

HOW CHINA ISLAMIC NATIONAL SALVATION FEDERATION PROTECTED HUI MINORITY'S INTERESTS DURING W.W. II

Taking Central China's Henan Province as an Example

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ABSTRACT

Hui societies came into being in the late Qing dynasty, and the earliest societies formed for the public benefits of the Hui communities, such as protecting girl babies, extinguishing fire, and doing funeral services. During the Republican era, Hui societies developed into academic Hui research societies, societies for social reformation, and societies for military purpose. The Islamic Federation the largest national Hui society will be examined to show how they protected the interest of Hui minority during the Second World War.

Keywords: Islamic societies, Hui Minority, China Islamic National Salvation Federation, Han.

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I. CHINA ISLAMIC NATIONAL SALVATION FEDERATION

The national Hui alliance during the WWII, initially called “China Huimin Anti-Japanese and National Salvation Association” was established in December of 1937 in Zhengzhou, Henan province mainly by two Hui elites from Hebei province, Shi Zizhou and Wang Jingzhai. At the time, Chinese President Chiang Kai-shek entrusted General Bai Chongxi, the top-ranking Hui official in the National Government during WWII, to be in charge of the national Hui affairs. Bai instructed that this Association move to Wuhan in the spring of 1938. By May of the same year, they changed the title to “China Huimin National Salvation Federation” and extended its internal executive body. Bai Chongxi acted as the general director,¹ Sun Shengwu and Tang Kesan and other Hui elites, all together eleven in total, joined the Federation and became vice directors; so it became a semi-governmental federation and relied on appropriation from the national government budget. It started publishing a bulletin, the *Weekly Bulletin of China Huimin Salvation Association* (herein after abbreviated as “*Weekly Bulletin*”) from No. 1 (October 1938) to No. 37 (September 1939), the *Bulletin of China Huijiao National Salvation Federation* (herein abbreviated as “*Huijiao Bulletin*”) from Vol. I, Issue 1 (Oct. 1939) to Vol. II, Issue 12 (Oct. 1, 1940), and the *Report of China Huijiao National Salvation Federation* (hereinafter abbreviated as “*Huijiao Report*”) from Vol. 3, Issue 1 (November 1940) to Vol. VIII, Issue 2 (October 1948).

It announced that all other Hui associations or organizations should merge with it and become branch members and the order became authoritative. The Hui national organization began with this federation; the Hui had never before possessed a national institution that guided all the Hui across the entire country since their ancestors immigrated into China. In October 1939, the Federation was moved to Chongqing, the war-capital, and its title was changed to “China Huijiao National Salvation Federation”. In 1946, it was renamed “China’s

Huijiao Association” and was moved to Nanjing. In 1949, it was moved, once more, to Taipei, Taiwan where it was located until the present.²

The Islamic Federation set up branches in all provinces, cities, counties and towns. The main contributions of the Federation were: to publicize the cruelties of the Japanese invasion and the news of the anti-Japanese battles in its bulletin;³ to organize Hui youth corps, battlefield service teams, service teams for victims of air-raids, women service work, and the like for the wounded soldiers and refugees;⁴ to transport military supplies;^{5,6} and to establish local Hui forces to fight against the Japanese; etc.⁷ The Federation also established Islamic Cultural Research Society, endeavoring to academic studies.⁸ Bai Chongxi called up the Hui to strengthen their natural relations with the world’s Muslims,⁹ thus another notable contribution was that the Federation sponsored the Hui international diplomacy with Islamic countries.¹⁰ Apart from these, the Federation made many efforts to promote Hui education, to secure Hui livelihood by creating every possible method of assistance, and to protect Hui interests in army service, in administrations at all levels, and in solving the problems regarding Hui-Han confrontations.¹¹ Bai Chongxi (1893-1966) was a prominent Hui man who rose to a high position of influence in this period. His contributions to Hui unity during the Sino-

2 The evolution of this Federation after its foundation may see Ma Tianying, “The Past and Present of China Islamic Association” in Ma Tianying, ed, *Islamic Light*, Kuala Lumpur: Issue 39 (September 1972), 2.

3 E.g. “Huimin jiuguo xiehui fabiao gao xibei jiangling wen” (A Public Letter from the Huimin National Salvation Federation to the Northwest Military Generals), *Xinhua Daily*, February 23, 1938. See Da Zhenyi, ed. *Historical Data on the Hubei Huizu*. Ibid, 218-19.

4 E.g. “Huimin zhandi fuwu tuan fu Yu xuanchuan kang ri” (The Huimin Battlefield Service Team Going to Henan for Publicity of Resisting the Japanese) in *Xinhua Daily*, June 24, 1938. See Da Zhenyi, *Historical Data on the Hubei Huizu*, ibid, 198. “Hui qing fuwu tuan gongzuo jin kuang” (Recent Work of the Huimin Youth Corps) in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. 1, Issue 10 (June 1940), 36-37.

5 E.g. in 1942, Yunnan Islamic Federation Branch organized the Hui to transport military goods with more than

6 3000 manful-carts, 10,000 horses in half-year’s time. See “Western Yunnan Hui’s Participation in Transportation” in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. 5, 1, Issue 10 (March 1, 1943), 36-37.

7 See Wan Lei, *The Hui and the Republican Revolution, 1911-1949*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 2009). Chapter 6 of the Thesis, “Hui Anti-Japanese War”.

8 “The Executive Staff of the Islamic Cultural Research Society Having Been Selected” (Huijiao wenhua yanjiu hui ganshi xuanding) in *Weekly Bulletin*, No. 32 (Chongqing: March 31, 1939), 127.

