

Towards Positive Historiography of Japan's Jewish Policies in Wartime Shanghai: Two Samples of Primary Sources Analysis

Yakov Zinberg*
Kenji Kanno**

Supporting Aviezer Tucker's definition of historiographic revision, the authors seeks to contribute to evidence-driven revision by adding the as-yet poorly examined evidence to the existing pool of data related to the area of Jewish East Asian studies.¹ Specifically, introduced are a (1) correspondence package covering contacts mostly between Shanghai-based Jewish refugees organizations and the American Jewish Distribution Committee (late Summer/Fall 1940) and (2) Prof. Kenji Kanno's (Tokyo University of Science) full text address at the October 2019 International Symposium to Mark the Inauguration of the International Advisory Board for Shanghai Jewish Refugee Museum which was held in Shanghai.

1. Joseph Schulhof, a Jewish refugee from Czechoslovakia, who found himself in the city of Tianjin (China) in 1940, recalls that the local Jewish community was affluent and well-organized, with no Jews "left without food", a place to live or some kind of work. Soon after his arrival Joseph was elected a member of the Presidium of the local Hebrew Association which consisted of seven people and was a major governing body of the Jewish community.²

Joseph relates that in August 1944 the Presidium received a message from Japanese Garrison Commander of Beijing asking all the members to gather for a lunch hosted by a

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1 Tucker, Aviezer. *Historiographic Revision and Revisionism. The Evidential Difference. Past in the Making. Historical Revisionism in Eastern Europe after 1989*, Michal Kopecek (ed.), 1-15, Budapest New York: CEU Press, 2008.

2 Joseph Schulhof, USC VHA, Interview Code: 24945, Born Cesky Brod, 1903; interviewed NY/USA, 1 /21/1997.

certain Japanese officer who asked the Presidium to reward Japanese authorities, which, as he said, had treated the Jews well, by addressing their "Jewish brethren" in America and Switzerland and appealing to promote peace between Japan and the United States. The officer referred to Jews as "powerful" and capable of putting relevant pressure. The Presidium members were puzzled and in effect did nothing in particular to please the officer.

According to Joseph, on yet another occasion earlier, Japanese military authorities warned the Tientsin community that the Germans were forcing them to build "gas chambers" in central China, which they were reluctant to do. However, the authorities demanded the Jews to "show a good face" by means of collecting gold and platinum in support of Japan's war efforts and passing that over to them. The Jews did gather a decent amount of gold and platinum, according to Joseph, and were told to forget about the "gas chambers" threat.³

A Jewish hostage in East Asia, Joseph hardly knew that on December 2, 1941, 6 days before the Pearl Harbor attack by the Imperial Japanese Navy Air Service, a Nazi Radio in Prague announcer, Colonel Emanuel Moravec, warned that "when the Fuehrer assumed power he only had to deal with 800,000 Jews as compared with the 8,000,000 who are now under his control; this will, however, not weaken his determination to eliminate all Jews from Europe".⁴

Similarly, a military expert on Jewish affairs, yet another believer in Jewish ubiquitous power, Japanese Navy Captain, Inuzuka Korishige, in August 1940 exerted enormous pressure on the Jewish community of Shanghai. On September 9, 1940, the "Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai" leaders, including its Chairman, M. Speelman, addressed the Secretary of the American Jewish Distribution Committee (JDC), based in New York, with a letter No, 17, informing about a request made by the "Head of the Japanese Naval Landing Party" in Shanghai, Captain Inuzuka, through the agency of one of Japan's Vice-Consuls. The request was to send the following-

3 Ibid.

4 Reported by JTA. Jewish Telegraphic Agency: <https://www.jta.org/1941/12/02/archive/hitler-keeps-800000-jews-as-hostages-for-jewish-behavior-in-america-britain> (Accessed December 19, 2019) .

telegram to several New York-based Jewish organizations:⁵

"WE ARE GREATLY INDEBTED TO THE JAPANESE AUTHORITIES IN SHANGHAI WHICH ARE DESPITE THE DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES ARISING OUT OF THE PRESENT HOSTILITIES GRANTING ADMISSION AND SYMPATHETIC TREATMENT TO A LARGE NUMBER OF JEWISH REFUGEES FROM EUROPE. LEST UNFRIENDLY INFLUENCE BE EXERTED UPON THE AUTHORITIES WHO ALLOWED THE MAXIMUM OF FREEDOM WHICH TENS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES NOW ENJOY UNDER THE JAPANESE PROTECTION IN THE FAR EAST AS A RESULT OF THE POLICY BEING PURSUED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN WASHINGTON VIS A VIS AMERICAN EXPORT TRADE TO JAPAN INCLUDING A FEW ITEMS OF GOODS ESSENTIAL TO JAPAN WE CALL UPON OUR BROTHERN IN AMERICA TO CONSIDER THE SERIOUSNESS OF THIS SITUATION AND TAKE WHATEVER STEPS WITHIN THEIR POWER FOR OUR COMMON CAUSE ANXIOUSLY AWAITING YOUR REPLY....."

