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Rodger Citron*

Preface

When Patricia Salkin became the Dean of Touro College Jacob D. Fuchsberg Law Center (“Touro Law”) in 2012, one of her many ideas for the law school was to hold a conference on the history of the Jews of Shanghai. While teaching Chinese Law at Albany Law School, she developed a relationship with the Law School of the Shanghai University of International Business and Economics (SUIBE). It was during her visits to Shanghai that then-Dean Salkin learned about the Jewish refugees from Germany and other European countries who sought refuge from Nazi Germany in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

Touro Law is part of the Touro College and University System, which was founded under Jewish auspices. As such, Touro Law has an abiding interest in the history of the Holocaust, especially how the law and the legal system in Germany enabled the rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazis. Prior to Dean Salkin’s arrival in 2012, the law school held international conferences on the infamous Wannsee Conference in Berlin, in 2002, and the Nuremberg trials, in 2006. However, never had Touro Law explored the history of the European Jews who found refuge in Shanghai.

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Dean Salkin approached her colleagues at SUIBE. It quickly became apparent that a conference about the Jewish refugees in Shanghai would be of great interest. As Dean Salkin and her team moved forward, they learned about the diverse history—really, histories—of the Jews in Shanghai. Baghdadi Jews came to Shanghai in the nineteenth century and prospered, Russian Jews emigrated in the early twentieth century, and as many as 18,000 Jewish refugees escaped Nazi persecution in the 1930s and 1940s.

After more than a year of work that included extensive collaboration with SUIBE, the conference took place in Shanghai over three days in June 2015. It never is easy to organize a conference. Here the organizational and logistical challenges were all the more difficult because the two schools were more than 7,000 miles apart and in completely opposite time zones! When it was morning in New York, it was evening in Shanghai, and vice versa. Through all of the planning—the extensive correspondence, the international phone calls, the various demands of protocol—SUIBE always was a gracious and generous partner and host.

The conference featured a presentation by Manli Ho, the daughter of Dr. Feng Shan Ho, who had received the title of Righteous Among the Nations, Israel's highest award, for courage in issuing Chinese visas to save Jews from the Shoah while he was the Chinese Consul General in Vienna from 1938 through 1940. Other distinguished scholars gave talks, including Maisie Meyer, Pan Guang, Dan Ben-Canaan, Jonathan Goldstein, Xu Xin, and Steve Hochstadt. Former refugees and others who lived in Shanghai before World War II—Evelyn Pike Rubin, Lotte Marcus, and Liliane Willens—and emigrants' family members—Anne Atkinson—told family histories.

The conference was delightful. It kicked off with an elegant evening reception at the Shanghai Jewish Refugees Museum that drew media reception from television and print journalists in Shanghai. This event combined the feelings of a joyous reunion with respect, even admiration, for the tolerance shown by Shanghai's residents to these various Jewish populations from the nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century. Over the next two days, there were a number of panel sessions at SUIBE. Many of the panelists agreed to publish their papers and graciously worked with Professor Hochstadt, who edited the papers and brought this book to life. Thank you to the authors and the editor, who have assembled a volume that contributes to the scholarly literature in this area and commemorates a fascinating history.

And thank you to Dr. Alan Kadish, President of the Touro College and University System, for his generous support of the publication of this volume.

It takes a village to put on an international conference. Along with Touro Law, the cosponsors were SUIBE, the Center for Jewish Studies Shanghai, the Shanghai Society for People's Friendship Studies, and the Shanghai Jewish Refugees Museum. Conference underwriters and supporters included the Capobianco family, the Jacob D. Fuchsberg law firm, the Herman Goldman Foundation, the Sino-Judaic Institute, and the Florence and Laurence Spungen Family Foundation. Your generous support made this conference possible.

Thank you also to the Conference Planning Committee. It included Vice President Xu Yong-lin, SUIBE; Dean Shoubin Ni and Professor Joan Tang, Law School of SUIBE; Professors Jonathan Goldstein, Pan Guang, Ben Kahn, and Steve Hochstadt; and now-Provost Salkin, Dr. Susan Thompson, Assistant Dean Linda Howard Weissman, and myself, of Touro Law. Although he was not officially a member of the committee, Danny Spungen must be mentioned here for his tireless support of the conference. Finally, thank you to the Israeli Consul General and the US Consulate for advice and support along the way, and to Rabbi Shalom Greenberg at the Chabad in Shanghai, who provided sound advice about working in Shanghai and capably handled all aspects of the conference food needs. Thank you, all of you. Your dedication and hard work enabled the conference to go as planned and to make it look easy.