9 Bai Chongxi, “The Anti-Invasion and Huijiao Culture” in *Huijiao Bulletin*, Vol. 2, Issue 1 (April 15, 1940), 3-5; and “Huijiao in China and in the World” (First published by the Central News Agency in 1942) in Chang Chi-yun, ed. *bianjian lunwen ji*, or *Symposium on Borderland Affairs* (Vol. 2), 1966, 1034-37.

10 See Wan Lei, “Chinese Islamic Good-Will Mission to the Mid-East” in *Divan: Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* (Istanbul: Dec. 2010), 133-70.

11 Cf. Wan Lei, “The Hui Contribution to the Anti-Japanese War in Henan” in *Paper Collection of the 18th Hui Studies Conference* (printed material), Zhengzhou, Oct. 2009, 51-59.

1 See “New Mohammedan Chief” in *The North-China Herald*, January 22 (Sahngai: 1938), 482. Also, “China Huijiao National Salvation Federation Moving to Chongqing and Setting up Branches” in *Huimin Yanlun* (Huimin’s Voice Semimonthly), Vol. 1, Issue 10 (Hankou: 1939). See Li Xinghua and Feng Jinyuan, ed, *Selected Data on the Islamic History in China, 1911-1949* (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin), 1985, 1679. Also Ma Tianying, “The Past and Present of China Islamic Association” in Ma Tianying, ed, *Islamic Light*, Kuala Lumpur: Issue 39 (September 1972), 2. No material provides the exact date of the foundation of the Islamic Federation. *Yue Hwa* (Moon Shinning) Vol. 10, Issue 7 reported the foundation news on Jun 5, 1938 in Guilin, and the previous issue of *Yue Hwa* was May 15. Popularly the foundation date was written as “May 1938”. Cf. “The National Salvation Federation Was Formally Established” in *Yue Hwa*, Vol. 10, Issue 7 (Guilin: June 5, 1938), 16.

Japanese War, and later to the unity of Hui communities in Taiwan, were great. During the eight years of the Sino-Japanese War, he was the chief of general staff of the National Army, and he was entrusted by President Chiang Kai-shek to be in charge of the Hui affairs. Apart from Bai Chongxi, the top leading group of the Islamic Federation included many Hui elites who also held high governmental positions. Due to his leadership of China Islamic National Salvation Federation, the Federation was like a governmental administration and a military administration combined into one.

II. PROTECTING HUI REFUGEES AND COMBATING WITH POVERTY

The direct way to protect the Hui refugees was to deliver donation to them. For example, the Youth Service Regiment under the Islamic Federation helped evacuate the Hui people from Yichang, Hubei in 1938 when the National Army withdrew from Wuhan. Because of bomb-attacks of the Japanese fighters, the evacuation center in Yichang became crowded and chaotic; however, the Youth Service Regiment successfully guarded Hui refugees to the safe places when the National Army withdrew from Wuhan.¹² In the winter of 1938, Xi'an and Guilin were bomb-attacked by the Japanese fighters, a mosque was destroyed, and the fire lasted seven hours; another women's mosque was partially smashed; a third mosque was damaged in the Pray Hall. Three hundred people were killed including eighteen Hui men.¹³ General Bai Chongxi donated 500 silvery dollars for the first time and 2,000 dollars for the second time to the Hui victims; he also called up the governmental departments to assist all the victims in the said two cities.¹⁴ Zhengzhou were attacked by the Japanese air raids three times in 1941, the Hui communities in the city suffered greatly, with more than three hundred houses demolished, the women's mosque destroyed, and more than one hundred Hui people were killed. The head of the "Battlefield Service Team" under the Islamic Federation, Ma Chenglin, who was in Zhengzhou at the time, reported this matter to the Islamic Federation, and the Federation donated one thousand silvery dollars to the

Hui victims through the Federation's Zhengxian County Branch. In the same year, a Hui man from Xuchang, Wang Huamin, reported to the Islamic Federation that Xuchang had suffered losses due to the similar air raids; the Islamic Federation then gave relief to the refugees with two hundred silvery dollars.¹⁵ The Federation also instructed all its branches to take care of the refugees, and Hui refugees could contact local Refugee Offices to assist them.¹⁶ There were disasters other than the war: the severe drought in Henan in 1943 caused many families homeless. The Federation made great efforts to help the Henanese; however, it could only help the counties which suffered most and were under the National Army's controlling areas, such as the counties of Mianchi, Dengfeng in western Henan; Shenqiu in the eastern part, and Gushi in the Southern part.¹⁷

In 1940, General Director Bai Chongxi of the Federation gave a speech to the Henan Hui people in Luoyang, stressing the two critical conditions of the Hui people, i.e., "poverty" and "ignorance". He pointed out that education is a very means to solve the issue of the Hui's "ignorance". To help the Hui to get rid of poverty, Bai's first advice to combat with poverty during war time was to establish a loan foundation, and to use loan to help small Hui handicraftsmen.¹⁸ This plan had been put into practice afterwards. In 1943, in the third panel meeting of the Federation's councilors in Chongqing, Bai gave a speech repeating these two points again.

As a matter of fact, as early as 1938, the Federation started such an experiment in Hunan and Xi'an. By June 1938, tens of thousands of Hui people from the Japanese-occupied areas flooded to these provinces, the Islamic Federation Hunan Branch did much work to re-settle these Hui refugees, and the refugees were arranged to live several cities of Hunan. The Hui refugees were peasants, workers, or peddlers. The Islamic Federation Hunan Branch made great endeavor to offer these refugees with relevant jobs to do, which could assure that the Hui refugees re-settled in this province would not keeping running aimlessly again. The Islamic Federation Hunan Branch also established a school, which could hold two hundred pupils.