The request implied multiple telegrams sent by various Shanghai-based Jewish organizations, while the New York-based organizations were specified as follows:⁶

**American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Jewish Committee
American Zionist Organization
American New Zionist Organization
American Jewish Labor Committee**

However, on August 15 the Committee addressed Captain Inuzuka directly and rejected his request, referring to the fact that the Committee was merely a "philanthropic body".⁷

Captain Inuzuka's reply dated August 27, 1940, contained an unspecified threat:⁸

5 *Jewish Joint Distribution Com.* N.d. Records of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, 1938-1947. U.S. National Archives. *Archives Unbound*. Web. 16 Nov. 2019. <<http://go.gale.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/gdsc/i.do?&id=GALE%7CSC5100471676&v=2.1&u=monash&it=r&p=GDSC&sw=w&viewtype=fullcitation>>. Gale Document Number: SC5100471676

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid. The term "Jewish Gemainde" implies Shanghai-based "Jewish Community of Central European Jews"; JDC File 460: NY AR3344 Count 07 00974.

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 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.

Nevertheless, in reply the Committee continued to decline the request to send the telegram, promising only as follows:⁹

"In conclusion I wish to inform you that my Committee will write to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee by airmail informing them of your friendly attitude to our people."

On September 9, Chairman Speelman did send a brief cable addressed to the Secretary of the JDC, indicating as promised that:¹⁰

We have pleasure in drawing your attention to the fact and wish to place on record that the Japanese Authorities have always made it a point to treat our refugees who are residing in Hongkew, in a very sympathetic and humane manner, which is greatly appreciated.

However, on October 10, 1940, several Shanghai-based Jewish organizations did appeal to the JDC, seeking further action favoring Inuzuka's request:¹¹

9 *Jewish Joint Distribution Com.* N.d. Records of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, 1938-1947. U.S. National Archives. *Archives Unbound*. Web. 16 Nov. 2019.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.; JDC File 460; NY AR3344 Count 07 00940.

INCOMING CABLE

SHANGHAI

OCTOBER 10, 1940

8854

NBB 599 VIA RCA - F SHANGHAI 168 SSTC 167 1/50 OCT 9
NLT AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE
EAST FORTY SECOND ST. NYK

PLEASE SEND COPIES FOLLOWING ORGANIZATIONS AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN ZIONIST ORGANIZATION AMERICAN NEW ZIONIST ORGANIZATION AMERICAN JEWISH
CONGRESS AMERICAN JEWISH LABOUR COMMITTEE FULSTOP WE ARE GREATLY INDEBTED TO THE
JAPANESE AUTHORITIES IN SHANGHAI WHICH ARE DESPITE THE DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES
ARISING OUT OF THE PRESENT HOSTILITIES GRANTING ADMISSION AND SYMPATHETIC
TREATMENT OF A LARGE NUMBER OF JEWISH REFUGEES FROM EUROPE LEST UNFRIENDLY
INFLUENCE BE EXERTED UPON THE AUTHORITIES WHO ALLOWED THE MAXIMUM OF FREEDOM
WHICH TENS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES NOW ENJOY UNDER THE JAPANESE PROTECTION
IN THE FAREAST AS A RESULT OF THE POLICY BEING PURSUED BY THE STATE OF
DEPARTMENT IN WASHINGTON VIS - AVIS AMERICAN EXPORT TRADE TO JAPAN INCLUDING
A FEW ITEMS OF GOODS ESSENTIAL TO JAPAN WE CALL UPON OUR BRETHERN IN AMERICA
TO CONSIDER THE SERIOUSNESS OF THIS SITUATION AND TAKE WHATEVER WITHIN THEIR
POWER FOR OUR COMMON CAUSE ANXIOUSLY AWAITING YOUR REPLY

SHANGHAI ASHKENAZI JEWISH COMMUNAL ASSOCIATION
SHANGHAI ZIONIST ASSOCIATION NEW ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

On October 21, 1940, Harold Linder, the JDC Board of Directors and Executive Committee member, proceeded to direct all the correspondence received from Shanghai to Robert Pell, the U.S. Department of State Division of European Affairs Assistant Chief, writing in particular as follows:¹²

12 *Jewish Joint Distribution Com.* N.d. Records of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, 1938-1947. U.S. National Archives. Archives Unbound. Web. 16 Nov. 2019. In 1938 Pell was assigned to serve as the Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees Vice-Director, representing the United States. See: <https://history.state.gov/historical-documents/frus1941v01/d444.3>

In addition, you will find herein a copy of a cablegram sent to us on October 9th by Shanghai Jewish organizations who, apparently, had no choice but to succumb to the pressure of the Japanese naval authorities there. However, the Joint Distribution Committee does not find it necessary to transmit this to the organizations to which they requested that it be sent.

On October 26, 1940, Robert Pell thanked Harold Linder and mentioned that he had brought the correspondence "to the attention of those who are most interested".¹³

The text of Captain Inuzuka's letter dated August 27, 1940, was received by British Consul-General in Shanghai, A. H. George, from Ellis Hayim of the "Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai". On September 5, 1940, A.H. George proceeded to send a despatch No. 576 to His Majesty's Principal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, containing both the full text of Inuzuka's letter and Consul-General's comments.¹⁴ Calling Captain Inuzuka "sinister" and referring to the August 27 letter, A.H. George mentioned "thinly veiled threats" with the purpose to make the Committee reconsider their rejection to accept an offer "that the Jewish community should express their recognition of the Japanese benevolence to Jewry in the form of the suggested telegram to the American government".¹⁵ A.H. George also mentioned a growing number of new arrivals of Jewish refugees from Germany and the easiness of obtaining relevant visas from the Japanese Embassy in Berlin, adding that it could be "part of the policy of the Japanese to encourage the settlement in their particular sphere of influence in Shanghai of these refugee emigrants, who by force of circumstances are particularly susceptible to insidious Japanese propaganda".¹⁶

