

**Dialogliste für
ZUFLUCHT IN SHANGHAI
German/English version**

ANNIE WITTING

Mai 1939, Meine lieben Freunde!

Die Kinder sehen wir nur zu den Mahlzeiten. Sie sind beglückt und beseelt und wir mit ihnen, zumal wir die letzte Zeit in Berlin keine Ruhe mehr finden konnten, da wir furchtbar viele Laufereien hatten.

Wir nehmen 2 gute Vertretungen nach Shanghai mit und hoffen, es dort im Internationalen Viertel zu schaffen.

Auf jeder Station kommen Abgeordnete vom jüdischen Hilfskommittee an Bord und bringen alte Sachen und Zigaretten für bedürfnislose Mitreisende mit.

Colombo, die Hauptstadt Ceylons, wo der berühmte Tee zu Hause ist. Die Kinder tauschten Abzeichen vom Lloyd Triestino gegen Ananas und Kokosnüsse ein. Nach deutschem Gelde kostet eine Ananas dort 15 - 20 Pfennige. Also ein gesegnetes Land diese Insel Ceylon. Ihre Annie Witting

A.J. STORFER

Allmählich geht es dem Ende der Reise zu. Vorgestern waren wir in Singapur, morgen kommen wir nach Manila. Dann Hongkong und - Shanghai. Von den Erlebnissen dieser Reise ließe sich endlos erzählen. Augenblicklich sind mir aber meine Morgenbewegungen infolge hohen Wellenganges am interessantesten. Alles Gute. Allseits Grüßen. Adolf Josef Storfer.

THE PORT OF LAST RESORT - ZUFLUCHT IN SHANGHAI

Ein Film von Joan Grossman & Paul Rosdy

Einführungstext:

Von 1938 bis 1941 flüchteten fast 20.000 Juden nach Shanghai, um dem Terror der Nazis in Europa zu entkommen.

Seltene Amateuraufnahmen, Wochenschauen, Geheimberichte und Korrespondenz von Hilfskomitees, sowie Briefe & Schriften von Flüchtlingen dokumentieren diese Zeit im Exil.

SIG SIMON

1939 was a time when a lot of Jews were picked up in the streets and taken from homes and sent to concentration camps. And my father had very good friends in higher places which one day tipped him off that his name was on the list to be picked up for transportation to a concentration camp. And sure enough that evening the Nazis came to the door and searched for my father which was gone, of course. At that point, when they were satisfied that he wasn't there, they left with a remark that we will be back to pick up the Jew. Then later on that day my father got in touch with my mother and told her to pack a suitcase that we were leaving. And my sister and I were really too young to understand what was going on. My sister was 13, I was 11. Nevertheless, we realized that we were leaving what, I, at the time thought was a vacation.

FRED FIELDS

We thought Hitler would take the Jews, the young Jews like me, I was eighteen, would take us first, you know, and throw us in the front line and be cannon fodder. And I said: "I gotta get out of here." And then my mother saw it, you know. She wanted to see and stay in Germany to witness the downfall of this mad man. And I said: "No, it's, it's too much, I don't want to." And she realized that it was important that I should go. So she made contact with friends and they said I should go over the "Gruene Grenze", you know, the

"green border." In other words, somebody would take me over to Holland or France. And somehow I said, I don't want to stay here in Europe. This is not far enough. If war breaks out, he'll roll over, I mean over these countries. And so, where can you go. We had no money.

ERNIE HEPPNER

We had relatives in the United States. They were willing to provide us with a affidavit, which they filed with the State Department, that we would not become a public burden. That was not good enough. There was a quota. And my quota number, I think, was 67,000. And we were told it might take about a year and a half before our quota comes up. I wouldn't wait that long. I wanted to get out in the worst way. And I said if we don't find a place to go, I go over the border. So we looked for an alternate solution.

Everybody asked me, why was it so difficult to leave Germany? It was not. It was a free world that would not give us a place.

ILLO HEPPNER

The SS Troopers came into the house. Our apartment was on the fifth floor and the elevator was out of order. So, they asked the custodian, is there any Jews above the third floor, because they were too lazy to walk up. And since he had been tipped well throughout our stay there, he said, "No." And my father slept through it all. But, after that he decided that he did not wish to wait for our quota to be called for the United States, but rather go to Shanghai. But since I hadn't quite finished school, I was to stay in Berlin with my mother and we were to meet him again in the United States.

FRED FIELDS

Somebody came up in the middle, in the summer of 1938 with the idea, there is one place on earth where you can go without any paper, no permit,

no affidavit, no special entry-permit, not visa. You just get there, that's Shanghai.

ERNEST HEPPNER

It would take about 4 weeks to get there, but the boats are all full. There's a waiting list, 6 to 12 months. The travel agent said to my mother: "I know you have some Impressionistic paintings. The agent of the German steamship agency is a collector," hinting. He got a couple of our paintings and a few weeks later came a call from the travel agent. A Jewish couple on board the Potsdam, the German liner, committed suicide on board the boat as it left the harbor of Hamburg and a cabin for two would be available. So it was decided that my mother and I go ahead. We are only allowed to take with us 2 suitcases each and 10 Marks, the equivalent of 8 American dollars. One of the worst moments was, when I said good-bye to my father and to my sister. I knew in my heart I would never see them again.

We entered from the mouth of the Yangtze we got into the Whangpoo river, the muddy Whangpoo and as we finally came closer to Shanghai, we were getting very nervous because on the right side we saw nothing but ruins, nothing but ruins. The whole coastal area were in ruins. We found out later on, since 1937, when the Japanese invaded China there was severe fighting between the Japanese and the Chinese forces. The Japanese controlled the harbor. And later on we were puzzled, that it was the Japanese that actually permitted us entry.

JAPANESE DIPLOMAT

Deklaration der japanischen Fünf Minister Konferenz 1938. Unsere diplomatischen Verbindungen mit Deutschland und Italien erfordern, daß wir uns der jüdischen Menschen nicht annehmen.