15 See "Relieving the Zhengzhou Hui Victims" in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. III, Issue 5 (Chongqing: March 1941), 22; and, "Federation Affairs, Education and Publicity" (huiwu-jiaoyu-xuanchaun) in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. III, Issue 7 (Chongqing: May 1941), 22. Also "The Statistics of the Zhengzhou Hui Victims" (zhengzhou Hui bao bei zha tongji) in *Weekly Bulletin*, No. 10 (Hankou: April 20, 1938), 10.

16 "Federation Affairs Reports" (huiwu baogao) in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. IV, Combined Issues 5 and 8 (Chongqing: May 1941), 30.

17 "Meeting Reports" (huiwu bagao) respectively in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. V, Issue 1 (Chongqing: January 1943), 15 and the same titles in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. V, Combined Issues 2, 3, 4, and 5, 18.

18 "General Director Bai's Instruction to the Henan Hui Compatriots" in *Huijiao Bulletin*, Vol. II, Combined Issues 10 and 11 (Chongqing: September 1940) at the title page.

12 "The Youth Service Regiment Helped Evacuate the Hui People from Wuhan" in *Weekly Bulletin*, No. 15 (Hankou: Nov. 25, 1938), 58.

13 "The Islamic Federation Relieved the Victims in Xi'an" in *Yue Hwa*, Vol. XI, Issue 3 (Guilin: January 25, 1939), 14.

14 "Assistance to the Shaanxi and Gaungxi Refugees" in *Weekly Bulletin*, No. 18 (Hankou: Dec. 16, 1938), 70.

More importantly, the Branch established a factory for the refugees in Baoqing, which was the first such factory for Hui refugees among all provinces.¹⁹

In the winter of 1938, when the Hui communities suffered air raid by the Japanese fighters in Hunan province, the Hui under the guidance of the Islamic Federation Hunan Branch had established Production Safeguarding Foundation (*shengchan jijin baowehui*), this Foundation was based on the 20,000 dollars relieved by the central government and the local Fund-Raising Association for Disasters with the purpose to assist Hui handicraft men and small businessmen.²⁰

Seeing the success of this endeavor, the Islamic Federation ordered all its branches to establish the so-called Consumption Cooperative Community, a foundation similar to “the small-loan plan” by the government at the time, to improve Hui life conditions.²¹ The first loans were arranged in Luoyang, Henan; Ji’an, Jiangxi; and Kunming, Yunan. By the autumn of 1941, Henan Hui men had accepted the loans for the third time.²² Due to the continuous war, numerous Hui people escaped from the Japanese-occupied areas and fled to the Government-controlled areas, called “Rear Front”. They usually brought along with big families and kept waited for the governmental assistance. Such foundations helped them to do some small business to support themselves and their families.

Oxen butchery is the traditional occupational specialization of the Hui people; wherever the Hui live, they actually monopolized such a specialization. This is not only a good means for their survival, but also a way to protect their “Hui way of life”, i.e., they have to consume *halal* meat. However, the monopolization of oxen butchery from time to time raised real challenges to Han majority’s business competitions; it also raised psychological challenge because China is a traditional agrarian society, and farm cattle are regarded by many as important as their land property. Such a Hui-Han confrontation took place especially many times in South China than that in the North, because the South had not as more cattle as in the North.

According to the statistic of this writer, only during the first four years of the 1940s, *The Bulletin of China Huijiao National Salvation Federation* had reported no less than eight

striking cases involved in cattle butchery by the Hui. The places mentioned in the *Huijiao Bulletin* where such cases had occurred included Hubei, Hunan, Sichuan, and Fujian in the South, and Henan in the North. When the Islamic Federation negotiated with the provincial administrations of Hunan and Fujian, Fujian provincial administration refused frankly, saying that that “to allow slaughtering farm cattle is a suggestion that this provincial administration feels difficult to agree with”.²³ Considering the importance of this issue, which was related to the livelihood many Hui people, the Islamic Federation had to report this issue to the Civil Ministry, asking the Ministry to order all provinces to follow the solution for this issue by the Civil Ministry.²⁴

The last way worthy of mentioning for the assistances to the Hui is the assistance to Hui army men’s family members. The Islamic Federation Zhoukou Branch did a good job for investigating for registering the National Army men’s family members, so the administrations at all levels may help such families according to governmental regulations.²⁵ Another example was the relief to Hui men of the Huijiao Battlefront Service Group. This Service Group was established in 1938 under the Islamic Federation Nanyang Sub-Branch, and it blocked the Japanese army and the puppet Wang Jingwei’s army in January 1941 when the Japanese army attacked Zhenping county in southeastern Henan. They killed 150 of the puppet army soldiers and Japanese soldiers, and several members of the Huijiao Battlefront Service Group were killed, too.²⁶ The Islamic Federation provided relief to their family members after the war in 1946.²⁷

23 “Prohibiting Slaughtering Cattles Has Influenced Hui Lives” (jin zai niu zhi yngxiang Huibao shenghuo) in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. III, Issue 10 (Chongqing: August. 1941), 20.

24 Ibid. This writer could not find the solution of the Civil Ministry at the time. However, according to the expression of the *Huijiao Report*, the solution must be favorable to the Hui.