Introduction

Steve Hochstadt*

How Many Shanghai Jews Were There?

For a brief historical moment, there were more Jews in Shanghai than in any other Asian city. Outside of Europe, the Middle East, and North America, the only cities with more Jews in 1940 were Buenos Aires and Johannesburg.¹ Shanghai was the most exotic and cosmopolitan of them all. This book takes the reader inside three distinct Jewish communities in twentieth-century Shanghai. Baghdadi, Russian, and Central European Jews describe their social and political worlds, all of which vanished after World War II.

Touro Law Center organized an ambitious conference in Shanghai in 2015 about the Jews of Shanghai. Cosponsors were the major local

* Steve Hochstadt taught history at Illinois College in Jacksonville 2006–2016, after teaching at Bates College in Maine for twenty-seven years. He was educated at Brown University: BA 1971, PhD 1983. His research has focused on migration in Germany and on the Holocaust. *Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany 1820–1989* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999) won the Allan Sharlin Prize of the SSHA. *Sources of the Holocaust* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) is an annotated documents collection widely used in Holocaust courses. His grandparents escaped from Vienna to Shanghai in 1939. He has published two books about the flight of Jews from Central Europe to China: *Shanghai-Geschichten: Die jüdische Flucht nach China* (Berlin: Hentrich und Hentrich, 2007) and *Exodus to Shanghai: Stories of Escape from the Third Reich* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). He has consulted with the Shanghai Jewish Refugees Museum on their exhibits, and is treasurer of the Sino-Judaic Institute, supporting scholarship and teaching about Jews in China. He wrote a weekly column for the Jacksonville (IL) Journal-Courier from 2009 to 2018.

1 “Statistics of Jews,” *American Jewish Year Book* (1941–1942): 672–73.

institutions which focus on Jewish history, the Shanghai Jewish Refugees Museum and the Center of Jewish Studies Shanghai, as well as the Shanghai University of International Business and Economics. Bringing together eyewitnesses and scholars for the three Jewish communities demonstrated the conference's broad vision. The experiences of each community connected at least two continents, so their personal histories are also world histories. Every year, there are fewer survivors: this conference may be the last of its kind.

Let's begin by putting the Jewish minorities into their Chinese context. Shanghai was and is one of the world's largest cities, counting over twenty-three million in the last census in 2010. Exactly where Shanghai ranks among large cities depends on varying definitions of city boundaries, urban agglomerations, and metropolitan areas, but Shanghai is certainly near the top of any list. In 1930, Shanghai had three million inhabitants.² That included about 49,000 foreigners. The largest group were Japanese (18,800), followed by British (8450), Russians (7400), and Americans (3150). There were only 1400 Germans at that time, few of them Jews.³ The census did not count people by religion, so it is only possible to estimate the number of Jews.

The first Jews to live in Shanghai came from the Middle East, mostly from the Ottoman Empire, via Bombay, Calcutta, and other South Asian cities. There were probably nearly 1000 Baghdadi Sephardic Jews in the years before World War II.⁴ Maisie Meyer, whose work puts her at the center of the study of the Baghdadi Jews, uses the biographical memories of many members of this community to sketch their hundred-year history. Through her we hear them talk to us directly. A few Baghdadis achieved fantastic wealth, enabling them to help many who came later to Shanghai.

2 *Cambridge Sentinel* 26, no. 35, August 30, 1930, 2.

3 "Census and Population," *Tales of Old China*, 2018, accessed April 9, 2018, <http://www.talesofoldchina.com/shanghai/business/census-and-population>.

4 Maisie Meyer says they "never numbered more than 1,000": "Baghdadi Jews in Early Shanghai," Iraqi Jewish Association of Ontario, 2009, accessed April 9, 2018, <https://ijao.ca/baghdadi-jews-in-early-shanghai/>. David Kranzler says about 700 and notes other sources saying between 500 and 700: Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jews: The Jewish Refugee Community of Shanghai 1938–1945* (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1976), 47, 71, note 29. Gao Bei and Irene Eber estimate the number at 1000: Gao Bei, *Shanghai Sanctuary: Chinese and Japanese Policy toward European Jewish Refugees during World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 63; Irene Eber, *Wartime Shanghai and the Jewish Refugees from Central Europe: Survival, Co-Existence, and Identity in a Multi-Ethnic City* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 1.