Wir sollten sie aufgrund unserer erklärten Politik der Rassengleichheit aber nicht wie unsere Verbündeten ablehnen, vor allem angesichts

unseres Bedarfes an ausländischem Kapital und unserem Wunsch Amerika nicht zu befremden.

MISSIONÄRIN

Nachricht vom National Christian Council in China - Februar, 1939.

Die verfolgten Juden Europas strömen nach Shanghai. Im Juli kamen 40 mit dem Lloyd-Triestino Dampfer; im August weitere 40; dann 80 im September; und jetzt bringt jeder Dampfer Hunderte. Zuerst kamen Angehörige hochqualifizierter Berufe, zumeist Ärzte, denen mit einem Federstrich verboten wurde, ihren Beruf auszuüben. Jetzt sind es Arbeiter und Angestellte, Lebensmittelhändler, Kaffeehausbesitzer, Schneider, Friseure... (Und junge Frauen, Sekretärinnen, Korsettherstellerinnen oder Geschäftsangestellte). Die Meisten sprechen weder Chinesisch noch Englisch. Sie landen in Shanghai - in einer Sackgasse.

SIG SIMON

We were met at the docks by a contingent of refugees that had arrived prior to our getting there. They had trucks ready. And we were taken on the trucks to one of the few camps that was established at that time. When we got there, we were fed noodle soup. And I'll never forget it, that was very uncommon for me to not have a complete meal. But nevertheless, it satisfied us at the time. We had no funds left of any kind to rent private apartments or quarters of any kind.

OTTO ISRAEL GRUBER

21. Mai 1939. Vor zwei Jahren kam es zu Kämpfen zwischen Chinesen und Japanern, in deren Verlauf das Viertel Hongkew vollständig zerstört wurde. Die dortigen Bewohner, meist Chinesen, flüchteten in den übrigen Teil des Settlements und in die französische Konzession.

Als die Immigration der Juden hierher immer größer wurde und immer weniger Möglichkeit war, die Flüchtlinge unterzubringen, begann das Komitee in Hongkew einige Gebäude herzurichten. Dann fingen einige Flüchtlinge selbst an demolierte Häuser zu kaufen um darin Geschäfte einzurichten und Wohnungen zu vermieten.

Wenn auch diese Juden meist mittellos sind, so beginnt dort doch schon reges Leben. In dem von den Japanern besetzten Hongkew können wohl Europäer frei ein- und ausgehen, Chinesen aber nur mit besonderen, von den Japanern auszustellenden Pässen. Otto Israel Gruber

TOBIAS FARB

Meine Liebe.

Seit 22. Februar bin ich in Shanghai und fühle mich elend. Die jämmerlichen wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse und die damit verbundene Hoffnungslosigkeit, eine Arbeit zu finden, die schwindenden Hoffnungen eines Tages wieder von hier wegzukommen, die Gefahr von ansteckenden Krankheiten, all das zusammen treibt uns, die wir ohnehin schon unmenschliche Mühsal ertragen mußten in eine nicht zu beschreibende Verzweiflung und zum Zusammenbruch.

Das Gebäude, in dem wir untergebracht sind, war früher eine Schule. Jedes Zimmer beherbergt 40 Leute und 40 Schlafkojen. Ein Waschbecken für 8 bis 10 Leute. Das Essen ist eintönig. Dazu gibt es Tee, der nach Karbolsäure riecht, weil das Wasser jeden zweiten Tag desinfiziert werden muß.

Ich hoffe es geht Dir gut, was mir etwas Trost geben würde. Ich küsse Dich mit all meiner Liebe.
Tobias Farb

SIG SIMON

You got up in the morning. You went out to a common facility to wash yourself. It was cold water. There was no hot water. You stood in line

sometimes with many other people with a rag in your hand which was your towel. If you were fortunate enough to have a bar of soap, you could use that. If you didn't, you didn't. You just used water. The next thing you would have breakfast. And breakfast consisted many, many times of a piece of bread that was given you and tea. The tea was hot water which we had to buy. Three dips of water would be like a penny, and then be very careful to strain the tea so that you would have the leaves for tomorrow and tomorrow, and the next day, and the next day. That was breakfast.

ERNIE HEPPNER

There were committees that had been hastily established by Jewish communities that had come to Shanghai previously. There was a Jewish community got there after the Bolshevik Revolution around 1917. There were some 4500 of them there. Plus some 450 Baghdadi Jews that had arrived during the Opium War years. They had prepared some temporary shelter.

My mother and I stayed there for about two weeks, until we were able to find a furnished room after my mother was able to get a job with the committee that dealt with the newcomers.

ANNIE WITTING

Meine lieben Freunde,
Shanghai hat 4 1/2 Millionen Einwohner, wovon bloss 50.000 Europäer hier leben. Es ist stets feucht, ob es warm ist oder kalt. Wenn es hier regnet, ist es so, als wenn in Europa ein Wolkenbruch niedergeht und braucht man unbedingt hohe Gummistiefel, da man ohne diese gar nicht auf die Straße gehen kann.

Ferner ist die Seuchengefahr sehr groß und obwohl wir alle auf dem Schiffe gegen Cholera, Pocken, Typhus und Paratyphus geimpft wurden, muß man hier nochmals geimpft werden und sogar alle Vierteljahr abermals.

Wir sind jedenfalls glücklich darüber, wieder freie Menschen zu sein. So schweren Herzens wir rausgegangen sind, würden wir niemals wieder zurück wollen. Ihre Annie Witting

FRED FIELDS

German and Austrian Jews who had no other place to go, went to Shanghai. Not because they were intrigued by China, or by Shanghai. They didn't know much about it. But that was the only place, due to the fact that Shanghai became an International Settlement and it was a free port. The British, when they had the famous Opium Wars in 1845, insisted on a treaty to get a free harbor in certain spots. And that counted for the fact that since they didn't impose any restrictions of arrivals, you got there and that was it. That saved our neck.