25 “Zhoujiakou Branch Busy with Work” (Zhoujiakou zhihui huiwu jinzhang) in *Huijiao Bulletin*, Vol. II, Combined Issues 8 and 9 (Chongqing: August 1940), 26-27.

26 The Editorial Committee of *The Minorities and Religions Annals of Nanyang*, ed, *The Minorities and Religions Annals of Nanyang* (Nanyang Minzu Zongjiao Zhi). Printed in Nanyang: 1989, 43.

27 “Nanyang Branch Asking Reliving the Dead Members of the Battle Front Service Group” in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. VII, Issue 2 (Chongqing: December 1946), 17.

19 “The Islamic Federation Will Open a Factory for the Refugees” in *Yue Hwa*, Vol. 10, Combined Issue 25-27 (Guilin: Dec. 25, 1938), 16.

20 “Xi’an Established Production Safeguarding Foundation” in *Weekly Bulletin*, No. 24 (Chongqing: Jan. 17, 1939), 95. And, “how the Xi’an Hui Applied for Fund”, *ibid*, No. 25 (Chongqing: Jan. 24, 1939), 100.

21 “Briefings of Federation Branches’ work” in No. 24, (Gedi gongzuo jianxun), *Ibid*.

22 See “Small Sum of Loan Was Arranged” in *Huijiao Bulletin*, Vol. II, Combined Issues 8 and 9 (Chongqing: August 1940), 24. And “Education, Religious Affairs and Publicity” (jiaoyu, jiaowu, xuanchaun) in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. III, Combined Issues 11 and 12 (Chongqing: Oct. 1941), 23.

III. SUPPORTING HUI EDUCATION

A traditional Hui school was normally attached to a mosque, or established by the financial support by a Hui community. The Islamic Federation made great effort to have such Hui schools enlisted into the governmental financial-assisting system, but still had they not enlisted into the so-called "governmental financial system". Bai Chongxi said in the First Conference of the Islamic Federation in January 1939:

In education, this Islamic Federation regards the promotion of Hui education is one of its duties.....We are planning that each mosque should establish a school so to teach the children of our Islamic compatriots; at the same time, we make our efforts not be for the education of children, but also particularly for adults.....²⁸

The first concern was Hui primary schools. The Islamic Federation encouraged the Hui to establish Islamic schools and asked the Education Ministry to help these Hui schools. The Islamic Federation sent the notice that all branches of the Federation should established a Hui school in a Hui community; in April 1939, the Islamic Federation asked the Mongol and Tibetan Affairs Commission, the *de facto* Ethnic Affairs Commission of the National Government, for assisting Hui schools with the financial allocations from the Compulsory Education budget of the government.²⁸ However, although the education ministry gave an instruction to all provincial administrations, it was obvious that not all the local administrations had carried the instruction as the Hui education was had not enlisted into the National Education category.²⁹ On May 4th, 1940, the Islamic Federation sent another official letter, expressing its gratitude for supporting the Hui schools, but pointing out that the Ministry's sub-departments had not carried out the Ministry's instruction thoroughly due to various factors including discrimination between the Hui minority and the Han Majority. Therefore, it is supportive that the Educational Ministry should give additional instruction that 1), Hui schools should be given a financial assistance in practice; 2), Hui schools should be allowed to be registered and should not be immediately cancelled even if they were not satisfied in supplying facilities and

conditions; and 3), the educational officials at all levels should know the importance of people's unity, and should not discriminate between the Hui and the Han. Then the Education Ministry gave all provinces a new instruction, but number 2) was not accepted by the Educational Ministry.³⁰ In March 1942, Sun Shengwu, one of the deputy directors of the Federation, went to negotiate with the Education Ministry once more, and the Ministry agreed all the Hui schools in China should initiated with two Chinese characters of "Pure" and "True" as initials of the School title to demonstrate such a school belong to the Hui minority.³¹ Therefore, all Hui schools through China adopted the title "Pure-and-True".³²

The Islamic Federation delivered many official letters to relevant governmental departments, assisting Hui schools to solve their practical problems. Several examples in 1941 demonstrated the Federation's efforts for the Henan Hui schools. The federation sent an official letter to Xingyang county administration, asking the administration to give registration of Jinzhai Hui School in the county and to give it financial assistance. A second letter required Wuyang county administration to keep Nandianzhen Hui School under run. A third letter asked Xuchang county administration to give grants to Hui school teachers in line with the grand-offering methods for public school teachers. In early 1942, the Federation required Wuyang county administration once more for discontinuous assistance to the county's another Islamic School.³³

Apart from asking assistance from the government, the Federation also raised funds by itself, and gave assistance or prize to Hui schools. For example, the Federation Xuchang Sub-Branch had a Hui school with 200 pupils, and Imam Li Zhenji was the Arabic teacher. For the school's contribution to the local Hui community, the Hui Federation awarded the school with one hundred and fifty silver dollars in 1940. The *Huijiao Bulletin* reported that the Federation also financially supported Shizai (Stony Homestead) Hui community, Xiping County, for the Hui here to establish a school that could hold 45 pupils.³⁴ Located in a Hui-clustered region,

30 "Appealing to the Educational Ministry for Huimin Education" (wei Huimin jiaoyu xiang jiaoyubu huyu) in *Huijiao Bulletin*, Vol. 2, Issue 4 (Chongqing: June 1, 1940), 18.

31 By literal translation into English, it means "Pure-True" (qing zhen), which has been a popular name since its appearance in the late Ming (1368-1644) and early Qing (1644-1911) dynasties. "Islam" is called *Qingzhen-jiao*, viz, "the Pure-True Religion", and the "mosque" is called *qingzhen-si* "the Pure-True temple".