13 Ibid.

14 "Situation in Shanghai: occupation by British troops. British investments in Canton consular district. International peace campaign conference at Allahabad. Blockade of China coast: discrimination against and detention of British ships" (Government Papers, The National Archives, Kew, 1940) . Accessed [December 23, 2019]. http://www.archivesdirect.amdigital.co.uk.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/Documents/Details/FO_371_24684

15 Ibid. Inuzuka's letter implied appeals to private Jewish organizations.

16 Ibid. For analysis of A.H. George's despatch see Eber, Irene. *Wartime Shanghai and the Jewish Refugees from Central Europe: Survival, Co-Existence, and Identity in a Multi-Ethnic City*. Berlin/Boston; Walter de Gruyter, 2012, pp. 103-106.

However, Inuzuka's plans for the Jewry under his supervision appear to have been of a wider scope still, reminiscent as they are of Col. Emanuel Moravec's radio announcement. Speaking on October 28, 1939, in Tokyo at a meeting of Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs "Muslim-Jewish Affairs Committee" (回教及び猶太問題委員会), formed in April 1938, Captain Inuzuka related that about ten thousand Jews placed under the Japanese administration in Shanghai were "a sort of hostages" in relation to world Jewry at large and could be used by Japan as a "trump card" in negotiations with Jewish leaders¹⁷. Moreover, according to Inuzuka in reference to Germany's invasion of Poland, serving Japan's interests was, in particular, the fate of three and a half million Polish Jews which had to be followed with the utmost attention.¹⁸ An opposing viewpoint is expressed in a monograph written by Captain Inuzuka's wife, Inuzuka Kyoko, who in particular mentions Inuzuka's decisive role in helping Mir Yeshiva escape from Lithuania in 1940.¹⁹

Opposing views on the Jewish issue are no longer limited to Japan proper, increasingly turning into an integral ingredient of "history wars" involving East Asian neighboring countries, with the People's Republic of China²⁰ and Japan standing out as the major contestants.²¹ It is in this particular context that Prof. Kenji Kanno's address at the October 2019 International Symposium to Mark the Inauguration of the International Advisory Board for Shanghai Jewish Refugee Museum is highly meaningful and promising:

17 Bando, Hiroshi. 十五年戦争（1931-1945）における日本政府・軍のユダヤ人政策（Jewish Policies of the Japanese Government and Army during the Fifteen Years War）. *Sundai Shigaku* (Sundai Historical Review) No. 116, August 2002, p. 57. Language: Japanese.

18 Ibid.

19 Inuzuka, Kyoko. 海軍・犬塚機関の記録。ユダヤ問題と日本の工作（*Records of the Navy Inuzuka Unit. Jewish Problem and Japan's Policy*）. Tokyo: Nihon Kogyo Shinbunsha, 1982, pp. 267-270. Language: Japanese.

20 For the latest review of Chinese research see Pan, Guang. *A Study of Jewish Refugees in China (1933-1945) History, Theories and the Chinese Pattern*. Shanghai: Springer, 2019.

21 In October 2019, Yakov Zinberg presented a paper, devoted to the evolution of "history wars" in East Asia in reference to Jewish regional presence, at International Workshop on the premises of Tamkang University College of International Studies in New Taipei City (Taiwan) . See: http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/268275?fbclid=IwAR_1fIgd-yC_4ls_AULq_2Jky_3FXuPOLxIWKmx_8O_0nbjIX_5V-qfYPRz-xolIgHk For the author's oral interview in Russian listen to Radio Taiwan International at <https://ru.rti.org.tw/radio/programMessageView/id/58295> and <https://ru.rti.org.tw/radio/programMessageView/id/58327>

2. "Perspectives for an integral and multinational study on Jewish refugees in wartime Japan and Shanghai"²²

It is my great honor to be here as one of the inaugural members of the Shanghai Jewish Museum international Advisory Board.

In 2016, a fortunate coincidence allowed me to make acquaintance, in Melbourne and Sydney, Australia, of two former Jewish refugees of Polish origin, Maria Kamm and Marcel Weyland — these marvelous sister and brother with unspeakable human warmth — who experienced wartime Japan and Shanghai.²³

Maria, Marcel, their parents (Michal and Estera Weyland), elder sister (Halina) and brother-in-law (Boleslaw Jakubowicz)²⁴ were living in Lodz, Poland, before World War II. They left Lodz at the very beginning of the German invasion in September 1939, and reached Vilnius, Lithuania. There, they were granted ‘Sugihara visas’ at the Japanese consulate in Kaunas in August 1940 and set out on their journey to the Far East, via Siberia, in February 1941.

In March 1941, the Japanese steamship *Amakusa-maru* took two nights to take them from Vladivostok to Tsuruga, Fukui Prefecture. From Tsuruga port, they were transferred to Kobe. They spent six months there, during which the ‘Jew Com Kobe’, operated by local Russian Jewish immigrants, ad-



Maria Kamm (1920-2019)



Marcel Weyland (born in 1927)

22 This paper is based on the presentation scripts of Kenji Kanno's speech at the Inauguration of Shanghai Jewish Museum international Advisory Board & International Symposium “Jewish Refugees in Shanghai: Research and Historical Memory Sharing” (October 23, 2019 at Sheraton Hongkou Hotel, Shanghai) and my special lecture: “Invitation to ‘Marylka Project’, an international historical and artistic project on Jewish refugees in wartime Japan and Shanghai” (October 24, 2019 at Ohel Moshe Synagogue in Shanghai Jewish Refugees Museum).

