

The Chinese Islamic “Goodwill Mission to the Middle East” During the Anti-Japanese War

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Abstract

This article narrates the publicity activities of the “Goodwill Mission to the Middle East” of the Hui delegation dispatched by the Chinese Huijiao (Islamic) Federation during the late 1930’s and summarizes its contributions to the victory of China’s Anti-Japanese War. Such people-to-people diplomacy initiated by the Hui people, an Islamic minority in China, possesses great significances in many ways including developing the friendships between China and the Mideast countries. This matter is however neglected by many researchers in the same field.

Key Words: Goodwill Mission to the Middle East, the Anti-Japanese War, Chinese Huijiao (Islamic) Federation, Hui people, Diplomacy.

I. Sino-Foreign Relationships in 1930’s

The relationship between China and Japan was deteriorating from the late 1920’s onwards. The economic expansion of Japan following its national imperialist policy of extending and protecting its colonial markets in China initially caused conflicts between the two nations. The Japanese damaged Chinese economic and commercial interests, and then the movement to boy-

cott Japanese products played a leading role for the Chinese to protect themselves.¹ Following the economic conflicts were military skirmishes. In 1931, the Japanese imperialists staged the 9-18 (September 18) Incident in Manchuria with an attempt to turn China into a colony of Japan. On the second day, the Japanese army occupied Shenyang, capital of Liaoning. Within four months, it controlled the whole of Manchuria. This was the real start of World War II.² In 1932, the Japanese established the ex-Qing emperor Pu Yi as the head of the puppet regime of *Manzhouguo* (Manchu State). In 1933, the Japanese, coveting Northern China, moved across the Shanhai (Mountain-and-Sea) Pass. The Chinese resistance did not stop the Japanese from further invasion. In 1935, the Japanese pressured China to sign the He-Umezu Agreement, which forbade China's Nationalist Party from conducting operations in Hebei province. In the same year, the Chin-Doihara was signed, expelling the Nationalist Government's administration from Chahar province. Then the Japanese-backed East Hebei Autonomous Council was established in November 1935; the Mongol Military Government was established in May 1936; thus the Japanese had virtually controlled North China in 1936.³

A clash occurred between Chinese and Japanese troops near the Marco Polo Bridge of Wanping county of Hebei province (presently Fengtai District of Beijing), marking the start of open and total war between China and Japan. The national crisis pushed the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party to ally with each other for the second time. Actually, from 1927 when Chiang Kai-shek started to slaughter the communists in Shanghai and established his anti-communist government,⁴ the struggles between the two parties

1 Cf. "The Anti-Japanese Convention" in *The North-China Herald*, July 28, 1928, p. 152, and "Effects of the Boycott" in *The North-China Herald*, December 19, 1929, p. 529.

2 This is the viewpoint of John B. Powell. See his *My Twenty-Five Years in China*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945, pp. 182-92. Many Chinese historians share the same opinion.

3 Zhou Ruihai. *Zhongguo Huizu kangri jiuwang shigao* (*Huizu History of the Anti-Japanese and National Salvation in China*). Beijing: shehui kexue wenxian, 2006, pp. 3-5. Jin Dexing, *Zhongguo geming shi, 1840-1956* (*The History of the Chinese Revolution, 1840-1956*), Kaifeng: Henan University Press, 1987, pp. 254-58.

4 The anti-Communists raids and executions were carried out in a large scale in the first two years of 1927 and 1928. See an example in "Communists in Liang Hu Provinces" in *The North-China Herald*, March 17, 1928, p. 424.

had never stopped. The Xi’an Incident in December 1936 was an important episode of modern Chinese history. It took place in the city of Xi’an during the Civil War between the ruling Nationalist Party and the Communist Party. On December 12, 1936, Chiang Kai-shek was suddenly kidnapped by Marshall Zhang Xueliang, a former warlord of the Northeast, in order to pressure him to fight against the Japanese instead of fighting against the Communists. The incident led to a cessation of hostilities between the Nationalists and the Communists so that the two could put up a united front against the increasing threat posed by Japan. The CCP played a role in the peaceful settlement of the Xi’an Incident⁵ and the forming for the second time of a Nationalist-Communist alliance, thus paving the way for a nationwide war of resistance against Japan.

From the 9-18 Incident in 1931 to the fall of Wuhan in Central China in October 1938 was regarded as the first stage of the anti-Japanese War, i.e., the strategic defensive period, before the strategic stalemate and strategic counter-offensive stages; during which period the Japanese Army occupied Northeastern China (Manchuria), North China, and parts of Eastern and Central China, and the people in these regions suffered bitterly. The notorious “Nanjing Massacre” also took place during this period.

The Western powers carried out a tolerant policy toward Japan. One can see such policy through the Geneva Assembly by the League of Nations from September to October of 1937 and the Brussels Assembly in November of the same year. The Sino-Japanese war was discussed in both assemblies; the former assembly had no practical outcome, while the latter was worse -Japan refused to attend the assembly and the assembly ended with nothing- no support was made to China and no punishment imposed on Japan. The United Kingdom and the United States did not want to stimulate Japan because they enjoyed benefits from bilateral trade with Japan; maybe the war would bring additional interests to them. France was fully occupied with the Spanish Civil War that she was not able to turn around and had little attention for the Far East. In a word, the Brussels assembly can be described as one that had produced a worse outcome than had it never been held -- all the western countries seemed weak and powerless; they made ex-

5 Cf. Chiang Kai-shek, *A Fortnight in Sian: Extracts from a Diary*; and Mailing Soong Chiang (Madame Chiang Kai-shek), *A Coup D’etat*, Taipei: China Publishing Company, 1986.

cuses to each other and shifted responsibilities onto one another. They ingratiated themselves with Japan, which in practice encouraged Japan in aggression against China.⁶

China had to fight for herself independently. Diplomatic efforts with the big powers were still in need; at the same time, any means to win the international sympathy and international understanding seemed unavailable under such background. The Chinese people became aware of the importance of the publicity on their own behalf. The following article was a reflection of such awareness:

“Apart from the diplomacy used by the government, we need the so-called “people-to-people diplomacy” to fill in the blanks of the governmental diplomacy; because, when the governmental diplomacy reaches its deadlock, or proves to be a hindrance, the singular auxiliary means is the “people-to-people diplomacy” to break such deadlock and clear its way. People-to-people diplomats can be representatives of some cultural organizations or participants from the people, and the government and the people’s organizations can dispatch them jointly. They may go to the international world to communicate...Our resistance against the enemy needs all supports and backups from governments and the people of foreign countries; we must make big efforts for such diplomacy so our publicity can go abroad widely.”⁷

II. Who Are the Hui and the Japanese Policy towards Them⁸

The Hui is a minority people in China. The ancestors of the Hui were predominantly Muslims in Central and West Asia and migrated to China since the seventh century. The Hui in China is a

6 Qi Shirong, “Zhongguo Kangri Zhanzheng yu guoji guanxi” (China’s Anti-Japanese War and Sino-Foreign Relations) in Liu Danian, ed., *Zhong Ri xuezhe duitan lu -- Lugouqiao shibian wushi zhounian xueshu taolunhui wenji* (Paper Collection of the Sino-Japanese Scholars’ Dialogues -- In Memory of the 50th Anniversary of Marco Polo Bridge Incident), Beijing Press, 1989, pp. 232-35.

7 Mu Letian, “Guanyu jiaqiang guomin waijiao” (About Enhancing the People-to-People Diplomacy) in *Yue Hua*, vol. 13, Combines Issues 10-12 (Guilin: April 25, 1941), p. 12.

8 The self-designation of the Hui people are “Hui Hui” or “Huimin” (“Hui man” or “Hui people”), which are abbreviated as “Hui”; other people also called them Huijiao (“Muslim” or “Islamic” people) during the Republican era. Presently, they are officially called “Hui Hui Minzu” or “Huizu” simply (Hui Hui ethnic group). This article will not translate these terms when using citations in references and in notes.

singular group of people; they speak Chinese, but appear to have pursued a unique cultural evolution following the genesis of their immigration into China. The period of immigration was predominantly during the Tang (618-907) and Song dynasties (907-1279). There were two routes for them to enter China -one by the South China Seas to Canton and another by the Silk Road.⁹ During that period, Islamic Persians, Arabs, and Turkic peoples came to China to trade and later a number of them became permanent residents of such coastal cities as Guangzhou, Quanzhou, Hangzhou, Yangzhou, and the capital of Chang’an (today’s Xi’an).¹⁰ Apart from these people, the majority of the Hui were the people that the militant Mongols armies brought about into China. During the Mongols’ westward expeditions to Middle and Western Asia, they conquered many countries and kingdoms, and turned the local people into militant men, and sent them eastward on military missions. The Mongol rulers grouped them into “tan ma chi jun”, viz, the five Mongol tribal armies led by their chieftains when the Mongols conquered the Jin dynasty (1115-1234).¹¹ These civilians-turned-army men settled down in various locations, mainly in cities and along vital communication lines at the time. They bred livestock while maintaining combat readiness. As time went by, they became ordinary farmers and herdsmen. Because of their similar activities, a common economic life began to take shape among them. Scattered as they were, they stuck together in relative concentration in settlements and around mosques that they built for themselves; this has been a distinctive feature of the distribution of the Hui population in China to the present time.

As the ancestors of the Hui Hui were people who came to China from places where social systems, customs and habits differed from those in the new land, they began to promote their own in-group consciousness. Their concentration with mosques as their social

9 “Mohammedens in China” in *The North-China Herald*, January 18, 1933, p. 116.

10 Cf. Ma Jian-zhao, “The Role of Islam in the Formation of the Culture and Economy of the Hui Community in Guangzhou” in *Journal Institute of Minority Affairs*, vol. 16, no. 1 (1996), pp. 31-39. This article focuses on the research of the earliest Hui communities in Guangzhou, which can be taken as an example of the conditions of the Hui ancestors in many cities in China at the time.

11 Xia Zhengnong, general-ed., *Ci Hai (Ocean of Words)*, Shanghai cishu, 1989, p. 795.

center, their increase economic connections with each other, and their common political and social destiny and their common belief in Islam brought about their consciousness. Islam played a powerful part in their political and economic systems. “*jiao fang*” or “Islamic community” was a Hui community with a mosque built at a location inhabited by the Hui people, ranged in size from a dozen to several hundred households and with an imam presiding over the religious affairs of the community. Each community operated quite independently from the others. These communities become the basic social nexus for the widely dispersed Hui people. Until the early Ming dynasty (1368-1644), along with the nationwide restoration and development of the social economy, the distribution and economic status of the Hui population were solidified, and their shared ethnicity was eventually formed. Another factor that contributed to the formation of this ethnic group was the Chinese language. Before the Ming, the Hui used Persian, Arabic, and other Central and Western Asian languages. In the long course of time of living with the majority Han Chinese, they increasingly spoke the Han language and maintaining certain Arab and Persian phrases; until finally, the characterization of the Hui Hui culture by influences from the traditional culture of Middle and Western Asia ended with its assimilation into the Han culture.¹² Such Persian and Arabic phrases are not regarded as religious phrases only, nor are they the Chinese variation or slang, or borrowed words, but a part of the Hui language that is acceptable by all the Hui in China.¹³

Islamic communities established an early Hui pattern of preserving and protecting their identity in the form of enclaves, which were ensconced within the dominant Han society. There are three features of a Hui community: everyday life is associated with mosque; the imam is in charge of religious affairs; and the *xianglao* (elders or councilors) are in charge of communal relationships. The Hui today are living in a way little changed from their strong tradition.

The Hui suffered a lot when the Japanese army invaded China. Japanese war policies included first the “killing policy”. In a Hui-clustered village in Gaocheng county of Hebei, the Japanese captured twenty Hui men among whom they only set two younger men free through “redemption”, and buried alive the other eigh-

12 Bai Shouyi, *Zhongguo Hui Hui Minzu shi* (*The History of China's Hui Hui Minzu*), Beijing: zhonghua shuju, 2003, p. 106.