In the late nineteenth century, millions of Jews fled antisemitic violence in the Russian Empire to the West. Anne Atkinson and Liliane Willens tell their family stories of travel in the opposite direction. Their ancestors took the Trans-Siberian Railroad eastward out of Russia to Harbin, which at that time housed the largest Jewish community in Asia. Although there was no native antisemitism in China, Russian Jews were not able to escape their tormenters. Non-Jewish Russians who opposed the Communists, the so-called White Russians, also fled to China in large numbers after 1917. Atkinson and Willens describe how their families escaped the hostile attitude of the White Russians and the invading Japanese to the relative safety of Shanghai.

Atkinson focuses on the many long migrations of the Burak family, which originated in eastern Europe, crossed the vast Russian Empire at the beginning of the twentieth century, and settled in Harbin. They soon left to join the Russian Jewish community in Shanghai, where they stayed through World War II. Like too many Jewish families in the mid-twentieth century, they ended up dispersed across the globe, with some branches ending up in Australia, where Atkinson was born. Willens was born in Shanghai and writes about her Ukrainian-Russian family, which also made its way across Russia to Shanghai via Harbin. She and her family came to the United States after World War II.

The Russian Ashkenazic Jews remained quite distinct from the earlier Sephardic Baghdadis. The size of their community can only be roughly estimated. Rena Krasno, born in Shanghai in a Russian family, estimates that there were 500 Russian Jews in Shanghai in 1921, 800 by 1924, and more than 4000 by 1940.⁵ Other scholars offer varying figures for this last date: Kranzler says 4000 to 6000, Gao Bei says 6000 to 8000, Irene Eber “nearly 7000” in one place and 6000 in another.⁶ Among a total of 16,000 Russian emigrants in 1933, Jews were greatly outnumbered by non-Jews.⁷ It is clear that there were many more Russian Jews than Baghdadis, but the Russians were much less likely to be wealthy or to be well integrated into Shanghai high society, dominated by Western businessmen. The overlapping

5 Rena Krasno, *Strangers Always: A Jewish Family in Wartime Shanghai* (Berkeley, CA: Pacific View Press, 1992), 8–10.

6 Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jews*, 57–65; Gao Bei, *Shanghai Sanctuary*, 63; Eber, *Wartime Shanghai and the Jewish Refugees*, 1; Avraham Altman and Irene Eber, “Flight to Shanghai, 1938–1940: The Larger Setting,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 28 (2000): 61.

7 ⁷ Marcia Reynders Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort: The Diaspora Communities of Shanghai* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 72.

patterns and unique particulars of the Burak and Willens families offer us first-person insights into the origins, lives, and ultimate fate of the Russian Jewish community in Shanghai.

Shanghai's largest Jewish community lived there for only about ten years, but the connection to the Holocaust has made the Central and Eastern European Jewish refugees the best known among Shanghai's Jews. The refugees brought little more than a few suitcases. Their stories are both more tragic and more moving. Their survival depended on the aid of the Baghdadi and Russian Jews, supplemented by financial assistance from American Jews.

Jonathan Goldstein and Manli Ho write here about the desperate efforts of German-speaking Jews to find safe haven from deadly Nazi persecution. Goldstein shows how the Philippines appeared to offer sanctuary in 1937, but eventually closed its borders to Jewish refugees. Manli Ho describes how her father, Feng Shan Ho, used his diplomatic position in Vienna to save thousands of Jews, many of whom ended up in Shanghai.

The meaning of living a refugee life comes out of personal stories, told in personal styles. Lotte Marcus and her parents were one of the many Viennese families who survived with one of Ho's visas. She sketches the living conditions that most refugees endured in Shanghai. Evelyn Pike Rubin's father was arrested during *Kristallnacht*. Only her mother's purchase of ship tickets to Shanghai enabled his release, and the family traveled from Breslau (now Wrocław in Poland) to Shanghai on a Japanese ship. Both families lost their fathers in Shanghai and both eventually were able to come to the United States.

