

and bad guys and destroy the heresy and brutality of communism in order to save Muslims and other Chinese from the devil.’<sup>28</sup> This supplication may reflect Chinese Muslims’ minds. Between the 1950s and 70s Chinese Muslims in China suffered from a series of political movements and ‘reform of religions’ triggered by CCP. Their religious freedom was severely deprived by the party. Worse, some famous Imams in China were forced to eat pork or even were killed by the CCP. It is believed that Chinese Muslim elites in Taiwan knew their fellows were afflicted by CCP through other channels. In this sense, Chinese Muslim elites in Taiwan naturally put their trust to Allah in the supplication.

### Hajj delegations

Hajj delegation could be seen another case in which the CMA exhibited an image of Islam in association with the anti-communism. Hajj is one of the five pillars of Islam. Every Muslim who has the mental, physical and financial ability is required to fulfil the obligation. Hajj should be treated as a spiritual journey for every Muslim, though it is inevitable that Muslims who perform Hajj are often entangled with politics. During the Cold War, the CMA dispatched annual Hajj delegations to Saudi Arabia from 1954.<sup>29</sup> Due to the fact that Hajj delegations were fully sponsored by the government, propagating messages of anti-communism to Saudi officials and other foreign Muslim representatives was equally important. For example, in 1965, a Hajj delegation consisting of five Chinese Muslims not only performed Hajj, but also sought solidarity with Saudi Arabian officials and representatives from different Muslim countries. One of their missions was to broadcast ‘an open letter to the Muslim world’ through Saudi radio. The letter stated:

“We as Chinese Muslims had fifty millions of populations in China (before 1949). But when the communist party occupied China, the populations decreased from fifty millions to thirteen millions according a census in 1951. More than thirty-million Muslims either were killed or were forced to abandon Islam, which is the worst tragedy throughout history. As for other Muslims remain in China, they try hard to keep Islam safe just like our Palestinian brothers. Therefore, we request our brothers around the world to make supplications for our Chinese brothers and deceased brothers.”<sup>30</sup>

Another mission for the Hajj delegation was to meet King Faisal, who had just ascended to the throne the year before. At first, the chief of the Hajj delegation (康玉書) sent regards to King Faisal on behalf of President Chiang Kai-shek and then requested King Faisal to make supplications to Allah in order to protect Palestinian brothers to return their homeland and help Chinese Muslims out of disasters that the communist created. In reply, King Faisal clearly stated

<sup>28</sup> ‘Opening ceremony of Taipei Mosque,’ *Bulletin of Chinese Muslim Association*, No.73, April 25, 1960.

<sup>29</sup> The CMA dispatched a Hajj delegation almost every year. Only one exception was that a Hajj delegation in 1954 did not go to Saudi Arabia due to an administrative delay.

<sup>30</sup> *Report of ROC Hajj Delegation in 1965*, p.8