32 "Education, Training and Investigation" (jiaoyu-xunlian-diaocha) in *Huijiao Bulletin*, Vol. II, Issue 4 (Chongqing: March 1942), 27.

33 "Education, Training and Investigation" (jiaoyu-xunlian-diaocha) in *Huijiao Bulletin*, Vol. IV, Issue 1, (Chongqing: January 1941), 25.

34 "Financial Support to Xuchang Huimin Primary School" (buzhu Xuchang Huimin xiaoxue) in *Huijiao Bulletin*, Vol. III, Issue 1, (Chongqing: Nov. 1940), 25. "Award to Zhoukou Islamic School" (jiangli Zhoukou

28 Bai Chongxi, "The Future of China's Huijiao: Speech in the First Conference of All Representatives" (Zhongguo Huijiao jinhou de zhanwang) in *Huijiao Bulletin*, Vol. I, Issue 1 (Chongqing: Oct. 15, 1939), 7. "The Education Ministry's Adoption of the 'The Methods of Developing Huimin's Education' Proposed by the Federation" in *Huijiao Bulletin* Vol. I, Issue 1 (Chongqing: Oct. 15, 1939), 29.

29 There existed Hui Schools that belonged to National Education category, but these were few.

Zhoukou in the eastern part of Henan had a good Hui school, which was established in the spring of 1941; this school recruited not only Hui pupils, but also Hui peddlers. To encourage the Hui here, the Islamic Federation awarded the schools with one hundred silvery dollars in the winter of 1941³⁵

In order to achieve the uniformity of the textbooks of Hui schools, the Islamic Federation entrusted Chengda Teacher's School to compile a set of text books.³⁶ The principal of Chengda Teacher's School was the distinguished Imam Ma Songting. By June of 1940, the first eight textbooks had been finished in editing, and the compiling group posted them to the Islamic Federation for assessment. The names of the assessors should be listed here, as they were all distinguished Hui elites at the time; they were: Wang Jingzhai, Sun Shengwu, Wang Zengshan, Ma Ce, Xue Bo, Wang Nongcun, Wang Mengyang, Ai Yizai, Shen Hongjun, etc. These assessors were appointed in the twenty-fifth meeting of the Standing Committee of the Federation.³⁷

After WWII, the Islamic Federation could assist Hui schools with better conditions. There were more examples; only in the year of 1946, there were five cases mentioned in the *Huijiao Report*.³⁸ Next is about the Middle school education and college/university education. Due to the War and other disasters, many Hui students dropped out of middle schools. From

the spring of 1940, the Islamic Federation started to investigate the exact numbers of Hui students throughout China. A graphic form was produced, and all private middle schools in county level was investigated for Hui students; then, Hui students would be informed that they could apply for financial assistance from the Islamic Federation in accordance with rules; there were detailed regulations for the application.³⁹ Regarding higher education, there was no special university for the Hui between 1930s and 1940s. The Islamic Federation asked Fudan University to recruit Hui students.⁴⁰

Fudan University agreed with the suggestion and offered 30 students quota to Hui candidates, regardless of sex. When a Hui candidate was accepted, he could also be offered financial assistance by the Islamic Federation.⁴¹ In addition, the Federation with great efforts made three universities, i.e., National Central University, National Northwest United University, and National Yunnan University to establish Arabic departments and hold Islamic seminars.⁴²

Last was to send Hui students overseas for higher education. For example, in early 1941, the Islamic Federation discussed with the Education Ministry about sending Hui students to foreign countries for higher education. Hui candidates must be aged twenty to thirty and must be from public colleges or universities. The first group had fifteen students quota, among whom six would be sent to India, three to Iran, and the rest to a third country. (The original source at this writer's hand is not recognizable due to poor printing.)⁴³

Yisilan xiaoxue), *ibid.*

35 "The Textbooks for the Hui Primary Schools will be Published" (Huimin xiaoxue keben xingjiang bian jun) in *Huijiao Bulletin*, Vol. I, Issue 11, (Chongqing: March 15, 1940), 20.

36 Guangxi. After WWII, in 1946, it was moved back to Beiping. Chengda Teacher's School was well-known at the time and produced many prominent members of society. -- See Ai Yizai, Ai Yizai, "Chengda shifan jianjie" (Brief Introduction to Chengda Teachers' School) in the National Commission for Historical Data of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Commission, ed., *wenshi ziliao* (Selected Historical Data) (Collection 17). Beijing Press, 1983, 138-49.

37 "The Textbooks for the Hui Primary Schools will be Examined" (shencha Huimin xiaoxue keben) in *Huijiao Bulletin*, Vol. II, Issue 5, (Chongqing: June 15, 1940), 21.

38 In the *Huijiao Report* Vol. VII, Issue 1, one can see that the Federation sent an official letter to Henan Educational Commission to assist all Pure-and True Schools in Henan. A second letter was posted to Xiangcheng County, and the Federation asked the local government to free the Islamic school from various taxations. A third letter asked the Dengxian county administration to financially support Chongshi School and its attached Arabic School for its opening. [See "Briefings of Federation Branches' work" (gedi gongzuo jian xun) in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. VII, Issue 1 (Nanjing: Nov. 1946), 13. In 1947, the Federation pushed Mianchi administration, a county in western Henan, to have Tonggou Village ("bronze ditch" literally) Pure-and-True School registered immediately. The school belonged to Yinghao Township of the county. The school asked for registration as early as in 1946, and had applied for registration several times since, but all in vain. ["Briefings of Federation Branches' Work" (gedi gongzuo jian xun) in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. VII, I, Combined Issues 6,7 (Nanjing: May 1947), 10. There was one more case in 1947, which was also for the exemption of taxations of a Hui school attached to the mosque in western Henan's Lingbao county. [See "Briefings of Federation Branches' work" (gedi gongzuo jian xun) in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. VII, Issue 5 (Nanjing: March 1947), 7.