My own grandparents were able to escape from Vienna to Shanghai and eventually to come to the United States after the war. I have interviewed about one hundred former refugees, from whom I learned much about their lives and much about life itself. My essay later in this book discusses how hard it was to become a refugee, what it means to write about refugees, and how much solidarity Jews displayed toward fellow Jews in distress.

Professor Xu Xin is the foremost Chinese scholar of Jewish life in China. He provides us with a clear description of the surprising effort of the Chinese government, forced to flee before the Japanese army, trying to find a way to provide a new home for thousands of Jewish refugees. This effort eventually fell through. Yet paired with Manli Ho's description of her father's rescue work, official Chinese attitudes are clearly displayed. Although the Chinese had little power in Shanghai before 1945, their

humanitarian regard for their new Jewish neighbors provided an important context for Jewish survival in Shanghai.

The first refugees came from Germany and Austria, followed by a smaller number from Czechoslovakia, mostly in 1938 and 1939, traveling mainly by ship. After the Nazis invaded Poland in 1939 and then moved further east into the Soviet Union in 1941, Jews from Poland and Lithuania took the Trans-Siberian Railroad across Asia. Many of them spent up to a year in Kobe, Japan, before being shipped by the Japanese to Shanghai in 1941. Because so much attention is currently being paid to the refugees in Shanghai, it is worth outlining the contours of this community as well as numbers can manage. How many Jews escaped the Nazis and made their way to Shanghai? There is no precise answer to that simple question, and published approximations differ widely.⁸ Counting them is made difficult by several circumstances.

A small number were successful in continuing their journey to safer, more desirable places before the Pacific War exploded at the end of 1941. Goldstein notes that 28 of the earliest German refugees to Shanghai managed to get to Manila in September 1937. Adolf Storfer, publisher of the biweekly *Gelbe Post*, an intellectual magazine in Shanghai, from 1939 to 1940, was able to go to Australia in 1941.⁹ Leon Szalet arrived in Shanghai on the “Conte Verde” in 1940, but was able to get a visa and left for the US in October 1941.¹⁰ Jacob Rosenfeld, who arrived in Shanghai after he was released from Buchenwald, joined the Red Army as a field doctor in 1941. Kranzler says that before Pearl Harbor “several hundred” refugees managed to leave Shanghai.¹¹

8 This is not the case only for Shanghai. Leo Spitzer, in *Hotel Bolivia: The Culture of Memory in a Refuge from Nazism* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), 203, note 2, points out the wide spectrum of estimates for German Jewish refugees to Bolivia, ranging from 7,000 to 60,000. Spitzer’s estimate is 20,000.

9 Storfer was evidently one of twelve actors, writers, directors, and journalists who traveled to Australia on an American troop transport “SS Cape Fairweather,” which left Shanghai just before the Japanese took over the city in the wake of Pearl Harbor: “Who Were The Shanghai Twelve?,” *For the Life of Me*, accessed April 9, 2018, <https://forthelifeofme-film.com/2016/06/01/shanghai-12/>. On Storfer, see Christian Pape, “Verdrängt, Verkannt, Vergessen? Ein Beitrag zu Leben und Werken von Adolf Josef Storfer,” in *Chilufim. Zeitschrift für jüdische Kulturgeschichte* 12 (2012): 5–26.

10 Szalet’s papers are housed at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York: Johanna Schlicht, *Guide to the Papers of Leon Szalet (1892–1958), 1914–1996*, accessed April 15, 2018, <http://findingaids.cjh.org/?pID=121455>.

11 Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jews*, 128.

Should these brief sojourners be counted the same as those who spent the war in Shanghai? And how does one count Sonja Mühlberger, born in Shanghai on October 26, 1939, seven months after her parents had fled from Frankfurt am Main?¹² Technically she was not a refugee, but a native of Shanghai. What about other children born in Shanghai who died there, some after only a few days?¹³ Some refugees were defined by the Nazis as Jews, but had converted to Christianity or were not religious at all. Some families who had to leave Germany came from mixed marriages, but their members were not counted separately in Shanghai. When the Japanese government decided to put restrictions on entry of refugees to the part of Shanghai that it controlled, and the other foreign powers represented in the Shanghai Municipal Council immediately followed suit, the definition of “refugee” suddenly became significant. The shipping companies needed to know whom to allow on their ships to Shanghai.¹⁴

Thus assessing precisely how many Jewish refugees came to Shanghai requires arbitrary decisions about the definition of “Jewish refugee.” The number of questionable cases, however, is small compared to the total flood of refugees. Much larger errors in published approximations of the number of Shanghai refugees are caused by careless estimation and deliberate political exaggeration. This can be seen by comparing the numbers given in different types of sources.