13 Ibid, p. 106.

teen Hui men.¹⁴ In Mengcun village of Hebei, the Japanese killed more than 1,300 Hui people within three years of their occupation of that area. In Jiangsu, Jiangxi, Hubei, Hunan, Guangxi, Guangdong, Sichuan, Chongqing, Shaanxi and Henan, they destroyed many mosques and killed numerous Hui with the bombs of fighters.¹⁵ Statistics showed that the Japanese destroyed 220 mosques and killed countless Hui people by April 1941.¹⁶ During the notorious “Nanjing Massacre” at the end of 1937, “the dead bodies were laid bare in mosques”.¹⁷ From February to March 1938, when the Hui and imams who survived the massacre returned to their mosques, they found *Xijie* (Western Street) Mosque outside Zhonghua Gate destroyed. Other mosques, like *Caoqiao* Mosque, *Taiping* Road Mosque, *Hanximen* Mosque, and *Changle* Road Mosque, were filled with dead bodies. Two imams, Wang Shouren and Zhang Zihui, proposed to establish a team for burying the dead; another four imams actively responded to this immediately. They organized a team very soon, and, with the assistance of a Hui working in the puppet government, successfully applied to register a name as “Nanjing Huijiao Team-for-Burying”. The team consisted of a group of Hui in charge of Islamic rituals, the secretariat, grave-digging and corpse-carriage.¹⁸ To avoid the danger

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- 14 Ma Yuhuai, “kangzhan zhong de Ji zhong Huimin” (The Mid-Hebei Hui in the Anti-Japanese War) in the **Nationalities Affairs Commission of Hebei Province**, ed., *Huizu kangri douzheng shi lunji* (Collected Articles of the Hui’s Anti-Japanese Struggles), Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin, 1991, p. 7.
- 15 “xuezhai tongji” (Statistic in the feature “Bloody Debts”) in *Zhongguo Huijiao jiuguo-hui huikan* (Bulletin of China Huijiao National Salvation Federation): vol. 1, issue 5 (December 15, 1939), p. 22; vol. 1, issue 8 (February 1, 1940), p. 28; **vol. 2, combined issues 6-7 (July 1940), p. 29; vol. 2, combined issues 10-11 (September 1940), p. 37; vol. 3, issue 6 (April 1941), p. 45.**
- 16 “kangzhan zhong Huimin sunshi gaikuang” (A General Survey of the Hui’s Loss in the anti-Japanese War) in *Bulletin of the China Huijiao National Salvation Federation*, vol. 3, issue 9 (July 1941), p. 7.
- 17 See “Memoir of the Huijiao Team for Buying when Nanjing Falling into the Japanese Occupation” in Nanjing Commission for Historical Data of Nanjing People’s Political Consultative Commission, ed., *qin hua Ri jun Nanjing da tusha shiliao zhuanji* (Historical Data on the Nanjing Massacre by the Invading Japanese Army), np., printed in 1983, p. 34.
- 18 Unfortunately, relative documents and bills were burn down at the beginning of the “Cultural Revolution” in 1966. See “Memoir of the Huijiao Team for Buying when Nanjing Falling into the Japanese Occupation” in Nanjing Commission for Historical Data under Nanjing People’s Political Consultative Commission, ed., *qin hua Ri jun Nanjing da tusha shiliao zhuanji* (Historical Data on the Nanjing Massacre by the Invading Japanese Army), np., printed in 1983, p. 34.

of being killed at any moment, they cooperated with the “Nanjing Red Cross Society” and kept working with their banners and arm-bands. The corpses were difficult to process, as nobody had buried them immediately. They buried more than one hundred bodies that were recognizable as Hui in five cemeteries around the city in a period of more than one month.¹⁹ Another example was on November 23, 1938, when the Hui were celebrating the festival Al-Fitr after Ramadan, the Japanese fighters dropped more than eighty bombs on them, destroying four Mosques and causing more than 130 casualties of the Hui.²⁰

The second Japanese policy was economic oppression. For example, jobless Hui people in Jilin province who lived in the cities or towns with more than 5,000 people numbered 25,000 or so. This number included 60% of the total Hui population in the province; most of them faced no crisis in their living. However, when the Japanese started invaded all of China in 1937, the poverty-stricken Hui population increased to 18%.²¹ This percentage kept growing, and, by 1943, three prefectures in this province, namely, over twenty counties under Changchun, Yanji, and Tonghua, amounted to 38%.²² When the traditional economic structure was dismantled, the mosques became destroyed, and Hui communities shattered, numerous Hui became homeless. Sangpo Hui Village of Mengxian county in northern Henan province had 2,000 Hui people before 1937. By 1939, some had died and others escaped to other places for survival, so only 600 were left.²³ Another example was the Hui transportation between Beiping (Beijing) and Dengkou of Ningxia province which provided camel transportation for various goods conducted by the Hui businessmen. After July 1937, the Japanese

19 Ibid, pp. 34-39. Original remark of the article: This memoir was edited by Yang Weiren based on the oral accounts of the imams, Ma Zihe, Shen Xi'en and Zhang Deyi in a symposium in 1966 in Nanjing, who had their personal experiences during the time.

20 Shen Junping, “kangzhan zhong de Shaanxi Huizu” (The Shaanxi Hui in the Anti-Japanese War) in *Collected Articles of the Hui's Anti-Japanese Struggles*, Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin, 1991, p. 71.

21 Ma Hongchao & Tian Zhihe, ed., *Jilin Huizu*. Changcun: Jilin jiaoyu, 1984, “Chapter 2-3”, p. 42.

22 (Japan) Hajime Kobayashi, *Hui Hui*, Tokyo Bowuguan, 1940, pp. 296-98.

23 “Yu bei huoxian qian shao de Sangpo cun” (Frontal-Castle Village Sangpo in the Northern Henan) in *Bulletin of China Huijiao National Salvation Federation*, vol. 1, issue 3 (November 1, 1939), p. 29.

came and established “transportation cooperation”, thus trucks took the place of camels; consequently, several thousand Hui men lost their jobs and awaited their doom.²⁴

The third policy was the deliberate humiliation of the Hui. The Japanese army men rubbed pork fat on the mosques, and forced the Hui to slaughter pigs to “reward” the Japanese soldiers. The Japanese forced pork into the mouth of a Hui in Hebei.²⁵ The matters of “rubbing pork on mosques” happened not only in Hebei, but also in Jining and Dezhou of Shandong province,²⁶ and Wuyang county of Central China’s Henan.²⁷ The puppet Wang Jingwei’s government army committed the same crime in Wuyuan Mosque in Suiyuan province.²⁸ They “recruited” Hui girls into the so-called “Huimin Girl’s School” to train them as “geishas” and “singers”, but the girls became sex slaves.²⁹ For military purpose, the Japanese did not hesitate to destroy Hui cemeteries.³⁰ Many available sources reveal the brutality and violence of the Japanese against the Hui.