23 By courtesy of Anne Freadman, professor at University of Melbourne, and Susan Hearst, daughter of Maria Kamm.

24 Father of Andrew Jakubowicz, professor at the University of Technology Sydney. Special thanks go to Andrew Jakubowicz for having accepted my interview in Sydney, August 2016.

ministrated their refugee life in Japan. And in September 1941, with an order from the Japanese authorities, which could no longer retain foreign residents in the pre-Pearl Harbor context, they were transferred to Shanghai, which had been under the Japanese military rule for four years.

Marylka Project

In 2016, in Melbourne and Sydney, I heard all these stories directly from Maria and Marcel. And from the beginning, I had a sort of hunch that the meaning of this encounter would be far beyond the range of simple academic accounts that I was destined to write. My inner voice whispered to me instead that all their stories must be rendered in a visual and artistic manner, because, not only their words, but also each of their physical expressions, were there to address all of our five senses.

Back in Japan, while I applied for a research grant from Japan Society of Promotion of Science, I searched for a movie director who might take interest in this story. There also, fortune smiled on me: I met an energetic documentary movie director, Mirai Osawa, with whom I launched a project of history and art: 'Marylka Project', named after the Polish name of our heroine. And soon later, we had contact with the German composer and pianist, Henning Schmiedt, living in Berlin, who showed himself willing to support the project with his musical contribution.

At present, a film work and an installation project are in progress, with the participation of a historian Yakov Zinberg (professor at Kokushikan University, Japan) , an Australian artist and researcher Rachel Walls (Charles Sturt University) , a New York-based artist, Keiko Miyamori and a Japanese producer Kiyoshi Sekiguchi. The film work foreseen to be 60-70 minutes is due to March 2020, and the installation, featuring Keiko Miyamori's artwork with handmade *washi* (Japanese paper) , is planned for May 2020.²⁵

The actual number and the nominal list of Jewish refugees

After having thus presented our joint project of history and art, I would like to outline the outcome of my historical investigation and pass some remarks on the difficulties that I am facing in promoting my project, especially for its Shanghainese part, and call for advice and cooperation from all of you present here.

The first research result that I can report to you today is the actual number of Jewish refugees who reached Japan in 1940-41, with their nominal list that I have established on

25 For more information on the project, see the website: <https://marylka-project.com/>

the basis of firsthand documents.

It goes without saying that Maria, Marcel and their family were a mere six people among those who came to Japan as Jewish refugees. Parallel to my research on Weyland-Jakubowicz family's itinerary, I tried to determine the real scale, the outer frame, of this historical incident of Jewish refugees in wartime Japan. And based on different contemporaneous documents, *inter alia* the archives of Joint Distribution Committee in New York, I just finished the first version of the nominal list of Jewish refugees.

These are the first two pages of my almost 200-page list (see below) . Its first version is already donated to the National Diet Library of Japan²⁶. So, it is public today. But for the digital file that I have uploaded on the website of Marylka Project, I censored the names and other personal information, out of concern for privacy. I learned through my own experience that all the former Jewish refugees and their relatives around the world do not necessarily wish the public to know that they or their relatives were Jewish refugees in the past. Not everyone in the world is necessarily as willing as Maria and Marcel to talk about their past. Many people today seem to forget this fundamental point, but I personally think it is the first care that we must take in our historical research.

To be succinct, according to my statistical investigation, the total number of Jewish refugees who reached Japan in 1940-41 is around 4,500. Among them, approximately the half were of German nationality, and the other half, of Polish nationality. There were also those of Lithuanian nationality, but relatively few. Among these 4,500 men and women, approximately 1,800 — namely a bit more than the third — were holders of Sugihara visas issued in Kaunas, Lithuania.

26 Kenji Kanno, *Tracing the footsteps of the Jewish refugees who sojourned in wartime Japan and Shanghai: a transboundary and multilateral research. Interim Report (1) : List of the refugees and their actual number*, 2019.

LEGEND:

- the a-visa to Japan affected
- the a-visa to Japan not affected
- the a-visa
- direct visa from VAW sent to Shanghai
- the a-visa to Vancouver affected, but not to Japan nor Shanghai
- (a) = a-visa issued in USSR

LEGEND:

- the end v is obtained before Sugihara V is
- the end v is obtained after Sugihara v is

Based on the data as of October 31,

Holders of Japanese Transit Visas issued by Chiune Sugihara in Kaunas

No.	Sex	Family Name	First Name	Birth Date	Place of Birth	Religion	Profession	Education	Residence	Company (C) (B, ems, Agst)
1	Male			1907/03/22	USA					
2	Male			1907/03/22	USA					
3	Male			1907/03/22	USA					
4	Male			1907/03/22	USA					
5	Male			1907/03/22	USA					
6	Male			1907/03/22	USA					
7	Male			1907/03/22	USA					
8	Male			1907/03/22	USA					
9	Male			1907/03/22	USA					
10	Male			1907/03/22	USA					
11	Male			1907/03/22	USA					
12	Male			1907/03/22	USA					
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44	Male			1907/03/22	USA					
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46	Male			1907/03/22	USA					
47	Male			1907/03/22	USA					
48	Male			1907/03/22	USA					
49	Male			1907/03/22	USA					
50	Male			1907/03/22	USA					

