation M. Speelman, rechtzeitig erkannt zu haben, dass nur die Schaffung grosser und entsprechend eingerichteter Fluechtlingsheime einer Loesung des schwierigen Problems naeherbringen koennte. Bereits Ende Dezember 1938 schritt man an die Schaffung des Ward Road Heimes, das Mitte Januar 1939 eroeffnet werden konnte. Auf Anregung des Herrn Speelman folgten im Maerz das Wayside-Heim und im Mai desselben Jahres das Chauf- foong [sic] Heim.

51 Photo below the last line: people in a green courtyard in front of a one-story building, with tables set up in the courtyard; the caption reads “Verkaufsbazar im Ward-Road-Heim mit Garten.”

Als Herr Speelman um diese Zeit seine Europareise antrat, setzte Mr. Ellis Hayim in⁵² grosszuegiger Weise die begonnene Arbeit fort. So wurden das Kinchow-Heim und das Alkock [sic]-Heim errichtet. Ellis Hayim gelang es auch, Sir Victor Sassoon fuer seine Plaene zu gewinnen und auf seine Anregung stellte Sir Victor Sassoon das Pingliang Heim der Emigration zur Verfuegung.

Nahezu gleichzeitig mit der Eroeffnung des ersten grossen Heimes in der Ward Road wurde Julius Weinberger, der schon bei den ersten Bemuehungen um die Organisierung der Hilfsmassnahmen sich sehr hervorgetan hat, mit der Leitung aller Heime betraut. Ihm oblag nunmehr die schwierige und verantwortungsvolle Aufgabe, die grosszuegigen Plaene des Komitees ins Praktische umzusetzen.

Im Nachstehenden soll an der Hand des Rechenschaftsberichtes, den uns der Leiter der Heime, Herr Julius Weinberger, zur Verfuegung stellt, gezeigt werden, welch gewaltiges Stueck Arbeit auf diesem vielleicht entscheidenden Gebiete der Bekaempfung der Emigrantennot geleistet werden musste, um das Aufbauwerk der Emigrantengemeinschaft in Shanghai ueberhaupt erst moeglich zu machen.

Die Zentralheimleitung erstattet ihren Tätigkeitsbericht

Die Vorgeschichte

Als die juedischen Fluechtlinge im Herbst des Jahres 1938 nicht mehr ganz vereinzelt, sondern in immer groesseren Trupps in Shanghai einzutreffen begannen, wurde zunaechst im Embankment eine Art Sammelstelle geschaffen, wo man die Ankoemmlinge unterbrachte. Die Raeume erwiesen sich zeitweilig als zu klein, und so war man gezwungen, Fluechtlinge in der Synagoge Museumsroad schlafen zu lassen.

Die Verpflegung wurde anfangs in einem chinesischen Restaurant in der Szechuen Road durchgefuehrt. Zu dieser Zeit erwies sich Miss Mathy Abraham als ganz besonders hilfsbereit. Monatelang liess sie auf eigene Kosten an hunderte Fluechtlinge Fruehstueck und Abendbrot austeilten und leitete in hingebender Weise persoendlich die Ausspeisung.

Ward-Road-Heim

Mit der Eroeffnung des Ward Road Heimes, Mitte Januar 1939, begann eine neue Periode der Fluechtlingsfuersorge in Shanghai. Das Gebaeude in der Ward Road war fuer die Unterbringung von 1000 Personen gedacht. Zunaechst musste es aber in einen brauchbaren Zustand versetzt werden, da es ebenso, wie fast alle Haeuser Hongkews, schwere Kriegsschaeden aufzuwei-

52 Photo below the last line: a portrait of a man; the caption reads "Julius Weinberger."

sen hatte. Daecher waren zerschossen, Mauern zertruemmert usw., sodass ein tuechtiges Stueck Arbeit zu leisten war, ehe an die Einrichtung gedacht werden konnte.

Die Baulichkeiten, die frueher fuer Schulzwecke benuetzt wurden, waren fuer die Errichtung eines Heimes ueberaus geeignet. Die grossen Schulzimmer boten Schlafräume fuer je 20–36 Personen. Sie wurden mit Doppelbetten ausgestattet, so zwar dass fuer jeden einzelnen Mann noch immer Raum zur Unterbringung seiner Habseligkeiten uebrig blieb.⁵³

Eine der wichtigsten Vorbedingungen, an die von Hause aus gedacht werden musste, war es, einwandfreie sanitaere Verhaeltnisse zu schaffen, da sonst angesichts der in Shanghai immer wieder auftretenden Seuchen der Ausbruch von Epidemien [sic] im Heim zu befuerchten war. So wurde nach Weisungen der Aerzte eine Klosetanlage errichtet. Sie erwies sich in der Zukunft als voellig entsprechend, da sie jederzeit reingehalten und ### ## ##⁵⁴ werden konnte. Vor all## ##⁵⁵ Umstand ist es zu danken, dass im Ward Road Heim trotz des zeitweilig gewaltigen Menschenandranges, nie eine ernste Epidemie ausgebrochen ist.

Bis Mitte Januar 1939 waren die ersten Emigranten in einem Gebaeude in der Washington [sic] -Road untergebracht. Diese Unterkunftsstaette erwies sich bald als voellig unzureichend. Dieses Fluechtlingsheim wurde auch nach kurzer Zeit aufgelassen und aus diesem Gebaeude entstand ein juedisches Spital.⁵⁶

Im Spaetfruehjahr wurde eine Badegelegenheit mit Warm- und Kaltwasser errichtet. Als Regiebeitrag wurde nur 1 Cent pro Bad eingehoben. Die Einrichtung fand ausserordentlichen Beifall, was am besten daraus hervorgeht, dass das Bad an manchen Tagen von 400 Personen benuetzt wurde.

Waehrend von Anbeginn ein sehr geraeumiger Speisesaal vorhanden war, der nur mit Tischen und Baenken ausgestattet werden musste, war sofort bei Errichtung des Heimes eine eigene Kueche zu schaffen. Sie wurde immer und immer wieder erweitert und bietet jetzt die Moeglichkeit, 6500 Menschen drei warme Mahlzeiten am Tag zu verabreichen.

Die anderen Heime

Auf Grund der Erfahrungen, die bei Errichtung des Ward Road Heimes gemacht worden waren, konnten fuer die weiteren Heime die entsprechen-

53 Photo below the last line: several people standing in front of a house; the caption reads "Essenausgabe im Ward-Road-Heim."

54 Page torn.

55 Page torn; the words obviously read "allem diesem."

56 This was the Emigrant's Hospital on Whashing Road.

den Gebaueude zweckmaessig ausgesucht und eingerichtet werden. Ehe die Behoerden die Einwanderungssperre fuer Shanghai verhaengten, was Ende August geschah, mussten die neuen Heime so geschaffen werden, dass sie auch einem Massenansturm gerecht werden konnten. Durch diese Vorsorge war es im Juni, Juli und August, als die Einwanderungswelle ihren Hoehepunkt erreichte, jederzeit moeglich, allen Anforderungen zu entsprechen.

[10] Das Waysideheim war fuer Familien und Ehepaare bestimmt worden. Es bot ungefaehr 300 Personen Platz. In der Chaufoong [sic]-Road konnten 800 Personen, im Kinchow-Heim 1200 Personen, im Alcockheim 700 Personen untergebracht werden.

Das Pingliangheim ist jenes Heim, auf das die Fluechtlinge selbst stolz sein duerfen. Es war von Anbeginn fuer die Unterbringung junger arbeits-tuechtiger Menschen gedacht und ist von ihnen eingerichtet worden. Dank der Arbeit dieser Leute ist das Pingliangheim heute eines der schoensten Heime Shanghais.⁵⁷

Verpflegung

Mit der Errichtung und dem Ausbau der Heime war die Frage der Befuerung tausender von Fluechtlingen selbstverstaendlich noch nicht geloest. Man musste vor allem fuer die *Verpfegung* [sic] *der grossen Menschenmasse* Sorge tragen.

Das erste Heim, das Ward-Road-Heim, fungierte auch als die zentrale Verpflegestelle. Nicht nur die in diesem Heim wohnenden Personen, sondern auch die vielen Emigranten, die ausserhalb der Heime leben, werden von der Kueche des Ward-Road-Heimes mit drei Mahlzeiten taeglich versorgt.⁵⁸

Die Verlegung des Committees [sic] aus dem Embankment-Building in die Alcock-Road war nur dadurch moeglich, dass das technische Office fuer einen grosszuegigen Umbau im Alcock-Heim Sorge trug. Der allgemein bekannte Aussenbau des Heimes in der Pingliang Road, nicht zuletzt die Einrichtung eines Roentgenzimmers in der Ward Road und eines Laboratoriums im Washington-Hospital in der Washington Road waren gleichfalls wichtige Arbeitsaufgaben, die waehrend des Berichtjahres geloest werden mussten.⁵⁹

Zu Beginn waren es nur etwa 1000 Menschen, die hier verpflegt wurden. Diese Zahl stieg in kurzer Zeit auf 6500. Durch eine entsprechende Erweiterung der Kueche und eine Rationalisierung des ganzen Betriebes ist es

57 Photo below the last line: a three-story building; the caption reads "Wayside-Heim."

58 Photo below the last line: a hall, people sitting on simple chairs next to tables; the caption reads "Aufenthaltsraum im Kinchowheim."

59 Photo below the last line: a man bending over some buckets next to a house wall; the caption reads "An der Arbeit."

moeglich geworden, rund 20 000 *Mahlzeiten an einem Tage* reibungslos auszufolgen. In den ersten Monaten wurde die Kueche des Heimes von Herrn *Wroclawsky* gefuehrt. Dann uebernahm Frau *Joseph* den Kuechenbetrieb und stellte ihn auf voellig neue Grundlage.

Bei Zusammenstellung der Mahlzeiten wird auf aertzliche Ratschlaege Ruecksicht genommen und insbesondere daran gedacht, dass entsprechende Mengen von Vitaminen verabreicht werden, um die bei Massenauspeisungen drohenden Mangelkrankheiten nach Moeglichkeit zu verhindern.

In den ersten Monaten wurde nicht rituell gekocht. Auf Wunsch der Herren des Komitees fuehrte man spaeter koschere Kueche ein, wobei es sich zeigte, dass diese Zubereitung den meisten Emigranten besser mundete und auch die Kosten der Verpflegung sich nicht hoeher stellten, als bei nichtritueller Kueche.

Fuer die Aufbewahrung der Lebensmittel wurden ein grosser Kuehlraum und ein eigenes Magazin errichtet.

Arbeitsmoeglichkeiten

Abgesehen von Unterbringung und Verpflegung hatte die Zentralheimleitung auch daran zu denken, so viel [sic] Fluechtlingen wie nur moeglich Arbeit zu schaffen. Deshalb wurde das Grundprinzip aufgestellt, *jede nur irgend denkbare [Arbei]t von Emigranten verrichten* zu lassen.

Anfangs waren in der Kueche nur 8 Personen beschaeftigt. Derzeit wird in der Kueche und bei der Ausspeisung rund 93 Personen Verdienst gegeben. In der Fleischhauerei allein sind 18 Fleischer beschaeftigt.

Jedem Heim wurde ein Arbeitskommando [von] bis zu 10 Personen zugeteilt. Diese Leute haben die Instandhaltung der Heime und alle notwendigen Reparaturen zu besorgen. In diesen Gruppen sind Fachleute aller Handwerke beschaeftigt. Nichthandwerker wurden zum Ordnungsdienst herangezogen. In den Heimen wurde eine Heimpolizei von 35 Mann geschaffen, die fuer den Wachdienst herangezogen werden und fuer Ruhe und Ordnung in den Raeumen und bei der Ausspeisung sorgen.

Technische A[rbeit]⁶⁰

Am 8. Maerz 1939 wurde vom Zentralheimleiter Julius Weinberger ein eigenes technisches Office (*Work-Department*) ins Leben gerufen, das mit der Aufgabe betraut wurde, alle Arbeiten, die mit dem Aufbau und der Erhaltung und dem Betrieb der Heime im Zusammenhang stehen, zu entwerfen, zu ueberwachen und deren Kosten entsprechend zu ueberpruefen. Eine ganze Reihe von wichtigen technischen Aufgaben wurden [sic] mit Hilfe dieser Or-

60 Paper torn.

ganisation in vorbildlicher [sic] Weise geloest. Einige Beispiele moegen den Umfang dieser Arbeit illustrieren.

So konnte die Leistungsfahigkeit der *Zentralkueche* in kurzer Zeit vielfacht werden. Die Zahl von Kesseln wurde von vier auf vierundzwanzig erhoeht, Nebenkuechen – fuer Kinder und Kranke – geschaffen, Kuechenraeume selbst auf das Sechsfache vergroessert. Bei einer einmaligen Kesseluellung koennen heute 7000 Portionen ohne weiteres fertiggestellt werden.

Das Problem der *Wasserversorgung* musste im Ward-Road-Heim ebenfalls geloest werden. Das Gebaeude, das mehr als 35 Jahre alt ist, war nur fuer drei Auslaufhaehne dimensioniert. Es musste nun eine eigene Wasserzuleitung gelegt werden, um 113 Wasserauslaufhaehne schaffen zu koennen.

Aehnlicherweise wurde die Kapazitaet der *elektrischen* Versorgung wesentlich gehoben. Ferner wurden eigene *Kuehlraeume* errichtet, in denen 4000 Pfund Fleisch eingelagert werden koennen.

Im selben Jahre wurde eine eigene Kueche mit sechs Kesseln und einer Gaskueche fuer Kinder und Kranke im Kinchow-Heim errichtet. Eine aehnliche Anlage entstand gleichzeitig in dem Heim in der Chaoufoong-Road.

Durch die Installierung von nicht weniger als 75 Brausebaedern fuer Kalt- und Warmwasser konnte eine ausserordentlich hohe *Badekapazitaet* erreicht [sic] werden. Bei einer durchschnittlichen Badezeit von 15 Minuten und einem nur achtstuendigen Tagesbetrieb koennen taeglich 2400 Personen baden.

Daneben liefen die vielfaeltigen Kleinarbeiten, eine Unmenge von Aufgaben im Dienste der *Instandsetzung*, die durchgefuehrt werden mussten. So wurden beispielsweise in der Periode zwischen Maerz und Ende Dezember 1939 nicht weniger als 1242 Auftraege erledigt, die saemtlich von der Werkstaette in der Ward Road, wo vier Emigranten beschaeftigt sind, ausgefuehrt wurden.

Das Kostenproblem

Alle diese Arbeiten beanspruchten einen Beitrag von Sh.⁶¹ Dollar 23 308. Fast die Haelfte dieses Betrages floss arbeitenden Emigranten zu, die selbst in der Fuersorge der Heime leben. Durch die Schaffung des Umschulungslagers in der Pingliang Road wird es in der jetzt laufenden Periode moeglich sein, nahezu alle technischen Arbeiten *von Emigranten selbst* ausfuehren zu lassen.

Dass es gelingen konnte, diese technische Arbeitsorganisation ueberhaupt ins Leben zu rufen, die nicht nur ganz ausserordentliche Ersparnisse im Budget der Heime bewirkt, sondern ein unentbehrliches Rueckgrat der Instandhaltung und des Aufbaus der Heime bildet, ist nicht zuletzt das Ver-

61 Shanghai.

dienst des Ingenieur *Theodor Steinherz*, der unermuedlich darum gekaempft hat, die technischen Faehigkeiten der Emigration entsprechend auszuwerten und sie in den Dienst der Aufbauarbeit dieser Emigration zu stellen.⁶²

Umschulung

Ueberaus erfolgreiche Versuche werden im Pingliang- und Kinchow-Heim angestellt, um vor allem juengere Emigranten dem Erwerbsleben zuzufuehren.

Das Pingliangheim war von Hause aus als Umschulungslager gedacht. Bereits bei seiner Errichtung wurden junge Menschen herangezogen, die unter Leitung von Technikern und Fachleuten nicht nur das Heim selbst schufen, sondern gleichzeitig in neue Berufszweige eingefuehrt wurden. Nach seiner Fertigstellung ### ## ## ## ## ## ## ## ## ## ##⁶³ das Pingliangheim fuer Umschulungskurse eingerichtet. Derzeit gibt es dort Lehrwerkstaetten und Kurse fuer Elektriker, Bauhandwerker, Tischler, und Schlosser. In diesen Kursen werden 300 *junge Maenner zu neuen Berufen* erzogen.

Mit aehnlichen Absichten hat Mrs. Kann im Kinchow-Heim die Kinchow-Works errichtet. Sie sind ueber den Lehrzweck hinaus auf geschaeftliche Basis gestellt worden. In den Kinchow-Works werden Herren- und Damenkleider, Strickwaren, Kunstgegenstaende fuer den Verkauf erzeugt, wobei die besonderen Faehigkeiten, die die Emigranten mitgebracht haben, und ihr Geschmack nutzbringend zur Geltung kommen. Die Kinchow-Workshops, die eine Verkaufsstelle in der Nanking Road errichtet haben und obendrein fuer den Export arbeiten, haben bereits erstaunliche Resultate aufzuweisen.⁶⁴

Krankenfuersorge

Nicht nur an Gesunde, sondern auch an die Kranken hatte die Zentral-Heimleitung zu denken. Vom ersten Tage an wurden in allen Heimen Ambulatorien installiert, in denen je drei Aerzte mit dazugehoerigem geschulten [sic] Sanitaetspersonal Dienst machten. Die Aerzte hatten nicht nur den gesundheitlichen Zustand der Heimbewohner, sondern auch alle sanitaeren und hygienischen Einrichtungen zu ueberwachen.

62 Photo below the last line: a big three-story building with trees in front; the caption reads "Kinchow-Heim."

63 Page torn.

64 Photo below the last line: people standing next to a house wall; the caption reads "Vor dem Eingang zum Speisesaal des Ward Road Heims. In der Mitte Dr. Tartakower, der die Essensausgabe beaufsichtigt."

Die Aerzte und die Zentral-Heimleitung wurden im Mai auf eine sehr ernste Probe gestellt, da unter den Emigranten eine Scharlachepedemie ausbrach. Dank der getroffenen Vorsorge konnte diese gefaehrliche Epedemie in ueberraschend kurzer Zeit gaenzlich zum Stillstand gebracht werden, der beste Beweis fuer die Zweckmaessigkeit des aertzlichen Dienstes und der sanitaeren Einrichtungen.

Waehrend dieser Epedemie wurde das Schulgebaeude in der Chaufoong Road als Epidemie [sic]-Spital ausgestattet und hat sich seither bei Infektionskrankheiten als Isolierspital aufs Beste bewaehrt.

Jedem Ambulatorium ist in den Heimen ein Krankenzimmer angegliedert, wo leichte Faelle einige Tage behandelt und beobachtet werden koennen. Fuer ernste Erkrankungen wurde das Washington-Hospital als allgemeines *juedisches Krankenhaus* in jenem Gebaeude eingerichtet, das in den ersten Tagen als Washingheim bekannt war. Das Juedische Spital kann mehr als sechzig bettlaegerige Patienten aufnehmen und verfuegt ueber alle Behelfe, die zu einen Spital gehoeren.

Als ueberaus wichtige Neuerung wurde in den letzten Wochen im Ward-Road-Heim eine *Poliklinik* eingerichtet, in der Spezialaerzte fuer Augen, Ohren, Nase, Lunge, usw. eine fachaertzliche Behandlung ambulatorischer Kranker gewaehrleisten. Besonders wertvoll ist es, dass ein Roentgenzimmer eingerichtet werden konnte.

Dank dem persoenlichen Eingreifen von Mrs. R. D. Abraham ist in allerjuengster Zeit im Ward-Road-Heim eine aufs beste ausgestattete *Geburtsklinik* eingerichtet worden. Juedische Kinder werden fortan im juedischen Heim zur Welt kommen.

In allen aertzlichen und sanitaeren Fragen fand die Heimleitung beim Health Department und beim Medical Board, an deren Spitze Professor Reiss steht, immer beste Unterstuetzung.

Kulturelle Einrichtungen

Die Zentral-Heimleitung sah es als eine ihrer Hauptaufgaben an, sich um religioese und kulturelle Fragen zu kuemmern.

Von Anbeginn an durfte in einer juedischen Gemeinschaft das Bethaus nicht fehlen. In den ersten Tagen diente ein kleines Zimmerchen als Betraum, spaeter wurde im Ward-Road-Heim ein grosses Zimmer als synagogaler Bet-saal eingerichtet. Besonders feierlich gestalteten sich die Gottesdienste an den hohen Feiertagen, wobei Zentralheimleiter Weinberger selbst zu den Andaechtigen sprach.

Anlaesslich Chanukah wurden in allen Heimen Feiern veranstaltet. Die groesste war jene im Kinchow-Heim, der Praesident Elis [sic] Hayim und Familie Abraham beiwohnten.

Ebenso wie fuer religioese Dinge sorgte die Zentral-Heimleitung fuer kulturelle. In allen Heimen wurden *Englisch-Kurse* eingerichtet, die von nahezu der Haelfte aller Heimbewohner mehr oder minder fleissig besucht wurden.

Dem Vergnuegen dienten *Unterhaltungsabende* in allen Heimen, die alle acht bis vierzehn Tage stattfanden und zu denen sich die Kuenstler nahezu unentgeltlich zur Verfuegung stellten. Die Organisation dieser Abende wurde anfangs vom zweiten Buerochef des Heimoffice, Herrn *Gruen*, durchgefuehrt. Da er mit anderer Arbeit ueberlastet war, wurde Herr *Erwin Engel* mit dem Veranstaltungsressort betraut.⁶⁵

Der Jugend wurde Moeglichkeit zum *Sportbetrieb* gegeben. Im Kinchow-Heim befindet sich ein grosser Sportplatz, der entsprechend hergerichtete [sic] wurde. Auf ihm wird wochentags gespielt und trainiert und an Sonntagen finden Wettspiele statt, denen oft bis zu 2000 Personen beiwohnen. In allen Heimen haben sich Fussballmannschaften, Ping-Ponggruppen usw. gebildet.

Mit dem *Schulunterricht* hat die Zentral-Heimleitung nicht direkt zu tun, sondern kann nur jene grandiose Arbeit unterstuetzen, die *Mr. Horace Kadoorie* leistet. Er hat im Kinchow-Heim eine vorbildliche Schule eingerichtet, in der rund 600 juedische Kinder von englischen Lehrern in ausgezeichneter Weise unterrichtet werden.

Fuer Kinder im vorschulpflichtigen Alter ist von der Zentral-Heimleitung im Wayside-Heim ein Kindergarten geschaffen worden, in dem rund 60 Kinder betreut werden und ihre Freude finden.

Wirtschaftliche Fragen

Ein grosser Teil der Arbeit der Zentral-Heimleitung muss wirtschaftlichen Dingen gewidmet sein.

Der Einkauf der Lebensmittel, der den Herren *Dr. Loewenstein* und *Loewinger* untersteht, die Anschaffung von Materialien, von Heizmaterial usw. erfordert angesichts der bedeutenden in Bewegung gesetzten Summen grosse kaufmaennische Geschicklichkeit. Die Zentral-Heimleitung glaubt gerade in diesem Belange sehr wertvolle Arbeit geleistet zu haben und fuehrt als ein Beispiel fuer viele andere folgende Tatsachen an:

[11] Im Februar kostete die vom Komitee bei einem Chinesen durchgefuehrte Verpflegung fuer eine einzelne Person 45 Shanghaicent pro Tag. Seither sind infolge der Abwertung des Shanghaidollars nahezu alle Preise auf das Doppelte, sehr viele sogar um mehr gestiegen. Dennoch gelang es der Zentralheimleitung zu erreichen, dass die Verpflegungskosten der einzelnen Person nicht hoeher als auf 52 Cent kamen, wohin sie seit Februar um nicht mehr als

65 Photo below the last line: a big, three-story building with a lawn in front; the caption reads "Kinchow-Heim mit Sportplatz."

15 Prozent gestiegen sind. Dabei ist festzuhalten, dass weder Qualitaet noch Menge der verabreichten Verpflegung verschlechtert, sondern gerade im Gegenteil wesentlich verbessert wurde.

Auch was *Beamtenstab* und Hilfskraefte anlangt, liess die Zentral-Heimleitung grosste Sparsamkeit walten, wobei sie von den einzelnen Mitarbeitern auf das Beste unterstuetzt wurde. Der gesamte Verwaltungsapparat fuer diese umfangreichen Arbeiten in den Heimen ist sehr gering. Buerochef des Office ist Herr *Guttman*, sein Vertreter Herr *Gruen*. In den Heimen sind folgende Leiter eingesetzt: *Stern* (Chauofoong); *Reif* (Kinchow), *Blaut* (Pingliang), *Schnitzer* (Alcock), *Wachtel* (Wayside).

Ein Zeugnis der grossen Aufbauarbeit

Dieser trockene und nuechterne, mit Daten, belegte Rechenschaftsbericht der Zentralheimleitung ist ein Dokument eines unermuedlichen Aufbauwerkes, das im Zeitraum von kaum einem Jahr vollbracht werden musste. Wie viele von den Emigranten verliessen das Deutsche Reich mit acht Reichsmark in der Tasche, mit den wichtigsten Gegenstaenden des taeglichen Bedarfes und mit einer Schiffskarte ausgeruestet, fuer eine Reise nach einem fernen Winkel Ostasiens, nicht wissend, ob sie jene notwendige Hilfe finden werden, die ihnen ueber die erste und schwerste Zeit der Emigration hinweghelfen sollte.

Sie haben diese Hilfe gefunden. Man erbaute Heime, damit sie einen Schlaf- und Aufenthaltsraum haben, damit sie nicht obdachlos die Existenz beginnen muessen. Man baute Kuechen fuer sie, um fuer ihre Verpflegung Sorge zu tragen. Man tat das Noetigste, um die erste Phase der Emigration in Shanghai zu erleichtern. Wenn Tausende von Emigranten nach Wochen und Monaten recht und schlecht Fuss fassen und eine kleine Existenz finden konnten, so verdanken manche von ihnen diese Gestaltung nicht zuletzt dem Vorhandensein der Heime, dieser ersten Zufluchtstaetten der Emigration.

Document 131

*Willy Hausen*⁶⁶

December 19, 1941

Newspaper article, in: *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, no. 25, 1.

Microfilm; YIVO, Y-2003, 1854.7

66 The lawyer Dr. Willy Hausen (c. 1888–?) worked regularly for the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*; cf. Seywald, *Journalisten*, 276, 319.

Die Gemeinde spricht:

Die Zeiten sind noch ernster geworden. Das Unglueck der juedischen Emigranten, getrennt vom Heimatland, zu dem jetzt auch das letzte Band zerrissen ist, getrennt von ihren Naechsten, die ueber alle Erdteile zerstreut sind, ohne Verbindungsmoeglichkeit zu ihnen, meist noch ohne die geringsten Mittel und Erwerbsmoeglichkeit – es ist so gross, dass man meinen koennte, es ginge ueber menschliche Kraft es zu ertragen. Doch schwere Zeiten erfordern Ausserordentliches, nicht allein von den Juden. Und wir, die wir schon geuebt sind in Leid und Unglueck, wir muessen stark bleiben. Wir duerfen uns nicht erdruecken lassen. Wir muessen unsern Halt suchen in den Wahrheiten unserer Lehre und der der grossen Geister der Menschheit. Wir muessen in uns selbst den Glauben staerken, dass trotz aller Rueckschlaege und trotz allen Kummers der Tag der Erloesung fuer uns kommen wird. Wir muessen Philosophen und Makkabaer zugleich sein.

Aber weil die Zeiten ernster geworden sind, muss unsere schon oft ausgesprochene Mahnung zu Wuerde und Haltung erneut betont werden. Vergessen wir nie, dass wir, ob wir wollen oder nicht, nach dem Schlechtesten unter uns beurteilt werden. Darum mag sich jeder hueten, unsozial oder gar straffaellig zu werden. Wir muessen von solchen Elementen abruecken im Interesse der Allgemeinheit. Und wehe dem, der dieses Schicksal wird fuehlen muessen. Diese Warnung [sic] sind keine leeren Worte, wir haben ernsten Grund genug, dies eindringlichst auszusprechen. Wir Juden haben die Pflicht, uns in die Verhaeltnisse, die gegeben sind, willig einzuordnen und zu arbeiten: an uns, an unsrer Existenz und an unsrer Gemeinschaft.

An dieser Aufgabenstellung hat sich auch durch den neuesten Kriegsausbruch nichts geaendert. Nur ernster wird dadurch die Pflicht eines jeden, der das Glueck hat, Arbeit gefunden oder sie noch behalten zu haben, diese in Anstand und Ehrlichkeit auszufuehren. Nicht unnuetzes Reden, nicht unnuetzes Herumstehen auf den Strassen und vor den Wechslerlaeden, sondern Ruhe und Wuerde: das ist fuer uns die Forderung des Tages. Den Anordnungen der Behoerden loyalst nachzukommen war schon immer fuer uns selbstverstaendlich. In dieser schweren Zeit moechten wir dies noch einmal hervorheben und besonders davor warnen, Preise unberechtigt zu steigern oder Waren zurueckzuhalten. Mag jeder das Gefuehl haben, dass die Behoerden ihn schuetzen, solange er die Gesetze und Anordnungen, ueber die man sich stets auf dem laufenden halten muss, strikte beachtet. Wir muessen Vertrauen haben zu uns selbst und zu der Gemeinde, die immer mehr dazu berufen wird, unser Geschick zu lenken.

In diesen vom Chanukahlicht geweihten Tagen soll jeder von dem Gedanken erfuellt sein, dass auch fuer ihn das Prophetenwort geschrieben ist: „Fuer immer sollst Du nicht weinen!“⁶⁷

Dr. Hausen

Document 132

Essye

July 4, 1942

Newspaper article, in: Shanghai-Woche, no. 6, 4.

Microfilm; courtesy Hartmut Walravens

Shanghai, eine religioese Stadt

Shanghai, welches von 51 verschiedenen Nationalitaeten bewohnt ist, hat nicht nur den Ruf, die Stadt des Verbrechens und der Seuchen zu sein, sondern Shanghai ist auch ein Olympus der Religionen. Shanghai's aeltester buddistischer Tempel wurde bereits 250 A.D. gebaut und ist noch jetzt an der Ecke Bubbling Well Road/Avenue Haig zu sehen. Der bekannteste Tempel wurde im Jahre 1937 mit der Erlaubnis der Japaner von Nantao nach der franzoesischen Konzession gebracht, wahrscheinlich weil es den buddistischen Goettern in Nantao zu unsicher wurde.⁶⁸ Jetzt steht dieser bekannte buddistische Tempel Ecke Avenue Foch und Luzan Road. Ein Teehaus und hunderte von Laeden umgeben diesen Tempel. Im grossen und Ganzen sind Chinesen nicht religioes. Wenn man eine religioese Athmosphaere [sic] finden will, dann muss man sich einige der christlichen Kirchen oder die japanischen Tempel ansehen. Die aelteste Kirche steht seit 1640 in Nantao und es gibt keine christliche Gemeinschaft, welche hier nicht vertreten ist. Da ist die katholische Kathedrale in Zikawei,⁶⁹ die groesste Kirche Chinas, die franzoesische Kirche Eglise Saint-Joseph, die russische Kathedrale in [sic] Route Paul Henri, die deutsche Kirche in der Avenue Haig, die amerikanische Kirche in der Avenue Pétain und die englische Kirche in der Kiangse Road. Auch an Synagogen gibt es bekanntlich in Shanghai keinen Mangel, die groessten sind

⁶⁷ Cf. e.g. Isaiah 30:19 or Ezekiel 24:16.

⁶⁸ Nantao was an old district of Shanghai that bordered on the French Concession.

⁶⁹ The local pronunciation of the Shanghai area and the cathedral of the same name (today Xujiahui), built around 1906.

in der Seymour Road, Museum Road und Route [Tenant] de la Tour. Es gibt ebenfalls eine tuerkische Moschee in Shanghai wie auch einen Sikh Tempel, nur gibt es noch keinen Caodaist Tempel in dieser Stadt.

Coadismus⁷⁰ [sic] ist die juengste Religion und kam erst im Jahre 1923 in Cochin-China ins Entstehen. Die Glaebigen glauben an Mahomet, Buddha, Jesus Christus, Confucius, Saint Joan, die franzoesische Heldin, und an Veringetorix, dem [sic] celtischen Krieger. All diese sollen friedlich im Himmel vereinigt sein.

Essye

Document 133

*Adolf Floersheim*⁷¹

August 1, 1942

Published poem, in: Shanghai-Woche, no. 9, 3.

Microfilm; courtesy Hartmut Walravens

Arbeit

Ein junger Familienvater verlaesst
Frau und Kinder um in dem Gebiet
von Hangtschau am Eisenbahnbau teilzunehmen.

Hunger, Not und Pein seit Wochen,
Zerlumpt und muede, schlapp und matt,
Des Abends in das Bett gekrochen,
Weil seit langem nicht mehr satt.

Arbeit kennt man kaum vom sagen,
Ruh und Frieden sind vorbei,
Leben kaum noch wert zu tragen,
Hoert den Ruf, vernehmt den Schrei:
Arbeit!

70 Caodaism, officially established in October 1926, was first practiced in the southern part of modern Vietnam, then called Cochinchina by the French colonial administration.

71 The List of Foreigners records merchant Floersheim (c. 1909–?), his wife Hanni, and their 10-year-old daughter Marianne.

Gott sei Dank sie bringt Genesung,
 Brot und Arbeit rettet uns,
 Arbeit ist fuer uns Erloesung,
 Denn sie macht die Fesseln frei.

Adolf Floersheim
 (Wayside Heim)

Document 134

B. Mandelbaum⁷²

1943

Magazine article, in: *Der yidisher almanakh – The Jewish Almanac, Shanghai* 1943, 13f.

Microfilm; YIVO, Y–2003, 1854.5

The Mirrer Yeshivah⁷³ in Galuth-Shanghai

(A page from my Shanghai Diary)

Yeshivoth in Shanghai – what an odd paradox! And only the present wild, unruly, bloody war-epoch could unite such two fundamental contrasts.

Yeshivoth – the highest and most idealistic symbol of heavenly-pur#ed⁷⁴ Jewish spirit; of aspiration to human perfection, of renouncement of the “Golden Calf” (עגל-הזהב); of liberation from bodily slavery, – and on the other side: the noisy, wildly- dissolute Shanghai, kneeling to the idol of gold; where man has been transformed into a “coolie,” and such is the reference

72 Yaakov (Yankev) Berish Mandelboym (1912–?) was born in Zamość, and was a busy journalist writing for many Yiddish papers in pre-war Poland, some of which he edited. In 1939 he escaped from Warsaw. In Shanghai he contributed to *Unzer lebn* and *Di yidische shtime fun vaytn mizrekh* (The Jewish Voice from the Far East). He was editor of the latter, and of the Yiddish-English magazine *Der yidisher almanakh – The Jewish Almanac*. After the war he settled in New York, where he worked as a librarian; cf. Khaym-Leyb Fuks, Yankev-Berish Mandelboym (Jacob ber [Berish] Mandelbaum), in: Joshua Fogel (ed.), *Yiddish Leksikon*, <<http://yleksikon.blogspot.de/2017/07/yankev-berish-mandelboym-jacob-ber.html>> (September 12, 2017).

73 Cf. ch. 3, n. 128.

74 Possibly “purged.”

to all problems of man in life; a city, where the materialistic egotism is the very foundation of its existence; a city, that exhales such air, as is by far too unhealthy to a man with the tiniest ideal within his heart, the more so to a religious Jewish learned man.

And into such a Babylonian city the storm of war has driven several hundred “Bnei-Torah.”⁷⁵

In my memory those feelings of dread and apprehension are still intact, those feelings which have filled us when the “Bnei-Torah” have moved from Kobe to Shanghai. My mind was constantly pierced and drilled as though by a worm, by the question: Will they succeed in bringing the great quantity of vital force here also to maintain and develop the treasures of Judaism?

Will not that Shanghai money-jingle drown their soft, wonderful, divine Gemorrah-tune?⁷⁶

Then came the reality and proved the spiritual stability of the “Bnei-Yeshivoth,” their moral integrity, and their age-long responsibility for the Jewish people, for the Jewish eternity.

The full-blooded Polish-Jewish community, which has been the spiritual reservoir of the entire Jewish people in their Galuth-dispersion,⁷⁷ lies in ruins, bleeding; the Torah-centres, the Yeshivoth, are locked up, and but a small remainder managed to escape the warflames, and those spared by the European fire-deluge feel the historical responsibility, which burdens their shoulders – to guard the spiritual inheritance of the Polish Jewry.

And when the wandering Torah-legion has obtained the possibility to pitch his temporary tents on the shores of Wampoo,⁷⁸ he immediately kindled the lights of the Torah. Without a safe base under his feet, in a spiritually ice-cold, frozen atmosphere, they have opened the Gemorras, and behold! The divine miracle happened: A Yeshivah in Shanghai! Museum Road is an oasis in the Shanghai spiritual desert. When one enters there, one stops in deferential astonishment at that mighty forge of Judaism, called the “Mirror Yeshivah,” which stands iron-strong on its post. The heart begins to palpitate faster, louder at the sight of the blooming wavy men-forest at the open Gemorras, and tears of delight are streaming down the face, when one realizes what great mercy the Lord has shown to us by preserving even one spirit-chamber untouched by the all-destroy- |14| ing war-hurricane, so that

75 Literally “sons of the Torah,” i.e. Yeshivah students.

76 The Talmud, which is studied aloud by rabbinic students, is composed of two portions; the Mishnah and the Gemarah (pronounced in Yiddish *Gemore*). The latter is a supplement and commentary on the former.

77 *Galut* (Heb.) is exile.

78 Whangpoo.

when the hurricane will be gone and those saved will start the reconstruction of their ruins, this chamber could be the fruitful seed for the spiritual resurrection of the Jewish centres in Europe. Indeed, it will be marked with golden letters in the Jewish History of the present period that the spiritual giant called “Mirrer Yeshivah” has undergone and survived the fire-test of today’s world-cataclysm. During the 4 years of wanderings he did not for one moment even loosen his hold on the Torah-torch. Wherever he used to rest his tired feet, immediately there the Torah-voice was heard. Even more: The “Mirrer Yeshivah” emmerged [sic] from the present world-catastrophe spiritually strengthened and morally uplifted, comprehending her pioneer-role and designation in the future.

A chapter by itself are the two devoted guardians of this Torah-treasure – the Mashgiach (משגיח)⁷⁹ of the Yeshivah, the great bearer of “Musar”-thoughts,⁸⁰ Rabbi Iehezkiel [sic] Levenstein, and the Dean of the Yeshivah (ראש-ישיבה), the famous Gaon Rabbi Chaim Shmulevich.⁸¹ But too tight is the frame of this article – and perhaps it is beyond my authority to characterize in full these two great personalities. However, this must be impressed upon the future generations: If the Mirrer Yeshivah has succeeded in preserving her wonderful, idealistic concord and spiritual integrity, it happened thanks to these her two leaders, whose life-vigour and refreshing dew have irrigated all the Yeshivah-limbs. They are watching over the Yeshivah, as a devoted father does over his cherished only son; they lead her carefully along the proper Torah-path; they protect her from the stormy time-waves and enroll her in a steel coat-of-mail to shield her from all the hardships of our generation.

Indeed, the Mirrer Yeshivah in Galuth-Shanghai is an enchanted hero-epos of spiritual giants, which awaits the poet who will feature her, and that will be the grandest, most beautiful page of her famous, nearly 130-years-old, history.

79 Literally “supervisor,” a spiritual mentor. This was the title used for a rabbi at a Yeshivah affiliated with the Musar Movement (see next note) who managed the Yeshivah’s non-academic issues. His position was eminently respectable.

80 Heb. *musar*, “moral”. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a religious renewal movement was founded in Lithuania; its most prominent leader was the orthodox rabbi Israel Salanter (1810–1883). For Salanter, the moral development of each individual was the center of traditional Jewish life, in particular his fear of God, piety, charity and virtue. The Mir Yeshivah was affiliated with the Musar Movement.

81 After the Yeshivah left its hometown of Mir, Chaim Leib Shmuelevitz (Shmuelevicz; 1902–1979) became its head; Yechezkel Levenstein (1885–1974) continued to serve as its Mashgiah. Both eventually joined the Mir Yeshivah’s branch in Jerusalem.

Happy is the nation, that has such a youth and such devoted guardians of its culture-treasures! No storm can destroy it, and it may calmly look into the future. Its eternity is insured – the Torah is its shield.

Translated from Jewish⁸² by L. Elenberg

Document 135

Anonymous

December 5, 1943

Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Jewish Chronicle, 5.

NLI, Willy Tonn Collection, Arc. 4° 1899

Umstellung auf Stromeinsparung

Die Ankuendigung der Restriktionsmassnahmen im Gas-, vor allem aber Elektrizitaetsverbrauch in Shanghai, die praktisch am 1. Dezember in Kraft getreten ist, hat natuerlich in allen Bevoelkerungskreisen Besorgnis hervorgerufen. Obwohl man sich ueber die Auswirkungen noch kein Bild machen kann, sind ueberall Vorbereitungen getroffen oder im Gange, um sich auf die neuen Verhaeltnisse so schnell wie moeglich umzustellen. Das Friseur-gewerbe hat vor kurzem den Geschaeftsschluss auf 6 Uhr abends festgesetzt, waehrend man vorher noch oft gegen 8 Uhr zu einer schnellen Verschoene-rung zurechtkam. Auch die uebrige Geschaeftswelt erwaegt Einschraenkun-gen der Verkaufszeiten. Fuer die Geschaefte im Distrikt wuerde ein frueherer Ladenschluss sicherlich Nachteile haben, da erfahrungsgemaess gerade einheimische Kunden erst in den spaeteren Abendstunden ihre Einkaufeufe zu machen pflegten, sodass oft gerade kurz vor Ladenschluss das Geschaeft noch einen lohnenden „Stoss“ bekam. Wie immer bei neuen Strom-Ein-schraenkungen, ist das Gasthausgewerbe besonders stark betroffen, das ge-rade in den Wintermonaten seinen Betrieb bei vollem Licht fuehren muss und ohnehin zur Zeit grosse Sorgen hinsichtlich der Loesung des Behei-zungsproblems hat.

Bei der in Aussicht genommenen durchschnittlichen Berechnung des frueheren Verbrauchs als Basis fuer die zukuenftige Zuteilung von Strom sind in erster Linie diejenigen Verbraucher schlecht daran, die in chinesische Haueser [sic] eingezogen sind und sich einen Unterzaehler angeschafft ha-

82 Yiddish.

ben. In diesen Haeusern war zumeist der auf den Hauptzaehler entfallende Verbrauch minimal, sodass sich, besonders wenn mehrere Familien in ein solches Haus waehrend der letzten Zeit eingezogen sind, für den einzelnen Verbraucher ein sehr niedriger Durchschnitt ergibt. Ob im Wege von Eingaben in solchen Faellen Erleichterungen gegeben werden, steht zurzeit noch nicht fest und wird sich zweifellos erst aus der Praxis ergeben.

Waehrend die einheimischen Bewohner Shanghais bisher meist und namentlich die in Hongkew lebenden Lanebewohner konservativ an der Benutzung von Kohlenoefen sowohl zum Kochen als auch zum Heizen festgehalten haben, sind viele von ihnen waehrend der letzten Wochen dazu uebergegangen, sich des elektrischen Stroms zu bedienen. Infolgedessen gab es in der letzten Zeit eine enorme Nachfrage nach elektrischen Kochern oder Heizapparaten aller Art. Eine grosse Konjunktur erlebten auch die Heisswasserkuechen, die infolgedessen seit dem 1. Dezember ihre Preise empfindlich erhoehrt haben. Die Power Company hat im Zusammenhang mit der Kohlenverknappung wahrscheinlich die hoehere Beanspruchung von Strom vorausgesehen und in erster Linie aus diesem Grunde die Restriktionsmassnahmen beschlossen.

Die neuen Stromsparmassnahmen sind auf das Installationsgewerbe nicht ohne Einfluss geblieben. In vielen Faellen wurden insbesondere Bestellungen auf elektrische Oefen rueckgaengig gemacht, da die Besteller fuerchten, sie auf Grund der neuen Stromzustellung doch nicht benuetzen zu koennen. Auf der anderen Seite entstand eine grosse Nachfrage nach Unterzaehlern, da die Besitzer von Hauptzaehlern Differenzen mit Mitbenutzern des Stroms vermeiden wollen und bei Anbringung eines Unterzaehlers eine genaue Kontrolle haben.

Document 136

F. K.

July 31/August 2, 1944

Newspaper article, in: Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt, vol. 5, no. 26, 6.

Microfilm; YIVO, Y-2003, 1854.7

Bedeutung, Entstehung und Aufgabe der Foreign Pao Chia

*Pao Chia*⁸³ bezeichnet Gemeinschaftsschutz, geboren aus der Gemeinschaft. *Pao Chia* besagt nichts anderes als das alte europäische Wort: „*Einer fuer Alle – Alle fuer Einen.*“

Pao Chia ist der in Ostasien selbst innerhalb der kleinsten Gemeinschaft gegebene Selbstschutz seit hunderten von Jahren. Als daher im Herbst 1942 die Behörden beschlossen, das Pao-Chia-System auch auf das Gebiet nördlich des Soochow-Creeks auszudehnen und die dort lebenden Ausländer in einer Foreign-Pao-Chia-Organisation zusammenzufassen, war dies lediglich eine Folge der Tatsache, dass auch die Ausländer ihren Gemeinschaftsanteil zum Selbstschutz innerhalb Shanghais beizutragen hätten.