24 Yang Jingzhi, “Ri Huijiao zhengce zhi quanmao” (An Overall Perspective of the Japanese Policy on the Huijiao), originally in *Tu Jue Monthly*, vol. 8, combined issues 7-8 (Chongqing: 1942). See Li Xinghua and Feng Jinyuan, ed., *Zhongguo Yisilan jiao shi ziliao xuan bian* (Selected Data on the Islamic History in China, 1911-1949), Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin, 1985, p. 1791.

25 Compiling Team of Mengcun Hui Autonomous County, ed., *Mengcun Huizu zizhi xian haikuang* (Survey of Mengcun Hui Autonomous County), Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin, 1983, p. 42.

26 Liu Chun, “ri kou miewang Hui Hui minzu de yinmou” (The Japanese Plot to Conquer the Hui Hui Minzu) in *Xin Zhonghua Bao*, July 28, 1939. See Jia Ruimei and Guo Lin, ed., *Shaan-Gan-Ning bianqu minzu zongjiao ziliao xuanbian* (Selected Historical Data on Minority and Religion Affairs in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Frontier Region), Xi’an: Shaanxi renmin, 1991, p. 211.

27 “dibing dui Huimin zhi baoxing” (The Brutal Crimes the Enemy Committed against the Huimin) in *Bulletin of China Huijiao National Salvation Federation*, vol. 3, issue 5 (March 1941), p. 25.

28 “xi Sui fen hui Wuyuan qingzhen-si” (The Wuyuan Mosque in Western Suiyuan Destroyed by Fire) in *Bulletin of China Huijiao National Salvation Federation*, vol. 2, issue 5 (June 15, 1940), p. 25.

29 The school was established in Zhangjiakou of the present northern Hebei province. See Qiu Shusen, ed., *Zhongguo Huizu shi* (The Huizu History of China), Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin, 1996, p. 805.

30 For instance, for a railway scheme, the Japanese were ready to destroy a Hui cemetery in Shanghai in October 1939. However, there was no consequent report. See “Mohammedans Object to Cemetery Move” in *The North-China Herald*, Oct. 11, 1939, p. 61.

The fourth policy was to employ the singular traits of the Hui by the Japanese in its “permanent control” over the Hui. By grasping these “traits”, they fueled an “Islamic upsurge” in Japan. The Japanese military government, through activating its organizations and research centers on Islam and the Muslim World, scheduled a big number of publications, particularly in the period between 1937 and 1945. These publications concerned about many Hui related topics such as the conditions of the Hui in Mongolia, in Northwest China, and in Northern China; the mosques and the Hui way of life; the Hui economic backgrounds and communications; and Hui-Confucian relationship; and so on. A number of these articles had no significance in doing “study” or “research” work, but were simply propaganda.³¹ Simultaneously, in the occupied regions of China, the Japanese established successive puppet Hui organizations, and published and distributed numerous bulletins, pamphlets, and bills for propaganda. A Japanese Muslim director of *Manzhou Huijiao xiehui* (Manchurian Huijiao Association) was established in 1936, replacing the earlier *Xinjing Yisilan jiao xiehui* (Islamic Association of the New Capital) which had been established in 1933 with ten branches among the occupied provinces and 182 sub-branches in cities and counties of these provinces. These associations worked to render services to the Japanese and the puppet Chinese government; they also published several bulletins to advocate “Japan-Manchuria friendship”.³² They established *Tianjin Huijiao-hui* (Tianjin Huijiao Association) and the *Beijing Huijiao-hui* (Beijing Huijiao Association) in 1937 to “promote Hui welfare and pacify Hui society”. The former was entirely a temporarily scabbled society with which many members of its council ignorant of the society at all; the latter was short-lived, existing only for two months. In December 1938, the Japanese organized a “North China Hajj Team to Mecca” whose real purpose was making publicity for the Japanese.³³ In 1939, Japanese

31 Lu Zhonghui, “Review on Japan’s Islamic Studies of China” in *Researches on the Hui*, issue 3 (Yinchuan: 2000), pp. 95-96.

32 Yang Jingzhi, “Ri Huijiao zhengce zhi quanmao” (An Overall Perspective of the Japanese Policy on the Huijiao) in *Tu Jue Monthly*, vol. 8, combined issues 7-8, 1942. See Li Xinghua and Feng Jinyuan, ed, *Selected Data on the Islamic History in China, 1911-1949*, Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin, 1985, pp. 1786-88.

33 *Ibid*, p. 1782.

spies established the “Guangzhou Huijiao Association” in the old *Huasheng* (Prophet’s Remembrance) Mosque.³⁴

The fifth policy was a Japanese ambitious plan to establish a “Hui Hui State”. The “Hui Hui State” (*Hui Hui Guo*) is a topic not well researched in Hui studies. “In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the relationship transformed into a major Japanese military strategy as the Japanese government began to implement its Islamic policy by mobilizing Muslim forces against the United Kingdom, Holland, China and Russia in East Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East.”³⁵ After the establishment of the so-called “Manchu State” (Manzhou Guo) in 1931, the Japanese supported the establishment of the “Eastern Hebei Autonomous Council” by the end of 1935,³⁶ and the “Mongolian Federated Government of *Mengjiang*” in 1937. Another notorious agent was the puppet National Government in Nanjing headed by Wang Jingwei,³⁷ which the Japanese hoped, eventually, would take over the place of the authentic National Government led by Chiang Kai-shek in Chongqing. The Japanese imperialists seemed to have found a way to splinter China.

Having occupied Baotou in North China, the Japanese set up the puppet “Northwest China Huijiao Federation” in October 1937.³⁸ In 1938 when a Japanese intelligence organization was exposed in

34 Zhou Ruihai, *Huizu History of the Anti-Japanese and National Salvation in China*, Beijing: shehui kexue wenxian, 2006, p. 38.