ERNIE HEPPNER

Shanghai consisted of several colonial occupiers. There was the International Settlement. There was the so-called French town, the French Concession, where many of the Russian immigrants lived. And there was the inner city, the Chinese inner city, Nantao. And of course Shanghai was a cosmopolitan city, perhaps the most cosmopolitan city in the world. Also the most crime-ridden city in the world.

MAX BERGES

Wie kann ich die spezielle Atmosphäre dieser außergewöhnlichen Stadt für Sie spürbar machen, die vielen Gerüche, von den Räucherstäbchen der Tempelanlagen bis zu den Karren, in denen menschliche Exkremente als Dünger gesammelt werden. Die unglaublichen Klänge und Geräusche, ausgehend von der großen Vielfalt an Menschen - von den ärmsten Koolies bis zu den Wohlhabendsten dieser Welt, von den respektierten Taxi-Tänzerinnen bis zu den puritanischen Damen der britischen Gesellschaft.

Shanghai war eine Fälschung, ein Schwindel,
weder Okzident noch Orient. Und doch - Gott
vergebe mir - sie war die aufregendste und
einzigartigste Stadt der Welt. Sie war wie Gift, und
die alten Shanghailänder Süchtige, die sich von
ihrer Liebe zu ihr nie befreien konnten.

Max Berges, Flüchtling

FRED FIELDS

The number of prostitutes running around on
Nanking Road, you must remember on the main
drag was covered with girls, you know. And then
they had these ballrooms with taxi dancers. You
know, you went to a ballroom with five friends
and you bought, let's say for fifty cents, thirty
cents, 6 tickets and then you went to a girl and
danced with her and gave her one of these tickets.
It was very popular. And we had very good
bands, mostly Filipino bands. They played
beautiful modern music.

You had nightclubs in the western part of
Shanghai, past the Settlement which was Chinese
territory and which was run by the Japanese but
not directly. The Japanese had gotten themselves
a puppet, a former Associate of Chiang Kai-shek
by the name of Wang Sheng-wai. In this area
there were quite a number of gambling dens,
opium dens, clubs for transvestites, for gays. And
I worked at this Maskee Nightclub. And I really I
learned to see how the, what a gay nightclub was.
I didn't even know what a gay club was, hardly,
homosexuals. It was very interesting. There were
very interesting people, very good looking British
and German, mostly German and British people.
And that was an interesting introduction to the
night life.

ILLO HEPPNER

Germany invaded Poland on September the first,
1939. And it became apparent that maybe we
should not wait. And my father let us know that
we should meet him in Shanghai instead. Then, of
course Italy entered the war and we could not go

by boat anymore, so now we had to get rail transportation over Siberia.

We left in May, 1940, and finally landed in Shanghai sometime in early June. At that time too many refugees had gotten into Shanghai, so the Shanghai Municipal Authority required a permit. And my father was able to get it for my mother and me, because we were wife and child.

My father was a banker, and through his connection he had been able to transfer a little bit of money out of Germany into Switzerland. So he had some limited funds to draw on. And we moved into a European-style apartment building. Of course, into a very small apartment, but it had hot water and had steam heat in the winter, so we weren't really too uncomfortable.

WEIBLICHER FLÜCHTLING

Hier haben die Emigranten Unglaubliches geleistet. Aus Ruinen sind wieder große Häuser gebaut und wunderschöne Geschäfte eröffnet worden. Wenn Du hier auf dem Broadway spazieren gehst, glaubst Du, du bist in Wien oder Berlin und vergißt, daß Du ein Emigrant bist. Hier hat sich schon eine Menge Leute eine nette Existenz erworben und es geht bestimmt so manchen besser als vorher. Flüchtling

FRED FIELDS

Since I was so interested in printing and writing I met somebody who was a friend of Mr. Storfer, and said he is planning to open up a newspaper. And I met Mr. Storfer who was a very intelligent, interesting man. He had been a publisher of books for Sigmund Freud and had published himself as he proudly told me. And he liked me and he said, okay, would you like to work for me. I said: "Oh, I'd love to."

A.J. STORFER

31. März 1939. Herrn Dr. Siegfried Bernfeld, San Francisco; Lieber Herr Doktor!

Die Gelbe Post beschäftigt sich mit ostasiatischen Dingen, wird aber jede Möglichkeit suchen, die Psychoanalyse heranzuziehen. Im ersten Heft habe ich einen Aufsatz von einem japanischen Ordinarius über die Psychoanalyse in Japan und einen von einem englischen Autor "Zur Psychoanalyse der chinesischen Schriftzeichen".

Hauptsache, dass ich finanziell den schwierigen Anfang meiner Zeitschrift übertauche. Ich arbeite 15-16 Stunden täglich, schlafe 4-5 Stunden, -- das Schlimmste kommt aber noch: die verrufene Shanghaier warme Periode, die schon in einem Monat einsetzt. Ich verbleibe mit herzlichen Grüßen. Ihr Adolf Josef Storfer

ANNIE WITTING

Meine lieben Freunde!

Ich habe mehrere Exportgeschäfte eingeleitet (Wäsche, Schweinsdärme etc.), ferner verkaufte ich überflüssiges Kristall und kaufte dafür amerikanische Dollars. Dann verkaufte ich Sportmäntel von denen ich die Modelle aus Deutschland mitgebracht hatte. Die Chinesen sind sehr geschickt im Kopieren und haben sie, unter Leitung eines europäischen Zwischenmeisters, sehr gut herausgebracht.

Die Kinder fühlen sich sehr wohl hier, besuchen eine Schule, in der nur englisch unterrichtet wird. Ferner wurde jetzt von dem zweitreichsten Manne Shanghais, Mr. Kadoorie, einem arabischen Juden, ein Klub errichtet, der nach dem Muster der englischen Jugendklubs eingerichtet wurde.