Am 14. September 1942 wurden [sic] den mitteleuropäischen und russischen Emigranten-Organisationen die Mitteilung von der Bildung einer Foreign Pao Chia gemacht. Bei dieser Besprechung waren seitens der Behörde die Herren Yamaguchi, Yasuda, Yoshida, Gigarsen [sic], Kovacz [sic] vom S.M.P.,⁸⁴ Herr General-Director Kubota vom Stateless Refugee Bureau, Herr Dr. Kardegg, Herr Leichter von der jüdischen Gemeinde sowie Vertreter der russischen Emigranten-Organisation anwesend. Es wurde festgelegt, dass ab 1.10.42 sämtliche männlichen Bewohner im Alter von 20–45 Jahren ihrer Dienstpflicht innerhalb der Foreign Pao Chia nachzukommen haben. Da niemand anderer in der Lage war, diese harte und langwierige Vorarbeit zeitgerecht zu erledigen, wurden die Vertreter der Jüdischen Gemeinde mit dieser Aufgabe betraut. Am 29. September war die Arbeit geleistet, die Aufgabe erfüllt, die Behörde in jeder Hinsicht zufriedengestellt, und die Herren Doktor Kardegg und Leichter wurden als Leiter der Foreign Pao Chia bestellt.

Am 1.10. mittags 12 Uhr begann der erste offizielle Dienst. Es mögen anfangs etwa 2000 Männer gewesen sein, die die Behörden darin unterstützen, Frieden und Ordnung aufrecht zu erhalten. Wer Hongkew noch von früher kennt, wird sich am besten beim Zurückdenken an die damaligen Verhältnisse ein Bild machen können, welche immense Kleinarbeit von allen Mitgliedern der Foreign Pao Chia bis zum heutigen Tag geleistet worden ist. Halten wir uns einige Kleinigkeiten vor Augen: bereits im ersten Monat der Tätigkeit der Foreign Pao Chia konnte dieselbe in 66 Fällen Verbrechen verhüten oder die Täter verhaften. Waren es damals etwa 2000 Member, so hat sich der Stand infolge eingetretener Umstände inzwischen bis Mitte dieses Jahres auf ca. 3600 erhöht. Hierbei ist zu beachten, dass die Mitglieder der russischen Emigration nicht mehr in unserer Foreign Pao Chia, sondern in der russi-

83 Chinese term used for self-protection organizations.

84 About Yamaguchi, see Document 156; Kovacs, see Documents 67 and 156.

schen Pao Chia Dienst machen. Vom Oktober 42 bis März 44 hat die Foreign Pao Chia in 1186 Fällen intervenieren können. In dem gleichen Zeitraum wurden 387 803 Dienststunden absolviert. War seinerzeit der District in die 3 Bezirke Hongkew, Wayside, Yulin aufgeteilt, so mussten nach Veröffentlichung der Proklamation bezgl. Der „Designated Aera [sic]“ neue Bezirke gebildet werden, die heute noch unter der Bezeichnung Wayside-West-, -East, -Central und Yulin bestehen.

Die Aufgaben der Foreign Pao Chia blieben im Laufe der Zeit dann nicht nur auf die eigentliche Tätigkeit als Wachkorps zur Unterstützung der Polizei begrenzt, sondern neue Aufgaben traten hinzu. So wurde die Organisation beauftragt, die durch die Zeit bedingten Luftschutzübungen vorzunehmen. Auch diese Aufgabe wurde, soweit es die Mittel u. Kräfte gestatteten, zur Zufriedenheit der Behörden gelöst. An dieser Aufgabe wird aber ständig im Interesse jedes Einzelnen weitergearbeitet. Unter Leitung von Aerzten steht im Ernstfall ein medizinischer Dienst zur Verfügung. Jeder Pao wird in der Lage sein, durch mindestens eine Rettungsstelle, versehen mit dem notwendigen Material, im Ernstfall die „Erste Hilfe“ leisten zu können.

Aber auch innerhalb der eigentlichen Pao-Chia-Organisation wurden und waren Erweiterungen notwendig, verbunden mit unglaublicher Kleinarbeit. Es musste eine Kontrolle des Strassendienstes eingerichtet werden, diese erfolgt durch Inspektoren. Es musste auch im Interesse des Ansehens der Foreign Pao Chia eine Stelle geschaffen werden, die die Ahndung von Vergehen im Dienste vornehmen konnte. Zu diesem Zweck wurde der Disciplinary Board geschaffen.

Inzwischen wurde auch eine Youth Division ins Leben gerufen, da in einem Ernstfall möglicherweise auch die Jugend zur Mitarbeit herangezogen werden könnte. Mit Fleiss und Eifer arbeitet nun auch unsere Jugend innerhalb unserer Gemeinschaft für die Gemeinschaft mit.

Mit der Bildung der „Designated Aera“ wurden [sic] ausser den bereits erwähnten Pflichten die Foreign Pao Chia auch noch mit den Aufgaben betraut, die Pass- und Grenzkontrollen durchzuführen.

Alle übertragenen Aufgaben wurden pflichtgemäss erfüllt, das geht nicht nur aus dem Dank und der Anerkennung der Behörden hervor, sondern auch aus der Tatsache, dass die gesamte hiesige Presse wiederholt Gelegenheit nahm, lobend und anerkennend die Tätigkeit der Foreign Pao Chia der Oeffentlichkeit zur Kenntnis zu bringen. Diese Anerkennungen gelten nicht nur der Leitung und den Officers der Foreign Pao Chia, sondern insbesondere dem einzelnen Pao-Chia-Mann, der oft unter schweren Bedingungen diese gerade nicht immer angenehme Pflicht bei jeglichem Wetter erfüllt hat.
F. K.

Document 137

A. G.⁸⁵

May 26, 1944

Newspaper article, in: *Our Life*, no. 155, 2.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Arta's Second Exhibition

Sponsored by the Bureau for Shanghai Stateless Refugee Affairs

The 2nd Exhibition of ARTA (Association of Jewish Artists and Lovers of Fine Art)⁸⁶ inaugurated at 10 a.m. on May 22nd at the Whiteaway, Laidlaw & Co., sponsored by the Bureau for the Shanghai Stateless Refugee Affairs, proved a conspicuous affair, with Mr. T. Kubota, Director of the Bureau, and a number of Japanese, Chinese, and foreign guests present.

It was a pleasure to see the works of the Jewish artists exhibited in a spacious, well-lighted rooms [sic] in the centre of the city and hear the appreciation of their art voiced by the art-lovers of Shanghai's international community. Most of the paintings shown here we had seen at ARTA's First Exhibition in the S.J.Y.A. School in the Designated Area in March, but quite a few have been added, some being products of the last two months' work.

Mr. T. Kubota, in a cursory interview with the representative of "Our Life," said that this Exhibition has been organized by the Shanghai Stateless Refugees Bureau with a view to helping the refugee artists to sell their pictures. "The prices for pictures are quite cheap," said he, "for anyway it is usually the richest men of the city who buy pictures, all the others merely come to admire them."

As a detailed review of the works of the seven artists was published by us after ARTA's 1st Exhibition, we shall mention here only some of the best pictures exhibited for the first time. In our opinion, to these belong: Ernst Handel's "Old Man," "Waterstreet" and "Going Home," especially the latter, in which the yellow colour of the harvest is as "warm" as it possibly could be; E. Bloch's⁸⁷ inimitable flowers: "Anemones" and "Water Lilies"; Fredden-Gold-

85 This may have been Anna Ginsbourg who regularly wrote for *Nasha zhizn/Our Life*; see ch. 3, n. 121.

86 Founded in 1942, ARTA aimed to organize fine arts exhibitions; cf. Françoise Kreissler, *L'action culturelle allemande en Chine. De la fin du XIXe siècle à la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, Paris 1989, 118 f.

87 Erroneous; should be David Ludwig Bloch.

berg's "Iron Mill" and "Street in Shanghai;" H. Jacoby's "Landscape" and Max Heymann's⁸⁸ "Church" and "Hyacinthes" [sic], the latter being a most interesting composition of still life. Comprising altogether 103 paintings, the Exhibition is not only most interesting, but also versatile in the sense of representing all manners of art from oils and water-colours to pencil, pen, crayon etc. and a diversity of themes ranging from European landscapes to studies of emigré life in Shanghai and scenes of Chinese life.

The Exhibition has been given wide publicity in all local papers including Japanese and Chinese and it is to be hoped that it will be widely patronized. Its additional attraction (in the light vein) is that each visitor can have himself or herself sketched by one of the artists on the spot for only \$ 100, which opportunity will be undoubtedly, enjoyed by many.

A. G.

Document 138

A. G.⁸⁹

November 24, 1944

Newspaper article, in: *Our Life*, no. 180, 1.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Keep Calm!

The war, the horrors of which we have luckily been spared up till now, has suddenly approached Shanghai, and this city has been subjected to two air-raids in course of one week.

In face of danger which such air-raids present to the civilian population, especially in thickly inhabited districts of the city, we should like to address some words of advice to the residents of the Designated Area. This advice is by no means intended to interfere with the sphere of the A.R.P.⁹⁰ thoroughly taught to all members of the European Pao-chia Corps who already had opportunity to demonstrate their excellent preparedness to up-keep good order in time of emergency. It is meant only in the way of suggesting some rules of personal behaviour to the emigrants during air-raids and convincing them

88 Actually Heimann.

89 This may have been Anna Ginsbourg, see ch. 3, n. 121.

90 Air Raid Protection.

by force of own experience that danger lies much more in their non-conforming with these rules than in the missiles falling from above.

These rules of personal behaviour are:

1. Remember that your safety and that of your family depends largely upon your ability to keep composure in time of emergency.

2. If anyone around you is getting panicky, use all your influence to help him regain his balance, remembering that the state of panic is very infectious.

3. After the siren had sounded think first of the rules of A.R.P. Check well whether you have fully conformed with all of them.

4. Unless called for A.R.P. duty, remain indoors and continue with your occupation inducing those around you to do the same.

5. Realize once for all and preach it to those around you that your home is the safest place for you except for an air-raid shelter and that the chance of it being made an enemy objective is much slighter than that of your becoming a flying missile's target anywhere outside.

6. Keep your children around you and entertain them so as to divert their attention from the state of emergency.

7. Learn beforehand of the rules of attending your children's School during air-raids and the precautionary measures adopted by the School. This will prevent you from becoming nervous if the children are in school when the air-raid began.

8. Try to store food for several days at home when air-raids become a frequent occurrence.

9. Keep a kit with documents, valuables, toilet articles and some food handy in case of necessity to leave your house at short notice.

10. Keep a vessel full of water for drinking purposes constantly replenishing it.

11. Store some matches and fuel.

12. Having conscientiously conformed to the above eleven rules, convince yourself that you have done all in your power to ensure your safety and calmly attend to your daily duties, delivering the rest in the hands of Fate!

A. G.

Document 139

M. K in.

December 1, 1944

Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 181, 1f.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

“Dreimaederlhaus” Enchants Music Lovers in Repeat Performance

Franz Shubert’s [sic] melody-filled “Dreimaederlhaus” was presented to an admiring and enthusiastic audience at the Eastern Theatre on Monday 27th inst. Incidentally, it was a special repeat performance which spoke well for the popularity and success of the Light Opera and the cast.

The story deals with the three daughters of a Viennese glassmaker. Two of them, thanks to the kind intervention of Franz Shubert at a critical moment, are able to marry their sweethearts, while the third is courted by a handsome Baron and his dearest friend, the composer himself. The latter, being of an extremely timid disposition, is unable to express his love for her in words. However, calling music to his aid he writes a love song and asks the Baron to sing it to her who inspired it. The song “Dein ist mein Herz” so captivates the girl that she falls into the arms of the singer – and not the composer. Shubert, unhappy and yet glad to see those he loves united, turns to his music for consolation. A few complications in the form of a temperamental Italian singer, her jealous lover and a foolish detective provide much food for laughter.

Special mention must be made of Rosl Albach Gerstel’s [2] beautiful voice, Leopold Brodmann’s⁹¹ five yodelings and Lily Flohr’s really talented acting. Hers is a perfect sense of comedy and the scenes she appeared in, though few in number, brought the house down.

A few technical details could be improved upon and we beg leave to say the following: firstly, the stage was too small, so much so, that there was scarcely room for dancing and free movement. Secondly, that the orchestra though playing very well, was too loud when accompanying the soloists. They should not take the lead at such times but should subdue themselves and be only a background for the voice. Thirdly, that the first row was too close to

91 Brodmann (c. 1892–?) was a merchant from Vienna. The List of Foreigners indicates his occupation as “tea room partner.” He also appeared on stage as an actor and singer, occasionally under the name Leo Bortner; cf. Philipp, *Theispiskarren*, 162. A short documentary on the Brodmann family is available at <<http://www.centropa.org/node/52714?language=de>> (October 10, 2016).

the musicians and those of the audience seated therein were, so to speak, seated in [sic] the lap of the orchestra which caused much inconvenience to the latter.

But enough. We pronounce “Dreimaederlhaus” a thoroughly worthwhile and enjoyable evening’s entertainment. How could it be otherwise with such a cast and such gay and tender soul-stirring music as only Franz Shubert could write?... Dreimaederlhaus will be repeated again on Sunday December 3.

M. K in.

Document 140

E. Lebon

December 22, 1944

Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 184, 3.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Refugee University

There is, not only in Shanghai and East Asia but even in other parts of the world, possibly no cultural institution with such peculiar history as the Asia Seminar, created by the will power and spiritual idealism of one man, W. Y. Tonn. He, who has studied at the Berlin University specializing in Chinese, Sanskrit, Hebrew and other Asiatic languages and history of culture, and travelled all over Europe and Western Asia, chose to come to the Far East when we had to leave Germany, being a Jew, in order to continue his studies on Asiatic cultures on the spot. He has done a lot of scientific research work, part of it interesting also for laymen, especially his studies as to the immigration of Jews into China during the 4th century B.C. (he maintains). His interesting assertions are based on three Jewish inscriptions on stones in Kai-Feng, as well as on the fact that these Jews knew neither the Talmud nor the Purim traditions and were still using the calendar of the Persian Seleucidian era, which relegates their immigration to the time before the 3rd century B.C. According also to more recent stone inscriptions in Loyang,⁹² the Jews were thus the first Westerners to reach China – as tradesmen, not as refugees – and

92 Luoyang.

to build up trade and thus also cultural connections between the East and the West.

In spite of the fact that Tonn on the basis of his great knowledge and close familiarity with the Chinese and other oriental cultures could have found a new spiritual motherland in the Asiatic nations, he feels a member of the refugee community in Shanghai and dedicated the whole of his efforts to kindle the spark of spiritual life among the Jewish refugees, to arise and keep alive their interest in studying the cultures of the Asiatic people of China, Japan, India and Israel, and to demonstrate the interwovenness and mutual influences active in these cultures. I remember, for instance, from one of the recent lectures of W. Y. Tonn on the teachings of Buddha who lived about in the same period as the Great Jewish teacher of religion Ezra – this interesting parallel between the Jewish Messianic idea and the corresponding conception of Mahayana Buddhism.

Idea Becomes Reality

As far back as May 1939, W. Y. Tonn began the planning of some kind of a “People’s University” of Jewish refugees in East Asia. Everybody who has lived the last 5 years among refugees will know that under the prevailing atmosphere of the hard struggle for life, there were hardly any views of awakening public interest for such spiritual undertaking. Unfortunately it must be said that the Jewish organizations too did not lend any assistance at all to these cultural plans. But Tonn is not the man to be discouraged. On November 2nd 1942, his program was first published in the Shanghai Times.

In September 1943, upon his removal into the Designated Area, I met W. Y. Tonn for the first time. The first impression when entering his room was that I came into a huge library, with precious scientific and literary editions on boards along the biggest wall of the room, from the floor to the ceiling, while more cases with books were placed in the corridor. Dominating the whole, a rare, 200 years old edition of the Talmud, printed in Sulzbach in Germany. Against this background, I beheld a man of somewhat “bohemian” intellectual type, with long hair, long nails on the small fingers and an impressive lean face, with deep furrows worn out by intellectual work and by the daily struggle he was waging against the indifference of the public and the lack of understanding on the part of the Jewish Committees and organizations concerned. Fortunately, the authorities to whom Tonn was known by his articles on Asiatic subjects in the press, displayed understanding and thus W. Y. Tonn was able, on September 28th (the birthday of Confucius) 1943, to begin with the first semester of the Asia Seminar.

Against Heavy Odds

He worked against heavy odds. The lecture hall was a small room, of the usual type of Hongkew living rooms, in which during the day lessons in type-writing and shorthand were given. One or two dozen people came to listen to the first lectures, and of these only every fifth paid the small college fee, while W. Y. Tonn maintained that people unable to pay must not be excluded from cultural work. During the first three semesters, about 250–280 hearers listened to the lectures, with 400 registrations taking place. No evident symptoms of a further development of the Asia Seminar arose during this time. Still, Tonn was right when he said that it is easier to arouse interest than to keep it alive, and that it was a good symptom that the numbers did not decrease, and this despite cold, heavy rains, blackouts during the evening hours in winter, and heat and the unsuited room in summer. Patiently working on in spite of financial difficulties – each semester ended with a financial deficit, while the lecturers could only be paid a negligible amount – he collected around him a small but loyal nucleus of teachers and students, who thankfully acknowledged the achievements scored. I spoke to one of the students, an elderly man stricken by family grief who was on the way to utter despondency, unable to bear this life which had no sense for him when he, by chance, came to one of the lectures of the Asia Seminar and became one of its disciples. His spiritual life was awakened once more and he found contentment in studies and cultural work. As to the teachers, they are thankful for the opportunity of lecturing in their respective lines, since formerly they had only the possibility of making studies for themselves without any spiritual intercourse and stimulus.

During the present semester, a turning point was achieved in the history of the Asia Seminar. While the authorities continued to display a friendly attitude, W. Y. Tonn was able to secure a classroom of the SJYA school twice a week and as a result of his patient and consequent work, the number of hearers in the present semester, even up to now, rose already to #00⁹³ persons, while 1200 registrations took place and an average of 25–60 visitors listened to every lecture. Thus complete success in the field of culture can be booked, while the financial situation still remains, as far as I know, tense. I heard that, in line with the general increase of economic difficulties in daily life, only 5% of the hearers were able to pay the very modest college fee while part of the lecturers have to struggle against wa###⁹⁴ and cold and malnutrition which sometimes hampers the studies.

93 First digit illegible due to crease.

94 Illegible due to crease.

Staff and Work

Who are those lecturers? Besides Mr. Tonn himself – at present suffering from some disease caused by irregular meals – but leaving bed and reading his lectures there is, to list only some of the 30 lecturers, Rabbi Hillel Mannes, the head of the Talmud Torah School, Architect Ponzen, former head of the architectural department of the Vienna Jewish Community, who built the monument for Jewish war dead [sic],⁹⁵ and whose interesting recent lecture on Jewish architecture is to be completed next week and will be dealt with in a separate article, Dr. Radinger,⁹⁶ lecturer of the Aurora University,⁹⁷ Dr. Spiewkowsky,⁹⁸ a physician, and others. The subjects of the lectures are varied and of academic niveau, and included, for instance, a course by Tonn in Chinese history and culture, Veda and Upanishad (India). Furthermore, there were lectures on Japanese art – to be reported in a special article, a comprehensive survey of Jewish literature (Cohn), modern physics (Weiner, former lecturer of the Lester Institute),⁹⁹ a lecture on the general principles of education and teaching, the lecture of G. Looser on Jewish history. An interesting subject was broached by Rabbi Sober in his lecture on Martin Buber and his teaching.

Buber is known to every Jew, and especially to every German Jew. In the field of literature, his works are of the finest well modelled poetic style while his translation of the Bible – though some may find it too mystic – is in any case a masterpiece of art. But the importance of Buber is not in these literary achievements, it is in his role as a fighter for Jewish unity, action, and Messianic future (Three Speeches on Judaism).¹⁰⁰ And his teachings are action

95 The memorial in honor of the Viennese Jewish soldiers who died in World War I was erected in 1928 at the Central Cemetery in Vienna; cf. Michael Berger, *Für Kaiser, Reich und Vaterland. Jüdische Soldaten – eine Geschichte vom 19. Jahrhundert bis heute*, Zurich 2015, 145.

96 Egon (Josef) Radinger (c. 1895–?) was a chemist from Austria. In Shanghai, he became a member of the board of Catholic Refugees in Shanghai; cf. Frey Eisen, *Shanghai*, 437.

97 This university was founded in 1903 by a Chinese Jesuit, and run by French Jesuits until 1952.

98 Rudolf Spiewkowski (c. 1895–?) was a physician from Germany. The *Emigranten Adressbuch*, 114, lists his name as Spiewkovsky.

99 The Henry Lester Institute of Technical Education, which was opened in 1934.

100 Buber (1878–1965) was one of the most influential German-Jewish thinkers of the twentieth century. One of his main intellectual objectives was to familiarize secularized Western Jews with Eastern European Judaism, especially Hasidism. From 1925 to 1929, he and the philosopher Franz Rosenzweig translated the Hebrew Bible into German, attempting to keep the phonetic and connotative quality of the Hebrew

in the spiritual field. Buber is one of those, who are turning Jewish world outlook – oriental in its essence – into an acceptable active momentum for the occidental cultures. While the occident is trying to take possession of the world as it is, for the oriental thought the world is a task to be fulfilled. For the occidental spirit the effect is what matters, for the oriental the correct way, the inner decision, or, as Buber puts it, “action.” Thus Buber, concentrating the essence of Jewish thought and history, is one of those who, like the whole Jewish people, maybe are the mediators between Orient and Occident, the creators of spiritual and cultural unity.

Document 141

*Kurt Lewin*¹⁰¹

March 25, 1946

Published poem, in: The Shanghai Herald, no. 24, 4.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Der Wochensalat

Alles muss sich einmal wenden,
 und sogar die Woche enden.
 Doch jetzt fehlt mir guter Rat
 fuer den Wochenendsalat.
 Nuernberg¹⁰² zieht nach alter Weise,
 immer weiter seine Kreise
 und nach Goerings Groessenwahn
 ist jetzt Julius Streicher dran.
 Dieser Bluthund und Verbrecher
 von Beruf Germanenraecher
 wurd' gefragt vom Praesident:

language in the German translation. Buber's *Drei Reden über das Judentum* (1911) is considered to be one of the most influential essays on Judaism of his time.

101 Berlin-born Kurt Lewin (pseudonym Klewing; 1908–1950?) was an actor, journalist, and writer. He published (together with Alfred Dreifuss) the paper *Die Tribüne* from 1941 to 1943 in Shanghai, as well as a volume, *Shanghai und Wir. Essays* (1943). The socialist Lewin returned to East Berlin in 1947, but later moved to the West.

102 The Nuremberg Trials started on November 20, 1945.

„Woher er den Talmud kennt?“
 denn die hetzerischen Flueche
 wuerzte er durch Talmudsprueche,
 die man ihm, sagt er verletzt,
 voellig falsch hat uebersetzt.¹⁰³
 Konnte er sich nicht aus Polen
 ‘nen Jeschiwe Bocher¹⁰⁴ holen?
 Der mit ihm, bis er krepirt,
 haett’ den Talmud ausstudiert.
 Jetzt steht dieser Mordgeselle,
 endlich an der richt’gen Stelle,
 ach, wie gerne moecht’ das Schwein,
 wohl jetzt selber Jude sein.
 Iran¹⁰⁵ hat in diesen Tagen
 schrecklich viel der Welt zu sagen,
 laut von seines Landes Stufen
 tut es Mama UNO rufen.
 Doch der Ordnung halber wegen,
 sind die Russen strikt dagegen.
 Doch ich glaube, dass im Lenz,
 steigt die UNO Konferenz.
 Frankreich hat auch seine Helden,
 wie die Blaetter taeglich melden
 Herr Petiot¹⁰⁶ bracht’ um, nach Listen,

103 As early as 1929–1930, the notorious Nazi propagandist Julius Streicher, owner of the anti-Semitic hate paper *Der Stürmer*, and its managing editor Karl Holz were sued before the court of Nuremberg for “insulting the Jewish religious community;” cf. Wolfgang Benz (ed.), *Handbuch des Antisemitismus. Judenfeindschaft in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 8, Munich 2015, 45. The insults, based on false citations of the Talmud, were brought up again during the Nuremberg war crimes trial on March 23, 1946, two days before the *Wochensalat* was published. For a transcript of the 1946 trial minutes cf. *Internationaler Militärgerichtshof Nuremberg* (ed.), *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof, Nürnberg*, 14. November – 1. Oktober 1946, vol. 9, Nuremberg 1948, 767–782.

104 Yidd., Yeshivah student.

105 The Iran crisis lasted from 1945 to 1946. The USSR refused to withdraw its troops from Iran, and supported a plan for the establishment of independent Azeri and Kurdish states on Iranian territory. The USSR finally agreed to withdraw its troops on March 2, 1946.

106 Marcel Petiot (1897–1946) was a French mass murderer. Though he killed Jews primarily for personal gain, he claimed that he had only killed collaborators and traitors;

Vive la France, – Kollaboristen.
Und damit vertilgt' die Meute,
killte er auch gleich die Braeute.
Schickte alles in den Tod,
mordete, – als Patriot.
Dieser Kerl, Nationenschaender
Zeigt den Geist, den viele Laender,
durch des dritten Reichs Gewalten,
in der Schreckenszeit erhalten.
Heute ist das Spiel zu Ende,
und die blut'gen Moerderhaende,
aller Voelker und Nationen,
die auf diesem Erdball wohnen,
werden niemehr sich erheben.
Menschenrecht und Glueck soll leben.
Der Faschisten Tyrranei [sic],
sei fuer alle Zeit vorbei.
So, das Ganze zur Verdauung,
wuerzen Sie mit Weltanschauung,
unterdessen haelt parat
neuen Wochenendsalat
bis er gar ist und gediehn,
in Verehrung
Kurt Lewin

cf. David King, *Death in the City of Light. The Serial Killer of Nazi-Occupied Paris*,
New York 2011.

Chapter 7

Culture, Theater, and Entertainment

Introduction

Entertainment in German and Yiddish, including cabaret and theater performances, musical evenings, orchestra and operas as well as exhibitions of paintings, was very important in exile life. Not only did it provide opportunities for the considerable number of artists to remain active, it also allowed them to earn a small income. For those refugees who could afford the price of a ticket a few hours of forgetfulness from daily cares were more than significant. Yet, looking back at those Shanghai years and at a population many of whom had barely escaped with their lives, one cannot but admire their strength of spirit. To create make-believe theater under conditions far from favorable required commitment and devotion in addition to the knowledge that acting was helping their own and others' spiritual survival.¹ Shanghai, where a lively Chinese entertainment industry flourished, may have also played a role in the growth of exile entertainment. Even if Chinese theater was as yet not popular among the immigrants, dance halls, cabarets, and similar establishments proliferated and were widely frequented by those who could afford them.²

Still, conditions for theatrical performances were grim in Shanghai at the end of the 1930s when the first refugees arrived and did not improve significantly even thereafter. The lack of a proper stage was a major problem. There were a number of movie theaters, but the stages were narrow and prevented the free movements of actors, to say nothing of the rental fees, which consumed most of the money from tickets sold. Stages in schools and the refugee camps were also woefully small. Lack of scenery and stage props were another problem. Although rentals were possible, these required rental fees and the refugees had little money. Costumes were also a problem. A tailor might prepare them, but again money was needed. Then there was the scarcity of

1 Sports had an important place in refugee life: soccer, football, ping pong, and boxing were enthusiastically supported, drawing crowds of both participants and spectators. However, though some might consider sports "entertainment," conceptual and practical differences made it more useful to exclude them from this chapter.

2 Cf. Field, *Shanghai's Dancing World*, passim, for an excellent picture of Shanghai's lively scene.

theater literature and librettos. These could not be purchased and only a few refugees packed some in the light luggage they brought along.³

Despite these difficulties several kinds of entertainment began already in 1939, as soon as refugees started to arrive in Shanghai. Just how this occurred, whether spontaneously by individual artists, or whether as a result of some kind of organization, is not clear. No doubt it was due to the fact that among the arrivals were a number of performers, for these too had lost their positions and incomes soon after the Nazi regimes came to power in Germany and Austria. It is also related to the fairly rapid growth of the coffee house culture that developed in neighborhoods where refugees resided. Here singers might entertain, or musicians perform in the cafes. The presence of an audience anxious to snatch a few light moments from their otherwise depressing existence is also significant. That some of the early performances were held in the shelters as variety evenings (“bunte Abende”) comes as no surprise.⁴

How many performers of various kinds, musicians, singers, actors, and the like, were in Shanghai at the time is hard to say. There probably were well over two hundred,⁵ but this figure does not include the Yiddish actors in Shanghai during the war years. Most of the performers had had thriving careers in Germany or Austria before they fled to the metropolis. Among them were Lily Flohr, actress and singer, and Jenny Rausnitz, both of whom were extremely popular; Fritz Heller, actor and comic who charmed all audiences; and the entertainers Gerhard Gottschalk and Herbert Zernik. There were also gifted directors like Alfred Dreifuss, Fritz Melchior, and Boris Sapiro.

Taking into account the difficulties in staging theatrical performances, the number of operettas and even occasional operas between 1939 and 1946 is truly amazing. There were operas like *Carmen* and *Cavalleria Rusticana* (Document 160) and operettas by Johann Strauss as well as serious plays, like Bernard Shaw’s *Pygmalion* (Document 155).⁶ The operettas were especially appreciated by audiences who sought entertainment rather than intellectual challenges. Perhaps one of the reasons for the large variety of plays was the fact that generally a performance was staged only once. Audiences were never large and additional performances would have been a financial drain. Finally, even more plays would have been performed had the Japanese censorship

3 Philipp, *Thespiskarren*, 52–55.

4 Alfred Dreifuss, *Unser Theater*, in: *The Shanghai Herald*. Sondernummer 37 (April 1946), 13.

5 Michael Philipp, *Selbstbehauptung im Exil*. *Theater in Shanghai*, in: *Zwischenwelt* 18,1 (February 2001), 46–51, here 46.

6 *Ibid.*, 185–196, lists the performances.

during the war years not eliminated a number. Due to the scarcity of scripts a number of plays were written in Shanghai. Among these were two by Hans Schubert and Mark Siegelberg, *Die Masken fallen* (The Masks Fall; Document 161) and *Fremde Erde* (Foreign Soil). For different reasons, both caused considerable controversy at the time, the first because it dealt with the topic of Nazi persecution based on the experiences of the authors. Its performance led Michel Speelman to pen a letter to the *North-China Daily News* arguing that provocative topics in Shanghai must be avoided at this point.⁷ The second play was entirely different and took up a most controversial topic of refugee existence: the intimate relationship between a German refugee woman and a Chinese man. Whereas *Die Masken fallen* was once more performed in 1946, after the end of war, *Fremde Erde* was not again staged in Shanghai.⁸

The presence of actors, writers, and an audience were, of course, important; nonetheless, the development of a thriving entertainment culture might have been hard, if not impossible, without some sort of organizational framework. The first organization was the Artist Club, which included musicians, performing artists, and others and had already at the beginning of 1940 transformed into the European Jewish Artist Society (EJAS; Document 154). EJAS had numerous performances on the Sapiro Stage, under the direction of Boris Sapiro, who most of the time also acted, and the Ensemble, under the direction of Fritz Melchior.

For those who could not afford the price of a ticket there was the cheaper entertainment in one of the cafes, where for the price of something to drink a person could also enjoy a written and/or improvised radio performance. These were entertaining and often humorous (Document 145).

During the war years from 1943 to August 1945, when the stateless refugees were forced to relocate in the Designated Area, cultural activities were circumscribed, but did not cease altogether. Information is scarce about that period and many performances were rejected by the Japanese censor. Still, there was light opera, the ARTA art exhibitions (Document 137), and another exhibition of fourteen Jewish painters.⁹

7 Philipp/Seywald, Hans Schubert, 15.

8 Ibid., 29. Although it is unlikely that the refugees would have frequented Chinese entertainment establishments, it is obvious from the content of *Foreign Soil* that the two authors had some acquaintance with these places and their functions.

9 Held in the Shanghai Jewish Club from May 5–8, 1943, it was advertised as the “First in Shanghai.” The painters exhibited were Ludwig Bloch, Michail Brenner, Joseph (Yoni) Fein, Paul Fisher, Fred Freden [sic] Goldberg, Ernst Handel, Max Heyman, Hans Jacobi, E. Mossowich, Z. Okun-Genkin, Helene Rootstein, Rachel, A. Taub, and

Apart from theater staged by German and Austrian refugees, there existed also Yiddish theater, which was largely the creation of the Polish contingent who arrived from Japan in 1941. Aside from many members of rabbinic schools, it included poets, writers, and actors as well as the talented actress Rose Shoshana Kahan (Documents 88 and 164).

The Polish refugees, whose flight from the Germans had taken them first to Lithuania, then to Japan until they were shipped to Shanghai,¹⁰ had probably even fewer scripts of plays than those who had arrived from Germany and Austria. They therefore began writing texts as well. Some were written from memory while others were generally not complete plays but brief sketches, as, for example, *Di fraylekhe bombe* (The Happy Bomb; Document 147).¹¹ It is certainly regrettable that none of these texts have apparently survived the ravages of dislocation and time.

Despite having to cope with similar problems as the German language theater – lack of a proper stage, funds for costumes and stage property – a fairly large number of Yiddish performances took place. Among the fifteen or so mentioned in Rose Shoshana Kahan's diary were plays by the well known playwrights Jacob Gordin and Sholem Aleichem.¹²

The largest number of Yiddish performances took place in 1942 (Documents 144, 146, 147, 150, 151). After most refugees were forced to relocate to Hongkou, Yiddish theater ceased for all practical purposes, and there were apparently no performances between May 1943 and November 1944. However, performances resumed in the postwar period, and an evening for American Jewish soldiers, during which also Raja Zomina sang Yiddish songs, was especially successful.¹³

Finally, mention must be made of the fact that painters too did not cease altogether to paint. Although they had to struggle with limitations of funds for paints, paper, and brushes, they carried on. Thus the work of artists like

Mrs. R. Zirulsky-Yanovich; the catalogue is available at <https://www.ushmm.org/exhibition/flight-rescue/zoom_player.php?id=2677> (September 26, 2016).

10 For a brief description of their travels, see the introduction to chapter 3.

11 Chang, *Jüdische Kultur*, XLIV.

12 Gordin (1853–1909) had already emigrated from his native Russia to the United States in 1891, where he wrote more than seventy plays. Among his famous dramas is *Mirele Efros*, which was made into a Yiddish movie in 1939. The Yiddish poet Sholem Aleichem, the pen name for Shalom Rabinovich or Solomon Naumovich Rabinovich (1859–1916), is best known for his *Tevye the Milkman*, which has been translated into many languages and adapted as the famous musical *Fiddler on the Roof*.

13 Kahan, In fayer, 361, entry November 7, 1945.

Joni Fein (Document 152) and others could be seen by the wider Shanghai Jewish community.

We cannot but admire the impressive accomplishments of Shanghai's refugee theater in German and Yiddish. Despite hardship and dislocation, actors continued to act, playwrights continued to write, and painters continued to paint. It is hard to imagine the spiritual strength it must have taken to carry on. We today, above all, must remember that during this painful period in Jewish life entertainment of many kinds continued to exist in refugee life.

Document 142

*Alfred Dreifuss*¹⁴

August 16, 1940

Newspaper article, in: *Aufbau*, vol. 33, 7.

Microfilm; NLI, Willy Tonn Collection, Arc. 4° 1899

Theater in Shanghai

Oedipus, Der Lachende Ehemann, Flachsmann als Erzieher
und Sturm im Wasserglas¹⁵

Ich will Ihnen in kurzen Zügen berichten, wie wir hier im fernsten Asien einen europäischen Theaterbetrieb aufbauten. Sie müssen beim Lesen dieser Zeilen alle Vorstellungen, die Sie mit dem Begriff „Theater“ verbinden, zurückstellen, Sie dürfen auch nicht daran denken, wie man in New York Theater spielt. Hier in Shanghai, dieser „kulturlosesten Stadt der Welt“, ist das

14 About Dreifuss, see ch. 4, n. 53.

15 For *Oedipus*, see ch. 4, n. 74. *Der Lachende Ehemann* (1913) is an operetta by the successful Jewish composer Edmund Eysler (1874–1949), who survived the Holocaust by hiding in Austria. *Flachsmann als Erzieher* (1908) is a comedy by Otto Ernst (1862–1926), a well known writer and playwright from Hamburg. In 1930 the play was made into a movie. The comedy *Sturm im Wasserglas* (1930) was written by Bruno Frank (1887–1945), a renowned playwright and novelist of the interwar period from Munich who emigrated to Switzerland in 1933, then to England, and eventually to the United States. The play was successfully staged in London (*Storm in a Teacup*) and on Broadway (*Storm over Patsy*), and in 1937 it was made into a Hollywood movie of the same title as the London production.

alles ganz anders. Und was Ihnen hier berichtet wird, klingt manchmal – für uns hier ist es wenigstens so – wie ein Märchen.

Zunächst: ein Kulturleben, wie es auch die bescheidenste europäische Provinzstadt besitzt, gibt es hier nicht. Die Franzosen beschränken sich auf ihren Klub, die Amerikaner erst recht. Die Engländer besitzen zwar ein hübsches kleines Bühnenhaus – das einzige Theatergebäude in dieser 4 Millionenstadt – wo den Winter über recht nette Amateurveranstaltungen gestartet werden. Diese sind jedoch mehr gesellschaftlicher als künstlerischer Natur. In demselben Bühnenhaus spielt weiterhin ein russisches Opernensemble (Format: Charbin) abgegriffene Opernreisser. Der einzige Lichtpunkt ist das unter der Leitung des Italieners Pasci¹⁶ [sic] stehende Munizipalorchester [sic], eine Vereinigung von ca. 50 Musikern, die ziemlich gute Musik bietet. In diesem Orchester sitzen heute auch ungefähr 10 Emigrantenmusiker, u.a. der vorzügliche Cellist Eugen Winkler. Zählen wir nun die chinesischen Theater noch hinzu, so ist das, was man „Kultur“ nennt, hierorts restlos erschöpft.

In diese Situation hinein gerieten wir. Und es ist nun ungefähr ein Jahr her, dass wir den Beginn machten, hier so etwas wie ein Theaterleben zu organisieren. Wir hatten kein Geld, wir hatten keine Stücke, wir hatten kein Haus (das oben erwähnte Theater steht uns nicht zur Verfügung), kurz und schlecht, „im Anfang war das Nichts“. Dieses Nichts bildete eines Tages eine Organisation, ungefähr 50 Menschen, vom Zauberkünstler zum Heldenentor vereinigten sich im „Artist Club“.

Angefangen mit bunten Abenden wurde zuerst in den Emigrantenheimen die, da sie meist in leeren Schulgebäuden sind, über kleine Bühnen verfügen. Dann startete in der Glühhitze des Shanghaier Sommers, mitten im August des Vorjahres, unsere erste öffentliche Veranstaltung. Unter dem Titel „Wir vom Theater“ rollte ein Programm ab, das zur Sensation in dieser Stadt wurde. Man stand buchstäblich Kopf über die Fülle an künstlerischem Material, das der Emigrantenstrom hier angeschwemmt hatte. Der Erfolg dieser Sache ermunterte uns nun, die erste richtige Theatervorstellung zu organisieren. Auf einer Miniaturbühne in einem Kino in Hongkew – das ist der von den Japanern besetzte Stadtteil Shanghais, in dem ca. 12 000 Emigranten wohnen, gingen nun recht und schlecht einige kleine Einakter, die irgend einer unserer Mimen im Koffer hatte, in Szene. An den Ausbau eines Repertoire war infolge völligen Fehlens jeglicher deutschsprachiger dramatischer Literatur zunächst überhaupt nicht zu denken. Bis dann wiederum einige Stück [sic] eintrafen, brach der Krieg aus und unser Traum, Theater spielen zu können, war sehr ausgeträumt. Bis wir dann im November von einigen Kunstfreunden etwas Geld bekamen und wiederum von vorn angingen. „Von

16 This was Mario Paci.

vorn anzufangen“ ist hier überhaupt grosse Mode. Wir zogen dann in ein anderes Kino und brachten dort einige Vorstellungen zustande, die schon so etwas wie das von drüben her gewohnte Gesicht zeigten. „Oedipus“ in der Hofmannsthal-Uebersetzung, „Spiel im Schloss“, „Lachende Ehemann“ (unsere erste Operette), „Flachsmann als Erzieher“.

Wir begannen nun, Fuss zu fassen, die künstlerischen Erfolge traten ein, finanziell dagegen ging es uns bitter schlecht. Kaum war die Miete zu bezahlen, wir probierten wochenweise bei strengster Kälte im ungeheizten Kino – na, es war eine böse Zeit. Aber wir mussten und haben durchgehalten. Bis wir eben eines Tages am Ende unserer Mittel waren. Wiederum geschah ein Wunder. Ein paar Mäzene stellten sich ein, bezahlten unsere Schulden, der „Artist Club“ wurde umorganisiert und trägt nun seit Januar den Namen „European Jewish Artist Society“. Es gelang uns nun, mit Hilfe besagter Mäzene ein kleines Ensemble zu Festgagen anzustellen, die, wenn auch sehr gering, doch den meisten wenigstens die Möglichkeit bot, ihr bescheidenes Hongkew-Zimmer zu mieten. Unser Essen beziehen wir nahezu alle noch aus den Heimen. Augenblicklich ist diese Festbezahlung der Kriegslage wegen wiederum gefährdet. Wir sind nun damit beschäftigt, nach Berliner Vorbild eine Besucherorganisation zu schaffen, die bis zum Herbst stehen soll. Es ist so, dass wir nun derart im Leben der Emigranten verwurzelt sind, dass an ein Aufhören unserer Vereinigung nicht mehr zu denken ist. Unsere letzte Vorstellung „Sturm im Wasserglas“ war dank einer wirklich ausgezeichnet Besetzung ein Riesenerfolg. In den Haupttrollen spielten Jenny Rausnitz, Fritz Heller, Harry Walden, Eva Schwarz und Marion Lissner. Betrüblich ist nur immer der Umstand, dass wir ein Stück höchstens zweimal spielen können, dann ist der finanziell sowieso nicht sehr gesetzelte Besucherkreis erschöpft.

Dr. Alfred Dreifuss.

Document 143*David Rabinovitch*¹⁷

November 21, 1941

Newspaper article, in: *Nasha zhizn*, no. 29, 7f., 10.¹⁸

Russian; translation by Yuri Pines

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Шанхайский Еврейский Клуб

Согласно данным, приведенным в альманахе, опубликованном в 1934 г. культурно-просветительной комиссией клуба, первое заседание инициативной группы по созданию клуба состоялось 24-го января 1932 г., а 7-го августа того же года состоялось открытие клуба в доме № 1321 Рю Лафаэт. Таким образом, в следующем году клуб будет праздновать свое десятилетие – на этот раз в своем собственном здании. В истории шанхайской еврейской ашкеназийской колонии 10 лет – большой период времени. Эмиграция русского еврейства в Шанхай началась в 1921/2 годах и, таким образом, почти половина периода существования здесь русско-еврейской колонии прошла под знаком деятельности еврейского клуба.

Этот десятилетний период существования клуба настолько изменил лицо еврейской общественной жизни города, что теперь уже трудно полностью оценить его роль и значение. Еврейский клуб так слился с местной еврейской жизнью, пустил такие глубокие корни, вобрал так много общественных начинаний, породил так много здоровых обще-

17 About Rabinovitch, see ch. 4, n. 13.

18 Five photos are inserted into the article. On p. 7: (left) “Chairman of the ‘Shanghai Jewish Club,’ G. Klebanov;” (center): “Committee of Elders of the ‘Shanghai Jewish Club’: Sitting from the left to the right: I. Gershevich; A. Oppenheim, G. Klebanov, S. Khesin, S. Feinland. Standing: L. Feingold, G. Schifrin, S. Shchedrovich, S. Liberman, J. Robinson, D. Rabinovitch. Not present: J. Bitker, Y. Brick, S. Weiner;” (right): “First Chairman of the ‘Shanghai Jewish Club,’ M. S. Bloch.” On p. 8: (center): “At the banquet in honor of M. Speelman on the occasion of the acquisition of the Club building;” (bottom): “Members of the first and the second Club Committee. Standing from the left to the right: S. Khesin, S. Shchedrovich, L. Brajdovskij, S. Vitenson, J. Sheinin, V. Gonshtak, Y. Brick, D. Rabinovitch, M. Sherman, S. Bossak, Y. Zalmanov, R. Bitker. Sitting: B. Podolskij, A. Fishbein, G. Kraslavskij, J. Bitker, M. Bloch, I. Levitin, M. Kantsler, I. Kagan and G. Klebanov.”

ственных тенденций, что необходимо усилие, чтобы восстановить картину местной |8| еврейской жизни до-клубного периода. Помнится ясно одно: установившаяся за Шанхаем, с легкой руки иностранных корреспондентов, репутация города без души полностью оправдывалась и в отношении местной еврейской колонии. Люди жили, страдали, строили жизнь, каждый независимо от другого, не вступая в контакт, не освещая свой тяжелый жизненный путь никакими общественными задачами. Была здесь какая-то группа лиц, называвшая себя общинным советом, та же группа вечно хлопотала по поводу убогой, ютившейся в частном доме синагоги, была какая-то благотворительная организация, снисходительно покровительствовавшая нашим беднякам, было, конечно, и погребальное братство. Все эти люди, извалившие на себя «общественную» работу, всегда о чем то суетились, о чем то хлопотали, вечно прислушиваясь к тому, что им скажут богаты благотворители из местной сефардийской общины, и эта их деятельность – нелегкая в атмосфере безразличия и духовной упадочности – никак не могла выбиться из сферы небольших мелких личных интриг и местничества.