35 Selçuk Esenbel, “Japan’s Global Claim to Asia and the World of Islam: Transnational Nationalism and World Power, 1900-1945” in *The American Historical Review*, vol. 109, no. 4 (October 2004). Available from: <<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/109.4/esenbel.html>> [viewed April 15, 2010.]

36 It was established on Nov 25, 1935. It covered 1,000,000 sq miles making up 1/4 the entire territory of that province and controlled 4,000,000 people. See “East Hopei Regime” in *The North-China Herald*, April 14, 1937, p. 45.

37 Popularly called by historians as “Puppet Wang Jingwei’s Government”. It was established on the New Year’s afternoon of 1938. See “Puppet Regime Established in Nanking” in *The North-China Herald*, January 5, 1938, p. 2. The first three articles which Wang Jingwei agreed with the Pact the Japanese proposed were: one, to acknowledge Manchuria as an independent state; two, North China would be semi-independent; and three, Inner Mongolia would be a “special area” in which the Japanese had the right to station its army. See “Terms of Wang’s Reported Pact with the Japanese” in *Straits Times*. Singapore: March 7, 1940, p. 14.

38 “Direndong Xibei Hui bao zhi zhenxiang” (The True Purpose of the Enemy to Instigate the Hui in Northwest) in *Bulletin of China Huijiao National Salvation Federation*, vol. 3, issue 7 (May 1941), p. 26.

Ejina in western Inner Mongolia, many documents and files were discovered related to the creation of disturbances in the Northwest.³⁹ They created many problems among the peoples of Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang so they could reap unfair gains. The Japanese pushed even more strongly for the establishment of the “Hui Hui State,” calling upon the Hui people to “break off from China and establish their own state”. There were two opinions about the regions of the “Hui Hui State” inside Japan’s Kwantung Army (which controlled Northeastern China at the time). One opinion insisted on building a greater “Hui Hui State,” ranging from southern Tarim Basin in Xinjiang along the north line of the Qilian Mountain of eastern Gansu province to northern Shanxi province. This covers roughly the entire present Northwestern China and a part of Northern China. A second opinion seemed more practical, holding the idea of first establishing the state in Ningxia and Suiyuan provinces before expanding it into a larger territory.⁴⁰ To actualize the plan for this “Hui Hui State”, the Japanese tried to find a proper person as an agent to persuade and convince Ma Hongkui so they could overcome Ningxia first. This plan was not realized, however.⁴¹ On October 17, 1937, when the Japanese occupied Guisui (present Baotou) city, they purposely left a high position, the director-in-chief of the Northwest Huijiao Society, vacant, so as to draw Ma Hongkui into that position. This society had four branches; they widely recruited the young Hui men, giving them military training and Japanese language education.⁴² However, the “cozying-up” ploy to Ma Hongkui was in vain. In late 1938, the Jap-

39 Compiling Team of *On the Issues of the Hui Hui Minzu*, ed., *Hui Hui minzu wenti (On the Issues of the Hui Hui Minzu)*, first published in 1941 in Yan’an; re-published in Beijing: Minzu Press, 1980, p. 84.

40 Yang Jingzhi, *Riben zhi Huijiao zhengce (Japanese Policy on the Huijiao)*, Chongqing: Commercial Press, 1943. See Chapter 12 of Part One: “The Outline Drawn for the Establishment of a Hui Hui State” (zuzhi Hui Hui guo zhi lunkuo), pp. 30-32.

41 The Japanese invited Ma Hongkui’s brother, Ma Hongbing, and offered him a position in the puppet government. The Nationalist Government of Nanjing received the intelligence, and Chiang Kai-shek telegraphed to Ma Hongkui that “you had better ask your esteemed brother to be back to Ningxia from Beiping [present Beijing]”. Ma Hongbing was soon called back to Ningxia from Beijing. See Yu Zhengui, *China’s Governments and Islam*, Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin, 1996, p. 433.

42 “diren cedong Xibei Hui-bao zhi zhenxiang” (The True Purpose of the Enemies to Instigate the Northwestern Hui Compatriots) in *Bulletin of China Huijiao National Salvation Federation*, vol. 3, issue 7 (1941), p. 25.

anese found an ahong (imam) surnamed Zhang from the Northeast (Manchuria) and sent him to sell the idea of establishing the “Hui Hui State” to the Hui warlords in the Northwest provinces. However, Ma Honkui did not permit this ahong to enter the boundary of Ningxia. Before long, the Japanese dispatched eight planes to airdrop leaflets to Ningxia to demonstrate their threat and openly induce Ningxia to capitulate.⁴³ Later, Itagaki Seishiro, the chief-of-military-staff of the Japanese Army in Northeastern China flew to Alashan in western Inner Mongolia, and invited Ma Hongkui for a negotiation, but the negotiation resulted in the crushing disappointment of Itagaki Seishiro.⁴⁴ Itagaki Seishiro then sent another forty airplanes to bombard Yinchuan three times: on November 11, 1937, March 6, 1939, and September 15, 1939.⁴⁵ However, this showed the Japanese disillusionment of realizing the dream of a “Hui Hui State”.⁴⁶ Ma Hongkui became the chairman of Ningxia, and the Nationalist Government appointed Ma Hongbin, Ma Hon-

43 Yu Zhengui, *Zhongguo lida zhengquan he Yisilan jiao* (China’s Governments and Islam), Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin, 1996, p. 433.

44 Ma sent the Secretary of the Nationalist Party of Ningxia, Zhou Baihuang, to hold a negotiation on his behalf. Itagaki Seishiro asked Zhou why the Ma’s clan, who had been acting as devoted officials of the imperial Qing, now was not willing to help to restore the Manchu government. Zhou retorted that during the time of the Allied Forces of Eight Powers, the Japanese sent the biggest troops to participate in the Allied Forces. The Japanese Army at the Zhengyang Gate of Beijing killed many members of the Ma clan. By now, he has not taken revenge for his family members, nor has he done anything to revenge the shame of the country. So the two sides are unable to co-exist.