Date of Arrival in Japan	Departure Date from Japan	Destination	Ship	Port of Origin	Port of Destination	Remarks	Ref. No.
1941/03/01							1
1941/03/01							2
1941/03/01							3
1941/03/01							4
1941/03/01							5
1941/03/01							6
1941/03/01							7
1941/03/01							8
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1941/03/01							49
1941/03/01							50

Around the number of those who were ‘saved’ by Sugihara visas, there has been a variety of estimations inside and outside Japan, from 6,000 to more than 10,000 depending on historians and writers. Through my research based on first-hand documents, however, I was led to conclude that it was less than 2,000 people.

Here, incidentally, I would like to add that this much smaller number of ‘Sugihara survivors’ than it has been longtime said, never suggests a lower opinion of Sugihara’s act, nor of a series of other personalities in various positions, who made efforts to make Sugihara visas effective for the refugees. I insist on this point in the honor of these people.

Related to Shanghai, my statistic research tells that around 1,200 people left Japan for Shanghai in the summer and autumn of 1941, including the Weyland-Jakubowicz family. These estimated 1,200 people constitute today a historical bond between Kobe and Shanghai, between Japan and China, although we ought not to forget other estimated 20,000 Jewish refugees, mostly from Germany and its occupied territories, who came to Shanghai by the Southern route, via Indian Ocean.

Jewish refugees in Japanese newspapers

For all kind of historical research on the modern and contemporary era, searching in old newspapers should constitute the first step of investigation. Surprisingly however, no

one before me had conceived this work in a thorough and systematic way (except for *Kobe Journal* already largely explored by Martin Kaneko²⁷ and the Centre of Archives of the City of Kobe²⁸).

I achieved this search and collected a great deal of interesting information from *Fukui Shinbun* (Fukui News), on the arrival of Jewish refugees from Vladivostok to Tsuruga port²⁹, *Kanmon Nichi Nichi Shinbun* (Shimonoseki and Moji Daily News), on the arrival of those who passed through Manchukuo and Korean peninsula³⁰, and *Tairiku Shinpo* (Continental News), published in Shanghai for the local Japanese residents, on the arrival and daily life of Jewish refugees in Shanghai under the Japanese military rule³¹.

You see here, for instance, the top page of this Japanese paper in Shanghai on February 18th, 1941, the day the establishment of the ‘Designated Area for Stateless Refugees’ was declared by the local Japanese military authorities.

I do not know if similar search has already been done for Chinese newspapers of the same period. If not yet, I strongly wish a Shanghai scholar to tackle this work, enabling a comparative study between Japanese press and Chinese press.



27 金子マーティン 『神戸・ユダヤ人難民 1940-1941』、みずのわ出版、2003年。

28 神戸市紀要 『神戸の歴史』 第26号、2017年。

29 菅野賢治 「『福井新聞』に見る戦時期日本へのユダヤ難民到来—第一部：1940年」、神戸・ユダヤ文化研究会 『ナマール』 第22号、2018年；「『福井新聞』に見る戦時期日本へのユダヤ難民到来—第二部：1941年」 神戸・ユダヤ文化研究会 『ナマール』 第23号、2019年。

30 菅野賢治 「『閩門日日新聞』に見る戦時期日本へのユダヤ難民到来—1938年11月～1940年8月」、近刊予定。

31 菅野賢治 「『大陸新報』に見る戦時期上海のユダヤ社会（1）1939年1～4月」 『東京理科大学紀要（教養編）』 第51号、2019年；「『大陸新報』に見る戦時期上海のユダヤ社会（2）1939年5～8月」 『東京理科大学紀要（教養編）』、近刊。

JDC archives

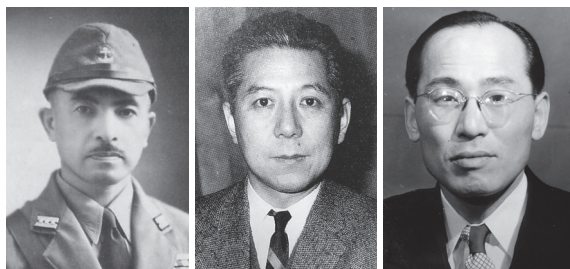
Last January, in New York, I visited the headquarter of the American Jewish Distribution Committee, more often called JDC or Joint. And I highly appreciated the longtime efforts that JDC had made for the conservation of their archives. Limited to wartime Japan, there are more than 2,600 pieces of archive, in PDF file, accessible on the spot in the JDC archive library.

As it is today well known, the JDC strongly backed two pre-existing Jewish communities in Japan in 1940-41: the one in Tokyo and Yokohama, formed by German Jews, and the other in Kobe, formed principally by White Russian Jews. Through the JDC archives, we can see, in the details, from day to day, the reality of relief activities performed by the two Jewish local communities in Japan (See the photo of the members of Jew Com Kobe, headed by its president Samuel Ewanoffsky and vice-president Anatole Ponevejski) . As for Shanghai, the relief activities performed by the local agent of JDC, Laura Margolis, is relatively well known. But I presume an exhaustive study on the JDC's relief operation for Jewish refugees in Shanghai is still to come, through a thorough investigation into JDC archives on Shanghai, which are conserved much more massively than those concerning Japan, at the JDC headquarter in New York.