Можем ли мы приписать евр. клубу то изменение облика местной евр. жизни, которое произошло здесь за последнее десятилетие? Можно ли приписать ему в заслугу тот факт, что местная еврейская общественная жизнь так широко развернулась, что наша евр. колония обрела за последние годы чувство собственного достоинства, обрела себе душу? Принимая во внимание, что за последние годы численность местной евр. колонии значительно возросла, что экономическое ее положение значительно окрепло, на первый взгляд может показаться, что рост общественной нашей активности является естественным результатом роста нашей колонии. Но ведь, численный рост населения не всегда связан с качественным ростом его и если нет какого либо объединяющего института, оно остается разрозненным и неспаянным.

Блестящей иллюстрацией этому утверждению являет собой Тяньцзин. Тяньцзин переживал десяток лет тому назад период благополучия, его еврейская колония всегда была велика, но жизнь оставалась глубоко провинциальной до того момента, когда всю еврейскую колонию не объединил и всколыхнул «Кунст». Печатаемые в настоящем номере сведения об этом клубе воочию выявляют все огромное значение этого прекрасного утверждения и, если мы вспомним все то, что за все эти годы дал и наш клуб – устные газеты, литературные вечера, доклады – если мы вспомним, что все евр. общественные учреждения нашего города нашли приют в этом клубе, что почти все общественные начинания последнего десятилетия также исходили оттуда же и если, наконец, мы учтем колоссальную общественную нагрузку многих членов его

комитета, мы поймем, что развитие евр. общественной деятельности Шанхая не явилось естественным результатом роста нашей колонии, а результатом активности Шанхайского Еврейского Клуба.

Но самым крупным достижением Шанх. Евр. Клуба является приобретение им прекрасного здания в центре нашего города – этим клуб сослужил не подпающуюся учету заслуги перед местным еврейством. Сейчас еще трудно учесть все значение этого фактора и сами члены комитета клуба, и все рядовые члены его не достаточно еще прониклись сознанием важности сделанного шага и только постепенно, с каждым днем, каждым месяцем, каждым годом, выявится та роль, которую сыграет этот факт в жизни нашего города. Приобретением прекрасного собственного здания клуб предоставил местной евр. колонии широкие возможности для взаимного общения, удовлетворения наших культурных и духовных потребностей; этому зданию суждено сильнее объединить и сплотить нас, укрепить и усилить наши национальные устремления, оторвать нашу молодежь от ассимилирующей и развращающей обстановки большого восточного портового города и недаром мы все испытывали какое-то бессознательное чувство гордости в день открытия здания клуба, недаром вес еврейский Шанхай совершал в первые дни свое паломничество в стены нового клуба.

Нужно учесть, однако, одно существенное обстоятельство: над клубом висит большая задолженность и есть опасность того, что соображения экономии будут, особенно в первые годы, отрывать стремление большинства к расширению творческой, культурной активности клуба. Против этого нужно бороться, ибо такая политика может нанести клубу непоправимый вред. Для покрытия расходов [10] и задолженности долги и могут быть изысканы пути, не идущие в разрез с культурно-просветительными заданиями Клуба. Клуб должен продолжать поощрять всякие евр. общественные начинания, всякую евр. культурную активность. Только развитием этой стороны своей деятельности клуб сможет укрепить себя [!], вовлечь все [!] большую массу членов, получить более крепкую опору. Ибо клуб – это прежде всего общественная организация и, как таковая, должен опираться на широкие массы.

Принятно отметить, что Культурно-Просветительная [!] комиссия клуба сумела взять с момента перехода к клубу [!] в собственное здание правильный курс. Все начинания этой комиссии – лекции, доклады, концерты – прошли под знаком исключительного успеха. Клуб сумел использовать наличные здесь силы и, несомненно, что постепенно откроются новые и лучшие возможности. Надо держаться этой линии, не ухудшать качества культурно-просветительной деятельности, не сбиваться с нее на дорогу дешевого внешнего успеха и тогда никакие

затруднения не будут страшны для нашего клуба. Мы верим в то, что клуб станет действительным очагом и центром еврейской культуры, не сомневаемся в его дальнейшем успехе и выпуском настоящего номера, посвященного клубу, хотим подчеркнуть все то огромное значение, которые сыграл и еще сыграет еврейский клуб в жизни нашей общины.

Translation

The Jewish Club in Shanghai

According to data from the anthology published in 1934 by the cultural and educational commission, the first meeting of the initiative group for the creation of the Club took place on January 24th, 1932, and on August 7th of the same year the Club opened its house at no. 1321 on Rue Lafayette. Thus, next year the Club will celebrate its 10th anniversary, this time on its own premises. Ten years is a long period of time for the history of the Jewish Ashkenazi community in Shanghai. Emigration of Russian Jews to Shanghai started in 1921/22, and thus almost half of the existence of the Russian Jewish colony here passed under the badge of the Jewish Club activity.

This 10-year period has so changed the features of Jewish social life in the city that it is difficult now to fully appraise its role and importance. The Jewish Club has become inseparable from Jewish life. It has deep roots, absorbed so many undertakings, and gave to many healthy social tendencies that one has to make an effort to reconstitute the picture |8| of Jewish life in the pre-Club period. One can easily remember one thing: the reputation of a town without a soul disseminated by foreign reporters fully applied to the local Jewish colony. People were living their lives and suffering independently of each other, without coming into contact with each other, without lightening their difficult path through any social tasks. There was a group of people who called themselves a community council, which took care of a wretched synagogue located in a private house, there was a charitable organization condescendingly assisting the poor, and of course there was a burial society.¹⁹

19 According to Lewin, Almanac, 53, communal activities among Russian Jews in Shanghai began in 1902 with the formation of a synagogue committee, called Ohel Moishe, which ran a prayer room at various places in Shanghai. It also organized charitable work through the Shanghai Hebrew Relief Society and the Shelter House (founded in 1917), religious study, a special fund for the sick, and a burial society (founded in 1922). From 1926 on, the community employed a rabbi (Meir Ashkenazi). In addition to the newly built Synagogue Ohel Moishe in 1927, which housed a Mikveh and a

All these people who took upon themselves this “social” work were always bustling about, pleading for someone, and were always lending their ear to the words of the rich people from the local Sephardic community, and their hard work in an atmosphere of indifference and spiritual decadence could never rise above the level of petty intrigues and provincialism.

Can we credit the Jewish Club for the change in the character of local Jewish life which took place here over the past ten years? Can we credit the Club with the fact that Jewish social life here has developed significantly, and that the Jewish colony has acquired the sense of dignity and soul? Taking into account a considerable increase in the population of the Jewish colony, the strengthening of its economic situation, one can assume at first sight that the increase in the social activity was a natural consequence of the growth of the colony. However, a quantitative increase is not always accompanied by qualitative growth, and in the absence of a uniting body the community can remain uncoordinated and not united.

Tianjin²⁰ can serve as an example of this assertion. Ten years ago this city prospered. The Jewish colony was always large, but life remained very provincial till the moment when the whole Jewish colony was united and woken up by “Kunst.” Information about this club published in the present issue shows the great importance of this wonderful institution. If we remember all the good things that our club contributed over these years – oral newspapers, literary parties, reports – that all Jewish social organizations found refuge in this club, that almost all Jewish undertakings in this period had their origin here, and if, finally, we take into account a tremendous pressure of community work that fell on many members of its committee, we will understand that the development of Jewish community activity was not a natural result of the growth of our colony, but the result of the activity of the Shanghai Jewish Club.

Talmud Torah School, the community opened a second Synagogue on Seymour Road in 1934.

20 Tianjin was the second largest port city and commercial center in China in the nineteenth century. Like Shanghai, the city had several international concessions. Jewish immigrants settled in Tianjin from the last third of the eighteenth century on. A Jewish community was founded in 1904; it grew considerably due to immigration following the Russian Revolution (1917) and the Japanese occupation of Manchuria (1931), when Jews from Harbin started to pour into Tianjin. In the middle of the 1930s there were about 2500 Jews in Tianjin; cf. Melvin Ember/Carol R. Ember/Ian Skoggard (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Diasporas. Immigrant and Refugee Cultures around the World*, vol. 1, New York 2005, 160.

However, the most important achievement of the Shanghai Jewish Club is the acquisition of an excellent building in the center of our town – this is an immeasurable contribution to the local Jews. It is still difficult to evaluate the importance of this factor. The members of the Club Committee and ordinary members of the Club still have not fully realized the importance of this step in the life of our city. The acquisition of an excellent building for the local Jewish colony offered numerous opportunities for mutual communication and for satisfying our cultural and spiritual needs. This building is destined to further unite us, to strengthen our national aspirations, and to divert our young from the assimilationist and depraving atmosphere of a large Eastern port city. Not in vain did we have a feeling of pride on the day of the inauguration of the club's building.

We should, however, consider the following: the Club has a large debt, and it may be dangerous to interfere with the expansion of the cultural and creative activity wished by the majority of the members, especially in the first years. We have to find ways [10] to pay the debts, which do not interfere with the cultural and enlightening tasks of the Club. The Club should continue to encourage all Jewish public undertakings and Jewish cultural activity. Only the development of this side of its activity will allow the Club to strengthen itself, to attract new members, and to get a stronger foothold. As the Club is first of all a public organization, it should be supported by the larger Jewish public.

We are pleased to note that the cultural and enlightening commission of the Club has succeeded in taking the right course after moving to its own building. All undertakings of the commission – lectures, reports, concerts – have been tremendously successful. The Club has managed to take advantage of the existing resources, and it is clear that new and better possibilities will open in future. One should stick to this line, not to decrease the quality of cultural and enlightening activity, not to take a road of cheap external success, and then our Club will not fear hardships. We believe that our Club will become a real home and center of Jewish culture. We do not doubt its imminent success, and by publishing this issue devoted to the Club we wish to underline the great role already played and to be played in future by the Jewish Club in the life of our community.

Document 144

*Menakhem Flakser*²¹

November 28, 1941

Newspaper article, in: *Unzer lebn*, no. 30, 1.

Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

די "דיבוק" אויפפירונג אין "לייסעאום" טעאטער

עס איז א גרויסער שאד, וואס דער שאנכייער יידישער עולם האט אין אזא קליינער מאס זיך פאראינטערעסירט מיט דער אויפפירונג פון ש. אנסקי'ס "דיבוק" דורך דער טרופע פון באריס שאפירא אין לייסעאום-טעאטער דעם פארגאנגענעם מיטוואך. דער "דיבוק" איז געשפילט געווארן אין דער גאנצער וועלט, דורך די געניאלסטע יידישע און נישטיידישע שוישפילער. און אוודאי קאן מען נישט פארלאנגען, אז א צופעליקער אנסאמבל פון עטלעכע געוועזענע דייטשע און געוועזענע יידיש-פוילישע ארטיסטן זאל דא אין אזא פארשליידערטן עק וועלט, ווי עס איז שאנכיי, געבן עטוואס פולקאמענס אדער עפעס אזוינס, וואס זאל איבערראשן. און דאך זאגן מיר, איז א שאד, וואס ווייט נישט אלע שאנכייער יידן האבן די דאזיקע פארשטעלונג געזען, ווייל עס איז א גרייסער פארדינסט פון דעם רעזשיסער און ארטיסט, באריס שאפירא, וואס ער האט אונז דערמאנט אן דער אלטער פּרעכטיקער יידישער לעגענדע פון ש. אנסקי און וואס ער האט צו אונז צוגעטראגן אין א מערווייניקער לייטישן לבוש.

די פארשטעלונג איז געווען דורכאויס א פאזיטיווע דערשיינונג אין אונזער ארעמען קולטורעלן לעבן דא אין שטאט, און זי האט פארדינט א בעסערע באצייאונג צו זיך מצד אונז זערע "פני". באזונדער האט ארויסגעשיינט די ארטיסטיקן ראיא זאמין אין דער ראל פון לאה, איר קלארע דיקציע און טיפע איבערלעבונג האט געוויקט אפפרישנדיק צום געגנזאץ פון מאנכע דייטשע ארטיסטן, וועמענס כמו יידיש האט זיך געלייגט ווי בליי אויפן צושייער. דער רוטינירטער טעאטער-מענש פון פוילן, ה' זיגער, וועלכער האט געשפילט די ראל פון סענדער, האט זיכער אריינגעטראגן אין דער פארשטעלונג זיין גרויסע טעאטער-דערפארונג פון דער אלטער היים. מיר מוזן אויסטיילן פון צווישן די אויספירער דעם ה' פרידמאן, וועלכער האט מיט א סך קולטור אויסגעפירט די שווערע ראל פון משולח. און אויך פרוי רוישניץ אין דער ראל פון דער באבען, אין ערשטן אקט. צווישן די בטלנים אין בית-המדרש, האט זיך באזונדער אויסגעצייכנט ה' מ. עלבוים. דער רעזשיסער ה' באריס שאפירא, האט אויסגעפירט צוויי ראלן מיטאמאל: ער האט געשפילט חנניען און דעם מיראפאלער צדיק. מיר, וואס האבן געזען אין די דאזיקע ראלן אברהם מארעווסקי'ן און טשעמערינסקי'ן פון "הבימה", דעם טעמפעראמענט און ברען, וואס זיי האבן אין די ראלן אריינגעלייגט, מוזן האבן געוויסע באווארענישן געגן דער טרוקענקייט פון ה' שאפיראס אינטערפרעטאציע. אבער ביי אלע באווארענישן — איז כדאי געווען די אויפפירונג! און עס קומט א דאנק

21 About Flakser, see ch. 7, n. 56.

idlers in the study hall, Mr. M. Elbaum²³ particularly excelled. The director Mr. Boris Sapiro performed in two roles at the same time: He acted as Hanan and the Mirapoler Tsaddik. However, we have seen Abraham Morewski and Tschemerinski of the “Habima” in these roles and how they acted with temperament and verve;²⁴ therefore, we must express some reservations regarding the dryness of Mr. Boris Sapiro’s interpretation.

But of all reservations – the performance was very worthwhile! We thank Boris Sapiro, who spared neither effort nor cost to bring about this performance under the most unfavorable of conditions.

M. F.

Document 145

*Horst Levin*²⁵

No date

Radio broadcast (typewritten transcript), 2 pages.

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/42; courtesy Howard Levin

PALAESTINA.

Zernik – Friedmann – Gottschalk

Friedm.: Ich sag Dir Schmul, was ich heut wider gehoert hab, das ist nicht zu glauben ...

Zernik: Nu was wird das schon sein? Eppes,²⁶ das man bei dieser Chamime²⁷ mit unserer Armee Manoever macht? Du, ich bin ueb-

23 Max (Moshe) Elbaum (1902–1969) was a journalist and Yiddish writer as well as a performer. In 1948 he settled in New York where he worked for the *Jewish Morning Journal* and the *Forward* and became secretary of the Yiddish writers union.

24 Habima was the first professional Hebrew theater founded in 1918 in Moscow; the Hebrew version of *Der Dibuk* was one of its most important productions. Abraham Morewski (Avrom Morevsky; 1886–1964) played the role of the Tsaddik, both with the *Vilner Trupe* in Yiddish and in the film *The Dybbuk* (1937); cf. Nahma Sandrow, *Vagabond Stars. A World History of Yiddish Theater*, New York 1977, 312. Baruch Tshemerinski (Tchemerinsky; 1892–1946) was a member of Habima from 1920 on.

25 About Levin, see ch. 2, n. 6.

26 A Yiddish term of many meanings that may be translated here as “something.”

27 Yiddish, “heat.”

- rigens auch schon befoerdert worden ... Jawohl ... zum ... Und unsere Offiziere, die Kommandos ... alles erste Klasse ... Kommandos ... Rumgesprochen.
- Gottsch. (kommt) Nu das is doch die Hoehe, das muss anders werden, der Kerl muss abgesetzt werden, das setz' ich beim Comité durch ... das geht so nicht so weiter ...
- Zern. – Fr. Nu? Was is? Red schon.
- Gottschalk Dieser Kerl, der Leimach,²⁸ hat wieder eine halbe Stunde zu spaet Schabbesanfang geblasen, so dass wir natuerlich zu spaet mit unserm Skat aufgehoert haben. Wir mussten mitten im Spiel aufhoeren, und ich hatte gerade einen Grand mit vieren in der Hand, na ich war ziemlich im Minus. Nu aber weil Schabbes war, haben wir nicht abgerechnet und ich brauchte nicht zu bezahlen, nu und weil ich a frommer Mann bin, hab ich meine Zeche nicht bezahlt und bis nach Schabbes, nu da spielen wir weiter und mer wird schon sehen ...
- Zernik Heisst a Freud was Deine Leut mit Dir haben ... A Chamime ... man transpiriert ordentlich beim Schwitzeen [sic]. Na was sagt Ihr zu der neuen Waehrung?
- Fr. Zu was?
- Zern. Nu ja wir bekommen a neue Waehrung ...
- Gottsch. Nu sag mal, was macht Dein Sohn ... er is doch in China.
- Friedmann Ja der is in Shanghai, hier hab ich gerade einen Brief von ihm. Dem gehts grossartig.
- Gottschalk Nu was macht er? Is er beim Comité?
- Friedmann Nein, aber mein Sohn ist der groesste lebende Schauspieler SS-hanghais [sic]. Er tritt dort im juedischen Staats- und Volkstheater auf, heisst abgekuerzt Ejas.
- Gottsch. E was?
- [[2]]
- Friedmann Ejas. Das muss irgendwas chinesisches sein und heisst wahrscheinlich soviel wie E juedische Assesponim²⁹ Schauspielergesellschaft. Nu er schreibt seitdem er dabei is, ~~brauch~~ er kann er nich mehr zu Fuss laufen ...
- Zernick [sic] Wohl weil er nicht sein Face³⁰ verlieren will?
- Friedmann Nein, weil er die letzten Sohlen durchgelaufen h[at].³¹

28 Yiddish, “misfit” or “crackpot.”

29 Yiddish, “impertinent.”

30 The English “face” serves as a pun for the similar sounding “Fuss.”

31 Missing letters here and in the next line of the original document have been inserted.

- Zernick Sag mal, was fuer³² Sprache reden die da? Chinesisc[h?]
 Friedm. Nein, alle Chinesen muessen dort jiddisch lernen, nu und manche reden auch englisch.
 Zernick Englisch is gut. Ich red fliessend Englisch.
 Weiter improvisieren ...

Document 146

*Menakhem Flakser*³³

January 30, 1942

Newspaper article, in: *Unzer lebn*, no. 39, 1.

Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

א יידישער טעאטער־אוונט אין שאנכיי

דער "אוונט פאר יידישן הומאר" איינגעארדנט דורך דער ארטיסטישן שושנה אין יידישן קלוב, איז אדורך מיט אן אומגעהויערן דערפאלג. דער נייער זאל מיט דער פריש־אויפגע־בויטער סצענע, וואס נעמט אריין ביי 300 מענטשן, איז געווען איבערפולט. א סברה, אז שאנכייער יידן, הגם זיי רעדן נישט אין טאג־טעגלעכן לעבן קיין יידיש, דאך זענען זיי נאך טיף פארבונדן מיטן יידישן טעאטער, מיט זיינע טראדיציעס פון אריינטראגן הייטערקייט אין גרויען יידישן לעבן. די יידישע ארטיסטן, וואס געפינען זיך היינט צוטאג אין שאנכיי, דארפן דעריבער זען אויפהאלטן דעם דאזיקן נישט־אויסגעלאשענעם אינטערעס צו יידיש טעאטער, זיי דארפן געבן דעם אויסגעהונגערטן עולם נישט קיין פיצלעך און ברעקלעך, אויפגעקליבן נישט שטענדיק פון די ערשטע און סאמע פאסיקסטע קוועלן, נאר טאקע עכטן פאלקסטימלעכן יידישן טעאטער, ווי מיר קענען אים פון דער אלטער היים.

דער עולם האט מיט גרויס צופרידנקייט אויפגענומען די מיטטיילונג, וואס פרוי שושנה האט געמאכט פון דער בינע, אז די קומענדיקע אויפפירונג, וואס ווערט צוגעגרייט, איז "מירעלע אפרת" פון יעקב גארדין.

וועגן דעם "אוונט פון יידישן הומאר" לאזט זיך זאגן איינס: דער עולם האט געש־מאק געלאכט. און עס איז א גרויסע זאך, ווען מען קען אין די היינטיקע ביטערע צייטן ארויסרופן ביי מענטשן נישט נאר א שמייכל, נאר טאקע אן אויפריכטיקן געלעכטער. מיט קיין גרויסער קונסט האט דאס פראגראם פון אוונט נישט געזינדיקט. אפילו דער שלום־עלי־כמישער איינאקטער "אין צווייען א זעקס־און־זעכציק" האט נישט ארויסגעברענגט נישט שלום־עליכמ'ס פקח־דיקע געשמאקע שפראך, נישט זיין קוואלנדיקן הומאר, נאר עפעס

32 Word missing, "eine."

33 About Flakser, see ch. 7, n. 56.

צוויידייטיקע אנווינקונגען, ווי מיר קענען זיי פון די פראנצויזישע שלעכטע פארסן. דער איינאקטער איז אבסאלוט נישט כאראקטעריסטיש פאר שלום-עליכם'ען און אין א געוויסער מאס פארשוועכט ער דעם אנדענק, וואס לעבט אין יעדן פון אונז וועגן דעם גרעסטן יידישן מייסטער.

נישט שלעכט וואלט געווען דער אקטועלער מאנאלאג פון א. סוויסלאצקי, אויסגע- פירט פון פרוי שושנה "מיר איז וואויל, איך בין א בעזשענקע"... דער אומגעלונגענער סוף האט אבער אפגעהרגעט דעם עפעקט, וואס עס האט געמאכט דער אנהויב פון מאנאלאג. די טרערן-דעקלאמאציע פון מאריס ראזענפעלד'ס "אויפן בוזם פון ים" און ש. פרוג'ס "דער כוס" אויסגעפירט פון פרוי שושנה, האט זיך נישט אריינגעפאסט און דעם אלגע- מיינעם כאראקטער פון אוונט.

די צוויי סקעטשן "גארסאניערקע" פון מ. בראדערזון און "ער זי און דער דריטער" פון אן אומבאקאנטען מחבר ביידע ענלעך צו זיך לויט דער טעמע, האבן ארויסגערופן ביים עולם א סך געלעכטער. א חוץ פרוי שושנה האבן זיך אין זיי באטייליקט פנים חדשות: ה' י. קעימאך, וועלכער האט זיך באוועגט זייער פריי אויף דער בינע, ה' י. מלאטעק, וועלכער מוז נאך גובר זיין א סך אינערלעכע שטערונגען, אויב ער וויל זיך ווידמען דער יידישער סצענע-קונסט, ה' יאטער, וועלכער האט א גוטע דיקציע און א געוויסע טעאטער-רוטין, און אויך דער אלטער שאנכייער טעאטער-טוער, ה' ווינאגראדאו, וועלכער האט פארוואורפס- לאז אויסגעפירט זיין אומדאנקבארע ראל אין שלום-עליכם'ס [!] איינאקטער.

דער הומאריסטישער מאנאלאג פון ר. יאקובאוויטש "א טעלעגראמע" האט טיילווייז איבערגעחזרט דעם מאנאלאג פון א. סוויסלאצקי, א חוץ דעם האט ער געליטן פון איבע- רגעלאדנקייט און וואסערדיקייט. פרוי שושנה אלס געניטע רעזשיסערן און טעאטראלין, דארף קענען קירצן אירע נומערן וואו מען דארף, און אויסמיידן אן איבערמדיקייט ביים צושייער.

אין סך-הכל: אן אוונט פון אויפריכטיקן געלעכטער, וואס דארף באוועגן די קליינע גרופע יידישע טעאטער-מענטשן ביי אונז אין שטאט ווייטער צו ארבעטן אין דער ריכטונג פון ווייזן עכטע יידישע טעאטער-קונסט. פון שעפן פון טיפן קוואל פון יידישן הומאר, פון געבן גרויסע און גאנצע יידישע טעאטער-פארשטעלונגען.

מעם

Translation

A Yiddish Theater Evening in Shanghai

The "Evening of Yiddish Humor," arranged by the artist Shoshana³⁴ in the Jewish Club, was a tremendous success. The new auditorium, with the newly built stage, can hold 300 people and was filled to overflowing. Shanghai Jews probably don't speak Yiddish in every-day life, but they have a strong connection to Yiddish theater and its tradition of bringing joy to gray Jewish

34 This is Shoshana Kahan.

lives. The Yiddish artists who are today in Shanghai, therefore, must maintain an unquenchable interest in Yiddish theater. They must not give the starving people shreds and crumbs found usually in the first available but least appropriate sources, but indeed the real popular Yiddish theater as we know it from the old homeland.

The audience received with great satisfaction the news, announced earlier onstage by Shoshana, that the next performance being prepared is “Mirele Efros” by Jacob Gordin.

About the “Evening of Yiddish Humor” one thing can be said: the audience laughed heartily. And it is a great thing when, considering today’s bitter times, it is possible to call forth in people not only a smile, but truly honest laughter. But the program of the evening did sin against great art. Even the one-act play “Two Times Sixty-Six”³⁵ by Sholem Aleichem has brought forth none of Sholem Aleichem’s lucid language and his genuine humor, but only ambiguous allusions, as they are known from bad French farces. This one-act play is by no means characteristic of Sholem Aleichem and to some extent this weakens the memory of one of the greatest masters of Yiddish, which lives on in each of us.

Not bad, however, was the topical monologue by A. Svislacki,³⁶ presented by Mrs. Shoshana, “I Feel Good, I am a Refugee”... The unsuccessful end, however, nullified the effect created at the beginning of the monologue.

The tearful reading of Morris Rosenfeld’s “On the Bosom of the Ocean”³⁷ and Sh. Frug’s “The Cup”³⁸ by Mrs. Shoshana did not fit in with the general character of the evening.

The two sketches, “Garsonyerke” by M. Broderzon³⁹ and “He, She, and the Third” by an unknown author, both similar relating their subject, called forth much laughter from the audience. Aside from Mrs. Shoshana, some

35 Sholem Aleichem’s Yiddish Hanukkah comedy *In tsveyen a zeks-un-zekhtsik* (Two Times Sixty-Six; 1916) was published for the first time in 1921.

36 The Latin spelling is not clear, this could also be Swislatsky.

37 Rosenfeld (i.e. Moshe Jacob Alter; 1862–1923) was an American Yiddish poet and journalist who became known to a broader public in 1898 when an English translation of his poems appeared under the title *Songs from the Ghetto*. His Yiddish poem *Oyf dem buzem fun yam* (At the Estuary) is about Jewish emigrants whose entrance to the United States is denied and who are forced to return to Russia.

38 Shimen Shmuel Frug (1860–1916) was a Russian and Yiddish poet and writer. His Russian poem *Legenda o chashe* (Legend of a Cup; 1882) was a reaction to the pogroms in 1881; the poet Isaak L. Peretz translated it into Yiddish under the title *Der kos* (The Cup).

39 The important Yiddish poet, playwright, and journalist Moyshe Broderzon (1890–1956) was a leading figure in Yiddish *kleynkunst* (minor arts) theaters in prewar War-

new actors participated in the show: J. Keimach, who moved very freely on the stage; Y. Mlotek, who still has to overcome many inner limitations if he wants to devote himself to stage craft; Mr. Joter, who has good diction and a certain theater routine, as well as the old theater personage, Mr. Winogradow, who without opposition performed in his thankless role of Sholem Aleichem's one-act play.

R. Jakubowicz's humorous monologue, "A Telegram" has partially duplicated A. Svislacki's monologue; except from that, his performance suffered from being overloaded and wishy-washy.

Mrs. Shoshana, as director and theater expert, should have known which of her numbers could have been shortened to avoid tiring her public.

Altogether, an evening of genuine laughter that ought to motivate the small group of Yiddish theater here in our city working toward real Yiddish theater art. Deeper sources of Yiddish humor must be exploited in order to give great and whole Yiddish theater performances.

Mem

Document 147

*Menakhem Flakser*⁴⁰

March 13, 1942

Newspaper article, in: *Unzer lebn*, no. 45, 1.

Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

די רעוויפֿארשטעלונג פֿון קליינקונסט־טעאטער "די פֿריילעכע באַמבע"

דער זאל פֿון ייִדישן קלוב איז געווען פֿול מיט מענטשן, דער עולם האט ערטערווייז אפֿילו גאנץ געשמאק געלאכט, אבער דאך איז דער אלגעמיינער איינדרוק געווען, אז דעם אוונט האבן געפעלט צוויי זאכן: גוטער געשמאק און – אמתע קונסט. און מיר האבן א רעכט זיך צו וואונדערן: גאנצע צוויי ליטערארישע לייטערס, אן ארטיסטישער לייטער, א מוזיקאלישער לייטער, אן אדמיניסטראטיווער לייטער, אזויפֿיל לייטערס, אן עין־הרע, און מיט די אלע לייטערס קאן מען אין ערגעץ נישט דערגרייכן.

saw and Lodz. Many of his sketches were lost; cf. Gilles Rozier, Moyshe Broderzon. Un écrivain yiddish d'avant-garde, Saint-Denis 1999.

40 About Flakser, see ch. 7, n. 56.

בלויז דער שלום־עליכם־נומער "א זשורפיקס ביי די פאסטערנאקס", הגם נישקשה־דיק ארומגעשניטן, און דער מאנאלאג פון ה' עלבויס (אין זיין אייגענער אויספירונג) האבן דערמאנט אין עכטן גוטן טעאטער. אזא נומער, ווי "נאכט־שאטנס", איז לויט אונזער באַ־שיידענער מיינונג פשוט א סקאנדאל צו ווייזן. דאס גאנץ קארעקטע שפילן אויפן אקאר־דיאן דורך פרוי לין האט קיין שום שייכות נישט מיט יידישער קליינקונסט, און די יידישע לידער, געזונגען פון גרעטא קליינער, לאזן איבער א גאנץ בלאסן איינדרוק, סיי צוליב דער שוואכער אויספירונג און סיי צוליב דעם אפקלייב פון די טעקסטן.

פרוי שושנה איז געווען גוט בלויז אין שלום־עליכמס קאמעדיע, וואס עס האט אונז אן איבעריק מאל איבערצייגט, אז זי דארף שפילן טעאטער, און נישט אין אזעלכע שטיקלעך און ברעקלעך, וואס האבן נאר דעמאלט א חן, ווען די אויספירונג איז א פרעציזע און ווען די גאנצע אטמאספער איז אן עכטיקנסטלערישע.

דער קאנפערנאנסיע, ה' עלבויס, וועלכער האט אויסגעטראגן אויף זיינע פליצעס א גרויסן טייל פון דעם דערפאלג פון אוונט, האט ליידער געזינדיקט מיט דערציילן אלטע וויצן.

ה' ווינאגראדאו, וועלכן מיר קענען אלס גוטן אקטיאר פון אלטן טעאטער, האט אין איציק מאנגערס "הידל־דידל־דאם" אומזיסט זיך באמיט איבערצושרייען אלע איבעריקע פארטנערן און דערמיט באגראבן א גאלדענעם נומער. קארעקט, ווי שטענדיק, האט געש־פילט פרוי בעלאווסקאיא און אויך פרל' עלענבערג אין שלום־עליכמס נומער.

אין "מאנאלאג פון א שדכנטע" פון א. סוויסלאצקי, אויסגעפירט פון פרוי שושנה, איז געווען א שפארע פארציע וואולגאריטעטן. וואו זענען געווען די ליטערארישע לייטערס? אין דער אונטערשטער שורה: א יידישער טעאטער־אוונט מיט יידישע רייד און מיט געלעכטערס אויפן זאל, אבער – אן יענעם ציטער און יענער שטילער, טיפער הנאה, וואס עס גיט אונז עכטע, אפילו נישט גרויסע, קונסט. מ. פ.

Translation

The Performance of Minor Arts Theater "The Happy Bomb"

The hall of the Jewish Club was filled with people. Here and there the audience even laughed. Still, the general impression was that the evening lacked two items: good taste – and true artistry. We are, therefore, justified in wondering: two literary directors, one art director, one musical director, one administrative director, so many directors, knock on wood. With all these directors, one cannot achieve anything anywhere.

Only the number by Sholem Aleichem, "A Regular Meeting at the Paster-naks," was passably panned and the monologue by Mr. Elbaum (performed by him) reminded us of truly good theater. Another number, "Night Shadows," was in our humble view simply scandalous. Mrs. Lin's accordion playing sounded quite right but it had no relationship whatsoever to Yiddish minor

arts theater. And the Yiddish songs, sung by Grete Kleiner, made a very pallid impression, be it for the weak performance, be it for the very selection of texts.

Mrs. Shoshana was only good in Sholem Aleichem's comedy. It convinced us once more that she must act in the theater and not only in such bits and pieces that are only attractive when the presentation is precise and the atmosphere truly artistic.

The success of the evening was, to a large extent, due to Mr. Elbaum's volubility. Unfortunately he sinned by telling old jokes.

Mr. Winogradow, whom we know as a good actor from the old theater, anxiously but in vain tried to predominate with his voice all his partners' voices in Itzik Manger's "Heidl-Didle-Dam,"⁴¹ thus burying a brilliant number. Mrs. Bielawskaja played her role competently as always like Miss Elenberg did in Sholem Aleichem's number. The "Monologue of a Women Shadkhen" by A. Svislacki, presented by Mrs. Shoshana, was a conglomeration of vulgar jokes. Where were the literary directors?

And the bottom line is: a Yiddish theater evening, spoken in Yiddish and with laughter in the hall, but without that trembling and that silence, that deep enjoyment, which we obtain from genuine, even if not great art.

M. F.

Document 148

*Mendel Lewkowitz*⁴²

April 17, 1942

Newspaper article, in: Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt, vol. 3, no. 8, 5.

Microfilm; YIVO, Y-2003, 1854.9

41 Manger (1901–1969) was a popular Yiddish writer of ballads, poems, and stories in the interwar period. His satirical Yiddish poem *Rabeynu Tam* (Our Rabbi Tam; 1937) was also known by the title *Ikh vel aykh zingn dos sheyne lid* (I will sing for you the beautiful song) after its first verse; others disseminated it under the title *Haydl didl dum* after its chorus.

42 Mendel Lewkowitz (c. 1915–?) was a cantor from Beuthen and taught at the Shanghai Jewish School; cf. Lewin, *Almanac*, 58.

Bunter Abend im Seward Road Heim

Das Heim trat am Sonnabend, d. 14. März mit seiner ersten Veranstaltung vor die Öffentlichkeit. Um es gleich vorweg zu nehmen: Dem Abend war der grösste Erfolg beschieden und das überfüllte Haus erlebte einige überaus angenehme Stunden. Pünktlich um 7 Uhr eröffnete der Obmann des Ausschusses Herr Walter Koratkowski die Veranstaltung mit einer Ansprache, in welcher er auf die Arbeitsgebiete des Ausschusses hinwies und insbesondere auf das gute Zusammenarbeiten gerade in diesem Camp mit der Heimleitung und den Heiminsassen verwies. Den Reigen eröffnete Herr Willy Böhm, der 2 Lieder vortrug, am Klavier von Fritz Landsberg begleitet. Die junge vielversprechende Inge Blumenstein erfreute wie immer durch ihre Tänze das Publikum. In Salo Klotzer lernten wir einen feinführenden Verfasser von Gedichten kennen, von denen uns am meisten „Komödianten“ gefiel. Der bekannte Kurt Lewin bewies auch an diesem Abend wieder, dass er von seiner alten Popularität noch nichts eingebüsst hat. In Herrn Lewinee [sic] begrüsst wir einen Sänger, der mit seiner wundervollen Bass-Stimme und seiner vollendeten Vortragskunst die Erschienenen begeisterte. Ueber Raja Zominah [sic] erübrigt es sich viel zu sagen. Sie stellte sicherlich den Höhepunkt des Abends dar. Karl Heinz Wolff⁴³ (Persönlich) trat nach langer Zeit wieder auf und verstand es wie immer das Publikum auf die amüsanteste Art und Weise zu unterhalten.

Spanische Lieder, die uns Frau Rogosinsky brachte und die auf der Gitarre von Herrn Goldstein einführend begleitet wurden, bildeten eine Abwechslung im Programm. In einem Sketch, in welchem Georg Feldmann, Marion Lissner und Karl Heinz Wolff die Versammelten [sic] zu wahren Lachsälven hinrissen, verstand es insbesondere Marion Lissner durch ihr reizendes und gewinnendes Spiel zu beweisen, dass ihr die Welt der Bretter eine Notwendigkeit bedeutet. Die gesamte künstlerische Leitung lag ausschliesslich in den Händen von Georg Feldmann, der sich dieser Aufgabe in hervorragender Weise unterzog. Auch seine Solo-Vorträge ernteten reichsten Beifall. In [sic] die Begleitung der Sänger teilten sich Frau Leisten, sowie die Herren Max Retzler und Fritz Landsberg, die in uneigennützigster Weise sich zur Verfügung gestellt hatten. Besonders hervorheben möchten wir Kurt Berger, der durch sein grandioses Spiel auf dem Klavier seine Kunst uuter [sic] Beweis stellte. Das Publikum jubelte ihm aus Dankbarkeit zu. Eine grosse Tombola,

43 No biographical details are known about Wolff, except that he appeared on Shanghai stages as a theater actor and cabaret artist. He wrote a poem for one cabaret evening (March 21, 1942) entitled *Der pflichtbewusste Maurer*; for an English translation of this poem cf. Eber, *Voices*, 82–84, 138.

zwei amerik. Versteigerungen und ein kleiner Tanz bildeten den Abschluss dieses überaus gelungenen Abends, der als Reinertrag für die Aermsten der Armen des Seward Camps eine sehr ansehnliche Summe einbrachte und somit seinen Hauptzweck voll und ganz erfüllte.

M. Lewkowitz

Document 149

*Wolfgang Fischer*⁴⁴

June 6, 1942

Newspaper article, in: Shanghai-Woche, no. 2, 2.

Microfilm; courtesy Hartmut Walravens

RAJA ZOMINA

Die kleine Raja⁴⁵ ist heute der Liebling Aller. Egal ob im Jewish Club in der Bubbling Well Road oder im Alcock-Heim in Hongkew, wenn ein Zomina-Abend angesetzt ist, dann gibt es ein ausverkauftes Haus, Riesenapplaus, Blumen, Begeisterung bei allen Erschienenen, gleich welcher Herkunft. Selbstredend sind die Landsleute von ihrer Raja besonders entzueckt, aber auch die, die die von der charmanten Diseuse gebrachten Vortraege in jiddisch nicht so gut verstehen, rasen [sic] Beifall. Es bewahrheitet sich eben immer wieder, dass wirkliche Kunst international ist.

Raja Zomina ist zweifelsohne eine ueberaus begabte Kuenstlerin. Ihrem Ausdrucksvermoegen, ihren Bewegungen, ihren Gesten, ihrer Gesangstechnik sieht und hoert man es sofort an, dass sie dereinst eine erstklassige Ausbildung genossen haben muss. Es kommt ihre Jugend, ihr Charme, ihre taenzerische Begabung und ihr vorteilhaftes Aeussere [sic] hinzu, Faktoren, die Vorbedingung fuer eine ganz grosse Karriere sind, der Raja Zomina mit Sicherheit entgegensteuert. Sie ist bereits heute so weit, dass sie in den grossen Weltmetropolen erste Erfolge erringen wuerde.

Raja Zomina, klein, zierlich, sensibel, figuerlich und auch im Aussehen stark an unsere unvergessliche Elisabeth Bergner erinnernd (Charles Boyer,

44 About Fischer, see ch. 6, n. 19.

45 All biographical details known about Zomina come entirely from this document.

Luise Rainer und die Bergner sind uebrigens ihre Lieblingsschauspieler),⁴⁶ hat das „gewisse Etwas“ in der Stimme und im Vortrag, das sofort fuer sie einnimmt und den Zuhoerer enthusiasmiert.

Shanghai ist fuer jeden nach hier gekommenen Kuenstler ein schwieriges Pflaster. Der Kreis des kunstverstaendigen Publikums ist sehr klein und dieser kleine Kreis ist zudem, national gesehen, kolossal zersplittert. Die Folge ist, dass der hier wirkende Kuenstler ein Riesenrepertoire benoetigt, da er immer wieder von [sic] den gleichen Zuschauern auftritt. Raja Zomina hat auch in dieser Hinsicht einen Rekord aufgestellt, nicht weniger denn 80, sage und schreibe achtzig Lieder und Chansons brachte sie hier innerhalb eines Jahres zum Vortrag, eine ungeheuer [sic] Leistung, die dem Fleiss der kleinen Diseuse groesste Ehre einlegt, eine Leistung, von der sich der Laie kaum einen Begriff machen kann.

Ich darf wohl den Anspruch erheben, Raja Zomina in Hongkew populaer gemacht zu haben. Am 9. Maerz dieses Jahres brachte ich die Zomina anlaesslich des von mir im „Windsor“ arrangierten Wohltatigkeitstees „Zugunsten notleidender Journalisten“ heraus und die bis dahin hier in unserem Vorort Unbekannte errang einen Riesenerfolg.

Das Publikum raste [vor] Beifall und verlangte immer neue Zugaben. Dieser Erfolg ist Raja Zomina seitdem treu geblieben, wobei zu bemerken waere, dass die Herren Veranstalter und Manager in den ersten 9 Monaten des Hierseins von Raja Zomina nicht bemerkt hatten, welch starke Begabung in unseren Mauern weilte. Raja Zomina, die am 1. Mai 1941 in Shanghai eintraf, gab ihren ersten, sehr erfolgreichen „Eigenen Abend“ bereits am 18. Mai im alten Jewish Club, startete insgesamt zehn eigene Konzertabende und wirkte ferner bei 18 Wohltatigkeitsveranstaltungen mit. Morgen, Sonntag werden wir, falls der diesjaehrig besonders launische Wettergott dies erlaubt, die reizende Kuenstlerin beim Sport-Abend im Picadilly-Garten begruessen koennen und wie stets wird sie auch hier den Beifall Aller haben.

Geradezu erstaunlich, wie sich Raja Zomina, die doch nur ueber ein kleines Stimmchen verfuegt, auch in so einem grossen, akustisch unvorteilhaften Garten durchzusetzen versteht. Ihre Vortragsweise, glaenzend unterstuezt [sic] von einem lieblichen, melodioesen, suessen Stimmchen, fesselt im Nu den Zuhoerer, geht zu Herzen, ruehrt zu Traenen oder schafft eine freudig erregte Stimmung. Raja Zomina bringt wundervolle Chansons zu Gehoer, alte, schoene jiddische Volkslieder, rytmische [sic] Weisen, mitreissende

46 Bergner (1897–1986) worked in Vienna, Munich, and Berlin before leaving for England until 1933. Boyer (1899–1978) was a French actor. Rainer (1910–2014) was brought up in Hamburg and Vienna, where she started her career; from 1935 until 1939 she worked in the United States, and after that in England.

Schlager, moderne Songs. In einem Lied sehen wir sie beispielsweise als Kind, als moderne Soubrette, als altes Muetterlein – und stets weiss sie restlos zu ueberzeugen. Besonders beliebt sind ihre Vortraege „Baranowitsch“, „Mein Staedtele Belz“, „Rosinen und Mandeln“, „Der Zeitungsverkaeufer“, „Die juedische Mamme“ und von neueren, hier in Shanghai von Elbaum, Mlotek und Fischman⁴⁷ geschaffenen Liedern „Warschau“, „Mutters Traenen“, „Schweig Herz, schweig“ und „Die Blumenverkaeuferin“.

In dem grandiosen juedischen Drama „Der Dybuk“ sahen wir Raja Zomina hier im Lyceum Theater auch als Schauspielerin, wie ja ihre ganze Liebe ueberhaupt dem Theater gilt. Bereits mit 11 Jahren stand die kleine Raja in Wilna auf der Buehne, sie wirkte im Schauspiel und bei der Operette und war auch als Solotaenzerin gemeinsam mit ihrer begabten Schwester Sonja⁴⁸ im Duett erfolgreich taetig. Sie hat also von der Pike auf gelernt und ihr grosser Lehrmeister war spaeterhin in Warschau beim dortigen juedischen Kuenstlertheater der beruehmte juedische Regisseur Sigmund Turkoff,⁴⁹ dem sie kuenstlerisch sehr viel verdankt.

In Warschau wurde sie vom Kriege ueberrascht und floh, in der Hand ein kleines Koeffcherchen. Nach vierwoechiger Wanderung kam sie nach Wilna und von da ging es via Sibirien nach Wladiwostok. Infolge Visaschwierigkeiten gelang es ihr nicht mehr nach Australien zu ihrer Schwester zu kommen, aber wir hier in Shanghai sind darueber sehr froh, denn sie hat unser hiesiges Kunstleben ungemein bereichert.

Raja Zomina ist noch sehr jung, die Welt steht ihr noch offen. Nach Beendigung dieses schrecklichen Krieges wird sie weiterreisen und ueberall, wo sie hinkommen wird, neue begeisterte Freunde und Zuhoerer finden.

