

that ‘communism contradicts Islam in essence. Both could not co-exist. Communism curbs humanity and ruins religion. It will be vanished eventually.’<sup>31</sup> King Faisal’s resentment against communism had a reason. He also considered the threat of communism destabilizing the Arabian Peninsula, such as the rebel group in Oman and Communist South Yemen. In his eyes, the Chinese communists (the People Republic of China) were assisting these rebels, which further provoked his anger. According to Makio Yamada’s research, the sentiment of anti-communism was one of the factors binding Saudi Arabia and ROC. He indicates that Saudi Arabia was the only Arab country voting against UN General Assembly Resolution 2758 in 1971, which ordered the replacement of the ROC with the PRC as the only legitimate state representing China at the UN.<sup>32</sup>

The two cases of the construction of Taipei Grand Mosque and the Hajj delegations, show how the image of Islam was highly associated with anti-communism as prompted by the ROC government. As can be seen in previous analyses, the first generation of Chinese Muslims who migrated to Taiwan in the early 1950s had difficulty finding Islamic resources. Thus, they had no opportunities to develop Islamic affairs in Taiwan independently but largely depended on government sponsorship. Furthermore, they did not integrate into Taiwan’s mainstream society. Their wish to return to Mainland China one day may be a factor, while creating a clear social boundary between themselves and the Han, the majority of Taiwan’s populations is the major factor. They rarely interact with the Han because of their special eating habits such as prohibitions against eating pork and drinking alcohol. This kind of habit has fostered a strong sense of group identity among Chinese Muslims.<sup>33</sup> However, this situation started gradually changing in 1990s. The next generation of Chinese Muslims were more concerned about the localisation of Islam and interacted with non-Muslim individuals and organisations. Meanwhile, the anti-communism condition was not strongly required by the ROC government after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Chinese economic reform by the CCP. Since then, the image of Islam as associated with anti-communism sentiment has faded.

### **Toward the localisation of Islam and the declination of Muslim populations**

From the 1990s onwards, the image of Islam that the Chinese Muslims exhibited was related to how to interact with Taiwan’s society rather than highlighting anti-communism sentiment. The second generation of Chinese Muslims that were born in Taiwan were aware of the necessity of interacting with society; for example, a young Chinese Muslim (丁迺忻) who was elected chairman of Taipei Grand Mosque outlined several important points during his inauguration in February 2001:

“We have to gradually abandon our narrow-minded thinking, rethinking our position, and the role of the mosque (in our society). We need to cultivate ourselves, not only

<sup>31</sup> *Report of ROC. Hajj Delegation in 1965*, pp.18-19.

<sup>32</sup> Makio Yamada, ‘Islam, Energy, and Development: Taiwan and China in Saudi Arabia, 1949-2013,’ *American Journal of Chinese Studies*, Vol 22, No.1, 2015, p.88-89.

<sup>33</sup> Barbara Pillsbury, *Cohesion and Cleavage in a Chinese Muslim History*, PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1973, p.113