SPECIAL ARTICLE

Russian-Jewish Harbin before World War II

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Imperial Russian Jewish Policy and the Uniqueness of Harbin

Harbin, a city founded by Tsarist Russia in 1898 as a construction headquarters from which to build the Chinese Eastern Railway (*Kitaiskaia Vostochnaia zheleznaiia doroga*, hereafter, CER), soon became the central place in the Russian Far East. Manchuria, in the early 20th century, was a border region between conflicting powers. Frontier characteristics and political crises resulted in an influx of settlers before, and refugees after, the Russian Revolution, resulting in a striking diversity of religions and ethnicities.

In Harbin in the first half of the 20th century, besides the Russian Orthodox churches, there were many non-Orthodox Christian churches, including Catholic, Lutheran, Armenian, Old Believer, Baptist, Seventh-Day Adventist and Molokan houses of worship. A first wooden mosque had been constructed already in 1901, and a synagogue in 1903¹. Harbin's Russian population is often generally lumped together as "Russians," but there were peoples other than ethnic Russians, such as Jews, Ukrainians, Armenians, Germans, Tartars, Greeks, Georgians, Poles, and Karaims. In contrast to the Russian Far East, where very few Jews were allowed to reside (for example, 267 in Vladivostok, 358 in Nikolaevsk and 610 in Khabarovsk in 1910)², a municipal census conducted at Harbin on March 9, 1913 (N.S.) found 5,032 Jewish residents, accounting for more than 10% of the "Russian" population in 1912.³ In the short decade since the construction of the CER, Harbin had become the largest Jewish center in the Far East.

Russian Jews were attracted to this city because there was no discrimination in education, residence, and administration, unlike that institutionalized in

Russia proper. As is well known, Tsarist Russia imposed residential restrictions called "the Pale of Jewish Settlement", and the overwhelming majority of the Jewish population in Russia was concentrated in the Kingdom of Poland and the 15 western provinces of Russia proper. In the reign of Alexander II, under his liberal integration policy towards the Jews, residential permits for outside the Pale of Settlement began to be given, first to guild merchants and then to artisans, and educational restrictions against the Jews were lifted. However, after the assassination of the Tsar and waves of pogroms in 1881, Russia's Jewish policy turned reactionary, and so new residential, economic, and educational restrictions for Jews were introduced.

In a frontier zone like the Far East, Jewish policies were influenced more by the policies of local authorities than by those of the central authorities. According to N.I. Dubinina, Priamur Governor-General Nikolai L. Gondatti (1911-1917) was a "monarchist with a liberal face" who was "democratic and associated with every social stratum." Gondatti, often evaluated as an advocate of foreign investment in the Russian Far East, aimed to promote the development of trade, fishery, railways and industry.⁴ However, the "Jewish question" seemed to be an exception for him. As for the settlement of Jews into the Russian Far East, Gondatti imposed stricter measures than the central authorities, often disregarding potential benefits for the local economy.⁵ When the Russian government relaxed the residential restrictions and permitted immigration of refugees into the Russian interior in the summer of 1915, when the government had difficulties in coping with a large number of Jewish refugees within the Pale, Gondatti imposed a new limitation that made it mandatory for Jewish refugees to apply for special permits for settlement in the Far East, making it practically impossible for Jewish refugees to migrate to the Far East.⁶

Immigration of a large number of Jews into Harbin was possible because the utilitarian requirement outweighed the official policy of maintaining consistency with the anti-Jewish laws of the Russian Empire. Under the policy of Finance Minister Sergei Witte, who placed importance on the prosperity of the areas along the railway lines and the economic promotion of the Russian Far East, anyone who had capital and a spirit of entrepreneurship was welcomed in Harbin. In March 1898, the Committee of Ministers gave the CER the right to issue passports. With this, it became legal for Jews to reside in the railway zone as an "exemption" in cases where it was acknowledged that such Jews

could contribute to the benefits of railway construction.⁷ Initially, many of the Jews in Harbin immigrated from neighboring cities such as Vladivostok, Blagoveshchensk and Khabarovsk, and they were engaged in the supply of construction materials and supplies for railway workers. Jewish capital at Harbin played a pioneering role in the promotion of local industries such as forestry, oil extraction, flour milling, alcohol distillery, etc., as well as the development of resources.⁸ A socialist and ethnographer, Moisei Krol', noticed when he arrived in 1918 in Harbin that "almost all big commercial enterprises in Harbin were in Jewish hands".⁹

Spurred on by the Russo-Japanese War, immigration of Jews into Harbin was further promoted. During the war, about 250,000 military personnel gathered in Harbin forming a Russian military base. Some military-goods suppliers, medical service workers and soldiers (Jews accounted for 4% of the total number of soldiers¹⁰) remained in Harbin after the war. Moreover, as many Jewish communities in the Pale were destroyed by pogroms during the 1905 Revolution, some Jews returned to Harbin with their families.