Die Kinder besuchen Theater, Konzerte, unternehmen Wanderungen, und alles das finanziert dieser Mr. Kadoorie. Er will, daß die Emigrantenkinder die teilweise durch die Emigration hervorgerufenen Minderwertigkeitskomplexe verlieren.
Ihre Annie Witting

ILLO HEPPNER

There were concerts in the parks in the summer. There had a, of course, a symphony orchestra. They had very nice ballet, due to the fact that so many of the White Russians came to Shanghai after the Revolution. We had excellent ballet.

When I was then dating, I met my future husband and we were dating and there were Chinese dance halls. It was wonderful. There were big halls with big bands. And for the price of a glass of tea, you could dance all day. That was the cover charge. And we danced whole afternoons away. Sunday afternoons that was the place to go to.

ERNIE HEPPNER

I started working for a Russian-owned toy store, that was in the French Concession. It was a long, long walk from Hongkew. Until a small branch store was established down in Nanjing Lu, in Nanking Road, very close to the Bund. And I became the branch manager. I was a teenager, but I learned quickly. Connected with the toy store was also a Chinese-owned book store who dealt primarily with pirate editions. I made a little money in the book store. And the best part was that I worked with Chinese and got lunch. Our store was right next door to a Chinese money changer and I watched it every day. And when I had a few dollars left, I bought and sold dollars. And I was lucky, I always made a few dollars.

DEUTSCHES GENERALKONSULAT

Deutsches Generalkonsulat. An das Auswärtige Amt, Berlin. Betrifft: Judentum in Shanghai.

Von den neu hinzugekommenen schätzungsweise 18.000 Juden leben rund 11.000 in Hongkew, etwa 6000 in der Internationalen und der Rest in der französischen Niederlassung.

Die Not zwingt die jüdischen Mädchen, in die öffentlichen Animierlokale zu gehen, wo sie die

Russinnen, die bisher dieses Gebiet beherrschten, durch Preisunterbietung herausdrängen.

Von den etwa 250 jüdischen Musikern finden eine Reihe im Stadtorchester sowie in Hotel - und Nachtbetrieben Verwendung.

In Hongkew haben die Juden schätzungsweise 50 - 60 Kaffeehäuser und Bars eingerichtet.

FRED FIELDS

Nobody liked to stay home. The little rooms, home, where maybe six or eight lived in a small apartment, with one toilet and maybe three apartments in the building. And they went out to the *Kaffeehaus*. That was where the action was. You had to go in order to drink a cup of coffee, and that in turn brought about more cultural activity. They had hired singers, actors, they started making up little skits in nightclubs and restaurants. And opened up a quite few nightclubs along Broadway and on the Hongkew side because that's where good money was to be made, you know. And it's interesting to note that this became known to the more adventurous in the international settlement, the younger ones, they came to see these shows and there was a lot going on.

WEIBLICHER FLÜCHTLING

Wir stehen morgens zwischen 5 Uhr 15 und 5 Uhr 45 auf, je nach Energie. Um 7 muß der Papa schon im Geschäft sein, um mit unserem Boy Brötchen auszutragen. Ich habe noch das Zimmer in Ordnung zu bringen, dann das Kind für den Kindergarten zu versorgen; Dann backe ich jeden Morgen 30 bis 35 Fleischklösse, die im Geschäft mit 10 Cents verkauft werden.

Wir verkaufen außer Lebensmitteln und Obst selbst eingelegte Heringe, Gebratenes, Rote-Rüben-Salat usw. Um 21 Uhr ist der Papa zu Hause, dann erst wird gegessen. Schließlich werden aber noch Strümpfe gestopft, Wäsche

gebügelt, und wenn wir die Zeit haben, auch mal ein Brief geschrieben. Jedenfalls kommen wir keinen Abend vor 23 Uhr 30 ins Bett und dann natürlich todmüde.

Unsere Kundschaft besteht zu 85 Prozent aus Einwanderern. Chinesisch werden wir wohl nie lernen, da man keine Gelegenheit hat es zu sprechen.

A.J. STORFER

“Pidgin - English” von Adolf Josef Storfer

Für einen ihrer öffentlichen Diskussionsabende hat die YMCA vor kurzem ein interessantes Thema angesetzt.

Der Redner ging davon aus, dass die nahezu vier Millionen Chinesen der Stadt zum allergrößten Teil nicht einmal den Versuch machen, Englisch zu erlernen. Andererseits lernen weder die Engländer und Amerikaner die Sprache der Einheimischen. Man mache Pidgin-English zum obligatorischen Schulfach für Fremde und Chinesen und das babylonische Sprachenchaos Shanghais werde gebannt sein.

Vertreter des Lehrfachs wiesen entsetzt die Zumutung zurück, an der Verhutzung der Sprache Shakespeares aktiv mitzuwirken. Vergeblich erklärte der “Redner”, daß man schliesslich auch Shakespeare in Pidgin übertragen könnte, und wer den Monolog *to be or not to be* jetzt nicht erfassen kann, würde dann jene hamletsche Frage in der Pidgin - Fassung *can do - no can do* gut verstehen.

FRED FIELDS

"Die Gelbe Post" was a paper really on a high intellectual level and unfortunately, the readership wasn't there. By that time I needed a good job so I somehow wound up becoming a reporter for the Shanghai Jewish Chronicle.

I could work with the Chinese printers and tell them how to make up the headlines, 18 point, and figure out sizes. So I became at this very young age of nineteen, twenty, a night editor. And here I was in charge of putting a paper together and they had all these very well known former writers. But I was more or less, they had to ask me to give them a good spot in the paper and things like that. And satisfy the ad salesmen for the advertising where to place their ads. So, I had a fairly important job there.