In search of the descendants of Japanese 'key-persons' in Shanghai Jewish history

This chapter of my research will have been my biggest contribution to Shanghai Jewish history. For the last three years, I have tried to contact, by every imaginable means, the descendants of the Japanese 'key-persons' and for now, I have succeeded in getting in touch with the family members of these eight personalities:



Koreshige Inuzuka

Mitsugi Shibata

Taiji Takashima

Koreshige Inuzuka (1890-1965) , head of the Special Investigation Department in the Japanese Naval Attaché's Office in Shanghai from 1938 to March 1942.

Mitsugi Shibata (1910-1977) , member of Saneyoshi's Investigation Department.

Taiji Takashima (1919-2011) , Germanist, dispatched to the headquarter of Japanese Army in Shanghai, as interpreter officer.

Toshiro Saneyoshi (1890-1965) , successor of Inuzuka at the head of Special Investigation Department in the Japanese Navy. It is he who conducted the establishment



Toshiro Saneyoshi



Tsutomu Kubota



Masahiko Sekiya

of the ‘Designated Area for Stateless Refugees’ in February 43.

Tsutomu Kubota (1910-1977) , subordinate of Saneyoshi. And after the departure of Saneyoshi in June 43, who became the head of the Office of Stateless Refugees Affairs’.



Kano Goya

Masahiko Sekiya (1904-1994) , second subordinate of Saneyoshi. He was a Christian. And after the departure of Saneyoshi, he resigned from the Refugee Office and taught Christian theology at Saint John’s University, Shanghai.

Kano Goya (1901-1983) , official of the Office of Stateless Refugees Affairs.

Shigeo Okura (1909-2005, without photo) , another official of the Office.

These last two personalities are particularly well-known in Shanghai Jewish history for the brutality in their work of maintenance of discipline in the Designated Area.

Here, among many other things, I must admit a historiographical negligence on the part of Japanese researchers. This is a highly curious phenomenon and I always wonder the reason without finding the final answer, but Japanese historians sometimes seem to me to have been, as it were, ‘self-alienated’ from their own history of Japan.

In the specific case of Shanghai Jewish history and the Japanese commitment to it, almost all the names of these eight personalities that I just mentioned can be seen in the pioneering book by David Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis & Jews* (1976) , as well as in the semi-fictional book by Marvin Tokayer and Mary Schwarz, *Fugu Plan* (1979) . Nevertheless, not a single Japanese historian or writer has ever tried to find these people themselves in order to verify the historicity of what was said about them in the writings of international authors.

I deeply regret this, because at the end of 1970’s, when Krazler’s work was published, more than the half of these people were still alive. We could have collected their direct testimonies on the Shanghai period. In 2016, when I myself started this research, it was too late. Not only had they all passed away, but their direct off-spring, sons or daughters, too, had passed on, or were old and in poor health, preventing interview.

How and in which phase of Jewish life in Shanghai, were each of these eight people engaged? It would be too long and too complicated to be explained here. I will achieve this work one by one in my future writings.

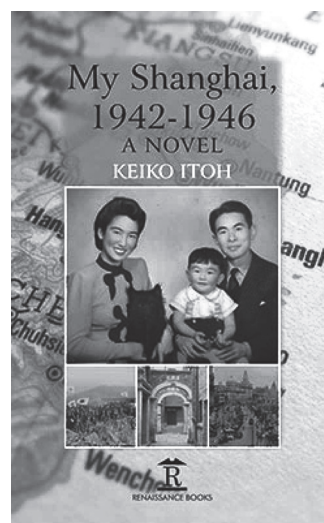
Discovery of Saneyoshi documents

I have just said that most of my efforts to trace the aftermath of these Japanese 'key-persons' were found out to be too late to obtain direct testimonies for the historiography. Nevertheless, there was the exceptional and miraculous case of the Naval captain Saneyoshi.

How did I miraculously succeed in excavating the personal documents of captain Saneyoshi, directly deriving from his Shanghai period? One day, in 2016, I was home, around a lunch table with my family, including my mother-in-law. Quite accidentally, I hit upon the idea of asking my mother-in-law this question: 'Mother, don't you happen to have an old friend who experienced wartime Shanghai in their youth?' She replied: 'Ah, it must be Keiko *chan*. She has just published a book on her parents' Shanghai life during the war. She gave me a copy when we met last time.'

It is thus that I knew the book by Keiko Itoh, titled *My Shanghai 1942-46*. Keiko Itoh is a London-based historian, and her father was the Shanghai branch office manager of the ITOCHU Corporation during the war. Keiko herself was born in Japan after the war, but her parents and elder brother spent four years in wartime Shanghai. *My Shanghai* is a novel in form of a diary attributed to Keiko's mother. The story itself is a fiction, but its background and some characters are based on historical facts.