The background of such speech is, to suppress the Chinese anti-imperialist *Yihetuan* Movement (the Boxer Uprising), eight Western powers organized an allied force to wage war on China. Ma Fulu was Ma Fuxiang’s brother and Ma Hongkui’s uncle, who was killed by the Allied forces at the Zhengyang Gate of Beijing when the Eight Allied Forces invaded Beijing in 1900. Over one hundred Hui soldiers died in the same battle.

Citation from *Ma Shaoyun huiyi lu* (Memoir of Ma Shaoyun [another name of Ma Hongkui]) cited by Yu Zhengui, *Zhongguo lidai zhengquan he Yisilan jiao* (China’s Governments and Islam), Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin, 1996, p. 434.

45 See Ye Guangcai, “Ribei feiji san ci hongzha Yinchuan jianwen” (What I Saw and Heard during the Three Bombardments of the Japanese Fighters against Yinchuan) in Ningxia Commission for Historical Data under Ningxia People’s Political Consultative Commission, ed, *Ningxia wenshi ziliao* (Ningxia Historical Data) (Collection 23). Yinchuan: 1999, pp. 289-91.

46 Yu Zhengui, *China’s Governments and Islam*, Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin, 1996, p. 434.

gkui's brother, as the commander of western Suiyuan province in 1938. In the summer of 1939, Itagaki Seishiro launched the first battle against Ma Hongbin, but was utterly defeated. The Battle of Wubulangkou in early 1940, however, was fierce and intense. In March of the same year, Ma Hongbin, together with another Nationalist Army commanded by Fu Zuoyi, regained Wuyuan city. In the aftermath, Ma launched more than a dozen battles and attacked the puppet Mongol troops in western Inner Mongolia, thus safely protecting Ningxia, Gansu and Shaanxi provinces from Japanese aggression. The invincible Suiyuan and Ningxia became a permanent barrier to the realization of the "Hui Hui State" dream of the Japanese.⁴⁷ Although it failed, "the Japanese Army's use of Islam in North Asia against Chinese nationalism ceased [only] with the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949."⁴⁸

III. China Hui Anti-Japanese Federation and the Goodwill Mission to the Middle East

The national Hui alliance during the WWII, initially called *Zhongguo Huimin kangri jiuguo xiehui*, or "China Huimin Anti-Japanese and National Salvation Association" was established in December of 1937 in Zhengzhou, Henan province by the Hui elites Shi Zizhou, Wang Jingzhai and others. 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. Then Bai suggested that this Association move to Wuhan in the spring of 1938. By May of the same year, its

47 "Sui-xi qianxian de Hui Hui jun" (The Hui Hui Army in the frontier of West Suiyuan Province) in *Bulletin of China Huijiao National Salvation Federation*, vol. 1, issue 4 (November 15, 1939), p. 22.

Also, Wang Wudian, "My Reminiscences of the West-Suiyuan Anti-Japanese War by the Nationalist 81st Corps" in Ningxia Commission for Historical Data under Ningxia People's Political Consultative Commission, ed., *Ningxia wenshi ziliao (Ningxia Historical Data)* (Collection 14), Yinchuan: 1985, p. 63.

The battle was so great that even the *Straits Times* in British Malaya reported the news. See "Chinese Gains in Suiyuan Claimed" in *Straits Times*, March 27, 1940, p. 9.

48 Selçuk Esenbel, "Japan's Global Claim to Asia and the World of Islam: Transnational Nationalism and World Power, 1900-1945" in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 109, No. 4 (October 2000). Available from: <<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/109.4/esenbel.html>> [viewed April 15, 2010.]

name was changed to *Zhongguo Huimin jiuguo xiehui* or “China Huimin National Salvation Federation,” and extended its internal executive body. Bai Chongxi’s contribution to the Hui participation in the Anti-Japanese War was unique. He called on the Hui to strengthen their natural relations with the world Muslims,⁴⁹ and he acted as the director of the Federation.⁵⁰ 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, whose title was changed several times. 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 *Zhongguo Huijiao jiuguo xiehui*, or “China Huijiao National Salvation Federation”. In 1946, it was renamed *Zhongguo Huijiao xiehui* or “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.⁵¹ When it

49 Bai Chongxi, “fan qinlue yu Huijiao wenhua” (The Anti-Invasion and Huijiao Culture) in *Bulletin of China Huijiao National Salvation Federation*, vol. 2, issue 1 (April 15, 1940), pp. 3-5.

Also, Bai Chongxi, “Zhongguo Huijiao yu shijie Huijiao” (Huijiao in China and in the World) (First published by the Central News Agency in 1942) in Chang Chi-yun, ed., *bianjian lunwen ji* (*Symposium on Borderland Affairs*, vol. 2), Taipei: The National Defense Research Institute, 1966, pp. 1034-37.

50 See “New Mohammedan Chief” in *The North-China Herald*, January 22, 1938, p. 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). Li Xinghua and Feng Jinyuan, ed, *Selected Data on the Islamic History in China, 1911-1949*, Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin, 1985, p. 1679.

Also, Da Zhenyi & Liu Shuying, “Evaluation on ‘China Huijiao National Salvation Federation’ during the Anti-Japanese War” in the Nationalities Research Institute of Chinese Social Academy and the Nationalities Research Institute of Central Nationalities University, ed., *Huizu shi lun ji* (*Collected Articles of the Huizu History, 1949-1979*), Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin, 1984, pp. 134-35.

51 Ma Tianying, “The Past and Present of China Islamic Association” in Ma Tinying, ed, *Islamic Light*, Kuala Lumpur: Issue 39 (September 1972), p. 2.

was re-established in Wuhan in 1938, the declaration of the Federation says:

“We decide to unite all the comrades from Huijiao circle to establish China Huimin National Salvation Federation with the aim of perpetuating the spirit of our religion and showing our determination. We also warn the lunatic traitors to awaken quickly and join the front of resistance so that we can keep the glory of our religion. The Japanese invaders have occupied our inner land, and we have no choice but to fight back. We call on our compatriots to demonstrate our bravery inherited from our Sage Mohammed to endure the calamity, save our country and keep the peace of the world.”⁵²

The 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;⁵³ to organize Hui youth corps, battlefield service teams, service teams for victims of air-raids, women service work, and so on for the wounded soldiers and refugees;⁵⁴ to transport military supplies;⁵⁵ to establish local Hui forces to fight against the Japanese; and so forth. Another notable contribution was that the Federation sponsorship of Hui international diplomacy with Islamic countries. Apart from these, the Federation made many efforts to promote Hui education, to

52 “Declaration of China Huimin National Salvation Federation” in *Xinhua Daily*. Yan’an: January 16, 1938. See Da Zhenyi, ed., *Hubei Huizu guji ziliao jiyao (Historical Data on the Hubei Huizu)*, Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin, 2007, pp. 197-98.