In Harbin, institutions and facilities that made it possible for Jews to live their national and religious lives were rapidly constructed. By about 1914 the Jewish community in Harbin had established fully-equipped religious and community facilities such as synagogues, schools (elementary education and Hebrew language schools), a public library, *Hevrah Kaddishah* (burial brotherhood), a cemetery, a *mikvah* (ritual bathhouse), an old age home, *Gmiles Hessed* (interest-free loan system), and charitable organizations, forming the leading national and religious groups in Harbin.

Identity of Jews in Harbin: Religion, National Consciousness and Language

In late imperial Russia, as the new generation of Russian Jews increasingly lost their traditional religious identity through secularization, modern national identity and Zionism as a political movement became the unifying forces for Jews in Russia. The Jewish community in Harbin was no exception. The political and social upheavals, reactionary movements after the 1905 revolution, and the wave of anti-Semitism that culminated in the 1911-13 ritual murder accusation (the Beilis Affair), stimulated a sense of crisis and strengthened the

unity of the Jewish communities of Harbin.

"Harbin Jewish Community (*Kharbinskaia evrejskaia obshchina*)" later renamed "Harbin Jewish Religious Society (*Kharbinskoe evrejskoe dukhovnoe obshchestvo*)" was founded in 1903. In December 1909, the first by-laws entitled "Private Rules of Jewish Religious Organizations in Harbin" were established. After the Russian Revolution, many refugees crowded into Harbin. As a result, the organizations of the Jewish Community in Harbin were further consolidated. A soup kitchen for daily meals was established in 1918, and a free clinic and a nursing home for kinless elderly poor people were established in 1920. The expenses of all of these facilities were paid by donations and the Community membership fees.¹¹

According to the by-laws of the Harbin Jewish Community newly registered in April 1920, the Community managed "all problems in Jewish *national lives*". It was defined as an organization to protect the "national interests" of Jews, and had wide-ranging authority, including Jewish education, public health, charity, aid to refugees, birth registration and administration of the Jewish cemetery. The by-laws stipulated that all male and female Jews who were more than 17 years of age living in Harbin and its vicinity were qualified as members of the Community, and that all problems were to be decided by a majority vote of the Community Council (*obshchinnyi sovet*) whose members were elected by the Jewish Community members.¹² The administration of the Jewish Community in Harbin was democratic, and at the council meetings there were fierce debates over a wide range of issues between the ruling Zionists and the Bundist opposition¹³. Dr. Abraham Kaufman was the president of the Harbin Jewish Community from 1919 to 1945.

Unlike the Jewish communities of modern Europe, which administered only religious affairs, the authority of the Harbin Jewish Community extended to Jewish national life in general, including secular affairs. It is interesting to note that the membership qualification had a proviso that "Jews who belong to any religion other than Judaism (*Evrei, prinadlezhashchie kakomu-libo neiudejskomu veroispovedaniuu*) are not regarded as members."¹⁴ This indicates that some converted Jews preserved their Jewish national identity.

The anti-Jewish legislation of Imperial Russia, including residential restrictions, was basically religiously motivated, and it was possible for Jews to break free from such anti-Jewish laws by converting to Christianity. In Imperial Russia,