I borrowed the book from my mother-in-law. I read it and highly admired its style and conception. More than that, I was stunned to see that the Naval captain Saneyoshi appeared in the book as a close friend of Keiko's parents. I had known through other historical works that Saneyoshi was the person in charge, at the time, of establishment of the Des-

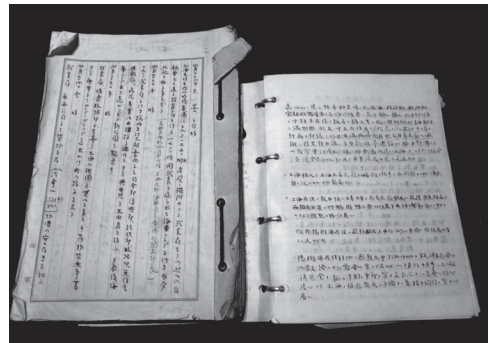


ignated Area for Stateless Refugees in Shanghai. I immediately wrote to Keiko Itoh, requesting information about Saneyoshi. She wrote to me back and informed me that, several years before, to write this book, she had succeeded in contacting Saneyoshi's third daughter and interviewing her. Keiko gave me the address of the third daughter of Saneyoshi. I wrote to her at once, but only to know, from her daughter, namely the grand-daughter of Saneyoshi, that the mother was already too aged to be interviewed. But the grand-daughter kindly promised to notify me if she found any documents in the house that her grand-parents had lived in.

A couple of months later, I had a call from the grand-daughter: 'I have found something in the cellar of my grand-pa and grand-ma's house. Come and have a look, if you like.' I went to her house in Tokyo, and I was really paralyzed with surprise. What I saw there were five or six metal boxes, painted largely in black: 'Japanese Navy', full of personal documents of captain Saneyoshi, including his diaries, memoranda, letters and photo, all deriving from the captain's Shanghai period.

I have no other word than 'miracle' to call this discovery. And I cannot help calling my mother-in-law, Mrs. Keiko Itoh and Saneyoshi's grand-daughter, the three 'Goddesses of History'.

This happened to me in October 2017. Since then, I have been tackling the Saneyoshi documents. Part of the outcome of this work has been already published in my papers³², but I will have to spend three or four more years, to draw out all the precious information regarding the Japanese policy on Jewish refugees in Shanghai.



One thing sure is that, owing to these newly discovered documents, we are now much better informed of the reality of things, at least for the Saneyoshi period (from April 1942 to June 1943), although I have to add immediately that we are still suffering a lot from a lack of contemporaneous first-hand documents for the period after Saneyoshi's departure.

32 菅野賢治「日本軍政下の上海にユダヤ絶滅計画は存在したか－柴田貢とヨーゼフ・マイジingerの周辺」、京都ユダヤ思想学会『京都ユダヤ思想』第9号、2018年6月；「日本軍政下の上海にユダヤ絶滅計画は存在したか（続）－實吉敏郎・海軍大佐の未公開文書より」、京都ユダヤ思想学会『京都ユダヤ思想』第10号、2019年。

Chronological confusion and unilateral description

The first thing I would like to mention on the basis of Saneyoshi documents, is a tendency of chronological confusion that we can observe in many of the accounts on Jewish history in wartime Shanghai.

Since I started to study on this subject, beginning with David Kranzler's pioneering work and reading numerous memoirs by former refugees who resettled all through the world after the war, I have been always wondering if it is not appropriate to distinguish three periods of time: Inuzuka period (1938-March 1942) , Saneyoshi period (April 1942-June 1943) and Kubota period (June 1943-1945) , according to these three different figures who led the Japanese Jewish policy in Shanghai. Otherwise we risk being caught in traps, attributing what can be said true or probable about one period to another period where it is not necessarily true nor probable.

The second point that I have been noticing through my own work is what I would express as 'unilateral' tendency in the description of some 'key persons' who were engaged in Jewish affairs in Shanghai, in one way or another. In deed, I cannot help noticing that their deeds and the true or supposed intention or motivation of their deeds have been described so far, only from the point of view of the 'doers', so to speak, and seldom or never from the point of view of the 'doees'. It goes without saying that we need to read and respect the memoirs left by the 'doees', namely the former refugees, but it ought not to exclude the importance of taking into consideration the stance of the 'doers' in the same event that occurred in a given circumstance.

Developing this point too is far beyond the limit of time for today. But through my investigation into the Japanese documents and the testimonies of the descendants of Shibata, Goya, Kubota at least, I strongly feel the necessity of integrating the point of view of these Japanese 'key persons', correctly, into our new study on Shanghai Jewish history.

Linguistic imbalance

Closely related to these points, my historiographical observation touches also upon a kind of linguistic 'imbalance'.

No one would deny today that the language that has been used for this work of memory and memorialization of the wartime Jewish refugees is English, predominantly. It is natural, not only because English is said to have become our global language, but also a great part of memoirs and accounts by former refugees and historians have been written and read in English, particularly in the United States, Canada and Australia.

However, this linguistic situation surrounding the study on Jewish refugees seems to me to have some negative and regrettable effects on our work of memorialization. In particular, it risks giving the public the impression that English — a little bit less German and Modern Hebrew — should be already enough to learn this whole history of Jewish refugees, thus averting people's eyes from other languages actually profoundly related to this history.

Yiddish, for instance. The deeper I go in this research on wartime Jewish refugees, the more I am aware of the importance of Yiddish writings. Here we can enumerate at least four pieces of Yiddish literature, left by four former refugees of Polish Jewish origin who passed through Japan and Shanghai:

- Josef Rotnberg, *Fun Varshe biz Shanhai* (From Warsaw to Shanghai) , 1948
- Jacob Hersh Fishman, *Farvoglte Yidn* (Wandering Jews) , 1948
- Rose Shoshana Kahan, *In fayer un in flamen* (In fire and in flames) , 1949
- Yehoshua Rapoport, Shanghai diaries, unpublished, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem

As for Shoshana Kahan's 400 page-Yiddish memoir, full of incredibly detailed descriptions of her refugee life in Japan and Shanghai, a Taiwanese scholar, Chang Shou Huey, has translated it partially in German. But the totality of the memoir remains utterly unknown and three other writings are still beyond our reach, because of the limited number of Yiddish readers in this field. And this, in spite of the efforts paid by the late Israeli scholar, Irene Eber³³.