Kleine Raja, Glueck auf, oder wie Du es zu hoeren gewohnt bist, „Massel und Broche“⁵⁰ fuer Deine weitere Zukunft, zu Ehren der juedischen Kunst, der Du bisher groesste Ehre eingelegt hast.

Wolfgang Fischer

47 Also spelled Fishman.

48 The actress Sonia Zomina (1916–1985) had already acted in a Warsaw Yiddish theater. She came to Australia before the end of the war but soon after immigrated to the United States, where she appeared on stage and in several movies.

49 Zygmunt Turkow (1896–1970) was the director of the renowned Warsaw Yiddish Art Theater (*Varshever Yidisher Kunst-Teater*, VYKT).

50 Yiddish, “good luck and blessings”.

Document 150

*Menakhem Flakser*⁵¹

October 16, 1942

Newspaper article, in: *Unzer lebn*, no. 76, 1.

Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

**די יוביליי־פארשטעלונג פון ד. מאבאס
"כאסיע די יתומה", רעזשי: ל. גיידאראו**

די יונגע שאנכייער בינעקינסטלערין, ד. מאבאס, האט געפייערט אן אמתן טריאומף אין דער אלטער, אבער נישט פארעלטערטער גארדינישער מיט טרערן דורכגעווייקטער פיעסע "כאסיע די יתומה". אין ערשטן אקט, ווען דאס געזונטע יידישע דארפס־מידל באג־עגנט זיך מיט דער גרויסער שטאט, מיט איר פאלשקייט, פלאכקייט, רשעות און פוסטקייט, האט איר דערפילט, אז מיט דעם באווייזן זיך פון אט דער יונגער ארטיסטין אויף דער בינע האט אויף אייך א וויי געטאן מיט פרישקייט און מיט שטארקייט. איר טאלענט האט לעבעדיק געמאכט די געזונטע שיינע דארפישקייט אין קעגנזאץ צו דער גרויס־שטאטישער פארדארבנקייט. איר האט דערשפירט די הויפט־אידעע, וואס האט באוועגט גארדינען צו שרייבען דאס שטיק, וואס ביי אלע זיינע מעלאדראמאטישע חסרונות בלייבט עס דאך א ווינקל־שטיין פון קלאסישן יידישן טעאטער־רעפערטואר.

עס איז געווען א גלענצנדער יידישער טעאטער־אוונט אין פולן זין פון ווארט. דער רע־זשיסער ה' ל. גיידאראו האט זיך געגעבן פיל מי ארויסצובאקומען פון אמאטארן־קרעפטן דאס בעסטע, וואס איז געווען מעגלעך אין די געגעבענע באדינגונגען. פרוי מיניא אין דער אומדאנקבארער ראל פון א יידענע – א מרשעת, וואס פארפייניקט נעבעך די ארעמע יתומה, איז געווען נאטירלעך און עכט. ה' פרידמאן אלס דער יידישער דארפס־ייד און אייביקער קבצן האט געשפילט זיין ראל מיט א סך ליריזם און שטילער הארציקייט. ה' ווינאגראדאו אין דער ראל פון יעקאטערינאסלאווער גביר, יולי טראכטנבערג, האט עטוואס שארזשירט די פיגור אזוי, אז צייטנווייז האבן מיר נישט געגלויבט, אז אויף דער בינע באוועגט זיך ווירקלעך א יוסטער יידישער גביר. ה' גיידאראו האט אויסגעזען א ביסל צראלט פאר דער ראל פון וולאדימירן, אין וועלכן כאסיע פארליבט זיך, אבער מיט זיין קערנדיקן סצענישן טאלאנט האט ער געמאכט פארגעסן אן דעם.

דער ספעקטאקל מיט זיינע לאנגע פיר אקטן האט קיינעם נישט מיד געמאכט און שפעט אין דער נאכט האבן אלע מיט א געשפאנטן אטעם נאכגעפאלגט די דראמאטישע סצענע, ווען די יונגע מאמע, כאסיע די יתומה, מוז גיין פון דער וועלט צוליב דער רשעות און ברור טאליטעט פון דער אומגעבונג.

51 About Flakser, see ch. 7, n. 56.

עס איז געווען א גרויסע סצענישע לייסטונג פאר די היגע ארעמע באדינגונגען. די "יובילארשע", פרל. מאבאס, האט באוויזן, ווי קינסטלערישדייף זי איז געווארן און ווי זי איז אויסגעוואקסן פאר די פארלאפענע צען יאר.

עס זענען געווען אויך א סך בלומען און רעדעס. ה' בריק האט באגריסט אין נאמען פון דער יובילייקאמיסיע און פון דער קולטור־קאמיסיע ביים יידישן קלוב און ה' מ. פלאקסער האט באגריסט אין נאמען פון דער רעדאקציע "אונדזער" [! לעבן], אנווייזנדיק, אז די "יובילארשע", אלס א שאנכייער עמיגראנט־קינד, וואס איז דערצויגן געווארן פאר אונדדערע אויגן, פארשאפט מיט איר טאלאנט כבוד דער גאנצער היגער געמיינשאפט.

די יובילייקאמיסיע אין די פערזאנען פון די ה"ה: 52 בריק, גענקין, שטיין, ראזענצווייג און גידאראוו פארדינט א באזונדערן דאנק פאר דער פרעכטיקער ארגאניזירונג און דורכ־פירונג פונם אוונט.

מ. פ.

Translation

The Jubilee Performance of D. Mabas⁵³ "Khasye the Orphan Girl," Directed by L. Gaidaroff⁵⁴

Shanghai's young theatrical artist, D. Mabas, celebrated a true triumph in the old but not old-fashioned, tearsaturated play by Gordin, "Khasye the Orphan Girl." In the first act, when the healthy Jewish village girl encounters the large city with its duplicity, superficiality, wickedness, and hollowness, it proved the young actress on the stage conveyed what she sensed with immediacy and strength. Because of her talent she brought to life the healthy, beautiful village life in contrast to the urban depravity. One apprehended the main idea that moved Gordin to write this piece. Despite all its dramatic faults it still remains a cornerstone of the classic Yiddish theater repertoire.

It was literally a brilliant Yiddish theater evening. The director L. Gaidaroff invested much effort to get the best out of the amateurs under the given circumstances.

52 הערן.

53 Doreen Mabas might have been a stage name; no biographical details are available.

54 The director Leo Gaidaroff (c. 1895–?) had the Soviet nationality; cf. <http://search.archives.jdc.org/multimedia/Documents/Names%20Databank/China/Additional%20Links/Complete_Nominal%20List%20China%20July%201955%20155112_02.pdf> (August 15, 2017). He also acted on stage occasionally (*Shanghai Echo*, April 28, 1946).

Mrs. Minina had the ungrateful role of a petty, wicked Jewish woman who abuses the poor orphan, yet she was natural and real. Mr. Friedmann⁵⁵ as the village Jew, forever stingy, performed very lyrically and with quiet feeling. Mr. Winogradow had the role of rich Mr. Yekaterinoslav; Yoyle Trakhtenberg became a somewhat exaggerated character so that one occasionally couldn't believe that a reputable Jewish rich man was really alive on stage. Mr. Gaidaroff looked a little too old in the role of Vladimir, with whom Khasye falls in love. But due to his hard-core stage talent he made us forget that.

The show with its four long acts didn't tire anyone, and until late at night everyone followed with bated breath the dramatic scene when the young mother, Khasye the orphan, must leave the world because of the maliciousness and brutality of her surroundings.

This was a great theatrical achievement in our poor circumstances. The jubilee celebrating Ms. Mabas has proved that she has become artistically mature and shown how she has grown in the last ten years.

There were also many flowers and speeches. Mr. Brick welcomed [the audience] in the name of the Jubilee Commission and the Culture Commission at the Jewish Club. Mr. M. Flakser⁵⁶ welcomed [the audience] in the name of the editorial staff of "Undzer [sic] lebn," pointing out that the jubilee celebrating person being a child of the Shanghai emigration who grew up here in front of our eyes brought honor to the entire community.

The Jubilee Commission as represented by the Gentlemen Brick, Genkin, Stein, Rosenzweig, and Gaidaroff deserves special thanks for the magnificent organization and execution of the evening.

M. F.

55 Most likely Hersch Friedmann.

56 Menachem Flakser (1898–?) was born in Ostrolenka. He was a journalist in Poland and Paris, where he studied at the Sorbonne. In Shanghai he regularly contributed to *Unzer lebn*, and was for some time its editor. After the war he settled in New York, working at the YIVO and for the paper *Forward*; cf. Irgun Yotzei Ostrolenka in Israel (ed.), *Book of Kehilat Ostrolenka*. *Yizkor Book of the Jewish Community of Ostrolenka*, Tel Aviv 2009, 221, 275. According to Berl Kagan, *Leksikon fun yidish-shraybers* [Lexicon of Yiddish Writers], New York 1986, 714, 727, Flakser used the abbreviations *M. F.* and *Mem* to sign his Yiddish articles.

Document 151

Joseph Rotenberg⁵⁷

October 30, 1942

Newspaper article, in: *Unzer lebn*, no. 78, 1.

Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

י. ראטנבערג

וועגן א יידיש טעאטער אין שאנכיי

עס איז א פאקט, אז אין שאנכייער יידישן לעבן האט זיך אין לעצטן יאר א היפש ביסל א רודער געטאן. די יידישע געזעלשאפט אין שאנכיי האט זיך ווי אויפגעכאפט פון שלאף, אויסגעריבן די אויגן און דערזען, אז מיט שאנכיי ענדיקט זיך נאכנישט די וועלט און אוודאי שוין נישט די יידישע וועלט און דאס יידישע לעבן. די שאנכייער יידן האבן אנגעהויבן מער צו דערפילן און צו באגרייפן, אז זיי זענען נישט עפעס אן אפגעריסענער גליד נאר א מיטגליד פון דער גאר גרויסער גראנדיעזער משפחה וואס רופט זיך יידיש פאלק.

גורם געווען דערצו האבן, נאטירלעך נישט אין א קליינער מאס, די פארטריבענע יידן פון מזרח-איייראפע, איבערהויפט די יידן פון פוילן און ליטע. די יידן פון פוילן, וואס האבן געפירט און אנטוויקלט א רייך, פילפארביק יידיש קולטורלעבן, האבן מיטגעבראכט מיט זיך יידישן לעבנסשטייגער, יידישע קולטורגעוואוינהייטן און דער עיקר – א דראנג און בענקשאפט נאך יידישער קולטורשאפונג.

צי האט דאס געקענט בלייבן אן שום איינפלוס אויפן שאנכייער יידנטום? פארשטייט זיך, אז נישט. אזוי איז שוין די אייגנארטיקע דיאלעקטיק פון לעבן. דער גלות פון פוילישן יידנטום איז אין א געוויסער מאס געווארן א שטיקל ברכה פאר די שאנכייער יידן. איברינקס איז עס נישט דער איינציקער און ערשטער היסטארישער פראצעס פון דעם מין אין דער לאנגער געשיכטע פון יידישן פאלק.

אבער לאמיר זיך אומקערן צו פאקטען:

במשך פון דעם לעצטן יאר זענען דא פארגעקומען א היפשע צאל פארלעזונגען אין יידיש אויף יידישע און אלגעמיינע טעמעס. עס זענען ארגאניזירט געווארן ליטערארישע פארומס, קאנצערטן פון יידישן פאלקס-ליד, טעאטער-פארשטעלונגען. עס איז אויך דע-רשינען א ביכל אין יידיש (די סאציאלע פונקציע פון פאעזיע – י. ראפאפארט) און עס איז געשאפן געווארן א פארלאג אויף צו פאפולאריזירן די יידישע ליטעראטור און יידישן שרייבער אויפן ווייטן מזרח (עס איז שוין דערשינען דאס ערשטע וואגיקע בוך פון דעם דאזיקן פארלאג – א.נ.⁵⁸ יידישע שרייבער – י. ראפאפארט און עס גרייטן זיך צום דרוק נאך ביכער). ווי מיר זעען, א גאנץ שיינער סך-הכל פאר אזא פארהעלטניסמעסיק קורצער צייט.

57 About Rotenberg, see ch. 3, n. 17.

58 אויפן נאמען פון.

פארשטייט זיך, אז נישט אלץ איז געמאכט געווארן גוט און סאליד: מקען האבן א סך באווארענישן און טענות אי צו די איניציאטארן פון די פארשידענע פאראנשטאלטונגען און צו דער שאנכייער יידישער געזעלשאפט, וואס ווייזט נאך ווייט נישט ארויס גענוג פארשט-ענדעניש דער יידישער קולטור, דער יידישער קולטורארבעט און קולטורלעבן. אבער עס האט זיך פארט א ריר געטאן פון ארט.

און אויב סהאט זיך יא א ריר געטאן פון ארט, דארף מען זען די ארבעט צו פירן דער-פאלגרייך ווייטער, ווי זאגט מען: וואס ווייניקער גערעדט, אלץ מער געטאן. איין שטיקעלע קולטורארבעט, א קליין ביסעלע קולטורלייסטונג. אפילו אויף איין באגרענעצטען [!] געביט, איז מער חשוב, מער איבערצייגנדיקער, ווי צענדליקער ארטיקלען און חקירות וועגן קולטור.

איך וויל זיך דעריבער דא אפשטעלן דערווייל אויף איין געביט פון יידישער קולטור-ארבעט אין שאנכיי, אויפן געביט פון טעאטער. ווי סאיז שוין אויבן דערמאנט געווארן זענען לעצטנס אדורכגעפירט געווארן א גאנצע רייע יידישע טעאטער-פארשטעלונגען. א טייל פון זיי זענען אויסגעפאלן בעסער, אנדערער ערגער. למען האמת דארף אבער פעסט-געשטעלט ווערן, אז די ווייט גרעסטע טייל פון די פארגעשטעלטע פיעסעס האבן געקענט ארויסקומען פיל בעסער און אנדערע האבן אין גאנצן נישט געדארפט פארגעשטעלט ווערן. פארוואס?

ווייל טעאטער-שפיל איז נישט נאר אזוי זיך א שפיל, וואס מעג זיך אויספאלן בעסער אדער ערגער, נאר אן ענין זייער אן ערנסטער, צו וועלכן מען דארף צוגיין מיט גרויס יראת-הכבוד. יעדער פאלק האט די אמביציע צו האבן א גוט נאציאנאל טעאטער. טעאטער דאס איז איינער פון די הויפט-פאקטארן אין דער אנטוויקלונג פון דער נאציאנאלער קולטור. נישט נאר עס העלפט מיט שאפן די קולטור, נאר עס דערציט אויך די מאסן צו קענען געניסן פון איר. דארט ווערט געשליפן און בארייכערט דאס לעבעדיקע ווארט, עס קוואלט און שפרודלט דער פאלקס-הומאר און וויץ, אין דער ווארימער קאלעקטיווער טעאטער-אטמא-ספער ווערט געבוירן און געפפלעגט די פאלקס-מוזיק און דער פאלקס-טאנץ.

דער בארימטער סטאניסלאווסקי פלעגט זאגן צו זיינע שילער, אז דאס טעאטער איז א קונסט-טעמפל, וואו דער אקטיאר דארף אויספירן א הייליקע עבודה, וואו ער דארף עמא-גירן פון זיך דאס שענסטע און דערהויבנסטע. אויפריכטיקייט, אוממיטלבראקייט און סר-בטעלקייט זענען גאר וויכטיקע עלעמענטן פון טעאטער-קונסט. יעדער אויסדרוק, יעדער באוועגונג, יעדער קלאנג אדער טאן טארן נישט זיין צופעליק, געקניצלט, נאר אינערלעך נויטווענדיק און בארעכטיקט.

דאס דארף, פארשטייט זיך, וויסן און שטענדיק אין זינען האבן יעדער ארטיסט און נישט נאר א סטאניסלאווסקי-ארטיסט: נאך מער דארף וועגן דעם וויסן דער רעזשיסאר, וועלכער איז דער אייגנטלעכער קינסטלער-ארגאניזאטאר פון גאנצן שוישפיל.

האבן מיר דאס אלץ, אפילו טיילווייז, ארויסגעפילט אויף די דערמאנטע יידישע טעא-טער-פארשטעלונגען? ליידער, זייער זעלטן, און שולדיק דערין איז די צופעליקייט, פלאנ-לאזיקייט און נישט גענוג ערנסטע באציאונג מיט וועלכע זיי זענען ארגאניזירט געווארן. און נאך איין וויכטיקע זאך: פאכמענישקייט ווייל לאמיר זיך נישט נארן, דאס פרימיטיווסטע טעאטער מוז האבן רעזשי, ארטיסטן, מאטעריאל און א ... פיעסע.

אמת איז, עס איז זייער שווער צונויפצופארן די אלע זאכן, בפרט נאך אין שאנכיי, וואס איז ביז איצט ווייט געווען פון יעטוועדער יידיש קולטורלעבן, וואו עס איז צומאל אפילו

נישטא קיין לייטישע יידישע ביבליאטעק. צי דרינגט אבער דערפון, אז מען דארף רעזיגנירן, אז מען דארף אלץ לאזן אזוי, ווי סאיז געווען ביז איצט? בשום אופן נישט.

מען דארף די גאנצע טעאטערארבעט א ביסל רעארגאניזירן און קודם-כל פארגעד-עלשאפטלעכן. די אויבנדערמאנטע דעפעקטן פון דער בידאיצטיקער טעאטערארבעט נעמען זיך דערפון, וואס די פריוואטע איניציאטיוו האט ביים בעסטן ווילן גארנישט געק-ענט דא אויפטאן, ווייל ביים מאנגל פון א רייכערן ארטיסטן-מאטעריאל, אנטשפרעכנדיקן רעפערטואר און גינסטיקע געזעלשאפטלעך-קולטורעלע סביבה, איז איבער די כוחות פון איין מענטש צו שאפן און צו ארגאניזירן א גוט טעאטער. עס דארף נאך דערביי גענומען ווערן אין אכט, אז איין פריוואטע איניציאטיוו האט ארויסגערופן א צווייטע און די אזוי אויך ווינציקע ארטיסטישע כוחות און מעגלעכקייטן זענען צעשפליטערט און צעשטויבט געווארן.

דער אויספיר: עס דארף געשאפן ווערן א געזעלשאפט "פריינט פון יידישן טעאטער אין שאנכיי", וואס זאל זיך שטעלן די אויפגאבע צו שאפן א גוט סאליד יידיש טעאטער אין שאנכיי.

דאס איז נישט גלאט אזוי זיך, א גוטער וואונטש, נאר א זאך, וואס קען רעאליזירט ווערן. פון דער בידאיצטיקער ווינציקער דערפארונג קענען מיר פעסטשטעלן, אז די צוויי נויטיקסטע עלעמענטן דערצו האבן מיר: א) ארטיסטישע כוחות. פון די פארשידענע טרר פעס קען מען אויסקלייבן א געוויסע צאל פעיקע און אפילו טאלאנטירטע ארטיסטן. ב) מיר האבן א היפש יידיש טעאטער-פובליקום, וואס האט באמת ליב יידיש טעאטער, א יידיש ליד און א יידיש לעבעדיק ווארט. אין דעם האבן מיר געהאט א מעגלעכקייט זיך איבערצוצייגן בעת די פארשידענע יידישע טעאטער-פארשטעלונגען, וואס זענען אזוי מאסנווייז באזוכט געווארן און זייער ווארעם אויפגענומען געווארן. און אויך אנטשפרעכנדיקע יידישע פי-עסעס וועלן זיך שוין אויסגעפינען. דערויף האבן מיר דאך דא א יידישע שרייבער-גרופע, וואס וועט זיכער ארויסווייזן איר גרייטקייט מיטצוארבעטן.

דאס שאפן פון אזא טעאטערגעזעלשאפט דארף דעריבער נישט אפגעלייגט ווערן. עס איז די פליכט פון יעדן געזעלש.⁵⁹ קולטור-טוער ארויסצווייזן אינטערעס און איניציאטיוו אין דער הינזיכט. דאס טעאטער-געביט איז דערווייל איינס פון די געציילטע קולטור-גע-ביטן, וועגן וועלכן עס איז איבעריק צו דיסקוטירן, צי עס איז מעגלעך אדער אוממעגלעך אין שאנכיי (ווי למשל, די פארשפרייטונג פון יידישן בוך, אויפלעבונג פון יידישער שפראך, דאס שאפן א יידיש-נאציאנאלע שול). א יידיש טעאטער אין שאנכיי איז מעגלעך צו שאפן און האט אלע אויסזיכטן צו עקזיסטירן און זיך צו אנטוויקלען.

59. געזעלשאפטלעכן.

Translation

Joseph Rotenberg

About Yiddish Theater in Shanghai

It is a fact that during the last year in Shanghai's Jewish life quite a bit of excitement occurred. It was as if Shanghai's Jewish society awoke from sleep, rubbed its eyes, and saw that in Shanghai the world did not end and certainly not the Yiddish world and Yiddish life. Shanghai Jewry began to feel and to comprehend that they are not a severed limb, but members of the grand family which calls itself the Jewish people.

One of the causes was in no small measure the expulsion of the Jews from Eastern Europe, especially the Jews from Poland and Lithuania. The Polish Jews who had developed and had led a rich and colorful cultural existence brought along their Yiddish way of life, their Yiddish cultural customs and most importantly – their drive and longing for Yiddish cultural creativity.

Could this have remained without any influence on Shanghai Jewry? Of course not! Such is the unique dialectic of life; the diaspora of Polish Jews became to some extent a blessing for Shanghai Jews. By the way, this is not the very first historical process of this kind in the long history of the Jewish people.

But let us turn to facts:

In the course of the last year we heard here a good number of lectures in Yiddish, on Yiddish and general topics. Literary forums, concerts of Yiddish folk songs, and theater performances have been organized. Also, a Yiddish booklet appeared, *The Social Function of Poetry* by Y. Rapoport.⁶⁰ A publishing house was established for popularizing Yiddish literature by Yiddish writers in the Far East (the first important book of this publishing house, *Yiddish Writers* by Y. Rapoport, has already appeared, and more books are in preparation, ready for printing). As we can see, in such a relatively short time an altogether considerable sum.

Sure, not everything is done well and solidly. There could be some reservations and objections to the initiators of the performances and to the Shanghai Yiddish community, which is still far from fully understanding Yiddish culture, Yiddish cultural work, and cultural life. But the first motions have been made.

And even if it has moved only a little, one must continue to work diligently, as the saying has it: The less you talk, the more you do. A little cultural

60 The complete title of this booklet was *Der mahus fun dikhtung un ir sotsyaler funktsye* (The Essence of Poetry and its Social Function). It appeared in Shanghai in 1941.

work, a little cultural achievement, even in a limited area, is more important and more convincing than dozens of articles and studies of culture.

I want to pursue here one aspect of Yiddish cultural work in Shanghai, that of theater. As mentioned above, quite a number of Yiddish theater performances took place recently. Some of them turned out better, others worse. For the sake of the truth, it must be said that they could have been better while others should have never been performed at all.

Why?

Because a theatrical play is not simply acting, which can turn out better or worse but its concern is a serious one that must be treated with reverence. All peoples have the ambition to have good theater. It is one of the major factors in the development of a national culture. It not only helps to create this culture, but educates the masses to enjoy it. It is where the living word is refined and enriched, where folk humor and wit are flowing and gushing forth. In its collective warm atmosphere, folk music and folk dance are born and cultivated.

The famous Stanislavski⁶¹ would say to his pupils that theater is an artistic sanctuary where the actor accomplishes holy work, where he can draw out the most beautiful and sublime things from inside himself. Immediacy and subtlety are important elements of theater art. No expression, no movement, no sound, and no tone should be accidental or artificial, but inherently necessary and justified.

Every artist, and not just the Stanislavski artist, must know this and must always take heed of it: This is all the more important for the director, who is the actual artistic organizer of the entire spectacle.

Did we feel all this, or at least some of it, in the above mentioned Yiddish theater performances? Unfortunately, only very rarely, and the blame for this is the randomness, non-planning and insufficient seriousness with which they were organized. Another important issue: professionalism. We cannot delude ourselves; the most primitive theater must have direction, artists, proper material, and ... a play.

True, it is very difficult to bring together all these elements, especially in Shanghai which has been until now far from Yiddish cultural life and didn't even have a respectable Jewish library. But must we resign ourselves and leave matters as they have been until now? Definitely not.

Theatrical work must be somewhat reorganized and first of all integrated into society. The above mentioned defects of theater work derive from the

61 Konstantin Stanislavski (1863–1938) was a Russian actor, director, and theater reformer. He strongly influenced the Russian avant-garde theater, and Yiddish and Hebrew theater as well.

fact that private initiative, despite the best intentions, cannot succeed in it. It is beyond the strength of a single human being to create and organize good theater in view of the scarcity of rich artistic material, an adequate repertoire, and a favorable socio-cultural environment.

It should also be noted that the private initiative has called for a second initiative, as its already meager powers and capabilities have been completely consumed.

The conclusion: a society must be created, "Friends of the Yiddish Theater in Shanghai," the object of which should be to organize a well and firmly established theater in Shanghai.

This is not a simple matter or merely a pious wish, but a matter that can be realized. From the previous, limited experience we can ascertain that we do have the most necessary two elements: (1) Artistic strength. From the various troupes we can select a certain number of capable and even talented actors. 2) We have a sizable Yiddish theater audience that truly likes Yiddish theater, a Yiddish song, and living Yiddish words. We had the opportunity to assure ourselves at various Yiddish performances that these have been seen by large audiences and were received very warmly. Therefore, appropriate Yiddish plays will also be found in the future. After all, we have here a group of Yiddish writers who will surely be prepared to cooperate.

The creation of such a theater society must not be postponed. It is the duty of every person engaged in the cultural sector of society to show an interest and initiative regarding this. The area of theater is currently one of the few cultural areas, and it is pointless to discuss whether they are feasible or not feasible in Shanghai (as, e.g., a wide distribution of Yiddish books, the cultivation of the Yiddish language, the creation of a national Yiddish school). A Yiddish theater can be created in Shanghai and has every possibility to succeed and develop.

Document 152*Anonymous*

1942

*Printed leaflet, 1 page (recto and verso).**Microfilm; YIVO, Meir Birman Collection; RG 352, folder 55***EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS****By J. Fein⁶²****CATALOGUE****31.V. – 15.VI. 1942****Shanghai Jewish Club****JAPANESE MOTIVES:**

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Daybreak on the waterside | (oil) |
| 2. Sun-spots | " |
| 3. Street | " |
| 4. Before a storm | " |
| 5. Flower seller | " |
| 6. City lights | " |
| 7. In the park | " |
| 8. Spring day | " |
| 9. Rain | " |
| 10. On the small bridge | " |

BIBLE MOTIVES:

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|
| 11. Creating of the man | (Graphic) |
| 12. Eve | " |
| 13. Cain and Abel | " |
| 14. The Flood (A) | " |
| 15. " " (B) | " |

62 Joni Fein (1913–2013; later known as Yonia Fain) left Poland in 1939 via Kobe, ending up in Shanghai in 1941. He was both a gifted poet and painter. He went to Mexico in 1947 where Diego Rivera, the well-known Mexican muralist, recognized his talent and sponsored an exhibition in Mexico City. In 1953 Fain relocated to New York and eventually began teaching at Hofstra University, which holds a collection of his artwork today. The only works from his Shanghai period Hofstra University has retained are a set of black and white drawings. According to Fain, he was unable to take his paintings with him when he left Shanghai.

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| 16. Abraham | " |
| 17. Esau | " |
| 18. Jacob's dream | " |
| 19. Jacob and Rachel | " |
| 20. Young Joseph | " |

JEWISH MOTIVES:

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| 21. Way to the village | (China-ink and water-colour) |
| 22. Village | " |
| 23. Fruit seller | " |
| 24. Rich and poor | " |
| 25. The porter | " |
| 26. The shoemaker | " |
| 27. With the grandchild | " |
| 28. The Thalmudist [sic] | " |
| 29. At learning | " |
| 30. Exiles | " |
| 31. Bargain | (Graphic) |

[[v]] TERRIBLE TIMES:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|
| 32. The long way | (Graphic) |
| 33. Without home | " |
| 34. In the woods | " |
| 35. Closed eyes | " |
| 36. Common fate | " |
| 37. Wrestl[ing] ⁶³ | " |
| 38. Before the execution | " |
| 39. Hands up! | " |
| 40. The Hanged (A) | " |
| 41. The Hanged (B) | " |
| 42. Town and country men | " |
| 43. Mother | " |
| 44. Laughter | " |
| 45. The cemetery | " |
| 46. By the lake | (oil) |
| 47. Polish village | " |
| 48. Landscape | " |

63 Page torn.

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| 49. In a garden | (Water colour) |
| 50. Burnt down village | " |
| 51. Behind the village | " |
| 52. Cool evening | " |
| 53. Portrait of Mrs. n. F. | (Coal Drawing) |

Document 153

*Gerhard Schaie*⁶⁴ (SMP)

May 5, 1943

Typewritten report, 1 page; the page has a printed header; the station and date were filled in by typewriter; the signature is handwritten.

Microfilm; NARA (SMP Investigation Files, 1894–1944, Records of the CIA), RG 263, reel 18, file D 5422 (c)

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE REPORT

Station ... Foreign Affairs Section, C&S Branch File No. ... Date ... 5–5–1943

SUBJECT: Lecture by Rabbi Sober re “Judaism of To-Day”

1. Organizer: Jewish Gemeinde, represented by Mr. R. R. Glaser, 103 Kiu-kiang Rd., Tel.18047
2. Lecturer: Rabbi K. H. Sober, Rabbi of the Jewish Gemeinde, residing at 685/7 E. Seward Rd.
3. Time and date of lecture: 8:45 p.m. to 9:30 p.m., April 6th, 1943
4. Place: 207 Macgregor Rd.
5. Number of persons attending: 18
6. Object: To keep Jews interested in religious matters
7. Contents of lecture:

The title “Judaism of To-Day” was chosen by the lecturer in order to show what Judaism can mean to the present day Jew. Rabbi Sober said that the Jewish religion demands life in accordance with 3 main principles namely Justice, Truth, and Love. Even if many Jews have ceased keeping religious

64 About Schaie, see ch. 5, n. 71.

rites, which {m}are attending synagogues, obeying the religious prescriptions regarding food, keeping of rest on Sabbath etc., they should continue to live in accordance with the basic principles of Judaism. He stated that if those prinicles [sic] were followed there would be better care taken of the poor and of the education of Youth. Even for a not religious person the Judaism can guide a person's life. The ethical principles of the Bible have been accepted by the whole monotheistic world. This is something the Jews should consider and therefore set examples to all others. He regretted that the interest in Jewish circles for spiritual matters was very small and that particularly the younger generation did not attend lectures if [sic] this kind. He continued that the question to day is not whether Judaism will survive but whether Jewry will survive. The Jews are the only people who were not lead by politicians through the last 2000 years and who never during this period used force to maintain their existence. By keeping up the true spirit of Judaism and by living in accordance with it, the Jews can contribute to the welfare of all human beings.

8. Comment:

Efforts are made by several Jewish institutions to raise the interest in spiritual matters among Jews, particularly the refugees in Shanghai. These efforts have in the past had little result because it can be noticed that lectures like the above are always attended by the same kind of persons and so do not reach those for whom they are meant. As it is people are so deep in their every-day cares that they find little time and concentration for such things.

O i/c Foreign Affairs Section
C & S Branch
{G. Schaie}
D. S.

Document 154

T.

May 7, 1943

*Newspaper article, in: Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt, vol. 4, no. 17, 2.**Microfilm; YIVO, Y-2003, 1854.9***Ejas und wie weiter?**

Für jeden, an den kulturellen Dingen in unserer Emigration Interessierten steht folgendes fest: Die EJAS, einst Vermittlerin wertvoller Konzerte und Mittlerin künstlerischer Darbietungen, hat in dieser Spielzeit jämmerlich [sic] Fiasko erlitten. Ausser zweier Konzerte im November vorig. Jahres, wurde von dieser Organisation nichts geboten. Es wäre müssig, im Augenblick die Gründe des Versagens zu analysieren, gegeben ist die Tatsache, dass nichts geschah. Die Ereignisse der letzten Zeit haben uns nun vor neue Aufgaben gestellt. Es gilt, das gesamte Kunstleben und die Kulturarbeit unserer Gemeinschaft umzu-
 modeln, zu zentralisieren und, unbeachtet gewisser ideologischer Differenzierungen, auf einen gemeinsamen Nenner zu bringen. Hieran mitzuarbeiten dürfte die Aufgabe all derer sein, die bis heute ihre künstlerischen [#####] en⁶⁵ Fähigkeiten bereits unter Beweis gestellt haben. Die Dringlichkeit des „Daches über dem Kopf“ steht im Augenblick i. Vordergrund unseres Lebens. Sie zu lösen ist die Aufgabe berufener Stellen. Doch neben dieser Frage erhebt sich in Bälde neben der Frage d. Magens auch die Frage des Geistes und der Seele. Erinnern wir uns der Kulturbünde,⁶⁶ die uns einst Höchstmasse künstlerischer Ereignisse vermittelten. Die Verhältnisse hier liegen etwas schwieriger, jeder mit der Materie Vertraute weiss um die Schwierigkeiten, kennt den unendlich schweren Kampf, der jeder Veranstaltung vorausgeht. Und trotzdem, es sind Menschen genügend vorhanden, die in der Lage sind, das einst schon recht entwickelte „Musenkind“, das schon fast der Agonie zu verfallen scheint, wieder dem Leben zuzuführen. Ueber das Wie wäre noch zu sprechen.
 T.

65 The word is only partially legible due to a crease in the paper.

66 The Kulturbund Deutscher Juden was established in Berlin in 1933 to support Jewish artists who had lost their jobs at state institutions. Dozens of such local and regional federations appeared afterwards as Jewish self-help organizations. In 1935 they were forced into the Reichsverband Jüdischer Kulturbünde, an umbrella organization for Jewish associations, organizations, religious communities, schools, and other educational institutions.

Document 155

*Arthur Kornik*⁶⁷

November 26, 1943

Newspaper article, in: *Our Life*, no. 72, 1.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

“Pygmalion” By Bernard Shaw Staged By Fritz Melchior “Ensemble”

Professor Higgins, a well known linguist, meets a poor flower-girl in the street and takes a fancy to teach her to speak English with such a perfect accent and diction that would enable her to appear in the best society. Oberst Pickering, also a linguist, who lives and works together with Higgins, goes on a bet with him that he will not be able to do it. Eliza's first appearance in society proves an unexpected success. Pickering and Higgins decide to celebrate the bet won by one and lost by another with champagne [sic], and both become sufficiently drunk. Eliza, looking like a grand dame, is with them, and while Higgins persists in seeing in her the flower-girl that he brought to a new status in life, the old Oberst treats her like a society lady. But Eliza is no more the little street-girl, she became not only a lady but also a woman and she is not only thankful to the man who made her into what she is but falls in love with him. There comes an explanation between her and Higgins when she accuses him of the fact that he never treated her like a woman but only as an object of a bet with his colleague.

The last act brings us close to the winding up. Eliza leaves Higgins' house and goes over to his mother. There takes place another explanation between her and Higgins which brings them together. The happy ends [sic] follows.

This is in short the contents of the drama. It is full of Shaw's spirit and humour which is especially vivid when applied to depicting moral and social conditions of life in English society.

The performance was preceded by a speech by Mr. Abraham, Comissioner [sic] of the Juedische Gemeinde.⁶⁸ He said that the collaboration between the “Ensemble” and the Cultural Department of the Juedische Gemeinde will result in further performances and also concerts, the program being worked out by the Gemeinde.

67 Kornik hailed from Berlin. He edited *Der Mitarbeiter* in 1941 and 1942, and wrote articles for other Shanghai papers as well. He remained in Shanghai until 1947 at least; cf. Lewin, *Almanac*, 114.

68 R. D. Abraham was honorary president of the Jüdische Gemeinde.

Now as to the performance itself. One must remember that the stage of the Eastern Theatre is not a real theatrical stage, and therefore the setting and the decorations presented quite a problem. However, the setting of the first act painted by Richard Paulick⁶⁹ was excellent. Fritz Melchior proved himself an able producer and in the role of Oberst Pickering also a good actor. Herbert Zernik as Professor Higgins was in his element, and his temperament, vivacity and gestures were greatly appreciated. These two actors were well supported by Fritz Heller and Jenny Rausnitz. Kaethe Horsten, Else Thieme, Charlotte Sommer, and Fritz Schnitzer gave their best to support the performance.

Ursula Perlhoefer as Eliza deserves special mentioning. The development of a poor girl into a grand dame was presented with great artistic skill, the dialogue and gestures at all stages being up to the mark.

On the whole, it was a performance worthy of any great European centre, which showed that the Central European Emigrants have brought with them the spirit of European culture and the love for a real, good theatre.

The next performance of "Pygmalion" will take place on Saturday, December 4th at the Eastern Theatre.

The Ensemble is now engaged in rehearsing "X.Y.Z." by Klabund which will be staged on Saturday, December 18th.

Arthur Kornik

Document 156

Anonymous

December 3, 1943

Newspaper article, in: Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt, vol. 4, no. 44, 2.

Microfilm; YIVO, Y-2003, 1854.9

Gala-Konzert der Foreign Pao Chia.

Am 27. November 1943 fand im Eastern-Theatre ein Gala-Konzert der Foreign Pao Chia statt. Um es vorweg zu nehmen sei gleich festgestellt, dass

69 The non-Jewish architect Richard Paulick (1903–1979) came to Shanghai for political reasons in 1933. In 1941 he married the Jewish emigré Thea Hess. From 1940 on he built sets for several EJAS theater performances. In late 1949 Paulick and his wife left Shanghai for Eastern Germany; cf. Kögel, *Zwei Poelzigsschüler*, 201–203, 220–226, 237.

dieses Konzert in künstlerischer und gesellschaftlicher Beziehung ein voller Erfolg war, da es gelang, den zahlreichen anwesenden Gästen zu zeigen, wieviel kulturelle Güter die staatenlosen Refugees nach Shanghai gebracht haben.

Unter den Anwesenden bemerkte man seitens der Behörden Superintendent Yamaguchi und die Herren Schaie und Gonda vom Police Head Quarters, General-Direktor Kubota vom Office for Stateless Refugee Affairs mit Mr. Ghoya, Mr. Feder und den übrigen Herren des Office, von der Wayside Police Station der Officer in charge Chief-Inspector Shimizu mit den Herren Inspektoren Koyama, Gigarson und Yoshimizu, ferner die Herren Kovacs, Steinsberg, Simon und viele andere Beamte der Polizei-Stationen.⁷⁰

Es ist schwer, aus dem reichen Programm und der Zahl der Künstler, die das Konzert bestritten, jemand besonders hervorzuheben, da alle wirklich ausgezeichnete Leistungen boten. Am eindrucksvollsten waren die Instrumentalsolisten, Professor Adler, Professor Kraus begleitet von Prof. Margolinski brachten ganz wunderbare Proben ihrer Kunst zu Gehör. Die Sängerinnen und Sänger: Rosl Albach-Gerstel, Irene Margolinski, Ilse Marcuse, Sabina [sic] Rapp, Lisa Robitschek, Josef Fruchter, Max Warschauer sangen bedankt mit stärkstem Beifall Lieder und Duette, Lotte Sommer stellte erneut ihre grosse Kunst als Tänzerin und Mimikerin unter Beweis.⁷¹

Dass das Programm reich, aber nicht zu lang war, geht am besten daraus hervor, dass niemand von der Zuhörerschaft den Saal verliess, bevor nicht der letzte Ton verklungen war. Alles in allem ein ungemein gelungener Abend, der sicherlich das Ansehen der Refugees gemehrt hat.

70 For the members of the police authorities, see also Document 136. Slovakia-born Morris (Moritz) Feder (1917–2008) worked in Shanghai as a policeman, he later became active in refugee issues, and held an official position in the Czechoslovak Circle. In 1947 he immigrated to the United States; cf. <<http://www.jewishmuseum.cz/news-detail/162-430/the-story-of-stranded-in-shanghai-continues-after-the-exhibition/>> (November 2, 2016).

71 For these artists, see Document 67.

Document 157

A. G.⁷²

December 10, 1943

Newspaper article, in: *Our Life*, no. 74, 1.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Theatre in the Designated Area

The establishment of Fritz Melchior's Theatrical Ensemble at the Eastern Theatre in the Designated Area should be warmly congratulated upon not only by all lovers of real, good theatre, but also by all those who watch with open or hidden misgivings the readjustment of refugee life under new conditions. For it is not only the high standard of the Ensemble's performances that has won our admiration, but the fact that this Theatre has already become the part and parcel of life in the Designated Area as judged by the attendance and the commendable arrangement due to which it is made accessible to all classes, including the camp-inhabitants, among the refugees.

Until now the Ensemble has staged two plays: "Men in White" by Sidney Kingsley,⁷³ American playwright, a drama depicting doctor's life and struggle between professional and personal, (which is known to Shanghai public by its screen version), and "Pygmalion," Bernard Shaw's popular comedy. The first piece was played three times, each time attracting capacity house, and though we have not seen it, as judged by wide acclaim of the public it must have been a success. "Pygmalion" by Bernard Shaw we had an occasion to see personally after having seen it performed by different casts including the English A.D.C.,⁷⁴ and take great pleasure in stating that the standard of Ensemble's acting leaves far behind those provincial standards to which we – vollens-nollens [sic] – grew accustomed after living for some time in the Far East.

In "Pygmalion" we had pleasure in making our first stage acquaintance with Fritz Melchior, Herbert Zernik, Fritz Heller, Ursula Perlhoefer, Else Thieme, Jenny Raushnitz [sic] and others, a strong and extremely well matched cast which performed "Pygmalion" in real vein of Shaw's unexcelled humor interspersed with biting satire. It is impossible, however, not to mention Herbert Zernik, who in the part of Professor Higgins showed himself a

72 This may have been Anna Ginsbourg, see ch. 3, n. 121.

73 Kingsley wrote *Men in White* in 1933. It was a great Broadway success, and won the Pulitzer Prize for drama in 1934.

74 Amateur Dramatic Club of Cambridge University, founded in 1855.

first-class artist, and Ursula Perlhoefer playing Eliza, of whose performance one is unable to speak too highly. The production of Fritz Melchior added that specific touch to the show which distinguishes metropolitan stage from its provincial counterpart, the setting and decorations still accentuating this element.

These brief remarks on the quality of the performance that was reviewed by us elsewhere before are made only with a view to emphasizing that the Ensemble, which has all the makings of a fine theatre in the better sense of the word, should be given patronage by wide circles of Shanghai public. But there is something else except good acting upon which the success of each good theatre depends, namely, its repertoire, and to this subject we intend to devote our special attention. As announced, the next play staged by the Ensemble will be "X.Y.Z.," a comedy by Klabund which is unknown by us and we, therefore, are unable to judge of its theatrical and other merits. However, the fact that after having staged "Men in White," a powerful drama, the Ensemble has put on the "Pygmalion," one of the best but still a bit outfashioned Shaw's comedies and is now rehearsing another comedy, makes us presume that its repertoire has been worked out along the line of preference of comedian plays of good repute in European and American theatres. It is hardly disputable that the comedy performed in good setting and played by skilled artists imparts that special esprit of its own that is difficult to define by words and that may be specially wished for by the refugee audience, but we take the liberty to presume that some classical dramas with emphasized heroic and human element may be likewise desirable and would be equally well received by the public.

And one more point in this connection we should like to bring to the producer's attention, namely, our special desire to see performed by the Ensemble plays with Jewish contents depicting either the Jewish milieu or giving expression to typically Jewish problems. To include in its repertoire plays with bearing on Jewish peculiar issues and destiny would be quite appropriate for the Theatre in Exile, in our opinion, from the psychological viewpoint, and in this connection we cannot but deeply regret the fact that Mr. Abraham,⁷⁵ Commissioner of the Juedische Gemeinde, when speaking on behalf of the Gemeinde at one of the opening performances, stressed the fact that the Gemeinde is ready to promote the Ensemble as "the carrier of West-European culture in exile." In our opinion, this fact is self-evident and hardly needs any stressing, since the refugee artists brought with them that culture in which they had been reared. We should think that the Juedische Gemeinde's patron-

75 This was R. D. Abraham.

age of the Ensemble should primarily concern the issues set by us with a view to introducing that national element in their Theatre which would convert it from the West-European Theatre in Exile into the Jewish Artists' Theatre in Exile.

A. G.

Document 158

*Erwin Felber*⁷⁶

December 14, 1943

Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Jewish Chronicle, 2.

Microfilm, NLI, Willy Tonn Collection, Arc. 4° 1899

S.M.A. Orchesterkonzert

In dem eiskalten Eastern Theater brachte es das Orchester der Shanghai Musician Association⁷⁷ unter Mithilfe von zwei ganz ausgezeichneten Solisten zustande, dem Publikum warm zu machen. Sowohl der Cellist W. Joachim als auch der Pianist Gregor Singer haben europaeisches Format, beide musizieren mit der gleichen Sachlichkeit, nach innen gekehrt, bescheiden, keineswegs eitle Virtuosen, die um die Gunst des Publikums buhlen.

Joachim spielte im Kol Nidre von Bruch das Cellosolo mit bluehendem grossem Tone, der an den Hoehepunkten maechtig anschwoell. Sein Cellogesang war im Kol Nidre wahrhaft eine andaechtige feiertaeigige Zwiesprache mit Gott, wie es jede echte Kunst sein soll.