the number of Jewish converts to Christianity was not large in the 19th century.¹⁵ Furthermore, Jews converted to Christianity for pragmatic reasons such as intermarriage, occupational reasons, seeking higher education and acquisition of residence permission, rather than for purely religious motives. It was inconceivable that Jews would convert to Christianity in a city like Harbin, which was religiously tolerant. However, tragedies caused by conversion are recorded even in Harbin, and whether it was right or wrong to bury converted Jews in Jewish cemeteries became an issue in the Harbin Community. The problem of conversion contrasts the liberal Harbin that was described as "Happy Khorvatia" and the anti-Semitic realities in Russia proper. A young Jewish man who took the entrance examination of St. Petersburg Technology Institute turned Lutheran without telling his parents in Harbin, because he had no confidence that he would win admission under the 5% Jewish quota, and thus he passed the examination. This young man died of an illness when he came back to Harbin, and just before he was due to be buried in a Jewish cemetery it was discovered from his passport that he was not Jewish. Aaron Kiselev, a rabbi of the Harbin Jewish Community, said, "Those Jews who were converted can never be allowed for any reason to be buried in Jewish cemeteries unless otherwise they again turned Jewish by completing all the necessary procedures," and refused permission for his burial. Despite his family's petition that his burial in a Jewish cemetery be allowed, the authority of the CER handled this case as an "internal matter of the Jewish community," and eventually the young man was buried in a Lutheran cemetery.¹⁶

About 90% of the Jews in Harbin were from Russia. Almost all of the 20 Jewish newspapers and journals published from 1918 to 1930 were written in the Russian language. *Der Vayter Mizrekh* (Far East) was the only newspaper in Yiddish. In an interesting episode, rabbi Kiselev once preached a sermon in Yiddish, but since many of the congregation could not understand the rabbi, the synagogue was thrown into an uproar, and the rabbi was finally obliged to speak in Russian after all. According to G. V. Melikhov, Harbin was a multi-ethnic city united by the Russian language and Russian culture.¹⁷ No matter what ethnicity people belonged to, Harbintsy (Harbin Russian as they call themselves) had Russian culture as their common roots, and they were proud of it. In this sense, Jews were surely Harbintsy. Around the same time in New York, the main destination of immigration for Russian Jews, newspapers writ-

ten in Yiddish had great influence, and Yiddish pop culture prospered. Contrary to this situation in New York, the affinity with the Russian language and Russian culture emerges as the salient characteristic of Jews in Harbin. David Wolff noticed the fact that in contrast to Jews in New York a high percentage of Jews in Harbin used the Russian language as their mother tongue, and concluded that the reason why many Russian Jews were attracted to Harbin was that the city was impervious to anti-Semitism but still remained within the framework of Russian culture.¹⁸ The Russian census of 1897 revealed that 97% of the Jews in the empire declared Yiddish to be their mother tongue. Even in Kiev, which had a higher concentration of acculturated Jews than the average small towns in the Pale, only 6% of Jewish residents spoke Russian as their mother tongue.¹⁹ Unlike those Russian Jews who immigrated into the U.S. from the Pale, most of the Jews in Harbin came from the inner Russian provinces and Siberia and were familiar with the Russian language and culture.

In Harbin too, the process of Jewish religious acculturation took place. Teddy Kaufman, the son of the long-term leader of the Harbin Jewish Community Dr. Abraham Kaufman, witnessed how much the Jewish religious rites in Harbin were affected by the customs of the Russian Orthodox Church. Kaufman cited interesting “incidents” during prayers in Synagogue. The Jewish practice of making donations called “*Maot Hittim*” (wheat flour money) is to make it possible for poor people to buy wheat flour for *matzoth* (unleavened bread) before Passover. But the *gabbai* who was in charge of the charity fund for the Harbin synagogue had little knowledge of Judaism, and had asked for contributions on a sheet headed “Donation to the Needy — a Red Egg for Passover”. He was blissfully unaware that he had substituted an “Easter egg” for *matzoth* and flour.²⁰

Jewish society played a pioneering role in various aspects of economic, social and cultural life in the city of Harbin, and built close relations with Russian society. Jews and Russians could mingle freely at the city’s public, cultural, and commercial facilities such as hospitals, theaters, libraries and schools. In Harbin there were several Russian language Jewish newspapers, and Russian daily newspapers and weekly magazines won many Jewish readers.

Disintegration of Harbintsy

In the chaos after the Russian Revolution and Civil War, about two million people emigrated from Russia. The Russian diaspora had spread throughout the world: most headed for the western part of Eurasia such as Paris, Berlin and Prague, but part escaped into China, particularly into Harbin. The number of "Russians" drastically increased in Harbin after the end of the civil war and reached 150,000 in 1922, when Harbin became the largest center of Russian émigrés in the Far East. After Japan's puppet state of "Manchukuo" was founded in 1932, Harbin was continuously ruled by Japan for 13 years.

