

in China. Other Chinese Muslims had no choice as they served in the military or as public servants of the national government. As Taiwan was unknown to Chinese Muslims prior to their arrival, how to find a place to perform the congregational prayer, to find halal foods and even cemeteries became their urgent common problems. Through efforts and coordination by Chinese Muslim elites with the government, the Chinese Muslim population gradually found places to meet and fulfil religious duties.

It can be said of Islamic affairs in Taiwan that from 1950s to the early 1990s Chinese Muslims developed in line with the anti-communism principle. The anti-communism principle should be placed in the context of the Cold War. The divide between the Soviet Union and the Western Bloc were clear, and Taiwan was on the side of the Western Bloc. 'Anti-Communism' and 'Reclaim the Mainland' were two prevalent political slogans in Taiwan, as President Chiang Kai-shek (1949-1975) and his successor Chiang Ching-kuo (1978-1988) claimed that the ROC government in Taiwan was the only legitimate political entity representing all of China. In this political context, it is understandable that Chinese Muslims in Taiwan were part of this anti-communism policy. The Chinese Muslim Association (CMA) played a significant role in this regard. The CMA founded in 1938 during the Sino-Japanese War, was considered the highest Chinese Muslim organisation for the purpose of unifying all Muslims across China to defend against the invasion of the imperial Japanese army. After 1949, most high-ranking members from the CMA came to Taiwan and restarted the CMA's function in 1951. Subsequently, the CMA had a great impact on Chinese Muslims in Taiwan. It can be said that the CMA was the main actor that shaped the image of Islam in Taiwan. The construction of the Taipei Grand Mosque in 1960 and Hajj delegations during the Cold War could be considered two representative cases.

Construction of Taipei Grand Mosque in 1960

When the first handful of Chinese Muslims migrated to Taiwan, they found a wooden house in Taipei as a temporary mosque. However, the house could not accommodate enough Muslims in congregational prayers and Eid, as a huge number of Chinese Muslims fled to Taiwan in the early 1950s. To solve the insufficient space problem, the CMA decided to build a new mosque. With the government's support, Taipei Grand Mosque was finally established on 13 April, 1960. The construction of Taipei Grand Mosque served dual purposes. Taipei Grand Mosque became a diplomatic window for the government to connect Muslim countries and Muslim figures in Southeast Asia and the Middle East during the Cold War. Many Muslim officials from these regions visited Taipei Grand Mosque. The most famous ones are King Hussein of Jordan and King Faisal of Saudi Arabia. In addition, Taipei Grand Mosque served the government's anti-communist policy. For example, Muslim representatives from Japan, Brunei and the Philippines were invited to the opening ceremony of Taipei Grand Mosque. These representatives signed a joint statement with a representative of the CMA.²³ The joint statement was not only aimed at a threat of

²³ 'Muslim Representatives from ROC, Brunei and Philippines declared a joint statement,' *Bulletin of Chinese Muslim Association*, No.37, April 25, 1960.