39 "Investigation of the Hui students throughout China" (diaocha quan guo Huijiao zhongxue sheng) in *Huijiao Bulletin*, Vol. I, Issue 11 (Chongqing: March 15, 1940), 20. The detailed regulations for the application of financial support was also given in *Yue Hua*, Vol. XIII, Combined Issues 19-21 (Guilin: January 30, 1941), 14-15.

40 The Federation asked Fudan University to Continue recruiting Hui Students" in *Huijiao Bulletin*, Vol. I, Issue 2

41 "To the Attention to the Huijiao University Candidates" (Huijiao shengxue qingnian qing zhuyi) in *Weekly Bulletin*, No. 31 (Chongqing: March 12, 1939), 121.

42 The Education Ministry gives ordered to three universities" in *Huijiao Bulletin*, Vol. I, Issue 6 (Chongqing: January 1, 1940), 45. Also, "Education Ministry Appointed Three Universities to hold Islamic Seminars" in *Weekly Bulletin*, No. 16 (Hankou: April 20, 1938), 63.

43 Islamic Federation Discussed with the Education Ministry for Hui Students Going Abroad" in *Yue Hua*, Vol. XIV, Combined Issues 7-8 (Guilin: January 30, 1941), 16

IV. EFFORTS MADE TO PROTECT THE FAITH AND TRADITION OF THE HUI

Everybody knows the function of a mosque, but a mosque of the Hui in China seems playing more functions. "In China, ...the average mosque is used not only for prayer but serve also as a meeting hall, a school, a wedding hall, a banquet hall, a dormitory for single man or journeying Muslims, a butcher shop, a mutual aid cleaning house and a funeral home."⁴⁴ This is because the Hui are minority among the majority Han, so the collective spirit and inner-conscious of the Hui are strong. To protect the mosque is to protect their homestead and their faith too.

The Islamic Federation did many efforts to protect the faith and tradition of the Hui. In 1940, the Federation re-printed an announcement that the National Army cannot be stationed in any mosque. This announcement was with the chop of the Military Commission, the top commission during war time, and was distributed to all mosques throughout China.⁴⁵

As this was re- printed, In Southwestern Henan's Zhenping County in 1941, one of the managers of the mosque, Wang Pingxi, ganged up with the village security head, or "baozhang" in Chinese pronunciation, occupied the town mosque and the Pure-and-True Primary School as their private properties. The Federation pushed the local administration to settle the issue. In 1942, the Federation once again delivered an official letter to the Eighth Administrative Agency, asking the Agency to order the relative men moving out of the mosque and the school. In May and August 1943, the Federation twice pushed the local administration to settle the issue.⁴⁶ A similar case also happened in Southern Henan's Gushi County, where an uncle and his nephew seized the local mosque. The Islamic Federation also pushed the local county administration to settle the matter.⁴⁷

Some cases were beyond the control of the Federation. For example, the Hui in Beiping

(present-day Beijing) protested the puppet government to destroy their 500-year long cemetery in Sanlihe; the Islamic Federation, together with the Hui all over China, supported the Hui in Beijing.⁴⁸ Similarly, the vacant land outside the eastern city Gate of Kaifeng was originally a Hui cemetery. The puppet Henan Government in Kaifeng, together with the Japanese Intelligence Department, was planning to destroy it for a "New City Planning". The local Hui people made this known to the entire country, calling on the Hui throughout all China to condemn such a plan. *The Bulletin of China Huijiao National Salvation Federation* also echoed the call.⁴⁹

Second, the Federation protected imams. The imam training sessions were held by the central government in 1941; this was certainly pushed by the Islamic Federation. Imams from all provinces were trained in Chongqing with two separate periods of time, and the imam members numbered 1,000.⁵⁰ In addition, all imams and imams-to-be who were studying in Arabic schools could require deferment for army service; this regulation was issued by the Military Commission, and the Islamic Federation declared to the whole country.⁵¹ To protect Hui soldiers from violating the dietary requirements of their religion when they mutually lived and underwent military training with the Han, Bai Chongxi suggested that the Military Commission give an instruction that Hui soldiers in the National Army be reshuffled into independent military units at all levels within a division.⁵² This writer thinks such a policy carried out in the Nationalist Army during WWII is still a good reference to the present Chinese government.

Third, from the late Qing dynasty onwards, some majority people who were against the Hui often wrote the character "Hui" with a cardinal element meaning "dog" or "beast", or often use "Hui bandits" or "rebel Hui" to call the Hui. This was actually even prohibited by the Qing dynasty emperor⁵³ but it occasionally revived during the Republican era. In 1940, The

48 "The Enemy Fighters Destroyed the Hui Cemetery in Beiping" in *Weekly Bulletin*, No. 20 (Hankou: Dec. 30, 1938), 79.

49 "The Pseudo Henan Government Is Planning to Destroy the Kaifeng Hui Cemetery" in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. III.

50 "The Central Government Will Hold Islamic Training Sessions" in *Huijiao Bulletin*, Vol. II, Combined Issues 8 and 9 (Chongqing: August, 1940), 30

51 "Imams and Students for Imams Can require deferment for Army Service" in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. IV, Issue 1 (Chongqing: January 1942), 24.