The Russian diaspora in Europe gradually became assimilated into the cultures and languages of the host countries, whereas Russians in Harbin had almost no contact with the surrounding Chinese culture and so did not lose their Russian identity.²¹ Similarly, Harbin Jews showed non-assimilation tendencies. Russian-Jewish journals were published in Harbin during the inter-war period and well into the Second World War. By contrast, the Russian-Jewish intellectual movements in Europe were gradually disrupted as the number of Russian speakers decreased, and Jewish journals written in the Russian language died out by the middle of the 1930s. Harbin became a unique enclave of Russian-Jewish culture.

However there was a disintegration of Russian society in Harbin in the 1930s. The Yad Vashem Archives in Jerusalem house testimony from Jews who spent their childhood in Harbin and Shanghai under Japanese rule. Such witnesses suggest that there was a rift created between Jewish and non-Jewish society in Harbin. Mark Lur'e, born in Harbin in 1923, said as follows:

My family was assimilated but Jewish characteristics remained. In our home, we made knaidel (dumplings made from matzo as an East European Jewish dish), and went to synagogue during Passover. My family was not religious at all. But about 90% of my friends were Jews, although I did not select friends according to nationality. I encountered anti-Semitism only twice in my life in Manchuria. For example, there were many quarrels between children of Soviet employees and those of Whites in Harbin. I heard some children of Whites shouting "*zhid*." I knew I was a Jew. Of course, I got angry, but I did not have much self-consciousness as a Jew at that time.²²

According to Nomi Synclare, born in Harbin in 1921, there were almost no exchanges between Jews and the "Whites" and there were "many anti-Semites."²³ Another interviewee, born in Harbin in 1925, had the experience that her mother was falsely accused by "Whites" of being a spy and was imprisoned for four days. "Since about that time, our family began seriously considering leaving Harbin," she said.²⁴ Characteristically, the recollections of Jews who spent their childhood in Harbin in the 1930s link the words "Whites" and "White Russians" to anti-Semitism.

Harbin had been described as a "paradise" for Jews. However, the Russian Revolution and the international upsurge of anti-Semitism after the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia had a great impact on Jewish society in Harbin. The anti-Semitic Jews-Bolshevik bogey spread into Harbin too. Since the 1920s, especially in the 1930s when Japan became a major local actor, Jewish society in Harbin underwent hard times because of the economic depression and rampant anti-Semitism. As we saw, while Harbin Jews had ethnically and religiously distinct identities, they acculturated to Russian culture and coexisted with other "Russians" in Harbin. However, ten years after the revolution in November 1927, anti-Semitic fliers were distributed on the street in Harbin, windowpanes of synagogues were broken, and other anti-Semitic incidents took place.²⁵ Among others, the greatest threat to Jewish society in Harbin was the move of some White Russians to form fascist organizations.

The chief factors behind the popularity of fascist organizations in Harbin were the economic disparity between those who had lived in Harbin since before the revolution and those who came as refugees after the revolution, and, because of overpopulation, the particularly high unemployment rate among youth.²⁶

For the Jews, Harbin was no longer a "safe haven." After the creation of the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932, Harbin Jews became a favorite target of kidnapping by the members of the Russian Fascist Party. In particular, Simeon Kaspe, a pianist of French citizenship and the son of the owner of the Hôtel Moderne, the most prestigious hotel in Harbin, was kidnapped and killed in 1933. His father was first sent a demand for ransom, but on refusing, was sent his son's ear instead. The mutilated body was discovered a little later. This kidnapping and murder case, called the Kaspe affair, shook the Jewish community in Harbin, and also created an international sensation. The affair was shrouded in mystery. According to John Stephan, the Japanese military police

and the local police in Harbin had a keen interest in the money of the Jews in Harbin, and planned to get ransom by kidnapping Jews.²⁷ It was members of the Fascist Party who actually kidnapped and killed Simeon. In October 1934, six suspects including a Harbin police officer named Martynov, who was a member of the Russian Fascist party, were arrested. In March 1936, they were brought before the district court in Harbin, and sentenced to death. However, the Supreme Court in Shinjin (now Changchun), the capital of Manchukuo, reversed the decision, and the convicts won acquittal in February 1937, and were “deported” to Dairen (now Dalian).