53 Eg, “Huimin jiuguo xiehui fabiao gao xibei jiangling wen” (A Public Letter from the Huimin National Salvation Federation to the Northwestern Military Generals), *Xinhua Daily*, February 23, 1938. See Da Zhenyi, ed., *Hubei Huizu guji ziliao jiyao (Historical Data on the Hubei Huizu)*. Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin, 2007, pp. 218-19.

54 Eg, “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*, p. 198.

“Hui qing fuwu tuan gongzuo jin kuang” (Recent Works of the Huimin Youth Corps) in *Bulletin of China Huijiao National Salvation Federation*, vol. 1, issue 10 (June 1940), pp. 36-37.

55 Eg, in 1942, the Yunnan Federation Branch organized the Hui to transport military goods with more than 1,000 manful-carts, 10,000 horses in half-year’s time. See “Western Yunnan Hui’s Participation in Transportation” in *Bulletin of China Huijiao National Salvation Federation*, vol. 5, 1, issue 10 (March 1, 1943), pp. 36-37.

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.

The Federation organized two influential international anti-Japanese publications, one in the Middle East and the other South-east Asia. These activities were timely and provided counter-attack against the Japanese false propaganda and image. Selçuk Esenbel pointed out the real meaning of Japan’s “Asianist face” to the Muslim world in the first half of the twentieth century:

“Most people at the turn of the twenty-first century have forgotten that there was a time in Japan before World War II when Japanese nationalists showed an Asianist face to the world’s Muslims, whom they wanted to befriend as allies in the construction of a new Asia under Japanese domination. The rise of Japan was a destabilizing factor that attracted Muslim activists who wanted to cooperate with the “Rising Star of the East” against the Western empires, accelerating contacts between Japan and the world of Islam from vast regions of Eurasia and North Africa.”⁵⁶

From the early 1900’s to the end of WWII, Japan tried to play the role of “Savior of Islam” against Western imperialism and colonialism. Many Muslims of the world and their countries grasped the vision that “Muslim Japan” would be a means for their emancipation from Western hegemony. The Japanese government sent the “Japanese Muslims” to perform pilgrimages to Mecca in 1934 and in 1936. To initiate the strategy of Japan’s Islamic policy, Japan trained a younger generation of “Muslim” agents. Many of this younger generation of agents had served in the Pacific War, and others had received training in Okawa Shumei’s “spy school”. They wore Muslim attire and took appropriate Muslim names. All declared their entry into the faith in order to serve their country. Okawa Shumei was the ultranationalistic Japanese political theorist

56 Selçuk Esenbel, “Japan’s Global Claim to Asia and the World of Islam: Transnational Nationalism and World Power, 1900–1945” in *The American Historical Review*, vol. 109, no. 4, October 2004. Available from: <<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/109.4/esenbel.html>> [viewed Nov. 3, 2006.]

Also, Muhammed Abdur Rhman Siddiqi, *Islam Shines in Japan: Perspectives and Prospects*, Kuala Lumpur: A.S. Noordeen, 2008, p. 23, which the author states that “During the year[s] 1900-1945, the Muslims and many Japanese were motivated to consider Japan as Savior of Islam against the West”.

whose writings inspired many of the right-wing extremist groups that dominated Japanese politics during the 1930s. Okawa Shumei later played a prominent part in Japanese Islamic Studies in using Islam as a means for Japan's expansion. After World War II, he was prosecuted as a class-A war criminal by the Allies.⁵⁷ In China, for example, the *Huijiao Weekly Bulletin* under the control of the puppet "China Islamic Association" at Beiping was incessantly published from 1940 to 1945 to sell such thoughts.⁵⁸

Therefore, when the European and American countries saw very clearly the false propaganda of the Japanese and would not be cheated by the Japanese, the countries in the Middle East could hardly get rid of the false propaganda because there were fewer communications between these countries and China at the time, and they were ignorant of the true happenings of the Japanese aggression. China has a big Hui population who share the faith of Islam with the peoples of the Middle East. It would be simple for the Hui people to explain the truth to these countries; so such people-to-people diplomacy was a pioneering work and should be completed by the Hui people.⁵⁹

Ma Tianying was the initiator and a participant of the government-sponsored "The Chinese Muslim Goodwill Mission to the Middle East" in 1937. He recalled the initiation of the visit:

"I met Sun Yan Yi [another name Sun Shengwu] on a day in June 1937 inside a church along the Zhejiang Road in Shanghai, and suggested to him that persons like us would become cannon fodder if we go to a battle... I would like to lead a publicity team to the Muslim world and reveal the Japanese brutalities thus to seek their support. The first important issue was to push Muslim people to demand that their governments discontinue diplomatic relationships with Japan; the second was to expose the atrocities of the Japanese to gain international sympathy for China; the third was to boycott Japanese goods; and the fourth, to ask them to help the Chinese refugees."⁶⁰

57 Ibid.

58 This bulletin published altogether 194 issues.

59 Tang Kesan, "Preface to *Diaries of the Chinese Muslim Goodwill Mission to the Middle East*", Wang Zengshan, ed., *Diaries of the Chinese Muslim Goodwill Mission to the Middle East*, Chongqing: 1943; Reprinted at Kuala Lumpur: 1997, p. vii.