ILLO HEPPNER

My father was able to start a business in the international settlement, doing books for people. So, he managed all right, you know, drawing a little bit on the Swiss money. For my mother it was devastating. She spoke French fluently, English very badly. She missed her mother and her sister and her surroundings. He was afraid to go out. So, our roles really reversed and whenever I explored, I would take her along. But without me she really didn't want to go anywhere. And I realized much, much later that she really was clinically depressed and she had a very, very hard time of it.

FLÜCHTLINGSJOURNALIST

Shanghai Jewish Chronicle: "Der Mars" ist der einzige Fleck im Universum, auf dem ein jüdischer Emigrant ohne Paß und Einreisevisum Einlaß findet. So hörten wir gestern in einer wehmütig-lustigen Operette, die im Jewish Club aufgeführt wurde. Ein Wiener Zahnarzt und seine Frau finden sich in Shanghai nicht zurecht und zerbrechen sich die Köpfe, wohin man noch auswandern könnte. Dann schläft der Emigrant ein und träumt, er wäre mit seiner Frau auf dem Mars gelandet. Denn auf dem Mars sind die Einreise, der Handel und die Liebe frei.

Die bittere Ironie dieses Stückes spiegelt aber leider die Wirklichkeit wieder. Sechs Millionen Juden Mittel- und Osteuropas leiden noch immer,

ohne Aussicht, jemals eine Zufluchtsstätte auf diesem jämmerlichen Globus zu finden.

FRED FIELDS

With my mother I tried to stay in touch as best as I could and as frequently as I could. And in the beginning when I was in Shanghai, of course, we had a regular correspondence. And she was careful, knowing the political situation better than most. She hinted about "this one left and, he disappeared--" She didn't say "disappeared," but she indicated somebody was taken away by the Gestapo or the Nazis. I think the worst thing was when she reported about her former husband, my father, with whom she had parted in good company. She went to see my father off when he was taken away to a special collective station where they were sent by train to Russia where my father died, was killed. And the letters became more and more desperate. In the last letter she said whether I could help her to come to China. I was devastated and I tried, but, by that time the communication was so bad already and I could only communicate via the Red Cross, which didn't, wasn't too good. And this failed. And I was terribly upset about my father. My father was a sick man. At that time, he was about, just about fifty. And when I left him, I knew I would never see him again, which was a horrible thing to think. My mother, I was fully confident when I left on the nineteenth of December, 1938, that I would ever see her again later.

HILFSVEREIN

Bericht des "Kommittees zur Unterstützung jüdischer Flüchtlinge aus Europa" über die ersten 6 Monate des Jahres 1940:

Die monatliche Zuteilung des American Jewish Joint Distribution Kommittees wurde im April von 18.000 auf 14.000 Dollar reduziert. Die Aufgabe, mit wesentlich weniger Mitteln auskommen zu müssen, wurde durch Preissteigerungen von

Kohle und Nahrungsmitteln, zwischen 50 auf 150 %, zusätzlich enorm erschwert.

6 Lager und 2 Spitäler sind in Betrieb. Bis Juni wurden monatlich rund 11.000 Menschen mit Unterkunft, Essen und Geld unterstützt. Es gibt keine Zukunft für Flüchtlinge in China. Die Auswirkungen des Krieges auf die Wirtschaft sind katastrophal.

SIG SIMON

Within the camp those that were fortunate to have a job, dressed and went to work. The rest of the people that didn't have any jobs, more or less, congregated in groups. They did have one radio in there which had short wave, which occasionally we would get news of the war. The Russians were doing this and the Germans were doing that. Listen to that. And many would sit around a table and play cards. And basically that is the way you would spend your day.

ANNIE WITTING

Meine lieben Freunde!
Wir haben leider sehr viel Trauriges durchgemacht und zwar hatte erst ich 6 Wochen lang eine tropische Ruhr und dann mein Mann 14 Wochen lang besonders schwer und infolge der Ruhr eine Herzmuskelentzündung. Abgesehen davon hat er 40 Pfund abgenommen.

Die Ausgaben durch die Krankheit waren enorm und war es meine grösste Sorge: wie schaffst du es. Der erste Gedanke beim Aufstehen und der letzte vor dem Schlafengehen war der: Dollarmachen!! Ich erkenne mich manchmal selbst nicht mehr wieder. Ich war doch niemals so nüchtern veranlagt. Ihre Annie Witting

A.J. STORFER

Juli 1941. Lieber Herr Doktor Wittels!
Ein Jahr lang habe ich von mir nichts hören lassen und schob mein Schreiben immer wieder hinaus

hoffend das ich schliesslich doch etwas günstiges zu berichten haben werde.

Mitte August war es, als die 400 Dollar telegraphisch ankamen und ich hatte alle Ursache die Zukunft rosig zu sehen. Ich hatte aber nicht mit der von nichts zurückschreckenden Gemeinheit meiner geschäftlichen Konkurrenten gerechnet. Außerdem meldeten die beiden Herren, die Nachtdienst machten, sich plötzlich krank. Ich selbst mußte einspringen, was zur Folge hatte, daß ich nach der ersten Nacht einen schweren Herzanfall erlitt. Ich mußte innerhalb von 8 Tagen das Unternehmen liquidieren.

Von Freunden in Europa bin ich ganz abgesperrt. Aber auch aus Amerika höre ich niemals etwas. Das ist allerdings meine Schuld. Denken Sie nicht schlecht von ihrem ergebenen Adolf Josef Storfer

FRED FIELDS

It was the night of the 7th, and my headline read something in German of course, that there's a good hope that they will come to some sort of agreement in Washington. And I couldn't save it, by the way. The paper came out with that ridiculous headline. And all of a sudden at night I hear ush, a tremendous noise. We were pretty close to the harbor. And I hear what sounded like gunshots and bombing. And I called up my friend at Domei, the Japanese news agency, and he happened to be on duty. I said, what the hell is going on. Well, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. Who knows where Pearl Harbor was? And the Japanese occupied the International Settlement and French Concession. But basically there wasn't much change, I mean it was slowly.