Scholars have been fairly consistent in their estimates. David Kranzler was the first serious scholar of the Jewish refugee experience in Shanghai in his 1971 Yeshiva University dissertation, which was published in 1976 as *Japanese, Nazis & Jews: The Jewish Refugee Community of Shanghai, 1938–1945*. His thorough exploitation of available sources led him to estimate that a maximum of 17,000 refugees in Shanghai was reached when 1000

12 Sonja Mühlberger, *Geboren in Shanghai als Kind von Emigranten, Leben und Überleben im Ghetto von Hongkew (1939–1947)*, vol. 58 of *Jüdische Miniaturen* (Berlin: Hentrich und Hentrich, 2006).

13 The list of refugees who died in Shanghai includes three newborns who died in the refugee hospital on December 7, 1944. This tragedy is discussed in my interview with Doris Grey, the head nurse: Hochstadt, *Exodus to Shanghai*, 152.

14 There was considerable correspondence in August to October 1939 among representatives of the Shanghai Jewish community, the Japanese Consulate General, the Shanghai Municipal Council, and shipping companies like Lloyd Triestino about the new restrictive rules for entering Shanghai, especially about the definition of “refugee”: file 73, Prof. Irene Eber Collection about the Fate of Jews in China, Yad Vashem Archives O.78, Jerusalem, Israel.

Eastern European Jews were sent from Kobe to Shanghai in late 1941.¹⁵ Most scholars, including myself, have concurred approximately with this conclusion.¹⁶ That number can also be found in some newspaper articles and websites which discuss the Shanghai refugees.¹⁷

Sometimes the number 20,000 is used as the total of the German-speaking arrivals in Shanghai.¹⁸ Wolfgang Benz, one of the foremost Holocaust historians in Germany, says 25,000.¹⁹ The Wikipedia article about Shanghai's Jewish refugees says 23,000 were forced into the Designated Area in 1941, doubly wrong.²⁰ Such large numbers are frequently encountered in the popular press.

In recent years, the number 30,000 has become common. I believe it was first used by Chinese writers in an effort to draw more attention to the role played by China in providing a safe haven to Jewish refugees when the rest of the world was not welcoming. Perhaps the earliest reference to

15 Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jews*, 146–147, note 34.

16 Hochstadt, *Exodus to Shanghai*, 60; Françoise Kreissler, “Exil in Shanghai: Problematik und Schwerpunktthemen,” in *Deutsch-chinesische Beziehungen vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Heng-yü Kuo and Mechthild Leutner, vol. 19 of *Berliner-China Studien* (Munich: K.G. Saur Verlag, 1991), 294; Elisabeth Buxbaum, *Transit Shanghai: Ein Leben im Exil* (Vienna: Edition Steinbauer, 2008), 8; Gao Bei, *Shanghai Sanctuary*, 3. See also the website of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, which says “17,000 German and Austrian Jews”: “German and Austrian Jewish Refugees in Shanghai,” accessed April 9, 2018, <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007091>. Eber says 18,000 to 20,000: *Voices from Shanghai: Jewish Exiles in Wartime China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 7.

17 Tom Tugend, “Jewish Refugees in Shanghai’ tells story of survival,” *Jewish Journal*, October 16, 2013, discussing an exhibit at UCLA, says “some 20,000 Jews”.

18 Frank Stern, “Wartezimmer Shanghai,” in *Das Exil der kleinen Leute: Alltagserfahrung deutscher Juden in der Emigration*, ed. Wolfgang Benz (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1991), 109–120; Altman and Eber, “Flight to Shanghai, 1938–1940,” 51, 84. An article by Alvin Mars, which appears to have been an undergraduate seminar paper, gives various incompatible numbers: the number who arrived in 1939 was 17,000; 4000 to 6000 arrived after the restrictions were put in place in August 1939; the total exceeded 20,000: “A Note on the Jewish Refugees in Shanghai,” *Jewish Social Studies* 31 (1969): 286–291. See also the website of Shanghai Jewish Center, “Shanghai Jewish History,” accessed April 15, 2018, <http://www.chinajewish.org/SJC/Jhistory.htm>.