Gregor Singer bestand siegreich in schwerem Kampfe gegen einen „klangtauben“ Fluegel und gegen die Untertemperatur des Saales. Nichts von den Hindernissen merkte man in dem perlenden Spiel des reifen Kuenstlers, der in einer Orchester Polonaise von Chopin und in den Piecen von Dohany⁷⁸ und Johann Strauss bei aller Gefuehlswaerme eine moderne sachliche, alles Uebersentimentale meidende Auffassung bekundete.

76 About Felber, see ch. 4, n. 146.

77 The Shanghai Musicians Association of Stateless Refugees was a union that advocated fair wages and working conditions.

78 Felber obviously meant the Hungarian-American composer Ernst von Dohnányi (1877–1960). Budapest's Great Synagogue was on Dohány street.

Neben den Solisten gab es noch eine richtige Sensation: Aus der Shanghai Musician Association of Stateless Refugees ist durch Zuziehung von Philharmonikern und anderen Musikern ein so gut wie neues Orchester hervorgegangen. Die Streicher klingen ganz prachtvoll, die wenigen Bläser sind vorwiegend anderwärts bewährte Musiker.

Leiter des Orchesters war Otto Joachim.⁷⁹ Wenn es richtig ist, dass Uebung den Meister macht, so hat Joachim, der wohl nur wenige Proben mit dem jungen Ensemble zur Verfügung hatte, vorläufig noch die Anwartschaft auf die Meisterschaft vor sich. Gleichwohl gab es einen genussreichen Vortrag der vorwiegend auf romantische Klangwelt angelegten Orchesterwerke. Die Hebriden-Ouvertüre, ferner die Zweite Arlesienne-Suite und Kaukasische Skizzen von Ippolitow Iwanow, in deren reichen Orchesterfarben die gleiche süedliche Sonne leuchtet, liessen ebenso den Stil der Komponisten, wie auch den Führerwillen des Dirigenten erkennen und die Wiedergabe wird wohl bei den Wiederholungen durch weiteres Ausfeilen noch gewinnen.

Wie es heisst, soll das leichte amüsante [sic] Konzert demnächst im Lyceum wiederholt werden, und so darf man dem jungen, wagemutigen Ensemble, welches vom Publikum stürmisch bedankt wurde, weiterhin anhaltenden Erfolg wünschen.

Dem Mutigen gehört die Welt!

Erwin Felber

79 Otto Joachim (1910–2010), the brother of Walter Joachim, studied violin in Düsseldorf and Cologne before emigrating to Singapore in 1934. After spending several years there he came to Shanghai, where he opened a music store. In 1949 he settled in Canada; cf. Xu, *Jews*, 231 f.

Document 159

A. K.⁸⁰

January 7, 1944

Newspaper article, in: *Our Life*, no. 78, 2.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

A Light Opera – The Bayadere

The Adolf Breuers Operette Ensemble performed the operette [sic] “The Bayadere”⁸¹ on New Year’s Eve. This operette, written by Emmerich Kálmán, has already been performed in Shanghai by Russian artists. The prima-Donna Rosl Albach-Gerstel showed her excellent ability as singer, actress, and even dancer and charmed the audience. Also, her costume struck every one by its beauty. Erwin Freiser,⁸² the actress’ leading man, a first rate actor of good appearance added to the general success of the performance. We must also mention charming singing and vivacity of Carla Breuer who earned much deserved applause in the trio with Max Brodtman and Fritz Frieser.⁸³ Leo Schonbach’s [sic] orchestra fulfilled its task with great skill. Gyula Singer’s decoration and general “mise en scene” deserve great praise.

A side-show was presented in the second act by Brady, the magician, Janny [sic] Rausnitz the ventriloquist, Charlott [sic] Sommer in a Parisian Cancan.

The operette enchanted the whole audience and can be easily considered as one of the greatest successes of the season.

A. K.

80 This was possibly the journalist and critic Alfred Kahn from Frankfurt/Main who wrote many articles on cultural events for various emigrant papers. He was for some time the editor of the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*; cf. Seywald, *Journalisten*, 335.

81 The operetta *Die Bajadere* by the Hungarian-Jewish composer Kálmán (1882–1953) premiered in Vienna in 1921.

82 Typo for Frieser (c. 1897–?); he was an operetta tenor and cuff button producer from Vienna.

83 The actor and operetta director Friedrich (Fritz) Frieser (c. 1902–?) was Erwin Frieser’s brother.

Document 160

*M. K in.*⁸⁴

March 20, 1945

Newspaper article, in: *Our Life*, no. 187, 1.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

“Cavalleria Rusticana” at the Eastern Theatre

A strictly classical evening was presented to music-lovers on Febr. 6 at the Eastern Theatre. The programme consisted of a concert of 3 Italian operas and Mascagnini's [sic] one act “Cavalleria Rusticana.”

The selection of music for the concert was good. Verdi's “Traviata,” Puccini's “Tosca,” and “Bajazzo” by Leoncavallo, its execution, however, left much to be desired. The Winternitz Orchestra augmented by several members of the Shanghai Philharmonic Orchestra, was not up to its usual standard, as a matter of fact one had the impression that the musicians were uncondacted so sadly were they lacking in harmony. The beautiful melodies were played in so dispirited and colourless a manner that the audience could not feel the elation usually accompanying good music.

During the intermission a few words were said in memory of Leo Schoenbach and one minute's silence was observed. The well known celloist Krauss then played a solo dedicated to the departed conductor.

The second part of the performance, namely the presentation of “Cavalleria Rusticana” was a great success. Margit Langer-Klemann who sang the role of Santuzza has a rare and beautiful soprano and displayed unusual technique, purity, depth and tenderness in the rendering of her part. Turiddu, her faithless lover, was portrayed by Hans Bergmann. His voice is on the same high level as Margit Langer-Klemann's and its richness and strength were a joy to the ear. The duet wherein Turiddu rejects Santuzza was a musical treat in itself and held all listeners spell-bound. The rest of the cast featuring Bella Resek, Karla Breuer and Ludwig Korsell gave a creditable performance as did the chorus of male and female voices. Happily, the playing of the orchestra improved considerably and their accompaniment of the soloists showed good judgement. The burst of applause at the drop of the curtain spoke volumes but we venture to say that we would appreciate more entertainment so rich in musical value and much oftener.

84 This is the same author as that of Document 139.

Document 161

*Ernst Pollak*⁸⁵

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„Die Masken Fallen“

Zu der bevorstehenden Festvorstellung

Depression, Willenslaehmung und Mutlosigkeit hatten die Voelker Europas befallen. Deutschlands Kriegspotential war auf seinem Hoehepunkt angelangt und schier unaufhaltsam rollten seine massiven Riesentanks durch Doerfer und Staedte, ueberflogen schwere Bomber und blitzschnelle Jagdflugzeuge fremde Gebiete, ueberschwemmten seine Millionenheere und braunen Horden neue, vom Kriege bisher unberuehrt gebliebene Laender. Doch niemals erlosch in den Herzen der freiheitliebenden Menschen die Zuversicht. Unverwandt richteten sich ihre Blicke auf das wie ein Fels im Meere standhafte, noch immer kompromisslos weiterkaempfende England, und gespannt lauschte das Ohr auf Nachrichten aus der Heimstaette wahrer Demokratie – Amerika.

So war die Lage im Herbst 1940, als in Shanghai die beiden Autoren Mark Siegelberg und Hans Wiener das fuenfaktige Schauspiel „Die Masken fallen“ verfassten. Ein Zeitstueck – ein Tendenzdrama. Nazi-Oesterreich um die Zeit des Anschlusses herum, Nazi-Deutschland. Lebenswurm und lebensecht werden Menschen dieser Laender auf die Buehne gebracht, dargestellt in ihrer ganzen Verlogenheit und Niedertracht, Brutalitaet und ihrem Zynismus, ihrer Heuchelei und Gewalttaetigkeit. Hoehepunkt: die Szenen im Konzentrationslager. Doch dies sollte dem Schauspiel nicht den Stempel aufdruecken. Dazu war es auch 1940 schon zu spaet. Die Kriegsflagge loderte, der Weltbrand war entflammt. Jahre vorher, als der offene Kampf der Barbarei nur gegen das Judentum gerichtet war, damals war ja die Welt blind und taub gewesen. Was haette diese Tendenz des Dramas jetzt noch nuetzen koennen?

Aber wie ein roter Faden zieht durch die Handlung des Schauspiels die Gestalt einer Frau. Christine Brach, die Gattin des Helden. Ihr Charakterbild ist es, welches dem Werk erst die von den Autoren gewollte Richtung verleiht. Es ist die im Erloeschen begriffene, aber durch die Not und das Elend, durch die Verfolgung und Peinigung ihres Mannes neuerwachte Gattenliebe. Ihre

85 About Pollak, see ch. 4, n. 126.

Charakterzuege und ihre Handlungsweise sind das Spiegelbild dessen, wozu jeder Deutsche mit einem Funken von Gerechtigkeitsinn, Humanitaet und Toleranz verpflichtet gewesen waere. Waeren alle Frauen Deutschlands wie diese Christine gewesen, die Welt wuerde heute wahrlich ein anderes Antlitz haben.

Denn waehrend diese Frau verzweifelt um die Rettung ihres Mannes kaempft, da erkennt sie erst voll und ganz, was Antisemitismus bedeutet, da kommt es ihr erst zum Bewusstsein, was der Nationalsozialismus bezweckt und wohin er fuehren wird. In ihrem Kampfe sieht sie, wie die „Masken fallen“.

Seit dem 9. November 1940, als das Schauspiel „Die Masken fallen“ in den Raeumen der britischen Gesandtschaft in Shanghai uraufgefuehrt wurde, mussten fast fuenf Jahre vergehen, musste die gesamte Menschheit erst durch Stroeme von Blut und Meere von Traenen waten, mussten hunderte Millionen Menschen erst nie dagewesene Hungersnot und Epidimien [sic] kennen lernen, musste erst unsagbares Leid und Elend ueber die Welt kommen, ehe diese Welt das einzigartige Schauspiel erleben darf, mit offenen Augen und Ohren zu sehen und zu hoeren, wie heute von den groessten Kriegsverbrechern aller Zeiten, von Ministern und hoechsten Kommandanten herab bis zu den Aufsehern und SS-Leuten „die Masken fallen“. Feige und erbaermlich ist ihre Rechtfertigung. Sie alle tragen keine Schuld. Schuld tragen die Toten. Alles, alles leugnen die Kriegsverbrecher, nur eines nicht. Den Judenhass. Fuer sie ist der Jude noch immer vogelfrei – der Antisemitismus straflos.

Deshalb muss ein Schauspiel, wie wir es in einigen Tagen zu sehen bekommen werden, immer und immer wieder aufgefuehrt werden. Nach den ersten zwei Auffuehrungen in Shanghai gelang es der damals so aeusserst maechtigen politischen Reaktion, die Einstellung der weiteren Auffuehrungen zu erzwingen.⁸⁶ Heute ist das Gebaeude des Faschismus niedergebrannt und eingestuerzt. Doch unter dem Gebaelk glueht noch ein Funke. Der gleiche Funke, an dem sich der zweite Weltbrand entzuendete. Das gleiche Gift, an dem Deutschland damals toedlich erkrankte – Antisemitismus. „Die Masken fallen“ sind [sic] heute so aktuell wie sie es waren. Die Methoden haben sich geaendert, das Problem ist das gleiche geblieben.

Ernst Pollak

86 The performance of this anti-Nazi play triggered strong resentments among the German Nazis in Shanghai, which they expressed in letters to the editor of the NCDN. Michel Speelman took part in this controversy, and wrote that provocative subjects should generally be avoided in Shanghai; cf. Philipp/Seywald, Hans Schubert, 15–17.

Document 162*Lothar Brieger*⁸⁷*April 7, 1946**Newspaper article, in: The Shanghai Herald. Sondernummer 37, 18. Microfilm; YIVO, Y-2003, 1851.1*

Lothar Brieger

Emigration und kuenstlerische Produktivitaet

Wenn man den Feinden der Emigration – sie sitzen uebrigens nicht nur ausserhalb Shanghais – Glauben schenken darf, sind die Emigranten hier nur mit dem Gedanken von ihren Schiffen gestiegen, wie sie hier so schnell und so kraeftig wie moeglich Geld verdienen koennten. Ich habe in den ersten Jahren meines Hierseins so oft den Vorwurf eines allerseits mangelnden Idealismus gehoert, dass ich den Kampf gegen diese toerichte Behauptung sehr bald aufgab. In Wahrheit ist merkwuerdigerweise eine der ersten Ideen der Emigration gewesen, wie sie ihren alten Kulturstandard aufrecht erhalten und mit der Kultur Chinas Fuehlung gewinnen koennte. Wir duerfen nicht vergessen, dass die Emigration in sehr hohem Grade eine gemischte Emigration war. Ein ungewoehnlich hoher Prozentsatz akademisch gebildeter und stark gebildeter Menschen gab ihr von vornherein nicht den entscheidenden Charakter – der entscheidende Charakter war und musste Not sein – aber doch eine bestimmte und ohne Zweifel nicht tiefstehende Note [sic]. Ich glaube nicht, dass irgendeine Emigration soviel Buecher mit in ihr neues Land gebracht hat wie gerade die unsrige. Die Anzahl der Menschen, die bei dem Zusammenpacken ihrer Habseligkeiten ihre Bibliothek unter keinen Umstaenden in der verlorenen Heimat lassen wollten, war derartig hoch, dass allein schon dieser Umstand, wenn ihn unsere Kritiker ueberblicken koennten, Hochachtung anstatt Tadel hervorrufen muesste. Der Buchhandel und nicht zuletzt die Bibliophilie in Shanghai haben durch diesen geistigen Zustrom aus der Emigration eine Anregung und einen Aufschwung erfahren, die sie nicht undankbarerweise vergessen sollen. Selbst die Leihbibliothek, auf die wir daheim immer so schimpften, ist hier zu wesentlich mehr geworden als einer geistigen Futterstelle, sie hat eine kulturelle Bildungsaufgabe

87 Brieger (also Brieger-Wasservogel; 1879–1949) was a noted art historian, journalist, and critic from Berlin. He occasionally wrote for Shanghai papers and taught literature and art at St. John's University. He left Shanghai in 1947, and eventually returned via Italy to Berlin; cf. Messmer, *Jewish Wayfarers*, 181 f.

uebernommen und das oft mit Wuerde und Anmut ertragen. Wenn [...] ⁸⁸ in den Kaffeehaeusern [...] sassen, hoerte man sie [...] von Dollars und Pfunden [...] auch merkwuerdig[...] Eindruecken ganz anderer Art [...] von guten Buechern. Ich erinnere mich noch aus der fruehen Emigration einer Zusammenkunft im russischen Club ⁸⁹ – eigene Raeume fehlten – mit fuehrenden Persoenlichkeiten, die durchaus schon damals ein Kulturdepartement mit weit verzweigtem Programm begruenden wollten. Und als ich mich kurz dagegen erklarte mit dem Motto, „erst Lebensnotdurft, dann Kultur!“; wurde ich seither als schoeder Materialist betrachtet. Wobei ich zweifellos letzten Endes Recht behalten habe, denn Kultur ist Ende und nicht Anfang, Gipfel und nicht Basis, und es ist eine Eigentuemlichkeit aller Dilettanten, die Pyramide von der Spitze an aufbauen zu wollen.

Es ist notwendig, sich grundsatzlich ueber das Verhaeltnis zwischen Emigration und kuenstlerischer Produktivitaet klar zu werden, will man ueberhaupt den Leistungen einer so einzigartigen Emigrantenkolonie wie Shanghai irgendwie gerecht werden. Ist Emigration kuenstlerisch produktiv oder ist sie es nicht? Das Fragezeichen nach diesem Satze ist von innerlicher Berechtigung. Es hat in der Weltgeschichte genug Beispiele der Emigration gegeben, die zu dieser Frage herangezogen werden koennen. Aber die *Tristia ex Ponto* des Ovid ⁹⁰ wirken trotz schoen gefuehlter Zeilen, neben seinen Metamorphosen kaum anders als die Klagebriefe, die wir an Kitchenfund oder Joint zu schreiben pflegen. Sie sind literarisch gleich wertvoll und haben auch ungefaehr den gleichen Erfolg gehabt. Gewiss, das Hauptwerk Michelangelos ist in Rom beschlossen, aber das eigentliche Gefuehl seiner Persoenlichkeit wird doch nur in dem von ihm verlassenen Florenz lebendig, wenn wir ueber den schmalen Korso zur Casa Buonarotti wandern. Leonardo in Frankreich, welch ein Trauerspiel: Die Dante-Kapelle in Ravenna, trueb und neblig wie die ganze Stadt, ein Traenen reizendes Ende eines der groessten Dichter aller Zeiten. Oscar Wilde, der die *Salome* franzoesisch geschrieben hatte, starb wie Ovid in Pontus in Paris in [sic] gebrochenem Herzen. Ich weiss in Literatur und bildender Kunst – ueber die Musik moechte ich mir kein Urteil erlauben – kein Werk ersten Ranges, das in der Emigration entstanden ist. Auch in der Gegenwart. Die Werke aller der Schoepfer, vor denen unsere Ehrfurcht

88 The lower left corner of the page is torn, therefore about three words of the last five lines of the first column are missing. The entire page has a crease, rendering one line of both columns partially illegible.

89 This is the Shanghai Jewish Club.

90 *Tristia* (Lamentations) and its continuation *Epistulae ex Ponto* (Letters from the Black Sea) are elegiac epic poems in which Roman author Ovid describes the hardships and grievances of his exile in the years 8–17 CE.

durch ihr Emigranten-Schicksal noch erhoeht wurde, liegen in ihren Gipfeln vor ihrer Emigration. Und man halte mir nicht Holbein oder Lefcadio [sic] Hearn entgegen! Der einzigartige Holbein musste aus dem Engen in das Weite, und Hearn war ein Mischblut.⁹¹

Ich glaube, den Moeglichkeiten kuenstlerischen Schaffens und Geniesens, die in der Emigration liegen und ihre Arbeit verlangen, wird durch solche Erkenntnisse nichts von ihren Werten genommen. Die Emigration ist naemlich nicht kuenstlerisch schoepferisch, die Emigration ist konservierend. Ihr ist die Aufgabe gesetzt, was sie von kuenstlerschen [sic] Werten enthaelt und mit sich bringt, zu erhalten, weiter auszubauen und da fuer Sorge zu tragen, dass sie diese kuenstlerischen Elemente nicht verliert, sondern in die Zukunft nach der Emigration weiter ueberliefert. Wenn einmal der Strom der Emigranten in ihre traurig zerstoerten Heimatlaender zurueckfluten wird, dann wird er diese Heimatslaender [sic] mit einer Fuelle von kuenstlerischer Kraft und Tradition befruchten. Es ist mein sicheres Gefuehl, dass wir nach diesem Zeitalter von Barbarei, Zerstoerung und seelischer Verwuestung wieder einmal in gar nicht allzu langer Zeit ein Zeitalter kultureller Selbstbesinnung und kuenstlerischen Wiederaufbaus zu erwarten haben. Welchen Anteil die Migration der ganzen Welt an diesem neuen kulturellen Aufbau haben wird, ist noch garnicht auszudenken. Und Shanghai wird nicht an letzter Stelle bei dieser Aufgabe stehen. Die meisten Menschen von uns haben – lassen Sie mich offenherzig sein! – hier ueberhaupt erst schreiben gelernt. Ich glaube, wenn man die Briefe eines heutigen Shanghaier Emigranten mit seiner Korrespondenz vor zehn Jahren vergleichen wuerde, kaeme man aus dem Erstaunen nicht heraus. Eine grosse Anzahl wirklich kuenstlerisch begabter Menschen ist jung, manchesmal schon im Kindesalter, hierher gekommen, viele von ihnen haben, ungestoert von fachlichen Irrungen und Wirrungen, ihre Persoenlichkeit und ihre Mittel sachlich und auf sich selbst angewiesen hier weiter entwickeln koennen. Trotz zehnjaehriger Emigration liegt ihre Zukunft erst vor ihnen und wird sich in aller Fruchtbarkeit zeigen. Und wenn man sich darueber wundert, dass aus grossem Erlebnis kein grosses Werk kommt, so ist man im Unklaren ueber die Eigenart des grossen Werkes. Nur das Gedicht entsteht oft unmittelbar. Jedes wahre Kunstwerk ist erst eine spaetere Wiedergeburt des Erlebnisses aus dem erinnernden Geist. Wir werden noch soviel bedeutende Dramen und Romane aus der Emigration in den naechsten zehn Jahren entstehen sehen, dass unsere Seele nach etwas an-

91 The German Renaissance painter Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/98–1543) lived for many years in Basel, and died in London. The writer Lafcadio Hearn (1850–1904) had Irish-Greek roots; born in Greece and brought up in England, he lived from 1890 on in Japan, where he died.

derem schreien wird. Vorlaeufig also muessen wir den erhaltenden Wert der Kunst und nicht den schoepferischen hier in Shanghai einschuetzen und das in gerechter Weise tun. Theater und Musik haben einen ausserordentlichen Anteil daran. Das ganze Strassenbild, Architektur, Innenarchitektur, Schaufenster danken der Emigrantenarbeit unendlich viel. Die Begabungen haben sich gesammelt und gestrafft und sind mehr als je den Aufgaben gewachsen, die ihnen eine vom Frieden gesegnete Zukunft bringen kann. Mit diesen Aufgaben werden sie wieder wachsen und weiterkommen.

Das Ende der Emigration bedeutet gerade fuer alle schoepferischen Kraefte einen neuen Wiederbeginn, einen neuen Anfang. Wir alle warten und hoffen auf ihn.

Chapter 8

End of the War and New Decisions

Introduction

World War II ended in China when Japan surrendered on August 14, 1945. However, less than one month earlier a final catastrophe occurred in Hongkou, where most of the refugees lived. The densely populated area became the target of American bombers on July 17. First was heard the deafening noise of air raid sirens, then the air was filled with the terrifying drone of bombers. “We could hear them rather than see them as the clouds were so low that day,” write Ora and Harold Janklowicz, “Then all hell broke loose as bombs started to rain down on Hongkou ...”¹ Many people were killed and wounded that day – refugees, Chinese, and Japanese – and numerous buildings were destroyed. Was Hongkou bombed by design or accident? Most accounts claim that the target was the Japanese radio station which the Japanese had decided to locate in that area, considering it safe from American attacks. It was also suggested that the Shanghai resistance had told the Americans the radio station’s location was actually the agency which managed the movement of Japanese ships in order to break the allied blockade of Shanghai.²

Notwithstanding the recent catastrophe, the end of the war was greeted with much jubilation. The time of suffering and hardships was at last over. A new life would begin. Not much thought was given to what this new life would be like. But soon enough reality began to assert itself. The old organizational structures, the hated committees, and the men in power could not be dismissed at once. Soup kitchens had to continue to function, people had to be fed, salaries had to be paid. The greatest problems were caused by the growing inflation and the unstable rates of exchange of foreign currency. Although apparently funds for refugee maintenance continued to arrive from Switzerland, the extent of the inflation made it nearly impossible to calculate expenses. How much money was available at any given time was similarly difficult to know.

A new order had to be created gradually, and one of the first acts was to restore freedom of movement to the Hongkou inhabitants (Document 169). The Designated Area was officially opened August 23, 1945. At about this time

1 Janklowicz, Riding, 44.

2 Deman, *Ein verlorenes Jahrzehnt*, 379 (see Document 40).

Manuel Siegel, the JDC worker, reappeared from internment camp. Until the arrival of Charles H. Jordan³ as director of Joint Far Eastern Activities in Shanghai Siegel provided much needed guidance, and his report to the New York office gives a valuable description of Shanghai conditions at the time.

Considering the treatment meted out to the refugees by organizations such as the Kitchen Fund and SACRA and by the often sadistic conduct of Ghoya Kanoh, it is gratifying to realize that major acts of revenge were apparently not considered by the refugees. As far as can be ascertained none of the chief culprits was charged as a war criminal and Ghoya suffered no more than a sound thrashing when he wandered into Hongkou, his former domain.⁴

Toward the end of 1945 two unexpected events threatened the refugee community. First, the Nationalist Government promulgated a law to take effect January 1, 1946, that all foreign firms not registered abroad, but doing business abroad, must register as Chinese firms. Moreover, all firms registered under Chinese law must have a Chinese chairman.⁵

The second announcement made public in December 1945 was far more disturbing. According to it, all German and Austrian refugees were to be repatriated. Temporary exemptions might be granted, but those wanting to remain must make application to that effect and would be granted to technicians upon submitting guarantees. The refugees were appalled. To be lumped together with Shanghai Nazis and other such persons was incredible after having been expelled from their homelands. Although by March 1946 certain changes were made in the law, a bitter aftertaste remained and, no doubt, led many additional refugees to decide to leave China for elsewhere. But where to? Their dilemma was succinctly summarized by the German phrase "Weiterwandern oder Zurückwandern?" Most refugees coming to Shanghai had considered it a temporary solution to certain incarceration and persecution. Others saw it as a means of gaining release from concentration camps. But as the years went by the temporary sojourn turned into settled existence. To

3 Jordan (1908–1967) began working for the AJJDC in 1941, initially as Director for the Caribbean Area. In 1945 he became Director of JDC Far Eastern Activities. In Shanghai he supervised the relief program and immigration assistance for some 15 000 refugees until he was sent to Paris in 1948, where he was head of the Emigration Department. He became AJJDC Director General for Overseas Operations in 1955, and was appointed Executive Vice-Chairman of the AJJDC in 1965.

4 Cf. Anonymous, Ghoya in Hongkew verprügelt, in: Shanghai Echo 1,30 (January 29, 1946), 4.

5 Cf. Anonymous, Was wird werden? Gesellschaften unterliegen chinesischem Recht. Die Nachrichten der Handelskammer. C. E. Chamber of Commerce and Industry Shanghai, in: Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt 45 (November 2, 1945), 5.

be sure, the Japanese conquest and the brutal conduct of the Japanese army changed all this, but now the war was over and Shanghai was again the cosmopolitan metropolis they had learned to appreciate. Starting all over again in a strange country among strangers held few attractions, especially for the older generation. Many would not have hesitated to go to the United States, but like before World War II the gates of that country did not readily open.

Returning to their country of origin was not an option for the Polish refugees, though it was considered by many Austrians and some Germans.⁶ The latter were not aware of the extent of the devastation in Germany, but even so, not many chose that option, preferring to go to countries like Canada or Australia. The case of the Austrians was entirely different. Despite the fact that they were hardly welcomed by Austria's population, many chose to return, and the first transports of returnees left as early as December 1946 and January 1947.⁷

The communist armies did not march into Shanghai until May 24, 1949, but civil war between the Nationalist and Communist forces had been waged for all practical purposes already for three to four years. Little of it was felt in Shanghai. Warfare was far away, north of the Yangzi, yet awareness of impending conflict was present. No doubt knowledge of what armed conflict might mean for Shanghai's population strongly influenced the desire of the refugees to depart for more peaceful shores. Hence when by the end of 1948 all of North China was in Communist hands, it was clearly just a question of time before Mao Zedong's armies would cross the Yangzi into South China on their way to the important port cities, including Shanghai. The headline in the *Aufbau* of November 19, 1948, "Save the Shanghai Refugees," was, therefore, not an exaggeration.

It would be several more years after all those who wanted to leave were able to depart. With their departure a chapter of Jewish exile came to an end. It was brief, but it was noteworthy for revealing its strength of spirit and human endurance in the face of adversity. Even if nearly forgotten by historians, it lives on in memory and in art.⁸

6 That a return to Germany also presented emotional problems is beautifully captured in an open letter by Thomas Mann reprinted from the *Aufbau* and published in Shanghai, cf. Thomas Mann, *Warum ich nicht nach Deutschland zurückgehe*, in: *Shanghai Echo* 1,21 (January 20, 1946), 3f.

7 Gabriele Anderl, *Der Weg Zurück*, in: *Zwischenwelt* 18, 2 (August 2001), 47–53, here 49.

8 I must mention here an unpublished play by William Sun (Professor for classical Chinese Drama, Shanghai Theatre Academy), "North Bank Suzhou Creek," performed in Shanghai and New York in 2012.

Document 163

Theodor Friedrichs⁹

1963

Typewritten memoir, Geschichte unserer Auswanderung aus Deutschland, 321 pages (excerpts, pp. 127f.).

YVA, Wiener Library Collection, 02 776

[...] Der 17. Juli [1945] war ein diesiger Tag mit bewoelktem Himmel. Um die Mittagszeit machte ich einen Krankenbesuch in der Wayside, dicht am Broadway. Als ich herunterkam, war Hochalarm gegeben worden, den ich ueberhoert hatte. Wir durften den Hausflur nicht verlassen. Ploetzlich hoerten wir das Summen von Flugzeugmotoren ueber den Wolken und dann das ohrenbetaebende Krachen der Bomben, sodass ich als alter Soldat sofort instinktiv den Mund aufsperrte, um keine Beschaedigung meines Trommelfells zu erleiden. Die Bomben mussten dicht bei uns eingeschlagen haben. Es krachte noch einige Male, aber in groesserer Entfernung. Ich dachte noch im Stillen, was fuer ein Glueck es waere, dass die Bomben so weit von meinem Hause niedergegangen seien, denn das Getoese waere nichts fuer meine Ilse gewesen. Als ich aber dann den Hauseingang verlassen durfte und in die Chusan Road einbog, erfasste mich eine Unruhe, und ich ging immer rascher, bis ich schliesslich fast lief. Ploetzlich sah ich Gert auf seinem Fahrrad an mir vorbeirasen. Ich rief ihn an, er hoerte mich aber nicht. Inh [sic] ging also weiter. Da kam Gert schon wieder zurueck, sah mich und sprang vom Rad. Er sah totenblass aus und stiess die Worte hervor: „Papa, Du musst schnell nach Hause, bei uns in der Lane sind Bomben niedergegangen. Es hat Verletzte und Tote gegeben. Auch unser Haus ist schwer beschaedigt. Mutti ist unverletzt, aber die Oma hat eine leichte Verletzung. Nimm mein Rad, damit

9 Friedrichs (1894–1980) was a gynecologist from Berlin who fled to Shanghai in 1939. There he edited the *Shanghai Medical Journal* (1942–1943) and the *Journal of the Association of Central European Doctors – Mitteilungen der Vereinigung der Emigranten-Ärzte* from 1942. In 1947 he immigrated to the United States. In 1963 he finished a memoir in German; for an English translation by his son Frederick Rolf, cf. Theodor Friedrichs/Frederick Rolf, Berlin, Shanghai, New York. *My Family's Flight from Hitler*, Nashville Tenn. 2007. The digitized German memoir is available on the website of the LBI memoir collection, <http://digital.cjh.org/R/D9F7D286MS12G89S-4BT32811QPFJYP7A4AVSBQAQ8Q64FL5ITS-00313?func=dbin-jump-full&object%5Fid=779572&local%5Fbase=GEN01&pds_handle=GUEST> (September 13, 2017).

Du schneller hinkommst.“ Ich hatte 10 Jahre auf keinem Fahrrad gesessen, aber nach wenigen Metern war die anfaengliche Unsicherheit geschwunden, ich konnte wieder fahren und radelte so schnell als moeglich durch die menschenleeren Strassen.

Als ich in die Yuhang Road einbog, stiess ich auf die ersten zerstoeerten Haeuser, und da war ich auch schon an unserer Lane. Ich sprang vom Rade. In dem Augenblick kam ein Japaner in Uniform, nahm mir das Rad fort und fuhr damit los. Ich blickte verbluefft hinter ihm her, aber machen konnte ich nichts, denn erstens haette ich mich nicht mit ihm verstaendigen koennen und gegen einen Japaner haette ich sowieso nichts ausrichten koennen. (Gert fand das Rad spaeter in unserer Strasse an eine Mauer gelehnt). Und nun begann ich ueber Truemmer in die Lane einzudringen. Das herrliche, von Japanern bewohnte Haus am Eingang der Lane war zu einem erheblichen Teil zerstoert, aber der dahinterliegende, von Emigranten bewohnte Block von 4 Haeusern war ein Truemmerhaufen. Ueberall Blutlachen, und von ueberall her riefen Verwundete um Hilfe. Aber erst musste ich sehen, wie es bei mir zu Hause aussah. Zuerst erblickte ich Ilse, die mir, blass wie der Tod, entgegenschwankte. Sie hatte einen Nervenschock erlitten. Ich ging mit ihr in das Haus hinein, um nach der Oma zu sehen. Sie lief herum, trotz einer gluecklicherweise leichten Verletzung am linken Oberschenkel.

[128] Nun gab ich Dr. Kneucker,¹⁰ den Gert schon vor mir getroffen und in unsere Lane geschickt hatte, Spritzen und das so dringend benoetigte Morphinum. Er hatte schon ziemliche Arbeit vor meiner Ankunft geleistet, aber fuer die Schwerverletzten fehlte ihm das Morphinum. Nun versorgte ich zuerst meine Schwiegermutter und dann begab ich mich zu den verwundeten Lanebewohnern. Zum Erzaehlen war jetzt keine Zeit. Die Schwerstverwundeten waren bereits abtransportiert worden, aber es gab noch genug fuer mich zu tun. Groessere und kleinere Verletzungen die Menge [sic]. Ich erkannte die Wenigsten wieder. Sie waren alle von grauem Staub bedeckt. Die Gesichter waren grau und die Haare hatten die gleiche Farbe angenommen, sodass selbst junge Maedchen wie alte Frauen aussahen. Uebrigens arbeitete ich eintraechtlich mit Dr. Stern zusammen. Fuer persoenliche Differenzen war jetzt ebensowenig Zeit wie fuers Essen, auch verspuerte keiner Hunger; immer noch weitere Verletzte und Tote wurden aus den eingestuerzten Haeusern ausgegraben, zuletzt freilich nur noch Tote. Dieser Tag hatte fuer die kleine

10 Alfred Kneucker (1904–1960) left his hometown of Vienna in 1938 for exile in Sweden and England. He was offered work in a Quaker hospital in China, and eventually reached Shanghai. In 1947 he settled in the United States; cf. his memoir, Felix Gamillscheg (ed.), Alfred W. Kneucker – Zuflucht in Shanghai. Aus den Erlebnissen eines oesterreichischen Arztes in der Emigration 1938–1945, Vienna 1984.

Lane, die wir bewohnten, ein Facit von 5 Toten [sic] Emigranten und etwa 25–30 Verwundeten. Gluecklicherweise [sic] war die Hauptarbeit mit Einbruch der Daemmerung getan, denn die Bomben hatten ausser dem sonstigen Schaden auch saemtliche Telefon- und Lichtkabel zerrissen, sodass wir auf kleine Kerzen zur Beleuchtung angewiesen waren.

Nun erst war Zeit zu fragen und zu hoeren, was sich waehrend meiner Abwesenheit abgespielt hatte. Ilse hatte einige Tage das Bett gehuetet, da sie sich eine leichte Nierenbeckenentzuendung zugezogen hatte. Zu den Mahlzeiten war sie die letzten Tage schon heruntergekommen, hatte sonst aber noch viel gelegen. An diesem Tage lag sie oben im Schlafzimmer auf der Couch, als der Hochalarm gegeben wurde. Ploetzlich hatte sie den Wunsch, das Badezimmer aufzusuchen, ohne dass eigentlich eine Veranlassung dazu vorlag. Kaum hatte sie den Raum betreten, da schlug die erste Bombe in die Lane ein. Das Haus bebte in allen Fugen, und klirrend gingen die meisten Glasscheiben zu Bruch. Ilse wollte sich in die Kueche stuerzen, um rasch mit ihrer Mutter, die dort taetig war, das Freie zu gewinnen, da fiel ihr ploetzlich ein, dass ich ihr einmal den Rat gegeben hatten: „Wenn ein Haus in Gefahr ist einzustuerzen und man kann nicht mehr rechtzeitig hinaus, dann soll man sich in einen Tuerrahmen stellen, weil die Holzkonstruktion einen erheblichen Druck vertraegt und nicht so leicht einstuerzt.“ Also blieb sie wie angenagelt im Tuerrahmen stehen, und das war ihr Glueck, denn im gleichen Augenblick fiel die zweite Bombe in eine japanische Weberei hinter unserem Hause, und hinter Ilse kam das Dach des Badezimmers herunter und vor ihr stuerzte ein Teil des Kuechendachs ein. Ihr selbst geschah nichts.

Meine Schwiegermutter befand sich in der Kueche, das war der Raum, der nach der allgemeinen Anschauung hier als am meisten gesichert galt, da er sich unter dem zementierten Dachgarten befand. Ein Bombensplitter aber fuhr von der Seite her durch das Dach des Badezimmers (das nachtraeglich angebaut war), ging durch das Kuechenfenster hindurch und riss ein grosses Loch in den Zementfussboden der Kueche. Dann sprang er hoch und verletzte die Oma am Oberschenkel. Haette sie einen Viertel meter [sic] naeher am Fenster gestanden, waere ihr das ganze Bein abgerissen wurden [sic].

Gert war bei seinem Freunde Herbert Fabian in der Lane auf dem Dachgarten ihres Hauses, als Hochalarm gegeben wurde. Gert war Offiziert [sic] bei der Pao Chia, einer Selbsthilfe-Organisation unter japanischer Oberhoheit. Als die Flugzeuge sich naeherten, witterte er Unheil und stuerzte die Treppe hinunter nach Hause. Gerade als er unsere Haustuer aufschliessen wollte, krachte die erste Bombe in das Haus hinein, das er soeben verlassen hatte, und unsere Haustuer flog von allein auf. Gert, mit einem englischen Stahlhelm auf dem Kopf, stuerzte in unser Wohnzimmer und kroch unter den massiven Esszimmertisch, keine Sekunde zu frueh, denn im naechsten

Augenblick schlug die zweite Bombe ein, ein Splitter durchschlug unser Dach [...].

Document 164

Rose Shoshana Kahan¹¹

1949

Printed diary, R. Shoshana Kahan, In fayer un flamen. Togbukh fun a yidishe shoyshpilern [In Fire and Flames. Diary of a Jewish Actress]. Buenos Aires: Tsentral-farband fun poylishe yidn in Argentine, 1949, 406 pages (excerpts, pp. 337f.).¹²

Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber

17. יולי [1945]

דער טאָג וועט ווי אַ טרויער־טאָג באצייכנט ווערן פאַר אונדז פליטים אין שאַנכיי. אַ סך יידישע קרבנות האָט אונדז געקאָסט דער היינטיקער אָנפלי אויף דער שטאָט. דער אָנפלי איז פאַרגעקומען אין האַנקיו. מען האָט געוואָלט פאַרניכטן די יאפאנישע ראַדיאָ־סטאַנציע און די מיליטערישע אַמוניציע־פאַבריקן. איך בין פונקט געווען אין שטאָט, צו מיטאָג ביי די טוקאַטשינסקיס. פלוצלינג איז געוואָרן דער אָנפלי פון זייער אַ סך אַעראָפּלאַנען. דער הימל איז ממש געווען באַדעקט מיט די פליענדיקע פייגל.

איך האָב נישט געקענט איינזיצן, איך בין געוואָרן שטאַרק אומרויך צוליב לאַזאַרן, איך האָב טעלעפּאָנירט צו קאָזאַקעוויטשן, אָבער נישט געקריגן קיין פאַרביןדונג. ווען עס האָט זיך אַביסל באַרוואיקט, האָב איך ווידער טעלעפּאָנירט קיין האַנקיו צו קאָזאַקעוויטשן און דערהאַלטן אַ טרויעריקע נאַכריכט, אַז די באַמבאָרדירונג איז טאַקע פאַרגעקומען אויף האַנקיו אין סאַמע מיט פון געטאָ. עס זענען דאָ זייער אַ סך קרבנות צווישן די יידישע פליטים. הונדערטער כינעזער זענען פאַרשיט געוואָרן אין די חורבות און געהרגעט פון באַמבעס. איך בין אַן אויפגערעגטע געלאָפן צום טראַמוויי, עס איז נאָך געווען צו פרי, דער טראַמוויי הייבט אָן גיין ערשט 4 נאָך מיטאָג. איך בין איינגעזעסן אין אַ ריקשע און געפאַרן. דער קולי, וואָס האָט געשלעפט די ריקשע, האָט מיר דערציילט, אַז עס זענען פאַראַן אין האַנקיו טויזנטער קרבנות. ווען איך בין אָנגעקומען אין "באנד", האָב איך געטראָפן פאַרן די פייערלייט־וועגענער אָנגעלאָדן מיט פאַרווונדעטע. איך האָב אויך באַגעגנט אויפן וועג אַ סך אויטאָס מיט מענטשן, וואָס זענען געלאָפן צו הילף. ווען איך האָב באַגעגנט אַ גרויסן לאַסט־אויטאָ מיט טויטע, האָט זיך מיין בלוט אין מיר געגליווערט. די אַרויסגעהאַנגענע הענט און פיס פון די מענטשן, וואָס האָבן ערשט געלעבט, האָט מיך דערמאַנט אין וואַרשע. דער גאַנצער וועג פון באַנד ביז האַנקיו איז געווען אַ שרעקלעכער, מען האָט כסדר געפירט פאַרווונדעטע. ווען איך בין צוגעקומען צו דער גרענעץ און אויסגעשטיגן פון דער ריי

11 About Kahan, see ch. 4, n. 202.

12 I thank Rabbi Marvin Tokayer for making this rare book available to me.

קשע, האָט קיינער |338| נישט קאַנטראָלירט מיין פּאַס, איך בין אַריין אין געטאָ און דערזען אונדזערע פּליטים מיט פּאַרחושכטע פּנימער. מען האָט מיר אָנגעהויבן אויסרעכענען די פּוילישע קרבנות: דער בונדיסט קושניר טויט, זיין זון אויפן טויטן־בעט. דער ביאליסטאָקער באָריס איגלאָ, טויט, צערסן אויף שטיקער. פרוי ווילנער, דעם טעאטער־דירעקטאָר דוד צעלמייסטערס טאַכטער, איז אויפן טויטן־בעט. הונדערטער אַנדערע פּליטים זענען שטאַרק פאַרווונדעט. דער הויפט־קאָמאַנדיר פון דער "פּאַ אַ טשאַ", דער דייטשער פּליט ד"ר באַ־דער, איז געשטאָרבן פון די ווונדן. איך האָב לענגער נישט געוואָלט הערן, איך האָב גע־וואָלט לויפן אַהיים זען, וואָס מאַכט לאַזאַר. אין שטוב האָבן מיר ביידע זיך צעוויינט, עס האָט זיך אַרויסגעוויזן, אַז ער איז פונקט געווען אין קיך צו מיטאַג און דער אויפרייס איז פאַרגעקומען ביי דער קיך, וווּ עס געפינט זיך די ראַדיאָ־סטאַציע. דאָס "סקראַ"־הויז, וווּ עס וווינען בלויז פּליטים און וואָס עס געפינט זיך אויך ביי דער ראַדיאָ־סטאַציע, איז אינגאַנצן חרוב געוואָרן און אַלע זענען פאַרווונדעט און אַן אַ דאָך איבערן קאַפּ. אַ גאַנצן פאַרנאַכט האָט מען געפירט פאַרווונדעטע. האָט דאָס געטאָ געהאַט אַ בלוטיקן טאָג. דער 17טער יולי. די דאַטע וועט אייביק בלייבן ביי אונדז אין זכרון.

Translation

July 17 [1945]

This day will be designated a mourning day by us Shanghai refugees. Today's attack on the city led to many Jewish sacrifices. The attack hit Hongkew. They wanted to destroy the Japanese radio station and the military ammunition factory. I was at Tukaczynski's in the city exactly at noon. All of sudden, an attack started by many planes. The sky was virtually hidden by escaping birds.

I was restless and became very worried because of Lazar.¹³ I telephoned Kosakiewicz, but there was no connection. When it became a bit quieter, I telephoned Kosakiewicz again in Hongkew and got sad news: the bombing had taken place exactly in Hongkew, everywhere in the ghetto. There were many victims among the Jewish refugees. Hundreds of Chinese died in the débris or were killed by bombs. Very agitated I ran to the tram stop, but it was too early, the tram starts to operate only after 4 p.m. I mounted a rickshaw and drove. The coolie who dragged the rickshaw told me that there were thousands of victims in Hongkew. When I arrived at the "Bund,"¹⁴ I ran into the fire engines piled high with the wounded. I also saw on the road many cars with people on the way to help. When I saw a large truck with the dead, my blood turned to jelly. Hanging hands and feet of the people who had lived a moment ago reminded me of Warsaw. The whole way from the Bund

13 Her husband Lazar Kahan.

14 The avenue along the Whangpoo.

until Hongkew was terrible. Wounded people would be carried away orderly. When I came to the border and left the rickshaw, no one [338] would check my pass. I entered the ghetto and saw the darkened faces of our refugees. They began to give me an account of the Polish sacrifices: the Bundist¹⁵ Kushnir dead, his son on the deathbed. Boris Igla from Białystok dead, torn into pieces. Mrs. Wilner, the daughter of the theater director David Tselmeister, is on her deathbed. Hundreds of Jewish refugees are heavily wounded. The chief officer of the Pao Chia, the German refugee Dr. Bader, died of his injuries. I didn't want to hear more, I wanted to run home to see how Lazar was. In our room, we both cried. It turned out that he had arrived punctually at noon at the [soup] kitchen when the explosion occurred next to the kitchen where the radio station was. The "SACRA"-house, where only refugees lived and which is also next to the radio station is completely destroyed. Everybody is injured and without a roof over his head. All night long the injured were carried away. The ghetto had a bloody day. July 17. This date will remain in our memory forever.