In the Archives of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there are many documents concerning the Kaspe affair in reports from the consul general and the local police agency in Harbin. This is because the case was widely reported by newspapers abroad, as Simeon Kaspe was a French citizen, and Japanese embassies in the United States and European countries inquired of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs about this affair. Naoki Maruyama points out that the Kaspe affair caused American public opinion to criticize Japan, and Japan needed to take measures to improve its image.²⁸ Indeed, Japan learned a bitter lesson from the affair.

While Japan was racking its brains amid the international attention, Jews in Harbin also could not help but take extreme caution to cope with the affair. When the funeral for Simeon Kaspe was held on December 5, 1933, Jewish stores in Harbin shut down completely to express condolence for the victim. This was regarded as being criticism aimed at the Japanese authorities. The Manchurian Daily News (*Manshu Nippo*), a Japanese-language newspaper published in Dairen, criticized the Jewish stores that closed on the day of the funeral. According to the paper, Dr. Abraham Kaufman, the leader of the Jewish community in Harbin, behaved outrageously and made violent speeches in the streets against the Manchukuo authority. A fascist newspaper in Harbin also reported that Dr. Kaufman made a speech as a strong protest against the “negligence of the authorities to allow such a cowardly crime and not to protect residents from murderers.”²⁹

Both Japan and Kaufman must have felt that prolonging this enmity would never benefit them. In February 1935, Morito Morishima, the Consul General in Harbin, met with Kaufman, who asked Morishima to prohibit the publications of the Russian Fascist Party from carrying anti-Semitic articles. The meeting

was reported by three Russian-language newspapers in Harbin under the headline "Japan Consul General Morishima Criticizes Attack on Jews", and Morishima judged that the meeting had a certain effect on improving the situation³⁰. Interestingly enough, as opposed to Morishima who promoted "settlement" with the Jews, Hanroku Nagaoka, the vice consul in Harbin, expressed his opinion that following such a policy to support Jews, who were merely a minority among Russians in Harbin, was not desirable from the point of view of government, as it would alienate Russians.³¹ In spite of the fact that there was a split within Japanese diplomatic circles concerning its "Jewish policy", kidnappings of Jews ceased after 1936.

Japan and its Jewish policy

The friction between Russian fascists and Jewish society was not the only rift in Harbin Russian society. Under the Soviet law of December 15 1921, those who emigrated abroad illegally were deprived of their Soviet citizenship. As a result, a large majority of Russians abroad became stateless. Many Russians who lived in the CER railway zone acquired Soviet citizenship, since the CER after 1924 could employ only Soviet and Chinese citizens. After this date, Harbintsy were largely categorized by citizenship into Soviet passport, Chinese passport and émigré status (stateless). Out of the total Russian population in Harbin at the time when Manchukuo was founded in 1932, 26,234 were stateless and 31,837 had Soviet citizenship.³² According to Harbin police data in the mid-1930s, out of 7000 Jews in Harbin, 4500 were stateless, 1200 had Soviet passports, 350 had Polish, 160 had Lithuanian and 150 had Chinese passports.³³

"The 13 years under the rule of Manchukuo were hard times for the residents of Harbin. Because people who had lived together for many years were suddenly classified into either White émigrés or Soviet citizens, either Russian Orthodox or Jews." Mara Mustafine, who was born in Harbin of a Jewish mother and Tartar father, recalled how her family and other relatives were torn by the citizenship divide. Most of her relatives acquired the status of stateless, but her grandfather chose to maintain his Soviet citizenship:

My mother's family was among those who retained Soviet citizenship throughout the Japanese occupation, as my grandfather insisted that being

stateless — “a citizen of nowhere” — was too risky in the face of Japanese aggression. The price was the Japanese takeover of his meat business and my mother’s exclusion from school ...³⁴

In December 1934, the Bureau for Russian Émigrés (*Biuro po delam rossijskikh emigrantov*, hereafter, BREM) was established under the guidance of the Japanese Military Mission in Harbin. From then on, Russians living in Manchukuo were allowed to conduct activities only in organizations registered at the BREM, including political, social and religious organizations, clubs, schools and others. By early 1935, 188 organizations were registered with the BREM. One of the purposes in creating the BREM was to control Russians in Manchukuo and to settle the frictions between them. A recent study indicates that by creating BREM, Japan also intended to encourage Russians to give up their Soviet passports and resister as stateless émigrés in BREM.³⁵ The bureau increased its importance over time, according to the recollection of one Russian émigré:

In Manchukuo, BREM had a branch and representatives in each of the cities and residential areas where émigrés resided. Russians called BREM "our consulate" as a joke. Initially, the registration was voluntary. Over time, however, it became difficult for us to get jobs without a BREM card, and became impossible to work at all in state organizations.³⁶

Every Russian over 17 years of age was required to register with the BREM by filling out a detailed questionnaire, and could then receive an identification certificate, necessary for getting a job. The BREM supervised not only Russians but also all other ethnic groups such as Poles, Georgians, Armenians, Ukrainians, Tartars, Jews and others. The relationship between BREM and Jews is one of the mysteries that have still not been clarified. According to Ol’ga Bakich, Harbin Jews joined the BREM by 1936.³⁷ However, many of the officials of the BREM were the leaders of the Russian Fascist Party that was headed by Konstantin Rodzaevsky. It must have been painful indeed for Jews to appear in person at the Fascist-dominated BREM, which controlled all aspects of Russian life in Harbin. Some documents indicate that the Japanese authorities acknowledged the problem and began to treat Jews separately from other Russians.

In December 1937, 21 Jewish representatives gathered in Harbin from Tianjin,

Dairen, Mukden, Hailar, Qiqihar, Kobe and Harbin, and the first Far Eastern Jewish People's Conference was held with 700 participants. At the conference, Jews declared their all-out cooperation with the national policies of Japan and Manchukuo. The conference elected seven members of the newly-created Far Eastern Jewish Council from the representatives of the cities, and Abraham Kaufman was elected as the chairman. According to a Japanese source, this council was created as a nonpartisan organization that represented Jews in the Far East and that played the "same roles as that of the BREM."³⁸ From that time, Japan promoted its policy of protecting Jews under its rule.

Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives holds the records of three Jewish families in Manzhouli who did not wish to apply for émigré status at the BREM office in Manzhouli, even though they had decided to give up their Soviet citizenship after the CER was sold to Japan in 1935.

In order to change our citizenship to the émigré status, it is necessary for us to do procedures at the BREM. However, when we saw the attitude of the BREM officers to the Jews, at every occasion they cry "Down with the Communist Party" and then shout "Down with the Jews." Unfortunately, we are the Jews whom they want to defeat. We know thoroughly that the White Russians hate us most and attempt to defeat us. For us, doing procedures to change our citizenship at the BREM is equal to surrendering to the enemy. Anyone who has any pride will not do that³⁹.

These families decided to move to Harbin in the summer of 1939, where they could go through the registration procedure without applying at the BREM.

In contrast to the growing rapprochement between Harbin Jews and the Japanese authorities, the Russian Fascist Party faced a crisis under pressure from the Japanese side in the late 1930s. In March 1938, Konstantin Rodzaevsky was appointed as the head of BREM after the former head General Baksheev resigned because of illness. According to a White émigré source, this unexpected appointment was welcomed by the Harbin Russian community. However, soon after the appointment, Rodzaevsky was forced to resign by pressure from the Japanese authorities. The source of the pressure was Kiichiro Higuchi, who was the head of Harbin Military Mission, and who requested Rodzaevsky to liquidate the Russian Fascist party and to concentrate on the BREM work.

Rodzaevsky was dismissed after he declined Higuchi's request, and publication of the Russian Fascist Party's anti-Semitic daily newspaper named *Nash Put'* was prohibited.⁴⁰

After the Russian Revolution and civil war, Harbin became a major political and cultural center of the Russian diaspora. Japan encountered a diversified Russian society with its complicated divisions according to religion, ethnicity, political ideas and citizenship. In Harbin Japan also encountered for the first time a large number of Jews, and the question of the Japanese treatment of Jews attracted international attention after the Kaspe affair in 1933. As this study shows, Japan's "Jewish policy" took shape amidst the chaos of the late 1930s. Further studies will be necessary to elucidate questions of Russian-Jewish relations and the evolution of anti-Semitism within the Russian émigré community in Harbin.

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