ILLO HEPPNER

The hope of going to the United States was squashed for the time being. But we really didn't expect that this would last very long. We expected the American Forces to win at that time. And, for us actually, aside from the fact that the Japanese

were there marching up and down with their bayonets, which was a little scary, personally I wasn't really affected by it.

ERNEST HEPPNER

The Jewish Community Association received word that Germany declared all Jews living abroad as stateless. So I pitched my German passport in the waste basket. As far as the Japanese were concerned, we were just nobody.

Furthermore, the rumors flew around in Hongkew constantly. One was, that the Nazis had sent a Colonel Meisinger, also called the "Butcher of Warsaw", Gestapo agent, to negotiate with the Japanese to murder all 25,000 Jews in Shanghai. That would be 18,000 of us, 1,000 Polish Jews, 4,000 or so Russian Jews and some 500 Iraqi Jews, Baghdadi Jews.

JAPANISCHER AUSSENMINISTER

17. Januar 1942. Betreff: Notverordnung für Juden. Von: Togo Shigenori, Außenminister Japans.

Da Deutschland seinen Juden in Übersee die Nationalität entzogen hat werden deutsche Juden künftig als staatenlose Juden behandelt. Die, die für uns von Nutzen sind oder sein können, sollen freundlich behandelt werden. Der Rest soll unter strikte Überwachung gestellt werden, um jede Feindseligkeit eliminieren oder unterdrücken zu können.

SIG SIMON

At 14 years, it was in my mind, that I can be much more productive in trying to earn some money, rather than to go to school and bring home nothing. So I worked by mostly day labor. That is throughout the time that the war was on. I was out each morning looking for work and that work that was available underbidding coolie wages was "Kohlendreher" which means turning a wheel that would grind sand and coal dust and then to be

mixed to be made into charcoal briquettes. Or since there was no electrical power to drive machinery they would build transmissions turned by hand. Some were rods which you would pedal like a bicycle. And there might be fifteen, twenty men on one row doing this and again creating power to power some machinery.

At the end of the day there was a good chance that inflation throughout just one day had changed the value of what we were paid that evening. But somehow it always was enough to buy us a sweet potato which the vendors on the street were selling, or a bowl of noodle soup, and eat up what we had earned that day. Then go back to camp and then crawl into our straw sack.

RADIOSPRECHER

18. Februar 1943. In einer gemeinsamen Erklärung kündigte die kaiserlich-japanische Armee- und Marineverwaltung heute an, daß ab 18. Mai Wohnsitze und Geschäfte von staatenlosen Flüchtlingen in Shanghai auf ein designiertes Gebiet beschränkt werden. Als staatenlosen Flüchtlinge gelten europäische Flüchtlinge, die nach 1. Jänner 1937 in Shanghai angekommen sind.

FRED FIELDS

All those middle European refugees who arrived after 1937, which was very cleverly done -- the word "Jew" was never mentioned -- had to move into Hongkew. For instance, my uncle's cafe. Then he was forced to sell at very cheap prices their businesses, similar to what happened in Germany, for instance, to the Jews who had to give it away when they were *arisiert*, for a fraction of the actual value.

ILLO HEPPNER

That was the watershed. We had to move into the ghetto and that was terrible. The only requirement that my mother had was that it

would have a, a real flush toilet, not buckets. And, so, the only thing we could find was one little room for the three of us.

For my father of course, that was terrible, he had to close his office in the city. And then he still went on and kept books for refugee businesses in the ghetto. And sometimes he got paid and sometimes he got paid in goods. And I taught English to some people in exchange for food, and that was basically it.

FRED FIELDS

The Japanese were established the borders of the so-called ghetto, you know, where they very cleverly did not put the Japanese soldier, maybe in the beginning a few. But a refugee civil patrol was started, a militia, called Pao Chia. We were forced by law to do Pao Chia duty at the border where if you came through, I asked: "May I see your passport?" You see, they issued passports to go to the Settlement or the French Concession.

SIG SIMON

Ghoya was the person that called himself "King of the Jews". What it amounted to is he was of the Japanese group which administered or supervised all refugees. If you wanted out of the district, you needed a special pass which in turn he in his office administered. And this little guy was about four feet 8, 10 inches tall and felt his power. And he really abused his power in many different ways. He would jump on his desk and slap the daylights out of a person simply for saying a wrong word. My father and I stood in line one day waiting to go to his office. He wasn't there yet. And word comes down very quickly, he's coming. Well, he came and walked by us. And for some reason my father must have either made the wrong move. I still to this day, don't know why, but he stopped in front of my father. And my father wore very thick glasses. And he made my father bend down and beat him in the face. Hit him in the face, knocked his glasses off and broke them. And that

day, I stood there and swore the day will come where I'll get even with him.

HILFSVEREIN

Genf, 15. Juni 1943. Notiz des internationalen Komitees des Roten Kreuzes.

Hinsichtlich der Situation der zivilen Bevölkerung in Shanghai herrscht die schlimmste Not zweifellos unter den deutsch-jüdischen Einwanderern, von denen mindestens 6000 vor dem Hungertod stehen und weitere 9000 nicht viel besser dran sind.

Im Moment hat das jüdische Komitee zwar noch einige der 3000 Mehlsäcke, die letzten Juli gespendet wurden, aber auch diese werden mit Ende nächsten Monats verbraucht sein.

Die Tatsache, daß neulich während der ersten Kältewelle, nach nur einer Nacht 534 tote Körper von den Straßen aufgelesen wurden, gibt einen Eindruck vom Ausmaß der Misere, die unter den ärmeren Schichten der chinesischen Bevölkerung herrscht.