52 "Huijiao Officials and Soldiers Can Live More Conveniently" in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. 3, Combined Issue 11-12 (Chongqing: October 1941), 19. The Instruction was given in the name of "Military Commission Chongqing Office (No. 3170)" on September 10, 1940.

53 Cf Marshall Broomhall, *Islam in China, A Neglected Problem*, (First published in 1910.) London: Darf Publishers Limited, 1987, 94-95, as following: "A custom had grown up of adding the Chinese character "Hui" with a cardinal element meaning "dog", to the name of convicted offenders, and among others who

44 Barbara Linne Kroll Pillsbury, *Cohesion and Cleavage in a Chinese Muslim Minority*, University Microfilms Xeroxed University Microfilms, Anne Arbor, & Michigan: University Microfilms Ltd., 1974. 44.

45 Re-printing the Announcement to Prohibit Stationing in Mosques" in *Huijiao Bulletin*, Vol. II, Combined Issues 8 and 9 (Chongqing: August, 1940), 24.

46 See the successive repots in *Huijiao Report*, at p. 23 of Vol. III, Combined Issues 11 and 12 (Chongqing: Oct. 1941); 25 of Vol. IV, Issue 1 (Chongqing: January 1942); 18 of Vol. V, Combined Issues 2, 3,4, and 5 (Chongqing: May 1943); and Vol. V, Combined Issues 6, 7, and 8 (Chongqing: August 1943). However, this writer failed to know the final result of this dispute.

47 "Branches-Training-Investigation" (zuzhi-xunlian-diaocha) in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. IV, Combined Issues 2 and 3 (Chongqing: March 1942), 26. The original page is not clear to see due to poor printing and long preservation.

Islamic Federation Yunnan Branch requested the Federation to ask the central Government to ban all discriminative names against the Hui. The Islamic Federation submitted this request to the central Government on July 10, 1940, asking the Administrative *Yuan* to announce a prohibition to the whole country.⁵⁴

Fourth, the Federation helped the assimilated Hui people to revive their tradition and to acknowledge their identities. In Sanjitun, Tanghe county, Henan, there was a Tongwan Village with more than fifty houses who were the descendants of a Hui man, Li Shun, a vice commander of the royal guards in the Kangxi era (1662-1763) of the Qing dynasty. The mosque of this village had been destroyed long ago, and the Hui people here had gradually lost their faith and tradition. However, they still did not breed pigs nor did they consume pork. Imam Li Pinsan discovered this and reported to the Islamic Federation in late 1940; he also called other two imams to go to the village and persuaded the assimilated Hui people there to recover their faith and tradition. The Islamic Federation regarded this matter similar to another case, which occurred in Bucheng, Hubei, and where had even more households than Sanjitun. The Federation wrote a letter to a leader of this village, hoping he lead his clan to be back to the Hui; at the same time, encouraged Imam Li to continue the persuasion. During the Ramadan of 1941, the first seventeen households agreed to “return” to the Hui tradition. Imam Li held the religious ceremony for these “returned” people.⁵⁵ For the Hui students who applied for the military schools, the Federation instructed all the branches among China to help them for the continence of accommodations;⁵⁶ this was because the inconvenience of the provision of *halal* food for the Hui.

V. SETTLING CONFRONTATIONS BETWEEN THE HUI AND HAN

During the Republican era, the Han majority often oppressed the Hui minority. The government practiced a disguised ethnic assimilation policy. They further developed an assimilation policy when the Anti-Japanese War broke out, as more excuses were available for a united front to save the whole nation from perishing. The suspending of the ethnic issues involving many groups of people was the nation's misfortune, and was mainly due to the doggedness of the top leader Chiang Kai-shek in his “Big-Han chauvinism” and political shortsightedness and a group of subordinates who echoed his voice. In brief, to a large extent, both the ideology of the top administrative group of people and the many institutions of the new republic had not stepped out of the dynastical shadow.

The Islamic Federation in most times could settle the Hui-Han confrontations very thoroughly; the following case happened in a Hui-clustered prefecture in Southwestern Henan. The joint safeguard head (“lianbao zhuren”) of Geling Town, Xincai County was a man who was hostile to the Hui. The local Federation Branch reported this to the central Federation and the central Federation asked the war-time Eighth Administrative Agency to investigate; later the Agency replied that this safe-guard head had been investigated and an action had been taken against him.⁵⁷ Due to the one-sentence report, we do not know exactly what had happened.

Sometimes skirmishes evolved into battles, like that which happened in the late Qing dynasty. A good example was “Sangpo Incident” in Sangpo Hui village in northern part of Henan, where during the Anti-Japanese War; there were more than 1,000 Hui households. Capitalizing on the opportunity presented chaotic warfare, the mayor of Mengxian County, Zhang Hanying and a local quasi-military commander, Li Zhenhan, kidnapped some Hui from Sangpo. More seriously, they ganged up with several thousand bandits to rob the village three times in April 1943. Over one hundred Hui people were killed and five of the six mosques were destroyed by fire. After that, Hui representatives went to Luoyang, the provincial war capital, and Chongqing, the national war capital, to deliver a petition. They even met Bai Chongxi of the National Huijiao Federation, and Director Bai asked the military leader of

suffered were the Hui rebels. In reference to this the Emperor said, “In books published having reference to Mohammedan tribes the character “Hui” has been changed to the “(dog-)Hui” [here added the “dog” cardinal part -- noted by this writer]. This addition of dog must be withdrawn.