Document 165

*Ernst Pollak*¹⁶

July 27, 1945

Newspaper article, in: *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, vol. 6, no. 29, 1 f.

Microfilm; YIVO, Y-2003, 1854.9

Der Herr hat gegeben, der Herr hat genommen ...

Die Erfahrung hat uns gelehrt, dass Menschen, die in einer Zwangsgemeinschaft zusammenleben müssen, bald von einer Psychose ergriffen werden, welche es mit sich bringt, dass an Stelle der gegenseitigen Zuneigung und gegenseitiger Achtung Gefühle ganz entgegengesetzter Natur treten. Solche Zwangsgemeinschaften lernte man kennen in der Kriegsgefangenschaft, im Konzentrationslager und leider auch im Distriktsleben der Emigration. Erfreulicherweise hat es sich aber auch gezeigt, dass in Stunden besonderer Freude oder besonderen Leides aus diesen Zwangsgemeinschaften eine Not-

15 A member of the Zionist Labor Association, Bund.

16 About Pollak, see ch. 4, n. 126.

gemeinschaft wird, die fester zusammengekittet ist, als jede andere menschliche Koalition [sic].

Ganz deutlich hat sich diese Tatsache am 17. Juli erwiesen, als um die Mittagsstunde unverhofft und plötzlich das Luftalarmsignal ertönte. Während die meisten Menschen um diese Zeit ihr Mittagbrot zu sich nahmen, erfuhr man bald, dass der diesmalige Luftangriff sich in ein tragisches Geschick für die Emigration und für einen Grossteil der im Distrikt lebenden einheimischen Einwohnerschaft verwandelt habe. Wenige Minuten nach Eintritt des Unglücks sah man Jung und Alt, Männer und Knaben, Frauen und Mädchen, oft unter Hintansetzung der eigenen Sicherheit auf die Strassen strömen, um Leben und Eigentum ihrer Mitmenschen zu retten, Verwundeten zu helfen, Tote zu bergen. Die Ehrenstunde der nationalen Zusammengehörigkeit der jüdischen Emigration war gekommen. Man kannte nur eines: jüdisches Pflichtgefühl und jüdische Solidarität. Uebermenschliches wurde geleistet. Es gab keine Rassen und es gab keine Religionsunterschiede. Auf der Fahne der Emigration stand ein einziges Wort: Menschlichkeit.

In erster Linie sei bei einem Rückblick auf diesen Tag der Chewra Kadischa¹⁷ gedacht, deren Gesamtvorstand sich an der Bergung der Toten und Verwundeten in aufopferndster und pietätvollster Weise beteiligte, die rituelle Aufbahrung und Bestattung der auf so schreckliche Weise ums Leben gekommenen besorgte und sich bemühte, den verzweifelten Angehörigen den ersten Trost zu spenden. Man brachte die Toten in die Zeremonienhalle des Chaoufoong Heimes, wo die Chewra Kadischa ihren Liebesdienst versah und wo auch die Behörden am Sarge des verblichenen Officer in charge der Foreign Pao Chia Dr. Kardegg, der inmitten der anderen Gefallenen aufgebahrt war, in längerem ehrenvollem Gedenken verweilten.

Aber auch die Jüdische Gemeinde, deren Räumlichkeiten mitten an der Unglücksstelle lagen und die selbst auf das Schwerste durch das tragische Geschick betroffen wurde, hat ein Zeugnis dafür abgelegt, dass die jüdische Kehilla und deren Vorstand jedes Leid gemeinsam zu tragen gewillt sind. An beiden Tagen der feierlichen Beisetzung der Opfer des 17. Juli waren der Gesamtvorstand der Jüdischen Gemeinde, das Rabbinat und die Gemeinschaft jüdischer Kantoren, welch letztere in dem Opfertod des Kantor Aschendorff¹⁸

17 Promoted by Lutz Wachsner, the Chevra Kadisha for Immigrants was founded in 1940. Its executive committee included Friedrich Glückstern (first chairman), Josef Schäfer (chairman from January 1941 on), and from 1943 on, Sigmund Fischel, Leo Meyerheim, and Leopold Löbenstein; cf. Lewin, Almanac, 58.

18 Jacob Aschendorff (1906–1945), a singer and cantor from Norden (East Frisia), reached Shanghai with his wife Elisa (see ch. 4, n. 127) in December 1939. He became a member of the Association of Jewish Precentors in 1939, and served as precentor in

ihren ersten Verlust aus eigenen Reihen zu beklagen hatte, am Friedhof vollzählig vertreten. Für die Gemeinde sprachen Abschiedsworte an die Toten und Worte des Trostes an die Hinterbliebenen mit der Versicherung der Hilfsbereitschaft die Vorstände Lutz Wachsner und Max Brandt.

Aber auch der „Joint“ und der Kitchen Fund hatten in diesen Tagen Ungeheures zu leisten und in wenigen Stunden ein Hilfswerk zu organisieren, welches Vorbildlichstes vollbrachte. Unter Leitung von Gustav Hirsch entsandte der K. F.¹⁹ seinen gesamten Ordnungsdienst, der selbst den Verlust eines Kameraden beklagte. Der Joint wieder veranlasste, dass zur Ueberbrückung der grössten Not der Geschädigten, denselben eine Spende übergeben wurde und sorgte ferner in Gemeinschaft mit dem K. F. für Unterkunft und Verpflegung.

In kürzester Zeit hatte die Pao Chia und die „A.R.P.“²⁰ alle ihre Unterabteilungen wie Sanitätstrupp, Feuerlöschtrupp etc. mobilisiert, [2] die in aufopferndster Weise ihre Pflicht erfüllten. Das Lied des braven Mannes wäre aber mehr als unvollständig, würde nicht auch der ungeheuren Leistungen der gesamten Emigrantenärzteschaft, des Pflegepersonals, der Ambulanzen und des Hospitals gedenken [sic].

„Der Herr hat gegeben, der Herr hat genommen ...“²¹ In tiefer Ehrfurcht beugen wir uns vor den Opfern des „fliegenden Todes“. In Demut aber beugen wir uns vor der Allmacht Gottes, die bestimmt hat, wer an diesem Tage am Leben bleibt. Den Aengstlichen und Fürchtsamen aber rufen wir zu: Verzaget nicht und Fürchtet nicht. Euer Leben liegt in Gottes Hand ... „Der Name des Ewigen sei gepriesen.“

Ernst Pollak

the various shelters, and also appeared on-stage as a singer; cf. *ibid.*, 58; Sophie Fettbauer, Jacob Aschendorff, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fettbauer, *Lexikon*, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00006941> (November 11, 2016).

19 Kitchen Fund.

20 Air Raid Protection.

21 Job 1:21.

Document 166*Horst Levin*²²*September 12, 1945**Typewritten draft (radio broadcast?), 3 pages; the pages contain several deletions of letters or words made by typewriter (not reproduced here); a few corrections and deletions have been inserted by hand.**YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/43**Abstract**Levin begins his draft with a recapitulation of how life has been for the refugees up to August 1945. There were all sorts of rumors that people did not believe. They observe the Japanese efforts to build defenses for the city. With the arrival of the American army, the time of oppression and the Designated Area has come to an end, and the promise of a new life of peace and security is on the horizon.***Kriegsende im „Distrikt fuer staatenlose Fluechtlinge“ in Shanghai**
Horst Levin

Ein gluehendheisser Augusttag ist zur Neige gegangen. Mensch und Tier lechzen nach ein wenig Kuehlung. Schlimmer noch als die grosse Hitze jedoch ist der ueberaus grosse Feuchtigkeitsgehalt der Luft, der auf den Lungen wie ein Alpdruck lastet und Kleider, Schuhe und Waesche in Schrank und Koffern schimmeln und modern laesst. Ventilatoren, air condition in grossen luftigen Raeumen, Gruenanlagen, ein Bad, eisgekuehlte drinks, das sind Wunschtraeume versunkener Welten fuer fuenfzehntausend stateless refugees, eingesperrt in den [sic] ihnen zugewiesenen Distrikt. Die einzige Erholung fuer die meisten von ihnen besteht darin, dass sie am Abend sich auf ihren Stuehlchen vor die Hauseingaenge oder auf die Lanes setzen, um dort den ermatteten Koerper dem kuehlen Abendwind auszusetzen. An schlafen ist in den kleinen, kaum zu lueftenden Raeumen nicht zu denken. Moskitos, Wanzen und anderes Ungeziefer machen sich als ungebetene Gaeste breit und tun ein Uebriges, um dem mueden Koerper die ersehnte Nachtruhe zu rauben. Es herrscht ein empfindlicher Wassermangel, so dass man sich in den meisten Haeusern kaum einmal am Tag ordentlich waschen und brausen kann. Elektrizitaet ist rationiert, schaerfste Verdunkelung von Sonnenuntergang bis Sonnenaufgang, kurz, der totale Krieg hat auch Shanghai erreicht

22 About Levin, see ch. 2, n. 6.

und fordert von den im Distrikt lebenden Menschen seinen Tribut. ~~Die Lokale sind schwach besucht, die~~ Restaurantgaerten muessen wegen der Verdunkelungsbestimmungen bei Sonnenuntergang schliessen, die wenigen Gruenanlagen bleiben dem Zutritt der stateless refugees versperrt. Die Lokale sind nur schwach besucht, denn es ist auch hier keine Erholung zu finden, zeitig muessen die Fenster geschlossen werden, kleine blakende Oellaempchen verbreiten ein truebes Licht und werfen gespenstische Schatten an die Waende, nur hin und wieder werden einige Worte gewechselt, die alten Vorkriegsausgaben der amerikanischen Magazine hat man schon dutzendmale durchblaettert, fuer laengere Debatten ist man zu muede, und wozu auch, man hat die lastenden Probleme immer und immer wieder durchgekaut, es gibt kaum etwas Neues, und wenn, dann ist es entweder nichts Gutes, oder es stellt sich nach einiger Zeit als „Bonke“ heraus. Der Existenzkampf ist bei den Hindernisse{n}, die den stateless refugees von den Japanern in den Weg gelegt werden, ueberaus schwer. Es sin{d} sehr sehr wenige, die sich ihre Existenzen, die sie mit soviel Muehe und Fleiss aufgebaut hatten, trotz der Distriktsproklamation haben erhalten koennen. Nur wenige sind es, die auf dem black market gut verdienen, die von dem Warenmangel ihren Profit ziehen, oder die mit dem von den Behoerden streng verbotenen Devisenhandel ihr living machen. Die ueberwiegende Masse lebt vom {„}Kitchenfond{“}, der Hilfsorganisation des Joint und den mageren Tagesverdiensten als Vertreter oder Broker.

So schleppt sich das Leben dieser Menschen von einem Tag zum andern, ohne Aussicht auf eine Aenderung der Lage in absehbarer Zeit. So daemern diese Menschen in den Abend- und Nachtstunden einem neuen Tage entgegen. Dazu kommt noch die dauernde Furcht, dass ploetzlich wieder die Alarmsirenen die Nacht zu durchheulen beginnen; an Luftangriffe hatte man sich in den letzten Monaten gewoehnt und in der Hoffnung gewiegt, dass die Amerikaner den Distrikt genau kannten und ihn schonen wuerden. In dieser Hoffnung hatten sich allerdings auch die Japaner gewiegt und Munitionslaeger [sic] und eine Funkstation in den Distrikt gelegt. Am 17. Juli hatte sich dies als truegerisch erwiesen. An diesem Tag forderte ein schwerer Angriff auf die Funkstation und andere miltaerische [sic] Anlagen etwa 30 Tote und mehrere Hundert Verletzte, als eine Anzahl von Bomben auf die Wohngegenden innerhalb des Distrikts niedergingen. Was dieser und die folgenden Tage fuer die von den Leiden und Strapazen der vorangegangenen Jahre entnervten Menschen bedeutete, ist kaum zu beschreiben.

[2] Jeder Tag brachte neuerliche Angriffe auf die Stadt, gluecklicherweise blieb der Distrikt verschont, jedoch hielt die Panikstimmung unter der Bevoelkerung weiter an, gab es doch keine ausreichenden Luftschutzraeume. Der einzige kompakte Bau innerhalb des Distrikts das staedtische Gefaeng-

nis,²³ uebrigens eines der groessten der Welt, oeffnete bei Luftalarm seine Tore, um der Bevoelkerung Schutz in den unteren Etagen zu gewaehren. So konnte man in jenen Tagen schon in den fruehen Morgenstunden hunderte ~~und tausende~~ von Weissen und Chinesen vor den Toren des Gefaengnisses warten sehen, um eingelassen zu werden. So gingen die Juli- und Augustwochen unter dauernder hoechster Nervenanspannung vorueber, kaum kann man noch an eine Aenderung dieses Zustandes zum Besseren glauben, eher macht man sich auf noch Schlimmeres gefasst. Geruechte von bevorstehenden Landungen amerikanischer und chinesischer Truppen in der Naehel der Stadt werden verbreitet, und man sieht, wie sich die Japaner auf eine zaehe Verteidigung der Stadt vorbereiten. Saemtliche Hochhaeuser sind evakuiert und in veritable Festungen verwandelt, Munition und Brennstoff werden an zahlreichen Stellen eingelagert und allenthalben werden Sandsackbarrikaden aufgetuermt, es deutet alles auf kommende Ereignisse hin, die man sich nicht auszumalen wagt.

So verlaufen die Tage und Naechte, so schien auch diese Nacht zu verlaufen, Spaziergaenger kommen nach Hause, man tauscht letzte Neuigkeiten aus, man beraet den Speisezettel fuer den naechsten Tag, kurz ein Abend wie viele andere ... da, ploetzlich, niemand kann sagen wieso und woher{,} kommt Unruhe in die Menschen, erst ist es ein aufgeregtes Tuscheln und Fluestern von einigen, es kommen Neugierige dazu, es bilden sich ueberall Ansammlungen, es belebt sich immer mehr, man hoert Freudenrufe und Gespraechsfetzen durch das allgemeine Gesumme ... „ich hab’ es aus erster Quelle, es stimmt wirklich ...“ „ich war dabei, als Herr X. aus der Stadt angerufen worden ist ...“ „in der Stadt ist alles auf den Beinen ...“ „Waffenstillstand ... Frieden ... Befreiung ...“ Immer groesser wird die Aufregung, man versucht Genaueres durch Telefongespraechel mit der Stadt zu erfahren, Berichte von Freudenfeiern in der Stadt laufen ein, noch mahnen Besonnene und Vorsichtige zur Ruhe, denn japanische Patroullien [sic] durchstreifen wie ueblich die Strassen, aber die aufquellende Freude laesst sich nicht mehr unterdruecken, wie ein elementarer Vulkanausbruch, alles ueberstroemend und sich Bahn brechend, bricht es aus den Menschen hervor, die solange aufgestaute Nervenanspannung muss sich abreagieren, sie liegen sich in den Armen, sie jubeln, sie {w}einen vor Freude, die Chinesen, erst verstaendnislos zuschauend, machen auf ihre Weise ihrer Freude Luft ... das Unwahrscheinliche soll nun doch, kurz vor der letzten Katastrophe noch wahr geworden sein? Kein Krieg mehr, keine Bombenangriffe, kein Distrikt, Wiedersehen mit den Lieben in aller Welt? Das alles kann das Gehirn auf einmal {kaum} fassen, es ist zu viel, was da so ploetzlich und unerwartet auf diese Menschen ein-

23 This was the Ward Road Gaol.

stuermt, die seit Jahren nur an schlechte Nachrichten gewohnt waren. Ueberall finden improvisierte Freudenfeiern statt, vergessen sind Bombenangriffe und unertraegliche Hitze, vergessen Krankheiten und andere Uebel, aus den Fenstern schallt zu mitternaechtlicher Stunde Musik und Gesang, man hoert die Hatikwa, man sing{t} „God bless America“, „There will always be an England“²⁴... ja es ist Tatsache geworden, die Japaner haben um Waffenstillstand nachgesucht. Es gibt in dieser Nacht kaum Jemanden im Distrikt, der schlafen geht. Von Strasse zu Strasse, von Lane zu Lane ziehen jubelnde, lachende Menschen, von neuer Hoffnung beseelt. Eine Gruppe ganz Uebermuetiger zieht die Grenze des Distrikts entlang und reisst die Fronschilder [sic] herunter, auf denen geschrieben steht, dass hier kein stateless refugee passieren darf, ohne die besondere Erlaubnis des stateless refugee office zu besitzen. Die Schilder werden als Trophaenn [sic] herumgefuehrt, die japanischen Streifen sind von den Strassen verschwunden, es gibt keinen Zweifel mehr, der Krieg ist vorueber.

[3] Langsam daemmert der neue Tag herauf. Ueberall sieht man freudenstrahlende Gesichter, immer wieder laesst einen der blosser Gedanke „Friede in der Welt“ aufjubeln, jeder Chinese freut sich „Japanese finish, no more bum-bum“. Man hoert, dass die japanischen Beamten nicht auf der Polizeistation zum Dienst erschienen sind, dass saemtliche Bekanntmachungen vom schwarzen Brett des stateless refugee office abgerissen worden sind, man wartet begierig auf die ersten Radiomeldungen, die die offizielle Bestaetigung bringen sollen. Niemand denkt daran, seiner gewohnten Beschaeftigung nachzugehen, es gibt so viel zu diskutieren, und niemand [sic] will die kommenden Ereignisse versaeumen. Die Zeit der ersten Radiomeldungen ist da, aber nur die „ueblichen“ Erfolge der Japaner zur See, zu Lande und in der Luft werden verlautbart, so und soviel feindliche Bomber ueber Japan abgeschossen, Vorruecken der japanischen Truppen auf dem Festland{,} und so weiter, nichts von all dem, was man erwartet hat; es gibt lange Gesichter, aber man vertroestet einander auf die Mittagmeldungen, denn diesmal muss es wahr sein, es sit [sic] ja nicht denkbar, dass auch dies eine Bonke sein soll, je-

24 The Hebrew poem *Tikvateinu* (Our Hope), written in 1877/1886 by Naphtali Herz Imber and set to music by Samuel Cohen in 1895, became a favorite folk song among the Jewish pioneers in Palestine. Under the title *Ha-Tikvah* (The Hope) it was declared the official Zionist anthem at the eighteenth Zionist Congress in Prague in 1933, and in 1948 it became the official anthem of the state of Israel. God Bless America is a patriotic American song Irving Berlin wrote in 1918 and reworked in 1938. There'll Always Be An England is a patriotic English song written and composed by Ross Parker and Hughie Charles. It became especially popular after the outbreak of World War II.

der Chinese weiss davon, Japaner gehen mit gesenkten Gesichtern umher, der USA-Dollar steigt zu ungeahnten Hoehen, es muss stimmen ... und doch, ploetzlich schlaegt die Stimmung um, man erfahert, dass Polizeistation und Refugee Office wieder von den Japanern besetzt worden sind, man erfahert, das [sic] der Chef des Office, Mr. Kubota, eine Verordnung erlassen habe, in der es heisst, die japanischen Behoerden haetten mit tiefer Enttaeuschung das Verhalten der Emigranten beobachtet, all das {„}Gute und Nuetzliche{“}, was in den letzten Wochen waehrend der schweren Angriffe von den refugees geleistet worden sei{,} und die Anerkennung und Sympathie der japanischen Behoerden hervorgerufen habe, sei durch dies boeswillige Verhalten zunichte gemacht worden. Sofort in Kraft tretende Verschaerfungen der Bestimmungen ueber das Verlassen des Distrikts haetten sie sich selbst zuzuschreiben. Neue Erlaubnisse zum Verlassen des Distrikts wuerden nciht [sic] mehr erteilt, Verlaengerungen laufe{n}der Paesse wuerden nciht [sic] mehr vorgenommen, eine neuerliche scharfe Kontrolle aller laufenden Paesse wuerde sofort beginnen, man habe das wahre Gesicht der stateless refugees jetzt erkannt und werde die noetigen Massnahmen zu treffen wissen. Das wirkte wie eine kalte Dusche auf viele Gemueter. Aber bald setzte sich der allgemeine Optimismus wieder durch, als bekannt wurde, dass der schweizer und der schwedische Konsul offizielle Bekanntmachungen ueber den tatsaechlichen Stand der Dinge verlautbart haetten. Die Verhandlungen zum Waffenstillstand seien eingeleitet worden, die Japaner wollen die Waffen strecken, es koenne sich nur noch um einige Tage handeln, bis die Lage geklaert sei und bis auch die Friedensglocken im Pazifik laeuten wuerden ...

So vergingen die Tage im Rausch. Der Distrikt ist geoeffnet worden, die Grenzen dieses Getthos [sic] unserer Zeit sind gefallen, der Geist der Tyrannei und Unterdrueckung ist auch im Pazifik gebannt. Die amerikanischen Truppen sind, jubelnd begruesst, hier eingetroffen. Eine Mission ist im Distrikt gewesen und hat den Refugees die Gruesse einer freien Welt ueberbracht, mit dem Versprechen, dass man ihnen helfen wolle, dass man sie, die mit am laengsten und schwersten gelitten haben, nicht vergessen habe. Neue Hoffnung ist in die Seelen eingezogen, neue Kraefte regen sich, um noch einmal zu beginnen, ein Leben in Sicherheit und Frieden aufzubauen.

{12. IX. 45.

H. Levin}

Document 167

*Jocundus*²⁵

September 7, 1945

Newspaper article, in: *Our Life*, no. 133, 3f.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

How Refugees Took It. A Diary Record

August 10th. At about 10.30 p.m. a madwoman, with distorted features and dishevelled hair, tore down the deserted streets of my neighborhood, shouting at the top of her voice: "The war is over! The war is over!" Some people sitting in front of their houses to catch what little breeze there was after an oppressing day, heard her and laughed. Then they recognized her. She was Mrs. B., a well-behaved, quiet woman.

"What's the matter?" – "It is true, believe me! I have it on the best authority. It is all over the town. It is over!" Others joined the group, debating, doubting, confirming. "Don't be silly! Another of those confounded rumours [sic]! It is not true!" – "Yes it is, this time it is! People in French Town, in Chusan Road, are already celebrating!" – "Beware of rumours!" – "Be careful, keep quiet!" – "From the Chechoslovakian Club²⁶ they telephoned to the Swiss Consulate and had it confirmed. It is true!"²⁷

Awake, ye sleepers to listen to the voice of good will and peace on earth! If you are religious, get down on your knees to thank your Creator! Saved in the nick of time! Rescued in the last hour, when all portents pointed to a desperate end! No more bombs, no more nights sleepless from war! And no more restrictions, no more discrimination. Free, free at last!

It is true, this time. You feel it in your bones. It cannot be untrue. People could not stand the disappointment!

And then, there is a magic quality in the words "War" and "Peace." Cleverer people than myself have observed it.

They are like a conjurer's formula that, once pronounced, cannot be retracted at will. So fraught are they with tremendous consequences that, once

25 The identity of "Jocundus" is unclear; he wrote at least two more articles for *Our Life* in August 1945.

26 Also called the Czech Club.

27 Photo below the last line: a standing man in a coat, the caption reads, "Mr. Ghoya, the self-named 'King of the Jews', is seen admiring the Poster 'Stateless Refugees are not Allowed to Pass'..."

they have been officially uttered, however conditionally, they tend with elementary force to become realities.

Crowds gathering everywhere. Practically nobody stays at home, can stay at home. Discussing, shouting, howling. Songs are springing up, German, Jiddish [sic], Polish, Russian. Sights experienced once or twice in a lifetime repeating themselves: complete strangers congratulating, embracing each other. Spontaneous celebrations held in private homes, in the streets, wherever some little alcohol tucked away for this very purpose comes to light. All comers are free to join in, all barriers have fallen, every house, every block of houses is one family.

We have been severely censored for this night's "disorderly conduct" by critics both within and without. But considering the overwhelming significance of the news, its tremendous impact on nerves already strained to breaking point, the sudden relaxation after 5 years of unbearable tension, I dare you to show me a crowd of any race or nationality that would have done less.

There have been, I am sorry to admit, some cases of the crowd taking the law in their own hands. Some persons having gathered upon themselves more than an ordinary portion of public dislike, have been roughly handled. But it went in no case beyond a sound trashing and in most cases the people concerned did not get more than what was coming to them.

And, oh yes, the signboards marking the borders have disappeared in the course of this night. So what? Were not these signs really the symbol of all that was hateful to us, of discrimination and restriction and oppression?

August 11th. Early morning. Impossible to catch two winks of sleep. No sooner have you tried to lie down than another acquaintance comes up to take you for discussion and celebration. So better make the best of it and go for an early survey of the streets.

8 A.M. Around Wayside Police Station crowds are gathering, especially noticeable are some O.D. Men and Betari,²⁸ both in uniform, deep in talk with [sic] Russian Policemen. And then the most phantastic story J [sic] heard in years flares up: the refugees have seized the Wayside Police Station!

The Charge room presents an unforgettable sight. No Japanese or foreign Police Officer is present. On one side of the huge desk an O.D. Man, and on the other a Betari, are deeply crouched in the chairs with their feet on the desk. Behind, some Chinese policemen observe the scene. Not a word is being spoken.

28 "Ordnungs-Dienst," a kind of police. A Betari is a member of Betar.

I had to run over to French Town to attend to some business. But the amazing news had preceded me. Wherever I went I was greeted with the words: "The refugees have taken over Wayside Station?"²⁹

And here is the authentic story of this mad occurrence: early in the morning the rumor had spread that all Japanese officers had left the Station. So some energetic measure seemed indicated. Both the named organisations felt the urge to "take over." They did it in the way pictured above.

At about 10.30 the Japanese officers came in for duty. Very politely they thanked the Blues and the Browns for their readiness to assist them, pointing out, however, that they were quite sure they could nicely manage for themselves. So the intruders retreated in good order and the "seizure" of the Wayside Station was at an end.

An operetta turn? Yes, but one that, but for the really sensible and conciliatory attitude of the Japanese officers, could have taken a very nasty aspect. Just stop to think what it means, in the midst of a military occupied zone, to try to take possession of a little thing like a police station!

The Betar have at least the benefit of their youth. But how about the O.D. (Ordnungs-Dienst or Camp Police)? Are they not the famous "order service," strictly disciplined and under a unified command who, so it was whispered, are really here to protect in the case of an emergency and who, for this very reason, have been lately increased beyond all reasonable proportion? Who gave them the orders to be a party to this dangerous game? And if they acted without orders, why were they not called to account? Or were they?

But this occurrence goes to show something else, namely, what a dangerous thing all these paramilitary bodies are for their own people. Wearing something like a uniform unfortunately always results in giving their members a quite unwarranted feeling of their own importance. We, middle-European Jews should have known better, having suffered so much from like formations. But unfortunately, we don't know a bad thing when it springs up in our own ranks. There have been much too many to derive a tremendous kick from wearing uniforms, and if not uniforms, garments as uniform-like as possible, and if that too was unattainable, sporting at least chevrons and armlets and titles borrowed from military organisations. May be this occurrence will open some people's eyes as to where these things are leading up.

1. *P.M.* At my return, the picture has completely changed. No more crowds, nor shouting. The District has regained its normal aspect and traffic

29 Photo below the last line: six people standing in front of a desk, behind which a man is sitting. The caption reads, "A familiar scene in Mr. Ghoya's Office with refugees lined up for 'Special Passes.'"

has shifted from Muirhead Road to near-by Chusan Road where other incidents than “seizures” are being dealt with.

August 12th. If commotion in the streets has subsided, another danger has suddenly cropped up, – a complete collapse of currency. Yesterday most and to day nearly all shops were closed and boarded up, and for a time it looked as if dealers refused to sell against C.R.B. Dollars. Cigarettes have disappeared, sugar soared to as much as 200,000,– a lb. For 1 US\$, any rate from 200,000 to 500,000,– was quoted, but with no sellers.

[4] Rumours are going around that the armistice has already been signed and that American parachute troops are expected any moment. But the radio goes on giving war news. Mr. Osano of the Japanese Police appealed to the senior Foreign Pao Chia officers to get their people for the duty. The officers refused, claiming to have no authority over their men.

Late in the evening a radio broad cast came through to the effect that Pao Chia duty had to continue as usual. Since nobody reported for duty, the “Joint” finally hired some people to do the job.

August 13th. The currency chaos has been suddenly and mysteriously brought to a halt. The U.S.\$ was quoted at about 160,000,–, sugar dropped to 50,000 and less. Shops are being reopened, cigarettes are again in evidence, at double price. In the radio, head-quarter reports as usual. People are getting uneasy, and talks about a hitch in the negotiations are going around.

Mr. Kubota held a gathering of senior Pao Chia officers, with Mr. Ghoya acting as an interpreter. He gave them a severe dressing down. While favourably impressed on July 17th when bombs were dropped in the area, and being a genuine friend of the Jewish people, he has been sorely disappointed by our behavior. “You have dropped the mask and we have seen your true face. You were mistaken. You have been listening to rumours. The war is going on. Pao Chia has to carry on, under severe penalty.”

August 14th. Japanese Gendarmery [sic] parties are patrolling the streets and stopping all refugees for passes examination. At certain places, they even make them line up in the glaring sun for half an hour and more. Control measures have been considerably tightened. What does this sudden display of authority mean?

August 15th. The end. The Imperial rescript and other proclamations. Strange how different popular reaction in [sic] now from what it was on the 10th. To-day, hardly a loud word is to be heard. Just quiet congratulating and handshaking. Maybe it is just as well that people have spent their explosive energy five days ago!

And how about the District? Why, no change whatsoever? I should have liked so much to have this piece headlined: “The last days of the District.” But I can’t for the new Chinese police chief, Mr. Szu, has already declared. “The

regulations pertaining [sic] to the District have not been cancelled and are to be strictly obeyed.”

Well, well. War or no war, orders is orders and District is District. But for how long yet?

Joc.

Document 168

*Lieselotte Markus*³⁰

August 3, 1945

Printed letter to the editor and poem, in: Our Life, no. 202, 2.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

The Voice of Youth

The Editor of “Our Life”

Dear Sir,

Ever since reading the article in “Our Life” in which you regret that so few of the Hongkew youth voice their opinions in public, I wished to reply. Current events and their reactions in most circles caused me to write the lines enclosed, which I herewith submit in the hope of impartial criticism and perhaps, of seeing them published. Thanking you in advance for your trouble and awaiting a speedy reply,

I remain

Yours, sincerely,

Lieselotte Mirkus³¹ (19 years old)

I shall not triumph at my en'my's fall
Rejoicing that his plans did not succeed,
But render thanks to Him who has decreed
What has been and shall be for one and all.

I bow to the inevitable fate
That placed me on the side appearing cursed,

30 Markus (1926–?) is included in the List of Foreigners as a “teacher” (her first name is spelled Liselotte).

31 Obviously a typo for Markus.

How easily positions are reversed –
Hunted turned hound! I strive to tolerate.

Those causing suff'ring that increased my faith.
My wish is to deserve destiny's choice:
Generous loyalty shall be a voice
Proclaiming widely the Almighty's praise.

Document 169

Anonymous

August 22, 1945

Typewritten announcement, 1 page. This is a copy of the original announcement delivered by the Japanese authorities.

Microfilm; YIVO, RG 243, Shanghai collection, folder 11

NOTICE

The notification concerning Special Passes, enforced on August 10, 1943, that "stateless refugees" are prohibited to leave the "designated area" without Special Passes, is hereby withdrawn as from August 23, 1945.

However, it is pointed out, that the proclamation issued by the Commanders-in-Chief of the Japanese Army and Navy in the Shanghai area, dated February 18, 1943, is still in force.

Shanghai, August 22, 1945

BEKANNTMACHUNG

Die am 10. August 1943 in Kraft gesetzte Verordnung, dass „Stateless Refugees“ den Distrikt ohne Special Paesse nicht verlassen duerfen, ist hierdurch mit Wirkung vom 23. August 1945 aufgehoben.

Es wird jedoch darauf hingewiesen, dass die Proklamation, herausgegeben von den Commanders-in-Chief of the Japanese Army and Navy in the Shanghai area, datiert vom 18. Februar 1943, noch in Kraft ist.

Shanghai, den 22. August 1945

Document 170*Philipp Kohn*³²

August 31, 1945

Newspaper article, in: *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, vol. 6, no. 34, 4.

Microfilm; YIVO, Y-2003, 1854.9

1933 Und neues Leben blueht ... 1941–45

Zwölf Jahre Nazi-Herrschaft, fast sieben Jahre Shanghaier Immigration, sechs Jahre europäischer Krieg, und last not least zwei Jahre Ghetto ... dies alles ist nun plötzlich zu Ende. Tag um Tag sandten wir den Wunsch zum Allmächtigen, dass er uns von all den Schreckensdingen erlösen möge. Nun wurden wir von einem Tag zum anderen wieder Menschen, durften wieder freie Menschen sein. Kein Dank ist gross genug hierfür, und niemals wurden Dankgebete inniger und inbrünstiger zu Gott gesandt.

Besonders richten wir jedoch nun unsere Blicke zu den Mächten, die Gott uns als Retter und Befreier gesandt hat. Ihnen gilt nicht nur unser herzlichster Gruss, sondern vor allen Dingen unser persönlicher, tiefempfundener Dank.

Schweren Herzens mussten wir jahrelang manches Wort unter dem Druck der Verhältnisse unausgesprochen lassen, umsomehr wollen wir nun wieder von der Freiheit des Wortes Gebrauch machen, um dadurch mitzuhelfen an der Gestaltung unserer Zukunft. Hierbei dürfte es jedoch vor allen Dingen notwendig sein, diejenigen Persönlichkeiten aus unserer Mitte auszuschliessen, die sich als Hintermänner, Vordermänner oder Einflüsterer, wie man sie bezeichnen will, den japanischen Behörden mehr als notwendig zur Verfügung stellten und halfen, das Los unserer Schicksalsgenossen noch ärger zu gestalten. Sie warfen uns vor, fremden Götzen gedient zu haben, während sie jetzt selbst auf ihre neuerliche Rettung durch die „fremden Götzen“ warten mussten. Mit diesem Argument der „Alliiertenfreundlichkeit“ gelang ja auch der erste Vorstoss in die Reihen der Immigration, indem man von den

32 Kohn (c. 1886–?) edited the *8-Uhr Abendblatt* (from 1940–1941), the *Shanghai Herald* (1941), the *Jüdische Nachrichten* (1940–1945), and its successor *The Jewish Voice of the Far East* (1945–1946). These papers were published by his own publishing house, the Werbe-Verlag, which he founded shortly after his arrival in Shanghai in 1940. In October 1946 the Werbe-Verlag was closed down by the Chinese authorities; cf. Seywald, *Journalisten*, 311, 317. Kohn left for New York, where he edited *The Jewish Voice. Mitteilungsblatt der Gemeinschaft ehemaliger Shanghaier* in 1949, which only released one issue; cf. Maas, *Handbuch*, vol. 1, 324.

Repräsentanten der Jüdischen Gemeinde einige, den Hintermännern unerwünschte Personen hinauskomplimentierte, bis es dann später gelang den gesamten Vorstand an die Luft zu setzen. Sie halfen dann bei der Einsetzung der Kommissare, die vorher jüdischen Gemeindedingen völlig unbewandert und interesselos gegenüber standen. Als diese sich nicht mehr allein zu helfen wussten und ihre einzige Erhaltungsmöglichkeit in der Hinzuziehung von Männern aus der Wirtschaft sahen, haben sich die Drahtzieher der Besatzungsbehörden erdreistet, tadellose Männer aus dem Wirtschaftsleben, die sich im allgemeinen Interesse buchstäblich opferten, als nicht einwandfrei zu bezeichnen. Eine Wahl brachte uns einen neuen Gemeindevorstand, wobei es diesen unverbesserlichen Gesellen dennoch gelang, einige ihnen unbequeme, aber gewählte Männer im letzten Moment doch wieder auszubooten.

Jedenfalls können wir feststellen, dass der augenblickliche Vorstand der Jüdischen Gemeinde, der ja seit längerer Zeit bei den Behörden die einzig anerkannte Vertretung der Immigration ist, alles Menschenmögliche getan hat, um den an ihn gestellten Anforderungen gerecht zu werden, wofür ihm aufrichtiger Dank ausgesprochen werden muss. Da er aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach in Anbetracht der neu entstandenen Lage – und nach Ablauf seiner einjährigen Amtsperiode – sicher seinen Rücktritt anbieten wird, dürfte ja nun der geeignete Moment gekommen sein, zum ersten Male eine öffentliche Wahl auszuschreiben, in der der gesamten jüdischen Immigration Gelegenheit gegeben werden dürfte, die Männer an die Spitze der Jüdischen Gemeinde zu berufen, die das Vertrauen und die Sympathie der Allgemeinheit besitzen.³³

Unser Wunsch geht jedenfalls dahin, weiterhin den Bestrebungen unserer jüdischen Immigration zu dienen, befreit von all den Schlacken der Unehrlichkeit, Gewissenlosigkeit und Selbstsucht. Wir sind wieder freie Menschen geworden: haben wir daher auch den Mut, uns von den Menschen zu befreien, die ihre Vorteile daraus gezogen haben, als man uns immer stärkere Fesseln anlegte. Und wenn sie dann immer noch versuchten, uns Honig um den Mund zu schmieren, so wollen wir sie unschädlich machen.

Philipp Kohn

33 The democratic election called for in this document indeed took place: "Shortly after the end of the war a new representative body was elected by democratic vote, and from it, the present officiating committee chosen;" cf. Lewin, *Almanac*, 55. The newly elected committee consisted of seven members who were in charge of the community departments of welfare (Mr. Brandt), education (Dr. Ernst Brande), finances (Leo Meyerheim), press (Sally Hopp), arbitrary court (Bruno Prager), culture (Hopp, Karl Redisch), and cemetery (Redisch). The president was Siegmund Fischel, the vice president Redisch; Dr. Schäfer was a member without portfolio.

Document 171

*Manuel Siegel*³⁴ (JDC) to *Moses A. Leavitt* (AJJDC)³⁵

August 26, 1945

Typewritten letter, 9 pages.

Microfilm; YVA, JM 11.728, reel 16

Abstract

Siegel's report deals with an estimate of Shanghai refugee life at present, and includes information on the period of the Japanese occupation and the work of the various committees during the war. Among these the Shanghai JDC and the Kitchen Fund were held in particularly low esteem by the refugees due to their infighting, bickering, and poor output. At the time of writing, Siegel believes that the repatriation of the refugees and the dire state of their financial situation will pose significant problems.

M. Siegel

c/o P.O. Box 2104

Shanghai

Shanghai, August 26th, 1945

To the

American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee

100 East 42nd Street

New York City

Attention Mr. Leavitt

Dear Mr. Leavitt,

Allow me to express my 3 cheers, a thousand Hurras and a Million thanks to the great United Nation for bringing this war to an end and concluding the misery of interned life in Pootung.³⁶

Although I am not officially released as yet, I am in fact out of camp and ready to get on with the work of Joint.

Personally I feel fine and fit. 2½ years of interned life have left me with no permanent disabilities (except to face a plate of stew and rice). During the years I did manage to contract malaria, dysentery and chillblains [sic], but not

34 About Siegel, see ch. 3, n. 115.

35 About Leavitt, see ch. 3, n. 23.

36 Pinyin Pudong, a Shanghai quarter on the east bank of the Whangpoo river.

severely; and life in an unsanitary, unheated ware-house under a leaky roof, plenty of bugs, 85 men living in a room, where one lined up for everything, from water, to meals, to wash, and even to toilet, did have a few redeeming compensations such as good companions sharing unique experiences.

I managed to hold a miscellaneous group of jobs during camp life. These varied from organising the kitchen and the distribution of food when we first arrived in camp. Later on I served a one-term of office (elected) as American adviser (number 2 position among the Americans in camp). In this capacity I assisted in the administration of the camp. I also held such jobs as pot-washer, butcher, dining-room-cleaner, a.s.f. and not least I had my own garden and raised vegetables and flowers.

I guess you can see how I kept sane in camp under difficult conditions; but I ask you and will let you decide – was this what I was sent to China for?

I would like to break away from the personal and humorous and write to you concerning the impersonal and very serious problems of Shanghai Refugee life.

A. The General Picture of Shanghai Refugee Life.

Several days ago I left camp AWOL³⁷ because I believed the affairs of the refugees warranted such a step. After a preliminary and cursory examination of the problems here I believe the step that I took was justified, as the problems are tremendous complicated and need quick attention.

Refugee life in Shanghai has almost reached a point where most of the traits that distinguish men from mammals of a lower stage of development have been almost obliterated. Selfishness, suspicion, personal enmities [sic] and hostility characterise the whole mentality of the refugee community.

I have begun to see various people and note that they are very few who have kind words for one another, either on a personal or a business level; that organisations have developed to represent cliques to fight one another and to advance the interest of one as against the other. Co-operation is almost unknown. Almost all individuals accuse each other of all sorts of dishonourable things such as dealing with the enemy, stealing funds, mismanagement, a.s.f. It is a sad commentary, but all too true.

[2] In order to understand this I believe it is necessary to keep in mind the milieu of Shanghai. Shanghai is a paradise for foreign adventurers, where almost everyone is interested in building a fortune out of nothing, where morals in a business sense or a social sense are all but forgotten, a city where Chinese have practiced the custom of squeeze (graft) even ### than the best

37 Absent without leave.

of Tammany Hall³⁸ – a city occupied in war conditions by the enemy that had to be bought on every score in order to allow business to continue.

Now, if you add to the above, the plight of the refugees being chased out of Europe with little or nothing, living in Shanghai until December 8th 1941, under strange conditions, that approximated the level of the coolie class and treated by employees of the local Committee as if they were coolies – war breaking out, then really going hungry even with the most that could be done for them at that time.

Then chased into a most crowded area and segregated from the rest of city life, and those who had begun to stand on their own feet, robbed of their income and most of their fixed possessions, such as their homes and places of business – treated by the Japanese officials callously in some instances, brutally and barbaric in other instances, exposed to the dangers of bombing without adequate protection and to suffer as a consequence of this the death of 30 odd members, wounded 250 odd and made homeless 700 odd people, living on relief, uncertain to what the next day would bring – all these factors and many more will give you some idea of the reasons why the refugee live has reached this level it did.

B. Japanese Control of Segregation Area.

I believe it is important for you to have a picture of the Japanese manner of setting up the restricted area and how this problem was handled by them.

As Miss Margolis no doubt told you on February 18th, 1943 a proclamation by Commanders of the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy appeared in the papers, ordering all Stateless Refugees who arrived in Shanghai after January 1st, 1937 to move into a designated area of Hongkew in a 3 months' period. The refugees living outside of this area were ordered to close down their businesses and surrender to the Japanese Authorities their homes and business-premises, furniture, goods and personal belongings excluded.

The Ashkenazi Community was ordered to set up an organisation to assist the refugees in moving within this district and the Japanese Authorities expressed themselves to the effect that any non-co-operation with this would mean that the Ashkenazi Jews would also suffer consequences. Under such circumstances the Ashkenazi Community set up the S.A.C.R.A. Committee (Shanghai Ashkenazi Collaborating Relief Association) and helped the refugees in transferring to the restricted area.

38 Actually the Tammany Society, a political lobbying organization established in New York in 1786 that had significant influence on New York City's politics until the 1960s.

Approximately 15,000 refugees were affected by this proclamation. Approximately half of the number were living outside of the restricted area, most of them in Hongkew, but several thousand in the French Concession or in the city proper. Naturally housing accommodations in this area were extremely limited and the prices demanded for these accommodations exorbitant [sic].

The S.A.C.R.A. assisted these people in finding homes, in repairing dwellings and in rebuilding dwellings in order to accommodate these people. By the end of the time given for all refugees to be moved into the area, May 18th, 1943, 1500 refugees still remained outside of the area. The following arrangements were made by S.A.C.R.A.: 400 received extensions permitting them to reside outside for a 3 months' period, because of their professions, such as social workers, doctors, a.s.f., the remaining 1100 received allotment numbers from S.A.C.R.A. with permissions of the Japanese Authorities granting them permission to remain out until accommodations for them could be found, [3] without any stipulated time to move into the area. Gradually as these people with or without help of S.A.C.R.A. were able to find accommodations they moved into the district; by the end of March 1944, not more than 250 people were living outside of the designated area. These 250 included both those who were permitted to keep their businesses, practice their professions outside of the area, and those who were still out because accommodations could not be found.

In the autumn of 1943 the Japanese Authorities began to insist that the program of moving people into the area should be speeded up. At first threats were made in order to speed up the removing of the people. This was followed in March 1944 by the jailing of people for late removal for one day. In April this was extended to one week and longer. Approximately 30 suffered jail sentences. The jail used was a police-jail where Chinese beggars and criminals were detained. It was dirty and filthy beyond description and vermin infested. As a result approximately 12 people contracted typhus and 6 died. The remaining 100 refugees outside of the area in great alarm began to move into the area and practically all have done so. Approximately 50 were successful in remaining outside during the whole war period.

Those living in the district were permitted to leave the district for various reasons for periods of one day to 3 months. In order to leave the district the Japanese Authorities issued passes permitting them to leave. However, these passes stipulated where they were going to and the route they must take. They further stipulated the time allowed outside. The refugees were further compelled to wear badges in their lapels in order to distinguish them from non-refugees.

In order to get such passes it was necessary to make applications to the Japanese Authorities and the treatment of refugees by the Japanese Author-

ities when they went to receive passes was often brutal and barbaric. The Japanese office was directed by Mr. T. Kubota. Under Mr. Kubota served two Japanese officials by the name of Mr. K. Ghoya and Mr. Okura. Messrs. Ghoya and Okura were in charge of issuing passes: Both handled the refugees who applied for passes with great brutality especially [sic] Mr. Ghoya, whose name in Shanghai has become as famous as Hamann³⁹ was in biblical days. The stories of the indignities that Mr. Ghoya subjected the refugees to indicate a sadism beyond description and compares with stories out of Nazi Germany.