ILLO HEPPNER

Food was, at that point, becoming very scarce. We had to go to the market every day and we ate whatever we had. But then my mother got ill and got Bacillary Dysentery and died within three days, because we didn't have any medication. And, after this it fell to me to do all of this. And that was kind of a shock to find out to cook, to take care of the house, whatever there was, to take care of my father who was getting more and more despondent, being a fairly young widower. And the situation for me personally became worse, much worse.

SIG SIMON

Just about midway through the war conditions were so that the clothes that you had either

brought or acquired in the meantime gave out and no money to buy anything else. So that even though in the wintertime it would come down to zero or below, you had no warm clothes and you might, I might have worn a T-shirt, pair of shorts, no socks. In place of shoes I would whittle or cut out of a piece of wood I would find, the shape of a sole. Put a strap across the front part and what might be described as a slipper use that for shoes. They didn't last very long. Either the darn strap came off every 15 minutes or the wood would be too soft and be used up in nothing flat. But all this came much after we got actually in so low, that we sold every single thing we owned.

ILLO HEPPNER

People's nerves were on edge. Everybody seemed to be screaming. There were lots of family fights among the families in the ghetto. And, of course, you heard everybody else's fight, along with all other noises - the Chinese noise, the Mahjong tiles. What I remember most about Shanghai in that time really, is there was never silence. There wasn't ever a moment when it was silent.

ERNEST HEPPNER

That was a time when the Japanese advanced in the Pacific and the Allies were retreating. We had radio news, local news. We could get news from the Soviet Union, but we didn't trust it. And we had through underground channels access to short wave. So even that news was not very very good, that the Allies were retreating. And we couldn't even begin to imagine what would happen if the Japanese would win. We didn't even dare to think about it. So, to describe the mood, it was almost near desperation. It was getting worse and worse and worse as time progressed between 1943, 44. And then after Illo's mother had passed away, we decided, why don't we get married. It looked to us as to some of the other young adults, that we might not survive the war. We might not survive the ghetto. So we got married.

ILLO HEPPNER

A very good friend of my mother-in-law's was a Viennese dress designer and she offered, if we would find her some fabric, to make me a real wedding gown. And my mother had brought some white curtains from Germany and they didn't fit any windows, so they were lying there. And she used that. And I had my mother's veil, so we had a very elegant wedding. I asked my father as a wedding present to buy me enough hot water from the hot water dealer to have a warm bath for the first time in years. Well, it was so wonderful to luxuriate that I was almost late for my own wedding. They had to pound on the bathroom door to get me out of there.

ERNEST HEPPNER

I moved into her room, with whom she had lived previously with her father and her mother. And her father moved out. And this room was just around the corner from the bakery where I worked. So at least I had something. I earned a little money and I got two breads per day. That was my, that was my pay.

ILLO HEPPNER

We had a very good friend who was a pianist, and we used to go to their room at night. There wasn't enough money for lights or candles, but we were sitting in the dark and he'd play in the dark. There were lots of things you could do.

ERNEST HEPPNER

We rejoiced when we heard American bombers in the distance, when they were starting to attack in Shanghai surroundings. And when they finally attacked the Shanghai wharves, I stood out on the window sill, because there were very often low-level attacks. And once I could even see the cockpit and I cheered them on. Until 17th of July 1945.

The bombers came over the ghetto and I climbed out of the window again, and we got hit. And I decided to go back to the bakery. Well there was nothing left. The whole lane was destroyed. I don't know how many hundreds and hundreds of Chinese lived in that lane and were killed. Not a single baker survived.

We heard we had become a secondary target because the Japanese had a munitions dump. They also had a communication transmitter there in our ghetto.

FRED FIELDS

About thirty-eight or thirty-nine of our refugee people died and hundreds, five or six hundred Chinese, and it was pretty bad, it was the highest time, höchste Zeit, because, if things got worse I don't know what would have happened. But things were already pretty pretty bad in the summer of '45.

ILLO HEPPNER

In the daily paper we found a little notice that an atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. Well, what's an atomic bomb? We had no idea what it was, but, we felt that it must be pretty good if they're dropping some sort of bombs on Japan, so the tide must have turned. And, then, of course, one day the Japanese guards, or whatever you call them, army, they were gone. And then we heard that, actually, you know, there's going to be peace, which was just, almost unbelievable.

FRED FIELDS

We ran around and tore down the, the border signs at the border of the ghetto. We ran to the city. And then the first American troops arrived. They had been in the Alusians for two years. They hadn't seen a woman for two years. So you can imagine what went on in Shanghai. And, I got friendly with, with some Navy officers and that was our greatest thing to go to these Officers

Clubs, being invited and having, eating decent food. Well it was wonderful.

SIG SIMON

The Japanese soldiers registered for repatriation. We found out where that was and two other friends of mine and myself decided we were going to try and find him. And by the third day, sure enough, he came. And he knew immediately what we intended to do. And what we intended to do was truly kill the man. We marched him back to our camp and much to our surprise we entered and the "Heimpolizei", the camp police, quote unquote, were furious. People gathered and said, this is undignified for us to bring the man in there for whatever reason. And immediately made us turn around and take him back out. We went out in the street with him and took him over in the field, in a bombed out field, and were going to kill him. We knocked him around quite seriously. He would fall down and stand up again, come to attention, and look you straight in the face without any expression whatsoever on his face. And when you face a person like that, even though he may be your worst enemy or you're, the type of person that you just want to kill, you can't. I can't. We couldn't. Perhaps if I had had a gun, I might have at the beginning that we had him. But we had a knife. That's all we had. And we simply turned him loose. To this day, I ask myself, what takes place in a person's mind after all the hate I had for the man, after all the things I wanted to do to him. And then having the opportunity to do it and not being able to do it. And yet, today in the back of my mind I'm so glad I didn't. I'm so glad I didn't. To kill a human being is not the thing to do even if you hate him.

ERNEST HEPPNER

We didn't know about the Holocaust, until on some buildings, sheets of paper with printed names appeared and everybody started looking and trying to find names of relatives. And then the news finally filtered out, but we really didn't have the full extent for a while what had

happened. We didn't know about Auschwitz. We knew there were some camps, where Jews were killed. And I started searching for my father, my sister, of course, never found out to this day what had happened to them.