19 Wolfgang Benz, “Das Exil der kleinen Leute,” in *Das Exil der kleinen Leute*, 7–37. An early use of that number was by Juliane Wetzell, “Auswanderung aus Deutschland,” in *Die Juden in Deutschland 1933 bis 1945*, ed. Wolfgang Benz (Munich: 1988), 496. Kranzler notes that the number 25,000 was already being “thrown about” in the 1980s “with no basis in fact”: *Japanese Nazis and Jews*, 294, note 24.

20 “Shanghai Ghetto,” *Wikipedia*, accessed April 9, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shanghai_Ghetto.

that number was in 1992 by Pan Guang, the Dean of the Center of Jewish Studies Shanghai at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, and one of the best known Chinese experts on Jews in Shanghai.²¹ He has lectured worldwide and written for many Western publications, consistently using that number.²² Soon 30,000 became the official Chinese estimate.²³ That number was picked up by Western media and repeated countless times, by National Public Radio, TIME, Reuters, the Jewish Journal, and Haaretz.²⁴ As part of the heavy promotion of China's role in the victory over Japan for the 70th anniversary of the end of the war in 2015, this official Chinese number was proclaimed all over the world.

As late as 2015, the Shanghai Jewish Refugees Museum, opened in 2007, employed the number 30,000 on its website.²⁵ At the dedication of a new exhibit in 2014, a wall listing all the names of Jewish refugees listed in the 1944 Japanese census, the Museum referred to "over 18,000." More

21 Pan Guang, "A New Quest for Jewish Refugees in Shanghai during World War II," *SASS Papers* (1992): 363.

22 He repeated that number in "The Central European Jewish Community in Shanghai," in *Reading Asia: New Research in Asian Studies*, ed. Frans Husken Huskin and Dick van der Meij (London: Curzon Press, 2001), 178, and in "Shanghai: a Haven for Holocaust Victims," *Discussion Papers Journal*, vol. 2 of *The Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme* (New York: United Nations, 2012), 65.

23 "Former Jewish refugees revisit Shanghai," *China Daily*, March 27, 2014, accessed April 9, 2018, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/photo/2014-03/27/content_17384167.htm; on CCTV by Li Kun, "Shanghai serving as haven for Jewish refugees during wartime," August 21, 2015, accessed April 9, 2018, <http://english.cntv.cn/2015/08/21/ARTI1440143683868404.shtml>; repeated by Iris Pan Lu of the University of Hong Kong, "Remembering the Pain of 'Others': Reflections on Shanghai Jewish Refugees Museum and Beyond," *Writing the War in Asia—a documentary history*, October 14, 2015, accessed April 9, 2018, https://www.polyu.edu.hk/cc/images/Article/Doc/paper/dissertation/panlu/06_dissertation_PanLu.pdf.

24 Louisa Lim, "Center Revives Shanghai's Jewish History," National Public Radio, June 16, 2006, accessed April 9, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5488614>; Ling Woo Liu, "Shanghai Sanctuary," *TIME*, July 31, 2008, accessed April 9, 2018, <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1828102,00.html>; Royston Chan, "Play tells tale of Jewish refugees in WW2 Shanghai," Reuters, March 28, 2012, accessed April 9, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/china-jewish-shanghai/play-tells-tale-of-jewish-refugees-in-ww2-shanghai-idUSL3E8EN1FK20120323>; Lia Mandelbaum, "The Jewish Refugees of Shanghai," *Jewish Journal*, December 30, 2013, accessed April 9, 2018, http://jewishjournal.com/latest_blogs/125658/the-jewish-refugees-of-shanghai; "New Database Gathers Tales of Shanghai's Holocaust Refugees," *Haaretz*, June 6, 2008, accessed April 9, 2018, <https://www.haaretz.com/whdcMobileSite/1.4989120>.

25 Accessed August 11, 2015, <http://www.shanghaijews.org.cn/English>.

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