Also an attempt was made by the Japanese Authorities to set up a Labour Office in order to put the refugees to work at Japanese War-Industries. However, the Committees which were approached to supply the names of those unemployed were always successful in postponing the delivery of such lists, and at no time did the Japanese succeed, in placing the refugees at any work.

The Japanese Authorities apart from segregating and issuing passes did very little-else to regulate the refugee-life in the district or to interfere with the refugees managing their own affairs. However, many individuals attempted to intrigue with the Japanese Authorities in order to promote their personal selfish interest. On numerous occasions individuals purporting to represent organisations also attempted to use the Japanese Authorities in order to promote their organisation as opposed to other organisations. Naturally much intrigues were set up because of this.

I believe that the non-interference on the part of Japanese was promoted by the fact that they were very anxious not to be saddled with the refugees' problem especially as it concerned supporting the large number on relief. The Authorities knew that too much interference would bring all [4] the problems including relief on to their shoulders and they were not prepared to accept this. Secondly various sources of income grew up for the Japanese Authorities, such as grafts for extensions and permits and favours a.s.f., which were essential for the Japanese Authorities, in order to live because their salaries were insufficient to meet the increasing cost of living. They knew that too much interference in refugees-affairs would dry up these sources of income.

There are numerous problems that remain as a result of the segregation of the refugees. First the problem of the return of premises seized by the Japanese Authorities, second making bills of particular against various officials who might be considered by the Allied Commission as war criminals, third, the return to normal life outside of the restricted area and setting up of their businesses. Up to date the restricted area has not yet been abolished and the

39 In the biblical book of Esther, Haman conspires to kill all the Jews in the Persian town of Shushan.

refugees are permitted to go and come at will. They have not been given permission to move out of the district on a permanent basis.

C. Committees and Committees Work.

In order to judge the work done by the various committees organised by the community it is necessary to set up a criterion to measure their work. I believe that under special circumstances existing here the only criterion of their work is to keep the people alive on the highest possible level until the war was finished and the Ghetto abolished. According to this standard it seems that the committees were successful. Figures on the birth and death rate indicate no great deterioration during the war years (figures will be supplied later). Further the refugees are living on a higher standard of relief than before (even though according to any decent standard it is still insufficient). However, the committees' work had many shortcomings. The chief shortcoming is that there is absolutely no acceptance of these organisations by the people who distrust them and act in a hostile manner towards them.

The committees are held in poor respect. All sorts of stories are current concerning the mismanagement, thefts, a.s.f. This is due in some measure to poor publicity as well as bickering and fighting among the Committees, of which the Community was aware and concluded that all committees had something wrong with them. To some extent poor management also played its part.

C 1. Shanghai Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

I am not sure whether Miss Margolis gave you an adequate picture of the situation here and the reasons that gave rise to our need to organise a local Joint Distribution Committee. In August 1943 the board Representative Committee which we formed to represent the Community and to deal with all refugee problems broke up. The call to the local refugee organisations brought forth in September 1942 a response resulting in setting up an organisation known as the Kitchen Fund. It was organised to raise money for "Patenschaften" on a local basis and to receive whatever moneys we could get from abroad or that could be raised on the Conditional Loans we issued at that time.

Prior to turning over all the assets at that time certain conditions were agreed upon jointly with the Kitchen Fund. Among these conditions were to keep in their employ at the posts they were then holding one executive and one sub-executive of our choosing and an auditor of our choosing. [5] Further that there would be a centralized management to be run from Hongkew and not in the city away from the refugees.

Almost before the ink was dry on the agreement with Kitchen Fund they broke all three conditions set up and began to run an organisation so only a

group of petty shop-keepers could. They had no conceptions of centralized management, each "honorary" worker taking for himself an area of work, running it independently so that total disorganisation resulted. Financial reports and audits were considered as purely routine and unimportant. Certain conditions were placed upon the central executive of our choosing. They made it impossible for him to continue working and he was forced to resign. Miss Margolis and I made numerous efforts to put a stop to this. However, we were met by a response that was almost insulting to us personally and professionally. We were told that unless we would stop meddling the Kitchen Fund would resign and we would be forced to take the whole problem over.

At that time we had neither funds nor were the prospects for receiving funds from abroad very bright. This group had certain financial support from the community and were able to support a thousand people financially. Miss Margolis and I were further concerned with taking over this problem again because internment and repatriation were both current in the gossip of Shanghai. We feared that it might overtake us before we had the opportunity to reorganise the Committee and develop a new Community support for it. Consequently in order to set up certain controls over the Kitchen Fund we decided to set up a local Joint Distribution Committee to raise and receive funds on Conditional Loans that could be raised in the city and to control as much as possible the expenditure of these funds by the Kitchen Fund.

This local Joint Committee consisted of Mr. Bitker, of the Ashkenazi Community, as a man in charge of financial affairs. Mr. Brahn, a man of long residents [sic] in China, who had excellent contact with the Japanese, and had proved helpful because of these contacts in our past experiences, Mr. Wachner, representing the Juedische Gemeinde refugee group, Mr. Levenspiel, an engineer who had helped us no end in various constructions, especially our kitchen. He spent all his time in Hongkew supervising the running of the kitchen, and Dr. Lang and Mr. Glueckmann as executives to do the work of the Committee.

Mr. Brahn was elected chairman of this group. Later Mr. Schifrin, another member of the Ashkenazi Community, joined this group to assist in the work, as well as Mr. Nothmann⁴⁰ a German of long standing in China, who was accepted as an adviser to the Committee.

The affairs of the Joint Committee were made extremely difficult by the presence of Mr. Brahn on the Committee. Mr. Brahn is an eccentric individualistic man who had little regard for the decisions of the group. He attempted

40 The German-Jewish business-man Erich Nothmann came to China in 1934 as a sales representative for the German iron enterprise Otto Wolff, cf. Leutner, *Deutschland und China*, 533.

to carry out the work of Joint in the most high handed fashion. His approach to people was to threaten and to abuse them in a language that was resented by all who came in contact with him. His behaviour in the Committee became most embarrassing to the Committee. Through his Japanese contacts there was constant intrigue against the Joint Committee and against all other Committees. Everybody feared Mr. Brahn because of his Japanese associations which were known to be powerful and Mr. Brahn threatened numerous people on many occasions with Bridge House, which corresponds to Nazi Gestapo detainment prisons. The Joint Committee also feared Mr. Brahn. At the same time it recognised that his continuing to be a member of the Committee lowered the whole Committee in the eyes of the Community. However, they feared to depose Mr. Brahn, although they had such authorisations from you as well as from me.

However, on August 8th, 1945 the situation became so threatening by Mr. Brahn that the Committee did ask him to resign and Mr. Brahn in fact did resign at that time.

[6] The other members of the Joint Committee worked extremely hard in setting up an organisation to receive funds, to exchange fund into local currency, to supply those organisations who needed assistance and to control the expenditure of funds. Mr. Bitker, Dr. Lang and Mr. Glueckmann deserve special praise in carrying out the task of the local Joint under extremely difficult circumstances. The problems here in the past years have been terrific changes in currency, dealing with other organisations, dealing with the Japanese Authorities and apologizing for and keeping the chairman, Mr. Brahn, in line, have been no easy matter. The unfortunate part of the work of the local Joint Committee is that it is so little appreciated by he refugees here.

I have already had numerous [sic] statements concerning the misappropriation of funds, the inefficiency of the members and disregard of the wishes of the refugees.

There were short-comings in the affairs of Joint. I believe that these generally are in a lack of any attempt to interpret what they were doing, why they were doing, and how they were doing to the refugees and secondly a lackadaisical policy of avoiding tackling any difficulties during the period of war, but rather awaiting the end of the war before tackling these problems.

C2. Kitchen Funds.

Kitchen Fund has continued in the manner that Miss Margolis and I analysed at that time it would. It is continued to run without centralisation. Since the scope of its work has increased from handling the problems of relief of one thousand people to over ten thousand it has mushroomed all over the place with the maximum of inefficiency and a minimum of direction. In the

place of a few so-called honorary workers there are new scores of them, each competing with each other. Some of them directly or indirectly are receiving money either from Kitchen Fund as relief or from Joint as a loan. Favoritism and paternalism and protection seemed to be the standard under which they practiced giving relief. Many people are on relief but do not need this help, because of poor investigations. This makes the amount available less for those who need relief. Purchases are made without supervision or checking. The kitchen is operated in an inefficient manner, whereby the cost of meals is far higher than independent restaurants. Its approach to people seems [sic] to be marked by narrow-mindedness and impudence. Its conceit is almost arrogant. Its staff has grown to an enormous size without a correspondent need.

The whole problem needs thorough re-organisation from top to bottom.

C3. Local Communal Organisations.

Both, the Ashkenazi and Sephardic Communal Associations have passed the burden of supporting their local relief problem to the Joint. With the Sephardic Community this is somewhat understandable as the fact remains that many of their rich members were either evacuated or interned. Although I must say that there still remained a number of rich Sephardim in Shanghai and that the resources of those in camp were such that if they wanted to help they might have been able to contribute.

In regard to the Ashkenazi Community that part of the people living on the salaries and working for foreign organisations was hard hit. On the other hand those members of the Ashkenazi Community who had financial means were almost entirely successful in increasing their riches. There should have been enough money in this Community not only to support their own local problem but also to help with the problem of the refugees. It is obvious that the time has come for immediate discontinuation of relief to the local Committees.

[7] It seems to me that for the time being there will be little financial support from the Shanghai Community for Refugees. As a matter of fact I believe that it will be extremely difficult to find people of good will ready to serve even in an advisory or interpretive capacity in the affairs of the refugee Community. This will be due to the post wartime conditions. Individuals are anxious to give their full time to establishing their businesses and secondly because they do not want to become involved in refugee matters because they are so complicated, difficult and often result in disagreeable experiences with refugees.

Only slowly on a basis of personal talks and interpretation can any Representative Committee to [sic] re-organised to accept the responsibility for the refugee problem in Shanghai and it will be necessary for Joint to have a representative here for, I believe, a long period of time.

D. Present problems of refugee life in Shanghai.

The present situation of refugee life in China is full of difficulties. Much will depend on good will of the Chinese Government. Naturally the refugees desire that their former status as refugees be forgotten. They wish to be treated on the basis of nationals with equal opportunity as other nationals are.

Already even before the Chinese Government has officially taken over possession of Shanghai there are some disquieting signs on the horizon. A German Jew has turned up bearing a paper authorising him in the name of the Chinese Military Authorities to take charge of the former refugee district. The people in Hongkew are startled and very anxious. They have already begun to fear new restrictions and new problems. Assistance will be necessary in order to help those who desire to make China their home to establish themselves on an independent basis. Most individuals have used up their total resources and will need some funds in order to make a new start in life.

D 2.⁴¹ Repatriation and Emigration.

It is obvious that the problem of the refugees cannot wholly be solved in [sic] Shanghai nor in the Far East. There are too many refugees here to be assimilated into the economy of China or even the Far East.

Consequently other means will have to be found to solve the problem of the refugees in Shanghai. This will involve refugees leaving Shanghai. Questions on repatriation of the refugees respective homeland has been raised on all sides. Emigration to Palestine, America, Australia and Canada are also being raised. It is necessary to receive in Shanghai in the shortest possible time some information on a general and broad line in order to indicate to the people whether they can hope and plan for a solution of their problem outside of China. It further may be necessary to indicate as a good will gesture to the Chinese Government that the competent Refugee Authorities recognize that the refugee problems cannot be solved here wholly, and that steps will be taken to move a number out of China as soon as possible.

D 3. Committee Problems.

It seems to me that the work of the local Joints [sic] Committees at the present time has come to an end; that with an American Joint representative in the city, there will be no need for a local Joint Committee. Consequently, I think in a short period of time it will be necessary to disband the local Joint and then to tackle the problems of the Kitchen Fund.

41 There is no paragraph D1.

[8] As I pointed out to you the Kitchen Fund will need to be re-organised from top to bottom. This obviously has to be done with a paid staff of refugees, chosen on a basis of competence and centralized through a single executive so that it can run efficiently. It will be further necessary to centralize buying under adequate supervision; to re-check the relief rolls by a staff that must be trained to handle the problems as social investigators.

It will further be necessary to place the refugees on a basis of cash relief and allow them to choose the place where they can purchase the meals and then run the kitchen at the basis of competition with other kitchens so that it will stand or fall on the cheapness and good quality of its food.

In tackling the above two problems it is necessary that authority be given to re-organise the work of all Committees receiving Joint funds. This authority is absolutely essential in case it must be used. Those individuals in charge of Kitchen Fund may be reluctant to give up their honorary positions. Such authority would be cabled as soon as possible.

Secondly in order to handle the problems connected with the Chinese Government and other official representatives in Shanghai it will be necessary to have credentials as the representative of Joint with definite powers to act in the interest of Joint. (I believe that credentials with seals and ribbons may be helpful especially in dealing with Chinese Authorities.) It will be obviously necessary that this be sent as soon as possible.

D4 Auditing.

It is obvious that the financial records of the local Joint Committee and the Kitchen Fund will have to be audited in a careful manner. This will be done as soon as possible.

[D5] Finance and Relief.

Since May 1st, 1944, when Joint funds have been received from abroad regularly by the local Committee, the standard of relief of the refugees under care of the local Committees has become better.

As the economic situation in the refugee area became increasingly difficult it was possible to help more people financially. By April 1945 the various Committee [sic] Joint was helping were serving approximately 11,000 people, by June 1945 it did increase to 12,000 people.

The local Joint committee received regularly 400,000,- Swiss Francs per month and the cost for [each] individual per day for all relief activities equal 1.10 Swiss Francs. From April until July 1945 the situation remained practically unchanged. The rates of exchange fluctuated somewhat and the cost of living followed very closely the rate of exchange.

In the month of July 1945 the exchange rates began to fluctuate very wildly. On July 1st 1.– Swiss Francs was equal to \$ 8400.– CRB⁴² local dollars and the exchange rate increased until by July 31st 1.– Swiss Francs equal 30,500.– CRB local dollars. This was an increase in the rate of exchange of almost four times. During that time the local prices and cost of living only doubled. As a result it was possible for the local Joint Committee to accumulate certain cash reserves and the quality of food was improved.⁴³

[9] This situation continued to exist until August 10th, 1945, when the Swiss Francs reached the high level of 1.– Swiss Francs equal to 42,000.– CRB local dollars. Until this time the local Committee and as a result the refugees were in a most favourable situation. On August 11th, 1945, the situation began to reverse itself. The Swiss Francs was unquoted on the market for one week. It was impossible to convert the Swiss Francs into local currency on account of absence of buyers of Swiss Francs.

The local Committee is receiving relief per individual per diem of 1.10 Swiss Francs, however the cost of maintaining the same level of relief is equal to 2.30 Swiss Francs. Consequently, if things remain unchanged it would be necessary to receive 825,000.– Swiss Francs for September 1945 or approximately double the amount that is now being received. It is obvious to the local Committee that they cannot expect double the amount and certain economies are being carried through in order to meet this new situation; however, it will be most difficult to carry this through immediately without depressing the standard of relief too greatly.

It is important for you to note certain factors concerning the money situation existing at present in Shanghai. The Swiss Francs is in an under-valued position in the Shanghai market; for example: 1.– U.S. is quoted in Shanghai to-day at 95,000.– CRB local dollars: 1.– Swiss Francs is quoted on the Shanghai market at 16,500.– CRB local dollars; according to the fixed exchange the ratio of the Swiss Francs to the U.S. Dollar is 4.31. Consequently, if money is sent to us via Switzerland in the form of Swiss Francs, the local Committee only receives per U.S. Dollar, 71,000.– C.R.B. local dollars. This is a loss of approximately 1/3. Consequently it would be of utmost importance to be able to receive U.S. Dollars directly here as soon as possible. If this is done shortly, the situation of the local Committee will be helped immensely as [sic] no additional cost to the American Joint.

Every effort will be made to meet the needs of the refugee community on the same amount of money as has been received formerly. However, this may

42 Central Reserve Bank.

43 "Improved"?

be impossible if prices remain the same and the exchange remains as it is. It may be necessary to send an S.O.S. or additional funds.

E. Conclusion

These are the main problems. I have indicated that I believe is [sic] the road to follow in order to solve them. I don't know what your plans are for me. I am ready to roll up my sleeves and go to work here. It may be necessary to send an S.O.S. for personnel to help in all this work. So please keep this in mind. However, I shall not proceed to handle ### problems except to feel my way about until I received your confirmation that you desire me to stay and the necessary authorities and credentials to carry out the task.

{Manuel Siegel}

Document 172

*Anonymous (Executive Committee of Polish War Refugees in Shanghai)*⁴⁴

September 21, 1945

Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 205, 4.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Polish Refugees Demand Punishment

of Kubota, Okura, Ghoya, and Kano as Chief War Criminals in Shanghai

Celebrations of the regained freedom are in full swing in Shanghai. The populace of this city is enthusiastically sharing the happiness of the entire world which won victory over the dark forces of oppression, thus realizing the triumph of the idea of freedom and justice.

This general rejoicing is being shared, too, by about 1000 Polish War Refugees stranded in Shanghai, where they hoped to find a refuge for the duration of the war, after overcoming numerous dangers and hardships of the war in Poland, where they lost all their property.

However, their joy is overshadowed by the huge sacrifices they had to suffer in the present war with almost [the] entire Jewish population in Poland

44 The Polish Jews had founded a number of groups and associations that were active in social, political, and cultural issues. They elected a council, the "Polish War Refugees in Shanghai," to represent the various groups. The long-time head of the council's executive committee was Gerszel Apfelbaum; cf. Lewin, Almanac, 80.

being slaughtered by a cruel and degenerate invader, and with the graves of Polish soldiers scattered over battlefields of the two continents.

The enthusiasm of the Polish war Refugees is stifled by a feeling of bitterness, the uncertainty of the future and tremendous difficulties to be overcome at present. To enumerate only a few examples: there are among them people who fell victims [sic] to the bombing of Shanghai. Some of them lost members of their families, others have been rendered homeless and lost their last personal belongings. Besides, there are many problems awaiting solution.

Nevertheless, the community of the Polish War Refugees, as said before, express their long pent-up feelings in sharing the common joy. In the first place this is due to the regaining of their personal freedom from the moment the barriers of the Ghetto where they were interned by Japanese authorities in flagrant violation of international law and the threadbare pretext of military necessity were abolished. The Japanese press frankly called these measures anti-Jewish and they were doubtlessly the result of the seeds of Nazi hatred and discrimination sown in the fertile mentality of Japanese militarism.

It is to be emphasized on this occasion that the question as to how it came about that Polish citizens have been treated as stateless refugees is still to be clarified, but the fact is that they have been forced into the Ghetto notwithstanding their legal status as Allies and hence enemies of the Axis.

This fact is sufficiently ignominious [sic] had the manner in which they were treated by the Japanese, at that time masters of their lives, is revolting and requires retaliation and redemption.

The responsible Director of the Shanghai Stateless Refugees Affairs Bureau was Kubota, who in cold blood tolerated abuses, maltreatment and atrocities. His underling was Okura, whose sadizm [sic] is directly responsible for the loss of many lives as a result of typhoid-fever contracted in the beggar box of the Wayside Police Station, then commonly known as the "death cell." This description would be incomplete if another criminal [sic], Goya [sic], were [sic] not – mentioned. He was the terror of the Ghetto, as there was not a single day without orgies of beating, kicking and insulting of old and young, men and women, perpetrated by him, even publicly.

The cruelty of this gang is seen from the fact that people were beaten by Goya or Okura till they fainted and then they were brought back to consciousness by pouring cold water on their heads after which they were beaten again. There were cases of people being kept in jail for 30 days on 6 ounces of bread a day.

The Polish War Refugees had to live under such conditions during two years – without any chance of protest.

It was not before the defeat of the Japanese occupants, that they were in a position to raise their protest and acquaint the public opinion of their sufferings and humiliation.

The Polish refeegees [sic] demand severe punishment of all those criminals who are to be charged responsible for all atrocities committed. First of all that applies to Kubota, Okura, Goya, Kano and their associates as well as to collaborators of non-Japanese nationalitty [sic], and all those who took advantage of the created situation for their personal benefit and profit.

The Polish War Refugees believe that their accusations will be heard by the United Nations War Crimes Commission⁴⁵ and that by due punishment of these criminal oppressors all the harm and injustice done to them during the war will be retributed [sic].

The Executive Committee of Polish War Refugees in Shanghai.

Document 173

Anonymous

December 28, 1945

Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 211, 1.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

A Bolt Out of the Blue

The report about the new regulations enacted by the Central Government regarding the Jewish refugees here came as a staggering surprise to the Shanghai public and caused consternation among those concerned, and in many non-refugee circles as well.

Rumours purporting that something was in the offing against the refugees had been rampant for some time and had been disbelieved on the reasoning that never the democratic minded and hospitable Chinese people,

45 The United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC) was founded in October 1943 by the allied states in order to assemble evidence and prosecute war crimes committed by the Axis powers. It existed until spring 1948. China requested a sub-commission for Pacific Affairs to prosecute Japanese war criminals, and in 1946 the Far Eastern Commission (FEC) was organized. Its eleven member states held an International Military Tribunal for the Far East and carried out war crimes trials until 1951.

a people that until recently had itself been a victim of ruthless aggression [sic], would consent to any measures discriminating against other victims of cruel persecution. But it seems to be official, and it is rather worse than anticipated.

The reports reached here in various slightly contradictory versions, until one paper was in a position to give the exact wording. The gist of the matter is that all Germans, former Austrians, and German Jews are scheduled for repatriation, and pending repatriation have to make application for a temporary stay backed by sufficient guarantees. Exceptions from the repatriation order can be granted, but only for reliable technicians on the strength of new applications and further guarantees. The notion of "Austrians" comprises naturally the Jews professing this nationality, so that the bulk of the refugees is being covered by the regulations.

So the incredible has happened. The same Jews who fled from German and Austrian persecution to these shores, who here again at the instigation of these same Nazis had been by the Japanese segrageted [sic], economically ruined and physically maltreated, find themselves now thrown together with their erstwhile persecutors into the same lot. The victimizers and the victimized, the robbers and the robbed are being meted out the same treatment.

Formally, the Central Government of course acts well within its rights. As a sovereign nation, China is fully entitled to declare any alien as undesirable and to have him removed from her territory, even without giving any reasons. But when not individuals, but an entire class of the population is hit by a measure of this kind, those concerned have in a democratic country certainly the right to ask why they have become undesirable.

There are, of course, any number of reasons for wishing an alien or a class of aliens to leave a country, but in the main they can be classed within three categories, viz. activities against law and order, racial and or religious grounds, and economic reasons. As to the first category, it is safe to say that the refugees as a class have done nothing in the nature of an unlawful behaviour, and as to the second we think that the Chinese Government would be first to reject emphatically the idea that it has been activated by racial or religious discrimination. So the only remaining factor seems to be the economic but here again we see ourselves at a loss to discover the reasoning.

Up to the Japanese segregation order the refugees proved definitely an asset in the economic life of this city. They introduced some new trades, resulting in different goods formerly imported to be locally produced and even exported. They set a new style in shop decorating and window dressing, and impartial observers agreed that the city had become a better looking place by the example given by them. In a surprisingly short time they were well on the road to becoming self-supporting.

After the ill-famed Japanese proclamation their situation quite naturally deteriorated and most of them had to fall back on relief. But even this state of affairs was, strange as it may sound, beneficial rather than detrimental to the host nation from a purely economic point of view. Circumstances in this respect are somewhat different here from what they are in Western countries. There the existence of a class of destitute people is really undesirable because they threaten to become a burden on the public treasury. But no refugee ever expected or is likely to expect to be supported by any source derived from the Chinese national income. What support they got came from abroad, bringing here an amount of one and a half to two million American dollars to be consumed locally, without taking out anything in return, an influx of foreign currency that should be welcome in the balance of payment of any country. This might be a trifling entry in the house-hold books of a big nation like China, but anyway it is on the credit and not on the debit side of the ledger.

And granting that this is a negligible asset and one that could be easily waived; there is another far more important asset that could be adversely affected by this decision. It is the reputation justly won by the Chinese people for being one of the most humanely thinking and equitable nations of the world. Hardly anything has been more clearly demonstrated by the war just terminated than the fact that moral values and the respect shown to the tenets of humanity [sic] and hospitality count heavily in the balance of power, and we think that no nation is wealthy [sic] or mighty enough to afford to give away anything of this moral capital handed down by their ancestors.

We should have failed in our duty as a Jewish paper by not raising our voice, albeit feeble, against this measure. It is naturally in the interest of the 15,000 refugees that we are speaking. But there are higher interests at stake than the fate of this handful of people. In the interest of these bigger principles involved we hope the Central Government will reconsider its decision.

Document 174*Anonymous**January 17, 1946**Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Echo,⁴⁶ vol. 1, no.18, 3.**Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)***Petition an das Ministerium des Aeusseren in China****Zur Verordnung vom 29. Dezember 1945**

Die Delegierten der Organisationen der europaeischen Fluechtlinge in Shanghai haben an das chinesische Aussenministerium eine Petition gerichtet, in der sie das Entsetzen der Refugees zum Ausdruck bringen, in dieselbe Kategorie wie die Feinde eingereiht zu werden. Sie weisen darauf hin, dass das juedische Volk, genau wie das chinesische Volk, als erstes den Hieb der Achsenmaechte zu spueren bekam und beide Voelker Millionen Opfer brachten. Einige tausend Juden fanden Zuflucht in Shanghai. Hier haben sie ernste Anstrengungen gemacht, [einen] wuerdigen Beitrag zum wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Leben Chinas zu liefern. Seit dem Ausbruch der Feindseligkeitem [sic] im Jahre 1941 haben wir wieder dasselbe Schicksal wie unsere freien chinessischen [sic] Freunde und Verbuendeten geteilt. Wir wurden von den gemeinsamen Feinden herausgegriffen – unserer Hheuser [sic] und Geschaefte verlustig erklaert – und ohne fuer unsere weitere Existenz Vorsorge zu treffen, abgesondert. Wenn nicht die Menschenfreundlichkeit unserer amerikanischen Freunde gewesen waere, so waeren wir verhungert.

Die Petition fuehrt weiter aus, dass wir den Sieg Chinas und seiner Alliierten als unsere Befreiung begruessten und uns bereit machten, unseren Platz neben den anderen freien Voelkern einzunehmen. Jedoch die Verordnung vom 27. [sic] Nov. laesst unsere Befuerchtungen wieder aufleben. Nach acht Jahren und mehr der Unsicherheit, Verfolgung, Absonderung und Konzentration in Laegern unter den Nazis und den Japanern erfuellt uns jetzt Angst ueber eine aehnliche Aussicht.

Es wird an das Ministerium appelliert, die juedischen und anderen bona fide Refugees als freundliche, befreits [sic] Menschen zu betrachten und uns nicht gegen unseren Willen zu repatriieren. Wir sind der chinesischen Regierung und dem Volke Chinas ewig dankbar dafuer, uns einen Zufluchthafen in unserer Zeit schwerster Not gewaehrt zu haben und wir hoffen mit Ver-

46 The *Shanghai Echo* – *Taegliches Nachrichtenblatt* appeared between 1946 and 1948.

trauen nunmehr auf Chinas guten Willen und seine Fuehrerrolle unter den Vereinigten Nationen.

Document 175

Anonymous

March 1946

Newspaper article, in: The Shanghai Herald, Special Edition, 27.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Die Herren von der „S.A.C.R.A.“ Eindruecke eines Opfers

Die SACRA ist eine Institution, die die Aufgabe hatte, die deutschen und polnischen Fluechtlinge im Ghetto unterzubringen. Die Lokalitaeten der SACRA bestehen aus vier Zimmern. Im ersten Zimmer sitzt Dr. Cohn mit seinem japanischen Adviser [sic] Kano. In diesem Zimmer darf man sich nichts Gutes erwarten: Wir haben Feinde vor uns, mit denen man wie mit Freunden sprechen muss. Das zweite Zimmer ist fuer das Praesidium vorbehalten, im dritten und vierten Zimmer sitzen die Beamten. Fuer die Interessenten selbst steht nur ein finsterer, schmutziger Korridor zur Verfuegung. Seit dem Gruendungstag der SACRA gibt es hier nur zwei Sparten: Diejenige, welche mit ihrem Geld und die Andere, die mit ihrem Leben fuer Vermeidung des Ghettoaufenthaltes bezahlen muss. Die beiden Sparten sind leicht auseinanderzuhalten. Die Fuehrer der ersten haben ein sicheres Auftreten, gehen mit erhobenem Kopfe und sprechen laut. Sie bruellen die Fluechtlinge an, drohen und machen ihnen den Vorwurf, dass sie nicht mit eigenem Geld sich Wohnungen im Ghetto kaufen koennen. Sie halten ihnen vor, dass sie sich gluecklich fuehlen muessen, da es ihnen in Warschau noch schlechter gegangen sei. Die Fluechtlinge fuehlen sich aber nicht gluecklich. Wohl ging es ihnen in Warschau noch schlechter, aber Heimatlosigkeit, Arbeitslosigkeit, Hunger gehoeren auch nicht zu einer Atmosphaere des Wohlbehagens. Wenn jemand als Fremder die Lokalitaeten der SACRA betreten wuerde, muesste er glauben, dass hier zwei verschiedene Voelker einander gegeneber stehen. Ein rechtloses und ein herrschendes. Freilich waere das nur die Ansicht eines Nichteingeweihten, denn in Wirklichkeit gibt es hier nur ein Volk mit verschiedentlicher Moral. Der eine Teil ist der Ansicht, dass das Vermoegen nicht zu schonen sei, wenn man damit Leben retten kann; der andere Teil aber, dass

kein Leben der Anderen ein zu grosses Opfer sei, um das eigene Vermoegen zu retten.

Wir schreiben Maerz 1944, der Tag ist kalt und regnerisch. Es ist knapp vor mittag. Bald wird die SACRA geschlossen, aber die versammelten Fluechtlinge machen keine Miene, das Lokal zu verlassen. Ungefuehr vierzig Personen, blasse Menschen, halten Jagd nach den SACRA-Herren, alle reflektieren auf ein einziges Zimmer im Ghetto. Okura, der SS Fuehrer des Ghetto hat erklart, dass jeder Tag des Saeumnisses in der Uebersiedlung ins Ghetto einen Tag Gefaengnis bedeutet. Und man weiss, dass Okura im Verhaengen der Strafen Wort haelt. Die Fluechtlinge jagen bereits seit einer Woche nach Wohnungen: Eine Woche Gefaengnis ist ihnen schon sicher. Menschen, die aus Warschau bis nach Shanghai gefluechtet sind. Menschen, die brennende Staedte gesehen haben, die auf den Landstrassen Bergen von Leichen und deutschen Truppen begegnet sind, haben keine Angst vor dem Kerker. Aber Okura schickt die Menschen nicht in ein gewoehnliches Gefaengniss, Okura schickt sie in Loecher, die mit Flecktyphus infiziert sind, Okura schickt sie in den Tod. Es gibt ein einfaches und sehr vernehmliches Wort, das die Lippen der Fluechtlinge stets wiederholen: Hilfe. Aber dieses Wort hoeren die Herren der SACRA nicht. Sie sind selbstbewusst und indifferent. Die Fluechtlinge sprechen nicht laut, sie bitten mit einer leisen und kuenstlich ruhigen Stimme: Gebt uns ein Zimmer, wir besitzen kein Geld, um Abstand zu zahlen, wir haben alles verloren. Die Herren beraten sich, dann ver[k]uenden sie, man solle morgen wiederkommen. Zur siebentaetigen [sic] Strafe in der Typhuskammer kommt noch ein Tag hinzu, aber auch morgen wird nichts erledigt werden. Einer der leitenden SACRA-Leute versucht den Fluechtlingen zu erklaren, dass die Zimmer im Ghetto sehr teuer geworden sind, man sei nicht in der Lage zu mieten. Und was den Flecktyphus betrifft, so ist das eine Gottesgeissel, man kann die Krankheit auch bekommen wenn man auf der Strasse spazieren geht. Die Argumentation ist zwar nicht ganz stichhaltig, doch bleiben die Leute ruhig. Im Direktionszimmer sitzt der Japaner und dieser Umstand allein ist das hoechste Argument. Die Welt hat sich sehr oft mit der juedischen Solidaritaet befasst, aber wenn sich jemand an diesem kalten regnerischen Maerztag des Jahres 1944 bei der SACRA aufgehalten hat, so musste er den Eindruck haben, dass die sogenannte juedische Solidaritaet von den Antisemiten erfunden wurde. Die Fuehrer der Shanghaier juedischen Gemeinde haben nicht nur geduldet, dass man ihre Stammesgenossen schaendet und zugrunde richtet, sondern sie haben sich auch nicht geruehrt, als sie vor die Aufgabe gestellt worden sind, die Geschaendeten und Zugrundergerichteten durch Geldspenden zu retten. Selbstbeherrschung ist etwas sehr Schoenes, aber derjenige, der dem Tode gegenueber steht, wird sie frueher oder spaeter verlieren. Eines schoenen Tages kam es dazu, dass die Leute die

Lokalitaeten der SACRA nicht verlassen wollten, bevor ihnen eine konkrete Hilfe zu Teil werde. Und da geschah etwas Unglaubliches. Ein hysterischer Herr der SACRA-Leitung begann, „die arroganten Pollaken“ anzupöbeln. Je mehr man ihn beruhigen wollte, umso lauter schrie er. Es verging nur eine kurze Spanne Zeit, denn aus dem Zimmer Numero 1 kam der Japaner KANO ploetzlich heraus und schlug denjenigen, der angebruehlt wurde, nieder. Todesstille trat ein. Alles war ruhig. Als Folge erschien am naechsten Tag eine Verordnung Kubotas, dass jeder SACRA-Besucher sich in eine Besucherliste eintragen muesse. Zu einem Zeitpunkt, wo alle Applikanten bei der SACRA bereits illegal in der Stadt wohnten und daher nicht riskieren konnten, ihre Namen und Adressen in die Liste einzutragen. So konnte die SACRA ruhig „arbeiten“ und die Fluechtlinge zaehlten die Gefaengnistage, die mit jedem versaeumten Tag zu ihrer Strafe hinzukamen. Fuenf Wochen spaeter erhielt jeder eine Wohnung, teils privat, teils in den Godowns.⁴⁷ Aber diejenigen, welche straffaellig geworden sind, zaehlen in ihren Reihen sieben Tote und zehn schwer Kranke. Der Weg der Lebenden ist lang und verworren, der Weg der Toten ist kurz und vollendet. Es stehen sieben Graeber nebeneinander, sie bergen sieben Leichen. Die Leichenbegaengnisse waren nicht besonders zahlreich besucht. Die Japaner erlaubten nicht, dass die Toten bis zu ihrer Ruhestaette begleitet werden. Man pflegt den Toten zu wuenschen: „Die Erde werde ihnen leicht.“ Sei es uns erlaubt zu wuenschen, dass die, die diese Sieben ermordet hatten, und die, die mittelbar an ihrem Tode schuldig sind, die Erde ewig bedruecken soll.
(„Unsere Welt“,⁴⁸ Sonderausgabe 1945).

Document 176

Anonymous

January 10, 1946

Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Echo, vol. 1, no.11, 3.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

47 A term for storage facilities that were also used by the Japanese authorities for internment.

48 Since many Shanghai publications were not available for this volume, it is not clear which paper is meant by *Unsere Welt*.

Kurzer Ueberblick ueber das Emigranten-Problem Mr. Siegel und Mr. Jordan⁴⁹ sprechen in einer Pressekonferenz

Gestern Abend nahm Mr. Siegel die Gelegenheit wahr, um kurz vor seiner Rueckkehr nach den Vereinigten Staaten der Emigrantenpresse seine Ansichten zu uebermitteln und von der Emigration Abschied zu nehmen. Bei dieser Konferenz war auch Mr. Jordan, der neue Joint-Delegierte fuer den Fernen Osten zugegen.

In seiner Ansprache fuehrte Mr. Siegel aus, dass er jetzt nach vierjaehrigem Aufenthalt Shanghai wieder verlassen wird. Die fuef Monate seit Beendigung des Pazifik-Krieges koennen als eine erfolgreiche Periode der hiesigen Joint-Taetigkeit bezeichnet werden. Ein neues Joint-Komitee hat das waehrend des Krieges fungierende Komitee abgeloeset, und wenn es auch nicht moeglich war, waehrend dieser kurzen Zeit alle Probleme zu loesen, so wurde es zum ersten Mal mit Hilfe der UNRRA und CNRRA⁵⁰ erreicht, dass es keine hungernden Emigranten mehr in Shanghai gibt. Das wichtigste Problem war, genuegend Nahrungsmittel fuer die Betreuten zu erhalten, und es ist zu hoffen, dass auch in Zukunft diese Aufgabe befriedigend geloest werden wird, wobei allerdings die begrenzten Transportmoeglichkeiten gegenwaertig noch ein grosses Hindernis bedeuten.

Unterstuetzung der Wanderung

Die groesseren und wichtigeren Probleme, die auf Gestaltung der Zukunft Einfluss haben, werden innerhalb der naechsten 18 Monate – dies ist die vorgesehene Arbeitsdauer der UNRRA und CNRRA – erledigt werden, wobei das Hauptaugenmerk darauf gerichtet sein wird, die Emigranten in all den Laendern, wohin sie abwandern werden, in den Wirtschaftsprozess einzuschalten und von jeder sozialen Unterstuetzung unabhaengig zu machen. Man wird sich da in erster Linie damit befassen muessen, den Emigranten die Einreise dorthin zu ermoeglichen, wo sie eine Heimat finden koennen. Hierfuer kommen Emigranten in Frage, die Beziehungen nach den Vereinigten Staaten, Suedamerika, Australien oder Palaestina besitzen. Auch denjenigen, die in China bleiben, wird jede produktive Hilfe gewahrt werden muessen und es besteht gar keine Ursache, sich einer Panikstimmung hinzugeben. Die Emigranten sollten sich endlich daran gewoehnen, nur wahre authentische Tatsachen zur Kenntnis zu nehmen und nicht den Geruechten ein williges

49 This was Charles Jordan.

50 The Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, established in November 1945 by the Chinese Government, worked with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) program between 1945 and 1947.

Ohr leihen. Mr. Siegel machte bei einer anderen Gelegenheit den Scherz, er wisse noch nicht genau, wann er die Gelegenheit haben werde abzureisen, aber er sei ueberzeugt, dass die Emigranten es wissen.

Mr. Siegels Abschiedsworte

Bevor er Shanghai verlasse, betonte Mr. Siegel, wolle er der Oeffentlichkeit und dem Joint-Komitee fuer die ausgezeichnete Arbeit, die sie leisten, wie auch allen anderen Organisationen fuer die Unterstuetzung waehrend der letzten vier Monate herzlich danken. Die Emigranten sind durch grosse Schwierigkeiten gegangen und die Geschichte der Emigration hatte das Hoechstmass an Unannehmlichkeiten erreicht. Jetzt bricht endlich eine Periode an, in der alle Probleme geloest werden sollen. Mr. Siegel bittet, ihn entschuldigen zu wollen, dass es ihm nicht mehr moeglich ist, alle seine Freunde in unserer Gemeinschaft persoendlich zu sprechen. Er nimmt daher auf diesem Wege von ihnen Abschied. „Ich glaube“, sagte Mr. Siegel, „dass ich in der Lage sein werde, dem amerikanischen Joint einen vollumrissenen Bericht ueber die Lage der hiesigen Emigranten zu uebermitteln und hoffe ihnen dadurch sehr nuetzlich zu sein. Wir werden bestrebt sein, ihnen jede Hilfe zu gewaehren. Den Shanghaier Emigranten gelten meine besten Wuensche fuer die Zukunft.“

Mr. Jordans Plaene

Mr. Jordan, in dessen Haenden nunmehr die kuenftige Arbeit des hiesigen Joint liegen wird, bemerkte auf einige Fragen, dass das Ausmass der Unterstuetzung der hiesigen Emigranten von der Taetigkeit der UNRRA und UNRRA [sic] abhaengt, die ihrerseits an die Transportmoeglichkeiten gebunden sind. Der Joint wird dies bezueglich in staendigem Kontakt mit diesen Organisationen bleiben. Die CNRRA arbeitet hier nach denselben Methoden und mit den gleichen Absichten wie in Europa und richtet sich nach den Problemen und Erfordernissen der Beduerftigen.

Emigranten, die durch ihre Auslandsbeziehungen die Moeglichkeit erlangen werden, in andere Laender abzuwandern, werden jede nur erdenkliche Unterstuetzung der zustaendigen Organisationen geniessen, um ihr Ziel zu erreichen. Ueber die Loesung der Einwanderungsprobleme fuer solche Emigranten, die keinen Kontakt mit Personen in den Einwanderungslaendern besitzen, waere verfrueht sich auslassen zu wollen, da dies eine Angelegenheit der UNO ist, die jetzt erst ihre Arbeit aufnimmt. Mr. Jordan stellte noch fest, dass es verschiedene isolierte Emigrantengruppen, so auf den Philippinen, in Burma, Japan, und im uebrigen China gibt, deren Existenz durch die amerikanische Armee festgestellt wurde und die sich gleichfalls der Hilfe durch den Joint erfreuen werden.

Dank an Mr. Siegel

Nach einer kurzen aber intensiven und erfolgreichen Arbeitsperiode wird Mr. Siegel demnaechst Shanghai verlassen. Ihn begleiten die besten Wuensche der Emigration. An seine Stelle tritt Mr. Jordan, eine junge markante Erscheinung, der, wie Mr. Siegel einleitend sagte, grosse Erfahrungen auf sozialem Gebiete besitzt und in der Eigenschaft eines Joint-Delegierten fuer den gesamten Fernen Osten hierher gekommen ist. Wir glauben dem neuen Joint-Delegierten in Shanghai die Versicherung abgeben zu duerfen, dass die Presse und die Oeffentlichkeit zur Loesung der vorliegenden Probleme mit ihm voll kooperieren werden, und seine guten Absichten zu wuerdigen wissen.

Document 177

*Alfred Schwarz*⁵¹

March 1946

Newspaper article, in: *The Shanghai Herald. Sondernummer*, 6.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Dr. A. Schwarz:

Auch wir wollen leben

Die Frage der Weiterwanderung

18. Februar 1942 – 10. November 1939⁵² – beide Daten, die uns allen hier, unser ganzes Leben lang nie aus dem Gedaechnis schwinden werden. Der 10. November, als der Auftakt zu Auschwitz, Treblinka und den anderen Staetten des Mordes. Der 18. Februar, der Tag, an dem unser Urteil zu drei Jahren Ghetto verkuendet wurde.

10. November – 18. Februar

Der 10. November, dessen Geist schrecklich lange Jahre ueber Europa geherrscht hat, ist nun endgueltig vorueber, und die Welt sitzt ueber die Hauptschuldigen zu Gericht. Ja, man sitzt zu Gericht, man berichtet taeglich ueber neuentdeckte Greuelthaten, ueber schier unglaublich gemeine, niedrige Bestialitaet. Die Zeitungen sind voll mit den Untaten dieser Unholde; Hundert-

51 Dr. Alfred Schwarz (c. 1913–?) was a chemist.

52 The “Kristallnacht” (November pogrom) is usually dated November 9, 1938. The events actually took place from November 9 to 11.

tausende, Millionen ehrerbietige Maenner und Frauen lesen mit Entsetzen taeglich die fast wahnwitzig klingenden Berichte und mit Entruestung und Ekel ueber die Kreaturen und deren Verbrechen und voll Mitleid ueber die Opfer legen sie die Zeitung weg ... und dann – ja dann ... gehen sie zu ihrer Arbeit in die Fabriken, in die Bureaus, in den Haushalt und haben fuer den Rest des Tages bis zum naechsten gierig erwarteten Sensationsbericht uns, die No. 1 Opfer des Naziregimes, vergessen; und die Juden in Deutschland leben weiter im Zeichen des 18. Februars 1842 [sic] – segregated – d.h. abgesondert von der Welt, der neuen Freiheit und des neuen Aufbaus.

Ende des Hungers

Ja, es stimmt, wir brauchen hier in Shanghai keine Spezial-Paesse mehr, wenn wir z.B. auf die andere Seite der Seward Road gehen wollen; viele von uns haben auch einen ganz netten Verdienst gefunden, und die UNRRA und der JOINT sorgen mit Grosszuegigkeit dafuer, dass keiner von uns hungert. Das alles ist richtig, die Magen [sic] der Emigranten sind wieder satt – aber was ist mit den Herzen, mit den Seelen? Sie schreien noch immer laut – Hunger, Hunger!