54 The Islamic Federation Submitted to the Administrative Yuan to Ban All the Usages of Discriminative Names against the Hui” (ben hui cheng xingzheg yuan tonglig uqna guo qidi dui Huijiao han you huru zhi yiqie chengwei) in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. 3, Combined Issues 8 and 9, (Chongqing: August 1940), 22.

55 Persuading the Descendants to Be Back to the Hui” in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. III, Issue 1 (Chongqing: November 1941), 24.

56 “Letter to all Branches of the Federation for the Convenience of Accommodations to Hui Students” in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. II, Issue 1 (Chongqing: April 15, 1940), 24.

57 “Education, Religious Affairs and Publicity” in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. III, Issue 9 (Chongqing: July 1941), 27. This writer thinks the “bandits” used in the paper must refer to some military or quasi-military militia during the wartime.

Henan to handle the aftermath. Eighteen Han men were arrested. In the following year, the Federation asked the Henan Government to reduce the taxation of the Hui form Sangpo.⁵⁸ After WWII, however, Zhang Hanying and Li Zhenhan still held their official positions. Pang Shiqian, a famous imam, remarked in his article, "This must be called Han chauvinism!"⁵⁹ The two criminals were executed by the Communist government in 1950.⁶⁰

A second example was a so-called Thirteenth Detachment which was stationed in Daxinzhuang village, a well-known Hui village in the northern part of Henan. However, this detachment colluded with the puppet Wang Jingwei's "Governmental Army" trampled down the Hui village. This was actually an outbreak of the accumulated Hui-Han hatred. They actually neglected the national crisis and became engaged with internal strife. The Islamic Federation seriously raised the matter to the Military Commission, and the Military Commission and General Wei Lihuang who controlled this region, severely punished the detachment.⁶¹

A question must be put up, that is, why did the Islamic Federation, as a civil public society, seem to be so powerful and, in some way, even so authoritative to "send its official letters" to governmental administrations at all levels? This was due to the position of the general director, Bai Chongxi, even with the salient consent given by the president, Chiang Kai-shek, in doing many things both militarily and administratively. Bai had earned his fame in the 1927 Northern Expedition, and he belonged to the Guangxi-clique warlords. When the Anti-Japanese War broke out, he was invited by President Chiang Kai-shek to act as the deputy chief-of-staff of the National Army, as well as to be in charge of the national Hui affairs. He, cooperated with General Li Zongre, commanded many famous campaigns during the War that brought about

immense fame to him. Furthermore, the Hui warlords in the Northwest provinces, and a group of Hui elites of the time were leaders of the Islamic Federation provincial branches; this definitely reinforced the sphere of influence of the Islamic Federation.

Apart from this is the Hui ethnic singularity. The Hui is the largest ethnic population in China who scattered among the Han majority and with an Islamic way of life. In any time, in order to defend their dignity and take care of the interests of their people, the Hui always make sure that Islam plays a prominent role in their lives. The Hui in-group consciousness and traditional Hui way of life easily made the Hui people assemble together and form new communities, whether permanently or temporarily; and such established and disciplinarian community norm had made the Islamic Federation to deal with their affairs without difficulty.

Hui societies came into being in the late Qing dynasty, and the earliest societies were for the public benefits of the Hui communities, such as protecting girl babies, extinguishing fire, and doing funeral services. During the Republican era, Hui societies developed into academic Hui research societies, societies for social reformation, and societies for military purpose. The Islamic Federation discussed in this article had been the largest national Hui society, for multi-purposes, hitherto.

The Federation's successful endeavor to protect the interests of Hui minority also demonstrated Hui political and social strength in Chinese society during the period. Such a demonstration initiated from the Hui rebellions during the late Qing dynasty, then to Hui participations in the Republican Revolutions. The Hui reached the peak to demonstrate their ethnic strength during WWII with various political, military and social forces; the Islamic Federation was one of the main forces that had played an important part to demonstrate Hui strength in modern China.

58 "The Hui compatriots in Sangpo were massacred" (Sangpo Huibao canzhao tusha) in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. 5, Combined Issues 6, 7, and 8 (Chongqing: 1943), p.24; "The End of the Sangpo Massacre ("Sangpo can'an zan gao jieshu) in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. 5, Combined Issues 9, 10, 11 and 12 (Chongqing: 1943), 32; and "Briefings of Federation Branches (ge zu gongzuo jianbao) in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. 6, Combines Issues 3, 4, and 5 (Chongqing: 1944), 30. Also, Tewaduwa (Pang Shiqian), "The Sangpo Massacre" (Sangpo Can'an) in *Hui-xie yuekan (Huijiao Federation Monthly)*, Issue 4 (Beiping: 1947), Li Xinghua and Feng Jinyuan, ed. *Zhongguo Yisilan jiao shi ziliao xuan bian*, or "Selected Data on Islamic History in China, 1911-1949 (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin, 1985), 1629-31.

59 Tewaduwa (Pang Shiqian), *ibid.*

60 Zhang Hanying and Li Zhenhan were caught in Sichuan in 1950 province after the Communists took power. See : Li Huaying, "Jiaozuo of Henan: A Research of the Origins of the Hui" in Li Huangying in the *Paper Collection of the 18th Hui Studies Conference* (printed materials) (Zhengzhou: Oct. 2009), 27.

61 See the successive reports of "The Military Commission Severely Punished the Detachment which troubled Hui Compatriots" in *Huijiao Report*, Vol. III, Issue 8 (Chongqing: June 1941), 25 and Issue 9 (Chongqing: July 1941), 26.