FRED FIELDS

After the war, I got a letter from my mother, which was really devastating, in which she related that she was abandoned by two of her best friends. And she was very unhappy and started philosophizing about the fate of the Jews over all the last two thousand years and nobody will come to our help. And that she cannot understand that the British and American would not do anything to help them, and people disappeared and were killed and tortured and so forth. I never had realized that it was that bad. And I was fully confident that she would survive. The thought that my mother would perish and wind up in Auschwitz, it never occurred to me. First of all I didn't know about these camps. I was after all a newspaper man and knew more than most people. But the rumors were always flying around. But I know the Jews were transported to the East, that the conditions got worse and worse. But I had no idea that they went to, so far as to have factories where they would burn them and kill them by the carloads and by the millions. That, I had no idea.

LA FRANCE

Shanghai Journal, 20. Januar 1946.

Adolf Josef Storfer - Shanghai hat ihn noch nicht vergessen. Im Mai 1939 kam er mit der Gelben Post heraus und gewann auf einen Schlag alle für sich, die in dieser Zeit der absterbenden Kultur sich nach der Sonne der geistigen Heiterkeit, nach dem Glanz geschliffenen Wortes, nach der Wärme eines tieferen Gemüts gesehnt haben. Eine Woche vor dem Ausbruch des pazifischen Krieges reiste er weg. Jetzt erfahren wir von seinem frühen Tode.

Für mich bedeutet das Dahingehen Storfers den Verlust eines langjährigen Freundes. Ich habe ihn

im Jahre 1920 im Wiener Cafe Central, im damaligen Literatencafe, kennengelernt.

Wir fahren zusammen nach Shanghai, nachdem er die letzten zwei Monate in meinem Wiener Zimmer gewohnt hatte. Bruder, wie gefällt es Dir im Jenseits? Hast Du ein Zimmerchen mit Schreibtisch und Tischlampe für mich reserviert?
Lafrance

SIG SIMON

The British fleet came into the harbor. The American Seventh Fleet came in, bringing hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of GIs in. And the word came down that the armed services will hire civilians for certain jobs. The money was excellent. We made as much as 170 dollars in American money a month, which when we exchanged it was buckets full of money. And things just happened so quickly that we spent the money as fast and foolishly as it came in. I had suits made tailor-made, shoes made custom, shirts tailor-made. There was nothing that I could not buy and did.

ANNIE WITTING

Meine lieben Freunde,
Wir machten in dieser Zeit die schwersten Jahre unseres Lebens durch, die ich aber trotz Allem nicht missen möchte. So international und interessant, wie das Leben in China gewesen ist, wird es nirgends auf der Welt mehr sein. Ich meine damit speziell das Leben vor dem Ausbruch des Amerikanisch-Japanischen Krieges, speziell das Geschäftsleben. Nun herrscht wildeste Inflation im Lande und ein gewisser Fremdenhass. China ist reif für den Kommunismus und ich fürchte sehr, daß sie die Oberhand gewinnen werden. Die gebildeten Chinesen bedauern sehr, daß sich alles so zugespitzt hat und die Fremden zum großen Teil ihr Land verlassen, da sie genau wissen, wie sehr sie den Fremden zum Businessmachen benötigen. Wir glaubten, als wir nach China kamen, den Chinesen

Geschäftsgebaren beibringen zu können, aber in
Wirklichkeit haben wir von ihnen gelernt!
Ihre Annie Witting

ILLO HEPPNER

Unfortunately, in retrospect the colonial life had a
lot of attractions. But it wasn't to be that way
because Mao Tse Tung came and anyway, we had
made up our minds to go to the United States if we
could get our papers, and the quota came through
and we got our papers and there was no question
that we would leave.

ERNEST HEPPNER

Finally we got word that we would be on a
General Gordon, American Troop Transport. And
word got around very, very fast, not that Ernest
and Illo are going to America: "Illo and Ernie are
going home!" And that's the way we felt about it;
we are going home.

SIG SIMON

Rumor came out that the occupation forces will
soon will be withdrawn and I figured that it's time
to emigrate and got a visa and went to the United
States. I grew up so to speak in hard knocks, was
in no position to go to school and catch up. And
the more I look at it today, the more I say to
myself I would have possibly been able to take
much, much more. The bad is buried by the good.

FRED FIELDS

I became a very cosmopolitan person. You were
not considered a Jew. You were a German,
French, Italian. And they all did business
together, lived together. It was hard to believe
that how we got there and that we, at the end of
the world, and to an area totally unknown and
foreign to us. And Shanghai will never cease to be
a memory of amazement that there was such a
place.

ANNIE WITTING

Mai 1947. Meine lieben Freunde - alle!
Ist das alles nur ein Traum oder tatsächlich
Wirklichkeit? Wir sind bereits 4 Tage unterwegs
auf hoher See, entfernen uns immer mehr von
China mit Kurs auf unsere neue Heimat
Australien. Rings um uns ist unendliches Meer.
Fliegende Fische sind zu sehen und ab und zu
auch Haifische. Das Meer ist stahlblau, die
Wellenköpfe glitzern wie Brillanten. Man kommt
sich wieder als Mensch vor und nicht mehr wie
ein Flüchtling.
Ihre Annie Witting

Endtext:

Als die kommunistische Armee 1949 Shanghai
einnahm, hatte die große Mehrheit der Flüchtlinge
die Stadt bereits verlassen und war in die
Vereinigten Staaten, nach Australien, Kanada
und den neu gegründeten Staat Israel
ausgewandert.

Einige kehrten nach Europa zurück, zum Teil
wegen neuerlicher Einwanderungsbeschränkungen,
die es unmöglich machten, anderswo
ein neues Leben zu beginnen.

ENDE