Die Frage der Rueckwanderung

Wir wissen, und wir verstehen, dass in erster Linie den bedraengten Juden in Europa Hilfe geleistet werden muss. Vielen von uns hier, die Verwandte haben, sind auch bereits Affidavits oder Permits fuer Australien zugegangen oder in Aussicht gestellt worden und es hat sich diesen Glueckseligen so das Tor hinaus in das ersehnte neue Leben geoeffnet. Einige wollen auch hierbleiben und dem hiesigen, selbst vom Kriege so hart betroffenen Volk, aufbauen helfen. – Was ist aber mit der verbleibenden Masse? Kuerzlich ist eine Antwort eines UNRRA Beamten veroeffentlicht worden, die besagte, dass die UNRRA keine Einreise nach U.S.A. verschafft, und dass wir nur einen Anspruch auf Rueckbefoerderung in unser Ausgangsland haben – eine Antwort, die mich an Anschlaege in manchem [sic] grossen Geschaefthaeusern und Herrschaftspalaesten erinnert, – „Betteln und Hausieren verboten“ – wovon Ihr lebt geht uns nichts an, unsere Tische sind gedeckt. – Nun, aber auch diese Antwort befriedigt einen Teil unter uns. Einige unter uns, meistens sind es aeltere Menschen, wollen zurueck. Sie wollen sich fuer den Rest ihres Lebens nicht mehr mit fremden Lebensbedingungen und einer fremden Sprache herumschlagen. Shanghai hat meist schon ihre Kraefte verbraucht, sie haben genug; vor ihrer Erinnerung tauchen Bilder vergangener, schoener Zeiten auf, sie denken an ihren zurueckgelassenen Besitz und – obwohl auch ihr Herz vor Schmerz ob der zugefuegten Wunden schreit – vergewaltigen sie sich selbst, sie beissen die Zaehne zusammen, verstecken die zorngeballte

Faust in der Tasche, verstopfen ihre Ohren gegen die aus Europa kommenden Alarmnachrichten und sagen – wir gehen zurueck. Aber alle koennen mit sich und ihrem Gewissen nicht so umgehen, sie koennen nicht vergessen. – Oder glaubt die Welt, dass wir andere Gefuehle haben als die Nazi-Opfer in Europa?

Hierbleiben?

Waehrend wir bis vor kurzer Zeit vor der harten Moeglichkeit standen, auch zwangsweise zurueckgesendet zu werden, ist nun dieser Alp von uns genommen worden. Die UNO veroeffentlichte einen Beschluss, dass kein Fluechtling gegen seinen Willen gezwungen werden kann, in sein Ausgangsland zurueckzukehren.⁵³ Als wir diesen Bericht vor einigen Tagen lasen, haben wir wohl alle eine gewisse innere Befriedigung und Erleichterung empfunden. Doch andererseits mussten wir uns fragen, wohin aber dann. Hier ist kein Bleiben, vor allem wegen des fuer uns unertraeglichen Klimas – und die andere Welt hatte ihren Standpunkt bei der Eviankonferenz noch nicht viel geaendert. Waere damals nicht Shanghai gewesen, so haette die fuer Tote so mitfuehlende Welt noch siebzehntausend Menschen mehr bedauern koennen.

Nach Australien!

Doch inzwischen, so zu sagen zum Jahrestag des 18. Februar ist eine fast unglauublich schoene Nachricht durch die Welt gegangen: Australien will 7 000 000 Menschen einwandern lassen. Mit Freude und mit einem aengstlichen Beben zugleich haben wir diese Botschaft vernommen und vor uns draengt sich die bange Frage auf: werden wir dazu gehoeren?

Wie uns die Erfahrung bis jetzt lehrte, war die Frage der Einwanderung im betraechtlichen Ausmasse eine Geldfrage. Geld ist der Special-Pass fuer das Leben. Ich weiss nicht, wieviel ein Tag Kriegfuehren [sic] gekostet hat, aber eines weiss ich sicher; die Geldmittel, die noetig waren, um einen oder zwei Tage Krieg zu fuehren, wuerden vollkommen genuegen, um die Garantien fuer Tausende von Menschen zu decken bzw. ihnen im Anfang finanzielle Hilfe zu leisten.

Nach langem aussichtslosen und quaelend hoffnungslosen [sic] Ausgesetztsein in [sic] tosenden Meer der hilflosen Ausgestossenheit erscheint uns Schiffbruechigen des Lebens ein rettendes Schiff. Das Schiff heisst „Australien“. Es ist unsere Chance. Eine gute Chance. Dort braucht man Menschen, die arbeiten wollen, und wir wollen arbeiten, weil wir leben wollen. Wir ha-

53 This was resolution 8 (1) of the United Nations General Assembly Record (U.N.G.A.O.R.) of February 12, 1946; cf. Evan J. Criddle/Evan Fox-Decent, *Fiduciaries of Humanity. How International Law Constitutes Authority*, Oxford 2010, 248.

ben unseren Lebenswillen und unsere Arbeitskraft bewiesen, ganz egal wie alt wir sind, aus welchen Berufen wir kommen, aus dem Handwerk, aus dem Handel, oder aus den freien Berufen. Wir sind heute alle lebens- und emigrationserfahren, wir wissen, was es heisst, wenn es ums Ganze geht, und Shanghai war eine harte Schule. Ich glaube sagen zu koennen, dass wir Shanghai-Veteranen wohl zu der besten Sorte gehoeren, die man auf der Welt finden kann, insbesondere fuer ein Land, das Industrie und auch Handel benoetigt.

Shanghai – Designated Area der Welt

Millionen von Menschen sind fuer Gueltigkeit der Menschenrechte in den Tod gegangen. Im Namen dieser blutgetraenkten Menschenrechte rufen wir diesem Schiffe am Horizont zu, rettet uns. Lasst uns nicht untergehen. Oeffnet unsere „Designated Area.“

Sowie wir s. Zt.⁵⁴ stundenlang, tagelang vor dem „Stateless Refugees Affairs Bureau“ standen und mit bangen Gefuehlen auf unseren „Special Pass“ warteten, so stehen wir heute noch immer vor der Tuere der Welt und warten und warten auf einen „Special Pass“ fuer das neue Leben. Ihr Menschen, die Ihr mit unseren toten Opfern so viel Mitgefuehl zeigt, verwandelt doch ein bisschen von diesem Mitleid in Liebe und Verstaendnis fuer uns, die Ueberlebenden, auf dass mit dem Geist des 10. Novembers auch der Geist des 18. Februars verschwinde. Wartet nicht noch auf ein paar Selbstmordopfer in Shanghai, durch die unsere entsetzlich traurige Lage demonstriert wird. Wir wollen leben und arbeiten. Nehmt uns auf! Euer Edelmut wird belohnt werden!

Document 178

*Bruno B. Heinsius*⁵⁵

April 1946

Newspaper article, in: *The Shanghai Herald. Sondernummer, 37, 8.*

Microfilm; courtesy Hartmut Walravens

54 Seiner Zeit.

55 Heinsius (1902–1958) was a merchant from Berlin. Like Berthold Metis, Richard Paulick, and others, he was a member of the board of the Association of German Refugees (formerly the Residents Association of Democratic Germans) and later called the Association of Refugees from Germany in Shanghai), which was founded as a body to represent the interests of non-Jewish refugees from Germany. Heinsius was responsible for all administrative issues concerning repatriation and immigration; cf. Lewin, Almanac, 81. After the war he settled in the United States.

Es gibt keine Rueckwanderung!

Wo immer man auch hinkommt – Reiseplaene bilden zurzeit das hauptsaechlichste Gespraechsthema in fast allen Kreisen der Shanghaier Emigration. Wenn sich Shanghai hierdurch von den anderen Emigrationszentren in aller Welt unterscheidet, so findet dieser Umstand eine begriffliche Begrue ndung darin, dass unsere Verwandten und Freunde in anderen Laendern in ihrer ueberwiegenden Mehrheit nicht nur wirtschaftlich Fuss gefasst, sondern inzwischen auch die Staatsbuergerschaft der betreffenden Laender angenommen haben, waehrend wir hier „staatenlose Fluechtlinge“ geblieben sind und noch immer zu etwa 75 % ausserstande sind, unsere Lebensbeduerfnisse aus dem Ertrag unserer Arbeit zu bestreiten.

Dazu kommt, dass eine dauernde Niederlassung in Shanghai nur von einer verschwindenden Minderheit in Betracht gezogen wird, und dass Shanghai von der erdrueckenden Mehrheit von Anfang an nur als Zwischenstation oder als durch die Umstaende erzwungener Umweg nach USA, Australien oder Palaestina betrachtet wurde.

Hierzu kommt die stattliche Gruppe derjenigen, welche mit dem festen Vorsatz hierher kamen, nach Deutschland zurueckzukehren, sobald die politischen Verhaeltnisse dort es erlauben.

Waehrend nun die Weiterwanderungsmoeglichkeiten nach USA und Australien davon abhaengen, ob die Betreffenden den materiellen Voraussetzungen entsprechen koennen, welche die Regierungen der Laender fuer Einwanderer fordern, sei es in Form von Affidavits oder Deposits, sind es gefuehlsmaessige und prinzipielle Probleme, welche derjenige zu klaeren hat, der eine Rueckkehr nach Deutschland erwaegt.

Bei einem Teil dieser Menschen steht der Wunsch im Vordergrund, als die aktiven Antifaschisten, die sie von jeher waren, nun mitzuarbeiten am Neubau eines demokratischen Deutschlands.

Bei einem nicht kleinen Teil duerfte es sich aber eher um die Sehnsucht handeln, nach einer an Abenteuer und Enttaeuschung reichen Emigration nun wieder in die frueher gewohntn „geordneten Verhaeltnisse“ zurueckzukehren – kurzum dort wieder anzuknuepfen, wo das Band im Jahre 1939 durch die rohe Nazi-Hand so jaeh zerrissen wurde.

Und hierzu muss einiges gesagt werden, was bereits im Titel dieses Artikels ausgedrueckt worden ist – es gibt keine „Rueckwanderung“, denn das Deutschland, welches wir verlassen haben, besteht nicht mehr! Schon im Zuge der Umformung, welche die faschistischen Gewalthaber an dem ganzen deutschen Staatswesen vollzogen, wurde Vieles beseitigt, was in der Erinnerung an das vor-nazistische Deutschland als reizvoll weiterlebt.

Die Bereitschaft, an technischen Fortschritten des Auslands teilzuhaben, die Empfaenglichkeit fuer internationale geistige Entwicklungen und die bewusste Anlehnung an die Wirtschafts- und Handelsmethoden des Auslands wichen dem Geist engstirniger Autarkie auf geistigem und wirtschaftlichem Gebiet.

Dem „Herrenvolk“ wurde suggeriert, es koenne sich durch eine Hungerkur altpreuussischen Stils so stark machen, dass es der ganzen Welt den Stempel deutschen Geistes aufpraegen werde und im Nebel dieser Phrasen wurde erstickt, was im deutschen Volk an Verstaendnis fuer internationale Bindungen im Aufbluehen war. Die lebensspruehende Atmosphaere, an die wir uns so gern zurueckerinnern, wich der mystischen Romantik auf „neu polierter“ Ordensburgen, und dem ungebundenen Denken wurde in Schulungslagern Scheuklappen angelegt.

Was an Kulturgut und geistigem Gehalt wenigstens noch im leeren Rahmen erhalten geblieben war, ging in Truemmer, als die Umwelt aus ihrem Erstaunen ueber das Ausmass nazistischer Anmassung erwacht war und die Herausforderung der „Herrenrasse“ mit Bomben und Granaten beantwortete. Unfaehig, sich vom dem [sic] Satan zu befreien, dem es sich verschrieben hatte, ging ganz Deutschland in Truemmer und zugleich mit dem deutschen Faschismus ging unter, was ideell und materiell in den letzten 100 Jahren geschaffen worden war.

Nur vom geographischen Standpunkt aus kann man daher von einer „Rueckwanderung“ sprechen.

Von jedem anderen Gesichtspunkt aus waere es vielleicht eher angebracht, es eine „Auswanderung nach Deutschland“ zu nennen und mit dieser Formulierung die Erkenntnis zu verknuepfen, dass die Wanderung nach Deutschland ein Unternehmen ist, welches an jeden, der diese Absicht hat, mindestens die gleichen Anforderungen an Opferwilligkeit und Einsatzbereitschaft stellen wird, wie an denjenigen, der ein anderes Neuland in irgendeinem Teil der Welt betreten will. Wanderung nach Deutschland kann nicht gleichbedeutend sein mit der Wiedererlangung eines bequemen Lebens und einer gesicherten Existenz, sondern wird gleichbedeutend sein mit Kampf auf der ganzen Linie. Und nicht nur mit einem durch die Verhaeltnisse aufgezwungenen Kampf, sondern mit der Pflicht und dem Willen zum Kampf.

Denn darueber muss sich jeder klar sein, dass das Deutschland von gestern und vorgestern nie wieder auferstehen darf – weder das saebelrasselnde Deutschland der wilhelminischen Epoche, noch dasjenige der schwaelichen Weimarer Republik oder gar jenes fluchbeladene Nest nazistischer Gangster, welche nur Schmach und Schande ueber den deutschen Namen gebracht haben.

Jeder, der am Aufbau eines demokratischen Deutschlands mithelfen will, muss geistig und koerperlich geruestet sein, Wache zu halten, dass diese Gespenster in ihrer Gruft bleiben und nie wieder ihr Unwesen treiben! Heut, kaum 10 Monate nach dem Zusammenbruch des Hitler-Regimes, kann es garnicht anders sein, dass noch nazistische Unterstroemungen bestehen, und an der Bekaempfung und Ausrottung solcher Unruheherde mitzuarbeiten, ist eine ernste Aufgabe, die jedem Wanderer nach Deutschland zufallen wird. Seine Aufgabe wird es sein, da wo ihm sein Platz zugewiesen wird, Hand anzulegen am Aufbau eines Volksstaates, der ideell und materiell auf einer voellig neuen Grundlage stehen und eine neue geistige Ausrichtung haben muss.

Es wird an Krisen nicht mangeln und zu ihrer Ueberwindung wird die Konzentrierung aller brauchbaren Kraefte notwendig sein, wenn das Ziel, der Aufbau eines wahrhaft demokratischen Deutschlands, erreicht werden soll. Wer in sich die Bereitschaft fuehlt, an diesem Kampf teilzunehmen, und wer sich dazu ueberwinden kann, bei seiner Neuansiedlung in Deutschland jeden Gedanken einer Wiederanknuepfung an seine frueheren materiellen Verhaeltnisse auszuschalten, dem ersteht zweifellos eine Aufgabe, die den Einsatz der hoechsten Kraefte wohl lohnt.

Wer aber den Willen zur bewussten Einordnung in eine Gemeinschaft nicht stark genug empfindet, sondern an eine egoistische und individuelle Gestaltung seiner Zukunft denkt, dem mag in irgendeinem anderen Teile der Welt eine bessere Chance winken.

Es ist nicht der Sinn dieser Zeilen, fuer oder gegen das eine oder das andere Projekt Stellung zu nehmen, denn die Frage der „Rueckwanderung“ oder „Weiterwanderung“ ist von soviel persoenlichen Gefuehlen und besonderen Umstaenden abhaengig, dass es toericht waere, eine Doktrin aufstellen zu wollen, und es muss zwangslaeufig jedem Einzelnen ueberlassen werden, die Entscheidung zu treffen, welche nach den jeweiligen Verhaeltnissen als die richtige erscheint. Fuer eine grosse Gruppe unter uns ist die Frage insofern geklaert, als die Hilfe ihrer Verwandten und Freunde in USA und Australien ihnen die Weiterwanderung dorthin ermoeglicht, und sie dort endgueltig eine neue Heimat finden werden.

Etliche Tausende aber, die sich nicht in dieser gluecklichen Lage befinden, stehen vor einer voellig ungeklaerten Situation und betrachten die „Rueckwanderung“ als eine Verlegenheitsloesung, ohne die innere Bereitschaft zu besitzen, welche ich in den obigen Zeilen als die unerlaessliche Voraussetzung fuer eine sinnvolle Wanderung nach Deutschland geschildert habe.

Die Sonder-Nummer des „Shanghai Herald“ erschien mir als das geeignete Forum, die Aufmerksamkeit der Offentlichkeit [sic] und der zustaendigen Organisationen auf dieses Problem zu lenken und dazu aufzurufen, zur Loesung dieses brennenden Problems konstruktive Weg zu beschreiten,

damit die Menschen, die nun schon die Leidensstationen der Emigration durchschritten haben, nicht durch Unkenntnis dessen, was vor ihnen steht, in ein neues Dilemma gestuerzt, sondern auf den Weg zu einer besseren, gluecklicheren Zukunft geleitet werden.

Bruno B. Heinsius, Presse-Referent der
GEMEINSCHAFT DER DEMOKRATISCHEN DEUTSCHEN IN
SHANGHAI
(RESIDENTS ASSOCIATION OF DEMOCRATIC GERMANS IN
SHANGHAI)

Document 179

EST.

May 31, 1946

Newspaper article, in: *Our Life*, no. 221, 1.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Emigration in Process of Disbandment

According to Press reports from UNO Subcommittee for Refugee Questions, and still more according to the very instructive information given by Mr. Jordan before the Delegates Council, there seems little doubt left that the Shanghai community of Central European Jews will before long be a thing of the past. One of the most colourful episodes of the European landslide, the story of a number of victims of Hitlerism already marked for destruction, who managed in the nick of time to escape to the outermost fringe of the Eurasian Continent and to save their lives, is drawing to an end.

That it is to be not more than an episode, will be for many refugees a source of melancholic thought and of regret. True they had gone to Shanghai for want of anything better, but once here, they had come to like this city, with its rather haphazard ways, its ups and downs, its spirit still full of daring and adventure, and its truly cosmopolitan character. They had formed valuable social and business contacts, had gained footholds in the economic life of the metropolis, and thought to have given a good account of themselves under trying circumstances. Quite a few, and probably a higher percentage than the old inhabitants, had even managed to master to some extent the difficult language. They had tried hard to make this country a second home.

Now all this shall be lost, and what seemed to be a preraration [sic] for a better future looks now like so much wasted time.

But there is no denying of facts, and history nowadays is taking little account of personal likes and dislikes. The Chinese Government has declared in no uncertain terms that the refugees are not wanted, and it is little use speculating as to the reasons for this attitude towards people who, after all, have been here for some seven years and have, on the whole, proved an asset for the economic life of this city. It is certainly up to each nation to decide whom they regard desirable and whom not, and nobody would easily think of staying in a house when the host has let him know that he is not welcome.

So the trunks that had all the time been in evidence in most refugee residences as a silent memento that they were not settled yet and that their stay may be no more than another station on their journey, have come to life again. In many a room they stand, all packed and ready, waiting for the still wanting transportation. The minds of their owners are wandering off with them to their new destinations, and the railway-waiting-room-feeling that was so characteristic of Germany in 1939, is duplicated here.

But here, and though it may come as an unpleasant reminder to many who find this period of suspense intolerable [sic], a warning does not seem out of place. It is much easier to destroy than to build up. It took no more than about six months to assemble here nearly 20,000 refugees but it will probably take some two years to rehabilitate the 15,000 that are left of them. Transportation in the Pacific area is expected to get into its stride by the end of July, or the beginning of August. For Europe, facilities will not be forthcoming before late fall or winter. But transportattion [sic], though a necessary prerequisite, is not everything. The bulk of the refugees will probably go to America, though Australia may take a portion. This, however, is dependent on the speed of handling the non-quota and preference cases,⁵⁶ on the quota that is not so good for some countries, on the competing cases of the European Jews, on the availability [sic] and quality of the affidavits, and, last not least, on the pace set by the American Consulate. So for the ordinary run of applicants not possessed of special qualifications, it will be advisable to compose themselves in patience.

But this exactly raises a question that in our opinion should be not overlooked. This interstice between the decision to re-emigrate and really leaving the contry [sic] seems unavoidable. But must it necessarily be a period of suspense, nervousness, and more or less enforced idleness? Could it not on the contrary be looked upon as something highly desirable as a period available for preparation and retraining? Could it not in some way put to good use?

56 For the quota system, see below, Document 182.

The plight of most of the Shanghai re-emigrants, who are now setting about starting a new life in different parts of the world, is far from enviable. Seven years of exile have eaten deeply into their scanty resources, have used up their clothing and linen and have, worst of all, left them so many years the older and less fit to meet strenuous competition. Wherever they go, their task will not be an easy one.

Under these circumstances, this period of enforced waiting could be a blessing if properly used. Every single refugee will need some kind of readjustment and there is no reason why not at least a substantial part of this readjustment could be effected here, under proper supervision and with adequate training methods. Mr. Jordan, speaking for the American J.D.C., has already declared his willingness [sic] to give every assistance to all serious efforts made in this direction. He was thinking of books and other training materials. In our opinion, this is too little. What [sic] is most urgently needed is a competent, if small, training staff. May be this is asking too much at time when all resources are already strained to the uttermost. But it would be well worth trying, and if it could be put into effect, it would be a lasting credit for those responsible for not only liquidating the Shanghai Emigration, but also taking care of its further destiny.
EST.

Document 180

ARI

February 5, 1946

Newspaper article, in: *Shanghai Echo*, vol. 1, no. 35, 1f.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Weiterwanderungsfragen

Naturgemaess ist das Weiterwanderungsproblem von grossem Interesse fuer unsere Emigration und aus dem taeglichen Gespraechsstoff nicht mehr wegzudenken. Viele Emigranten haben bereits ein festes Ziel zur Weiterwanderung durch verwandtschaftliche oder sonstige Beziehungen, die sie mit ihrem erhofften Zukunftslande verbinden, andere wieder sind gaenzlich auf ihre eigene Initiative angewiesen, aber allen gemeinsam ist der Wunsch, die Grundlagen ihrer kuenftigen Lebensgestaltung in eine geordnete Bahn zu bringen.

Es ist das traurige Schicksal des juedischen Fluechtlings, dass er zur Bewaeltigung dieser so lebenswichtigen Aufgaben voellig in der Luft haengt und im Dunklen tappt, waehrend andere Menschen nicht nur ueber ein angestammtes Land verfuegen, sondern auch ueber ein Konsulat, das ihre Interessen im Auslande wahrnimmt und dem sie ihre Sorgen und Wuensche anvertrauen duerfen, um ihre Probleme einer Regelung zuzufuehren.

Aus diesem Grunde verdient die Mitteilung Mr. Jordans, dass er nunmehr daran geht, ein Emiration [sic] Departement im Rahmen des Joint zu begruenden, ganz besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Mr. Jordan, der den Joint bei verschiedenen Fluechtlingskonferenzen u. a. auch in Evian vertreten und entsprechendes Material mitgebracht hat, verfuegt ueber das noetige Ruestzeug an Erfahrungen, um sich dieser aeusserst komplizierten aber lebenswichtigen Aufgabe fuer unsere Gemeinschaft widmen zu koennen. Sie erfordert nicht bloss den vollen Einsatz der eigenen Person, Takt und diplomatische Geschicklichkeit, sondern auch eine einflussreiche Fuehlungnahme mit den massgebenden Vertretungen der in Frage kommenden Laender. Daher ist die Andeutung Mr. Jordans, die uns ueber seine enge Zusammenarbeit mit Mr. Beckelmann [sic], dem Vertreter des Governmental Committee on Refugees⁵⁷ orientierte, sehr beachtenswert. Denn auch Mr. Beckelmann, der bereits kurz vor Kriegsausbruch im Pazifik auf der Durchreise in Shanghai weilte und seine Beobachtungen in einem Interview mit der Chronicle wiedergab, ist zum Zwecke der Regelung und Sondierung von Fragen und Problemen in Zusammenhang mit den Displaced Persons nach Shanghai gekommen.

Dieser neuerliche Schritt Mr. Jordans ist fuer unsere Oeffentlichkeit von ganz besonderer Tragweite, die mit Dankbarkeit und Genugtuung zur Kenntnis nimmt, dass sie in Zukunft ueber die soziale Betreuung hinaus auch eine Vertretung haben wird, die sich eine alles umfassende Behandlung ihrer Probleme zur Aufgabe macht, was sich mit den Worten „Weiterwanderung und produktive Niederlassung“ grob umreissen laesst.

Waehrend der Debatte mit den Pressevertretern sprach Mr. Jordan auch von San Domingo,⁵⁸ dem so erwaehnungswerten Verhalten einer kleinen Republik, die bei jeder Fluechtlings-Konferenz eine loebliche Ausnahme-Stellung eingenommen hat und auch neuerdings sich bereit erklaerte, hunderttausend Fluechtlinge aufzunehmen. Das dominikanische Land, meinte Mr. Jordan, ist

57 Beckelman became Assistant Director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (ICR) in 1945. This body was built following the Evian Conference of 1938 to find sanctuaries for Jewish refugees. The ICR was dissolved in 1947.

58 The author refers to the Dominican Republic, its capital being Santo Domingo. The Dominican Republic was at that time a military dictatorship, broadly supported by the United States administration.

wohl wunderschoen, aber es herrscht tropisches Klima, ausserdem waere es notwendig, dass sich unsere europaeischen Menschen dort als Farmer niederlassen, wozu ihnen jede Voraussetzung fehlt. Palaestina kann in diesem Zusammenhang nicht als Beispiel dienen, denn die dortige Umschulung und landwirtschaftliche Betaetigung der Juden ist getragen von einem Idealismus, der in dieser Form nur bei den Einwanderern Palaestinas zu finden ist. Abgesehen davon ist der Lebensstandard der palaestinensischen Juden selbst auf den landwirtschaftlichen Siedlungen ein europaeischer, durchpulst von Kultur und Zivilisation in allen Lebensaeusserungen.

Eines besonderen Hinweises bedarf es noch fuer diejenigen, deren Sehnsucht sich mit den drei Buchstaben |2| USA ausdruecken laesst. Alle Emigranten, die einen richtigen Grund haben nach USA zu gehen, werden die Moeglichkeit zur Einwanderung erhalten. Die Formulare, die zwecks Registrierung beim amerikanischen Konsulat bereits eingereicht wurden, sind bis auf eine einzige Rubrik richtig ausgefuellt. Und zwar handelt es sich in diesem Falle um die Frage der Verwandten in Amerika, wo der Vermerk, ob dieselben amerikanische Buerger sind, nicht unwesentlich ist. Das amerikanische Konsulat orientierte Mr. Jordan, dass es erst nach Bearbeitung des Materials in ca. vier Wochen in der Lage sein wird, die Applikanten vorzuladen. Dies gilt auch fuer die Empfaenger von Affidavits, die sich gleichfalls in Geduld fassen muessen, bis sie vorgeladen werden. Visa werden vorlaeufig nicht ausgegeben werden, erst bis die Transportmittel in genuegendem Ausmass zur Verfuegung stehen werden und dies wird vor dem Fruhjahr nicht der Fall sein. Mr. Jordan zeigte auch ein Telegramm, aus dem hervorging, dass die Geruechte, dass eine Kommission aus Australien nach Shanghai komme, jeder Grundlage entbehren.

Dies und vieles andere, worueber wir bereits in unserer letzten Ausgabe berichtet haben, vermittelte uns die aeusserst interessante Unterhaltung mit Mr. Jordan anlaesslich seiner letzten Pressekonferenz: Ansichten und Hinweise von besonderer Bedeutung, die den Lebensnerv unserer Emigration beruehren und eine ausfuehrliche Wuerdigung verdienen.

ARI

Document 181

UP

March 12, 1946

Newspaper article, in: *The Shanghai Herald*, no. 11, 1.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Refugees keine Feinde.

Weitgehendstes Entgegenkommen der chin. Regierung
Refugees koennen chinesische Staatsbuergerschaft erwerben

New York, 10. Maerz. Gemaess eines Chungkinger Telegramms der New York Times sind die chinesischen Regierungsbestimmungen bezueglich der Wohlfahrt der europaeischen Fluechtlinge in Shanghai in dem Ausmasse modifiziert worden, das die zukuenftigen Aussichten dieser Leute bedeutend verbessert.

Unterredungen in Chungking, denen Beamte des amerikanischen Aussenamtes und der stellvertretende Direktor des Intergovernmental Committees fuer Fluechtlingsfragen, Mr. M. W. Beckelmann [sic], beiwohnten, resultierten in der Liberalisierung der Massregeln, welche letzten Herbst angeordnet wurden und welche die Internierung der Fluechtlinge aus Deutschland und Oesterreich vor ihrer Repatriierung vorsahen. Die Anzahl dieser Fluechtlinge in Shanghai wird auf 20 000 Seelen geschaetzt, von denen die meisten vor dem Jahre 1941 in dieser Stadt eintrafen. Die Regierungsbestimmung, die damals herausgegeben war, besagte, dass alle Fluechtlinge aus Deutschland und Oesterreich repatriiert werden wuerden, es sei denn, sie waeren imstande, in besonderen Faellen eine Regierungserlaubnis fuer ihren weiteren Aufenthalt zu erhalten. Durch das neue Uebereinkommen ist sichergestellt, dass jeder Fall individuell behandelt werden wird. Es wird bona fide Refugees erlaubt werden, in China zu bleiben, wenn ihr weiterer Aufenthalt China zum Nutzen gereicht. Jene, welche die Erlaubnis erhalten, in China zu bleiben, werden die Moeglichkeit erhalten, die chinesische Staatsbuergerschaft zu erwerben. Diejenigen, welchen die Aufenthaltserlaubnis versagt werden sollte, sollen China bei der ersten sich bietenden Gelegenheit verlassen. Weiterhin besagte das Telegramm, dass das Committee fortfahren wird, den Refugees Hilfe zu leisten. Die meisten der Fluechtlinge haben nicht die Absicht, in China zu bleiben. Das Telegramm besagte, dass die Mehrheit von ihnen in andere Laender als Deutschland oder Oesterreich weiterzuwandern beabsichtigt. Viele der Oesterreicher, aber nur einige von den Deutschen, wollen nach Hause zurueckkehren.

Die UNRRA plant diese bei ihrer Repatriierung zu unterstuetzen und das Intergovernmental Committee wird alle Anstrengungen unternehmen, ihnen die Einreiseerlaubnis in andere Laender zu verschaffen und wird ausserdem fuer die Bezahlung ihrer Passagen Sorge tragen.

(UP)

Document 182

*William Deman*⁵⁹ *et. al. to Harry S. Truman (U.S. President)*

October 31, 1947

Typewritten letter (2 pages), included in Wilhelm Deman, „Ein Verlorenes Jahrzehnt, Shanghai 1939–1949. Tagebuchblätter eines Heimatvertriebenen,” after p. 199 (unpaginated). Some words were underlined by typewriter, others typed in wide spacing; the second page contains a typed letterhead saying “To the President of the United States, Page 2, October 31, 1947.”

YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/56C

Prof. William Deman
369 Kwenming Road
Shanghai, October 31, 1947
Honorable Harry S. Truman
President of the United States
1500 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.

Mr. President: –

On behalf of about thousand desperate, Shanghai-trapped Austrian D.P.'s, the undersigned beg to submit a memorandum on a legal possibility of a transfer from the tiny Austrian immigration quota (1413) to the wide-open German Quota (25,957) of this group of D.P.'s, and probably of many more at present stranded in all parts of the world.

These very same refugees, victims of Nazi persecution, have been lawfully admitted to the German Quota by the American Consular Authorities in 1938. They remained under the German-Quota till June 30, 1946, according to the official statement of the Department of Justice, Immigration, and Naturalization, as per evidence mentioned in the enclosed memorandum.⁶⁰

Hence follows that these luckless thousands of Austrian D.P.'s have been on the consular waiting lists these eight years as may be gathered from the enclosed photostat copies and authenticated letters-copies.

On September 23, 1945, the Presidential Proclamation Nr. 2666 separated the Austrian- and German Quotas. The result was that Austrian refugees who, till then, were processed by the U.S. Consulates under the quota of

⁵⁹ About Deman, see ch. 2, n. 53.

⁶⁰ The memorandum and the letters and copies mentioned below are included in Deman's memoir.

Germany, were, all of a sudden, reassigned to the small Austrian Quota, after eight years of futile waiting.

This effect was certainly not intended by said Presidential Proclamation, the more so, as, at that time the D.P. problem was not yet under discussion.

The United States Government, though not having de jure recognized the enforced union between Austria and Germany, has done so “de facto,” thus aiding the victims of Nazi aggression [sic] to immigrate to America.

Up to this date the Austrian Treaty has not yet been concluded. For the purpose of admitting the stranded Austrian D.P.’s from all over the world within the framework of the actual law, it might be assumed that this “de facto” state is still existant [sic].

The undersigned entreat you, Mr. President, to kindly [2] consider the feasibility of temporarily suspending the mentioned Presidential Proclamation Nr. 2666, or amending it respectively, in order to enable the Austrian D.P.’s, registered in the consular waiting lists these eight years under the German Quota, (suddenly transferred to the Austrian quota by officially cancelling all prewar registrations) to legally enter the U.S. where they are anxiously awaited by their sponsors, relatives, and friends.

Respectfully submitted,

Prof. William Deman

Arthur Gottlein

Josef Paunzen

Walter Frischler⁶¹

1 Memorandum

1 Photostat Copy

2 Authenticated letter copies

61 All the undersigned hailed from Vienna. Gottlein (1895–1977) was a successful film actor, director, and editor. In 1939 he left Austria for the Philippines, where he produced movies. The outbreak of the Pacific War forced him to prolong his short visit to Shanghai, remaining from 1941 until the end of the war. In 1949 he returned to Vienna; cf. <<http://www.doew.at/erinnern/fotos-und-dokumente/1938-1945/zu-flucht-in-den-tropen/arthur-gottlein>> (November 14, 2016). Frischler (1909–1982) returned to Vienna in 1948. His family story is included in the M.A. thesis of his grandson, Michael Andreas Frischler, „Little Vienna“ in Shanghai. Auf den Spuren von Melange und Wiener Schnitzel im Paris des Ostens – Eine kultur- und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Betrachtung, Vienna 2009, <http://othes.univie.ac.at/6904/1/2009-08-14_9908480.pdf> (November 14, 2016).

Document 183

Anonymous

February 8, 1946

Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Echo, vol 1, no. 38, 1.

Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Das erste Zertifikat fuer Shanghai

Wie das Palestina Amt der Jewich [sic] Agency im Fernen Osten mitteilt, ist das erste Zertifikat fuer Shanghai angelangt. Der glueckliche Besitzer ist Frau Maragarete [sic] Stein⁶² und ihr 10 [sic] jaehriger Sohn, die das Einreisevisum nach Palaestina im hiesigen Konsulat erhielten nachdem sie alle Formalitaeten erledigt hatten. Dies ist das erste Zertifikat fuer Shanghai seit Kriegsausbruch December 1941.

Frau Stein und Sohn werden Shanghai voraussichtlich Mitte Februar per Flugzeug verlassen, um sich in Palaestina mit Ehemann respektive, Vat[e]r zu vereinigen. Herr Stein ist dort als Chemiker taetig.

62 Margarette Stein and her son Ernst (born 1929) were German Jews, and the 1946 Certificate allowed them to move to Palestine and settle in Jerusalem. Ernst, however, lived for several years in the United States, then studied for the rabbinate at the Leo Baeck College in London and eventually became a rabbi in West Berlin; cf. The International Raoul Wallenberg Foundation (ed.), A Member of the Executive Board of the IRWF Will Be Presented with a Doctor Honoris Causa Degree by the Humboldt University of Berlin, <<http://www.raoulwallenberg.net/news/member-executive-board-irwf/>> (December 1, 2016).

Document 184*Alla Maria Maass*⁶³

1947 (?)

*Typewritten poem, included in Wilhelm Deman, „Ein Verlorenes Jahrzehnt, Shanghai 1939–1949. Tagebuchblätter eines Heimatvertriebenen,“ 202.**YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/56A*GESANG DER 5000

Zehn Jahre standen wir und zehn Minuten
 Im Ufersand, ein heimatloses Heer.
 Der Wangpoo [sic] wälzte seine gelben Fluten
 In das gedächtnislose Meer ...

Zehn Jahre Typhus und Malariaglutun
 Und auf der Point Road winkt ein kühles Grab ...
 Der Wangpoo wälzte seine gelben Fluten
 In das gedächtnislose Meer hinab ...

Und Blut und Tränen trieb der Fluss hinunten
 In den gedächtnislosen Ozean ...
 Das Reich der Sonne, es ging auf und unter.
 Und siehe, es war eitel und war Wahn!

Zehn Jahre standen wir und zehn Minuten,
 Die Letzten der geschlagenen Armee.
 Und wenn wir unsichtbares Blut verbluten ...
 Was schert es die gedächtnislose See??!!

Nur eine Sandspur blieb, die dann die Welle
 in das gedächtnislose Meer mitnahm,

63 This is the pen name of Hans Wilhelm Ferdinand Maass (1915–1978). Deman lists in his memoir's index next to Alla Maria Maass, "Son of Leopold, †L.A. Oct. 27, 78." Leopold Maaß, a successful composer, lived in Berlin before coming to Shanghai with Hans, the elder of his two sons. In 1948 both reached the United States and settled in Los Angeles, where Hans eventually worked as a journalist; cf. Sophie Fetthauer, Leopold Maaß, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, Lexikon, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00003368> (November 25, 2016).

von jenem Volk, das zwischen Nacht und Helle,
in Shanghai – China, einst an dieser Stelle
an einen Frieden glaubte – der nie kam.

Figures



Fig. 1: Paul Komor (center behind the table), the head of the IC, with fellow IC members at a festive gathering of the IC (1938–1942).



Fig. 2: From right: Sir Victor Sassoon, sponsor of the IC and other refugee aid projects, and Ellis Hayim, active member of the CAEJR (c. 1940).



Fig. 3: Boris Topaz was active in the Shanghai Jewish community since 1916. He was involved in the CAEJR and the Polish Refugee community; later on he became chairman of the local ORT and chairman of SAJCA (undated).



Fig. 4: Horace Kadoorie (center), donor and founder of the SJYA School, at the opening of an athletics championship at the SJYA. The picture is taken from *Bilderbericht über die Tätigkeit des CAEJR*, the reception stamp on the report dates is to May 29, 1941.



Fig. 5: Laura Margolis was head of the JDC in Shanghai from 1941 to 1943 (1943).



Fig. 6: Front row from right: Inuzuka Koreshige, Director of the Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs, A. Herzberg, executive manager of the CAEJR, Michel Speelman, chairman of the CAEJR, and Rabbi Meir Ashkenazi of the Russian Jewish community (1939–1942).



Fig. 7: Members of the IC at work in their office at the Cathay Hotel. In 1939, the office was moved to 190 Kiukiang Road (c. 1938–1939).



Fig. 8: Man collecting money for the IC Milk fund. His sign reads: „Wir helfen euch, nun helft uns! Gebt alle für den Komor Milchfond“ (c. 1942–1944).



Fig. 9: Alcock Road camp, located in the former barracks of the Russian detachment of the SVC, opened in 1939; it could accommodate 700 people. Before it was shut down in 1942, it housed the CAEJR office (c. 1939–1942).

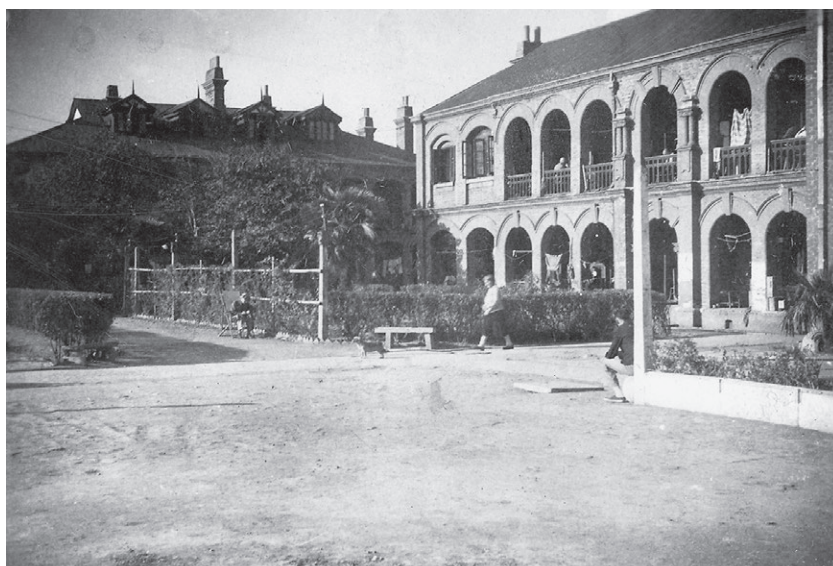


Fig. 10: Chaoufoong Road camp opened in May 1939; the building was a former mission house and could shelter 800 persons (c. 1939–1945).



Fig. 11: Premises of the Pingliang Road camp; it was located on the site of the former Aerocrete Co. Opened in 1939, it accommodated working refugees until it was closed in August 1941 (c. 1939–1941).



Fig. 12: Seward Road camp opened in 1942. It could shelter 1000 refugees and operated the central kitchen, which served daily meals to some 8000 refugees (c. 1942–1945).



Fig. 13: Many refugees in Seward Road camp lived in Quonset huts; families were assigned small rooms (c. 1942–1945).



Fig. 14: Ward Road camp, a former school building, opened in January 1939. It provided room for about 1000 refugees and ran the central kitchen until 1942, serving three daily meals to thousands of refugees not living in refugee camps; photographer: Arthur Rothstein (c. 1939–1945).



Fig. 15: Beth Aharon Synagogue on Museum Road was inaugurated in 1927. The building was demolished in 1985 (c. 1928).

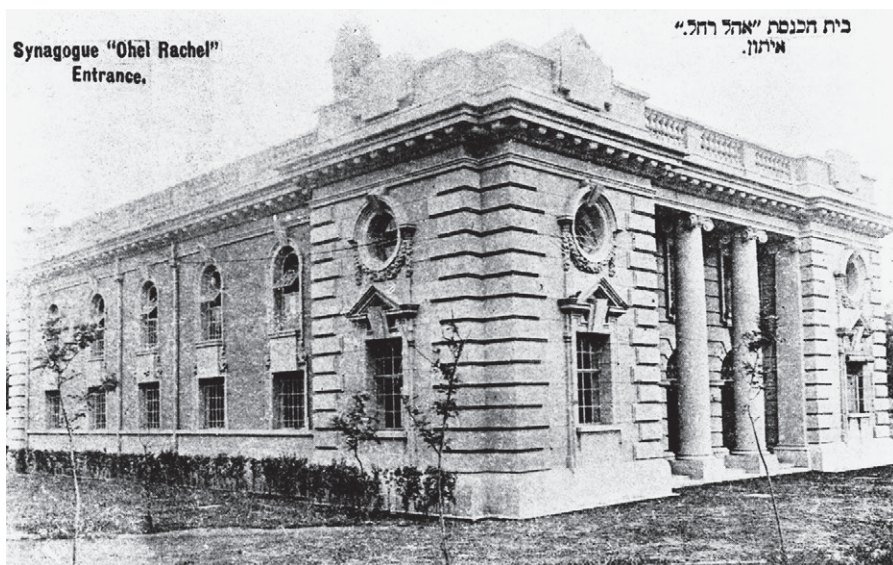


Fig. 16: Ohel Rachel Synagogue on Seymour Road opened in 1921. Today it houses the Shanghai Jewish Museum (undated).



Fig. 17: A multi-purpose room in a refugee camp used as a synagogue (c. 1939–1945).



Fig. 18: Students and teachers of the exiled Mir Yeshivah studying in Beth Aharon Synagogue. In the front row, first from the left: Rabbi Chezkel Lewenzstejn; from the right: Rabbi J. D. Epstein, secretary, Rabbi Chaim L. Szmuelowicz, acting dean (1941).



Fig. 19: The Emigrants' Hospital on Whashing Road opened in January 1939. Previously, it had served briefly as a refugee camp. The hospital provided beds for 60 to 70 adults and 3 children (c. 1939–1945).



Fig. 20: Ward Road Hospital started operating on the premises of Ward Road camp in early 1940 (c. 1940–1945).



Fig. 21: The Maternity Ward was located in Ward Road camp, it opened in 1940 (c. 1940–1945).



Fig. 22: The SJYA School (Kadoorie School) was inaugurated in 1939. First located at 100 Kinchow Road adjacent to the refugee camp, it was moved to 627 East Yuhang Road in 1942 (c. 1939–1942).



Fig. 23: Lucie Hartwich, the principal of the SJYA School and a teacher of maths and French (undated).



Fig. 24: The Shanghai Jewish School began operating in 1903. In 1932, it relocated to a new building on Seymour Road next to the Ohel Rachel Synagogue (1930s).



Fig. 25: The IC Nursery and Children's Home on 494 Tongshan Road was opened in April 1941; it offered day care for children ageing from two to six (c. 1941–1945).



Fig. 26: Point Road Cemetery was inaugurated in November 1941 by the Jüdische Gemeinde after Columbia Road Cemetery turned out too small (c. 1941–1945).



Fig. 27: Entrance of Columbia Road Cemetery, established by the Jüdische Gemeinde in 1940 (c. 1949–1945).



Fig. 28: Market stalls on Yuhang Road. On the right: Gerda Schwerin from Berlin, the then girlfriend of the photographer Horst Eisfelder (undated).



Fig. 29: Jewish refugees walking down Tongshan Road; photographer: Eric Goldstaub (c. 1945).



Fig. 30: German store signs on Chusan Road, the main road of Hongkou (1939).



Fig. 31: The Embankment Building was completed in 1932 as the biggest apartment and office building in Shanghai at that time. The owner, Sir Victor Sassoon, offered a floor to be used as a reception center for some 350 Jewish refugees and for the CAEJR office from 1938 to 1939 (1935).



Fig. 32: The Cathay Hotel opened in 1929 and was one of Sir Victor Sassoon's first real estate projects. Sassoon allocated several rooms for the IC (1929).



Fig. 33: The Viennese restaurant and bar Café Barcelona was located on Avenue Roi Albert in the French Concession until 1943, and thereafter on Chusan Road. The owners, Viktor Tausig and Hugo Fried, sponsored a Jewish soccer team, which took on the café's name (1940–1941).

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