At present, I am trying to collaborate with a very small number of Yiddish readers in Japan — there are very few, but there are — to read these almost forgotten Yiddish documents.

I personally would like to call for the creation of an international and multilingual center for the study, translation and publishing of these important writings, not only in Yiddish, but in all allegedly 'minor' languages, concerning the past of Shanghai Jewish settlement.

Conclusion

Concluding my talk, I would like to confess, honestly, three difficulties I am confronting with in my work, and widely call for your advice, suggestion and cooperation.

33 Irene Eber, *Voices from Shanghai: Jewish Exiles in Wartime China*, University of Chicago Press, 2008.

One: The overall lack of first-hand documents in Japanese archives.

As you well know, most of the Japanese historical records had been destroyed in the bombings at the end of the Pacific War. In addition, as it is always the case of a defeated country, many of the administrative papers were burned in what is called a ‘bonfire of bureaucrats’, hastily, before the occupation of Japan by the Allies. In this sense, I can say that it was a miracle that I recently excavated Saneyoshi’s personal documents from the cellar of the Saneyoshi family.

Two: The access to Chinese archives.

Until now — for me at least — it has not been easy for linguistic and geographic reasons. That is the very reason why I came to Shanghai this time. I would like to widely call for advice and collaboration from, not only Shanghainese academic researchers, but also Shanghainese artists, particularly in the field of visual art, namely, film making.

Three: The delay in the work of sharing non-English writings, notably Yiddish ones.

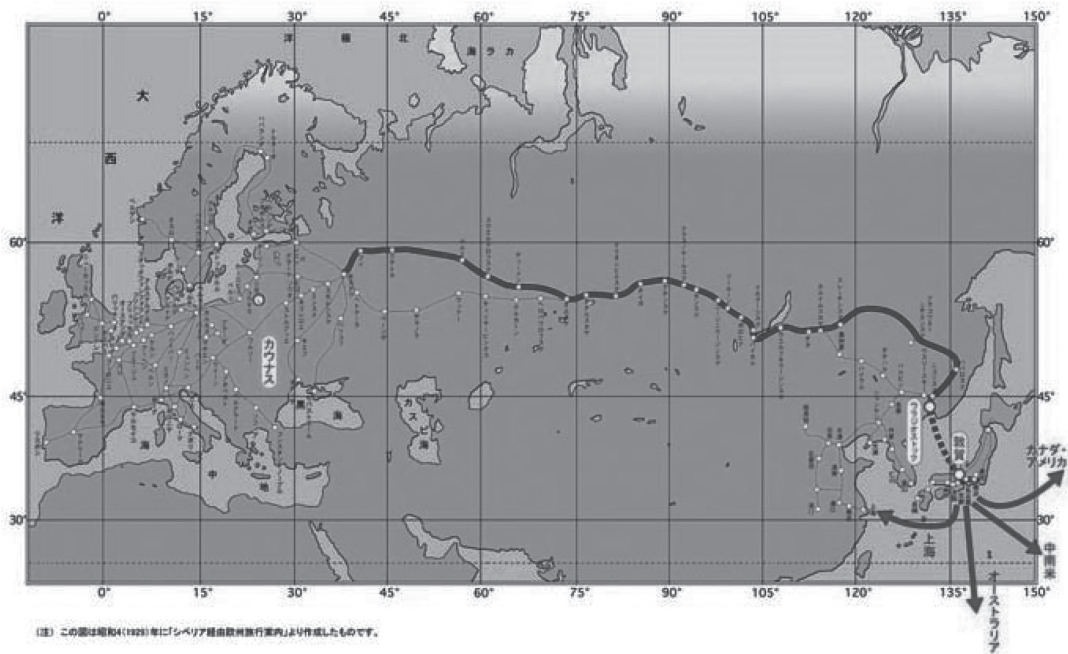
Once again, I would like to share with Chinese or Shanghai-based researchers the recognition of importance of Yiddish literature on this topic.

Standing on these observations, I think we can present new perspectives for our common work of memory and memorialization to come, with a couple of ‘key words’ that I would like to set out here.

- International cooperation
- Linear and transboundary nature of the subject
- Multilingual approach

Needless to say the importance of the ‘International Cooperation’ and ‘Multilingual Approach’. As for the ‘Linear and transboundary nature of the subject’, let me reproduce an Eurasian map that I borrow from the official site of Tsuruga Port of Humanity Museum.

ユダヤ人難民逃避経路



Although this map only shows those who took the Siberian route, while those who took the Southern maritime route are not taken in account, we can sufficiently see the ‘linear’ and ‘transboundary’ character of this history of Jewish refugees in Japan and Shanghai, which in turn requests all of us, historians and lovers of history, to be linked, across borders.

Yes, we all are meant to be linked through this work of history and memory. I would like to close my talk by insisting on this necessity of international linkage.

Thank you for your attention.

(English proofreading by Rachel Walls, Charles Sturt University, Australia)