60 Ma Tianying, "Sun Yanyi shi he wo" (Sun Yanyi and I) in *Islamic Light*, Kuala Lumpur, no. 74 (August 31 1975), p. 2.

In fact, the very day when the China Huimin National Salvation Federation was established, “the Association [Federation] has decided to send delegates to India, Egypt, Turkey, and other Mohammedan countries to explain the stand of the Chinese Mohammedans.”⁶¹ At the time, another eminent Hui man, Tang Kesan, was a high-positioned official in the Mongol-Tibetan Affairs Commission, the *de facto* minority affairs department of the National Government. Wang Zengshan was a parliamentary member of the Legislative Yuan, and Sun Yanyi was the director of the Treasury Ministry; they were members of Hui elites, having good reputations among the Hui people. These three persons first discussed the matter, and then reported to General Bai Chongxi, who quickly approved the report.⁶² “Mr. Sun Yan Yi was a strong supporter ... Mr. Sun deserved full credit for the success of these two Good Missions.”⁶³

The Goodwill Mission to the Middle East was organized in November 1938 in the capital of Nanjing. Wang Zengshan, who graduated from Istanbul University, acted as the head, accompanied by Ma Tianying, who was good in English and French, Zhang Zhaoli, who was good in English, Xue Wenbo, who was good in classical Chinese, and Wang Shiming, who graduated from Al-Azhar University. The jammed transportation caused by the move of the Chinese government from Nanjing to Chongqing made it difficult for the members of the delegation to gather, so they started their journey in November 1938. On January 11, 1938, the delegation left Hong Kong for Mecca. (See “Timetable of the Goodwill Mission to the Middle East”). Considering the time limitation, the delegation first went Mecca for the annual Hajj. In February, they went on pilgrimage and stayed in Saudi Arabia for over a month before arriving in Cairo. They planned to go to Turkey after Egypt,

61 See “New Mohammedan Chief” in *The North-China Herald*, January 22, 1938, p. 482.

62 Bai Chongxi said, “I have talked with Mr. Tang Kesan about our wide publicity among the international Muslims... That is why we organized The Chinese Muslim Goodwill Mission to the Middle East.” See Bai Chongxi, “zunshou Mu xun fankang qinlue” (Following Mohammed’s Teaching and Resisting against Invasion) in *Huijiao dazhong* (*Huijiao Masses*), issue 1 (Wuchang: 1938), p. 3.

63 Ma Tianying. “Sun Yanyi and I” in *Islamic Light*, Kuala Lumpur: No. 74 (August 31 1975), p. 2.

Another Mission was the Chinese Islamic Goodwill Mission to the South Eastern Asia.

but unfortunately, they were refused for visas because of Japanese-created rumors that swayed the Turkish government's acceptance of the delegation. They had to change their schedule and paid visits to Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and then India. Then news came from the Huijiao National Salvation Federation at home that they should be ready to visit Turkey since the government had solved the diplomatic problem with Turkey. The team left India for Turkey on October 18 and finished their task on January 25, 1939; then the team returned to Chongqing.⁶⁴

IV. Visit to Turkey: a Sample Study of the Goodwill Mission's Activities⁶⁵

Turkey had been attracting the attention of the Hui people in China because of the great changes that had taken place in this traditional Muslim country in the early 20th century, and the achieve-

64 See Wang Zengshan, ed, *Diaries of the Chinese Muslim Goodwill Mission to the Middle East*. This is a general summary of the journeys of the delegation by the writer.

Also, Jue Yuan, "News Report: The Turkish People Deeply Believe Our Anti-Japanese War Will Win the Victory" in *Yue Hwa*, vol. 11, combined issues 4-6 (Guilin: 1939), pp. 10-12.

Also, see the successive news reports in the *Weekly Bulletin of China Huimin Salvation Federation* (Chongqing: 1938-1939).

65 "The Visit to Turkey" is mainly based upon Wang Zengshan, *Diaries of the Chinese Islamic Goodwill Mission to the Middle East* (First published in 1943), Publisher: Dr. Wang Erli of the Muslim Welfare Organization of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur: 1996, pp. 378-403.

Also, Jue Yuan (another name Zhang Zhaoli), "News Report: The Turkish People Deeply Believe Our Anti-Japanese War Will Win the Victory" in *Yue Hwa*, vol. 11, combined issues 4-6 (Guilin: 1939), pp. 10-12.

Also, see the successive news reports in *Weekly Bulletin of China Huimin National Salvation Federation* (Hankou: 1938; Chongqing: 1939). The news reports are:

"Jindong Fangwentuan haiwai xuanchuan gongzuo" (The Goodwill Mission to the Middle East Going Abroad for Publicity) in no. 14 (Nov. 18, 1938), p. 54;

"Jing gao Jindong Yisilan jaiobao shu" (Announcement to the Middle East Muslims) in no. 15 (Nov. 25, 1938), p. 59;

"Jindong Fangwentuan zai Tu xuanchuan" (The Goodwill Mission to the Middle East Giving Publicity in Turkey) in no. 17 (Dec. 9, 1938), p. 56;

"Jindong Fangwentuan tongxun" (Newsreport on the Goodwill Mission to the Middle East) in issue no. 18 (Dec. 16, 1938), pp. 70-71; and

"Jindong Fangwentuan huiguo" (Return of the Goodwill Mission to the Middle East) in no. 25 (Feb. 3, 1939), p. 99.

ments the Turkish people attained. Similarly, early 20th century China was also under many revolutions. The people in China, including the minority Hui, were witnessing the transition of their country from feudalistic monarchy into a Republic in modern sense. Wang Kuan, the founder of the modern Hui educational system who had successfully changed the Hui old mosque education, said, “It was not until I returned to China from Turkey that I knew the general course of the world’s development is to popularize education first of all, without which a nation could not survive.”⁶⁶ Another member of the Hui elite, Ma Hongkui, who was the chairman of the Hui-clustered Ningxia province, said, “We had better learn from Turkey. Before the war it was called the Sick Man of the Middle East, and was oppressed by imperialists, which was like China in many ways because they were only confined to the meaningless religious restrictions and could not raise the true religious spirit.....until General Kemal determined to reform all the old institutions that did not suit the new era. This is the true spirit of Islam.”⁶⁷ Many Hui periodicals published articles during China’s Anti-Japanese War, setting Turkey as a model to encourage the Chinese people to fight against her aggressors.⁶⁸

The delegation of the Chinese Islamic Goodwill Mission to the Middle East left India on October 11 and arrived at Port Said, Egypt on October 19, then further continuing northward for Istanbul, former capital of Turkey, on October 24. The very entrance of the delegation to Turkey witnessed the friendship of the Turkish people towards the Chinese Hui Muslims. Three policemen knew the identities of the delegation members and immediately asked

66 Wang Kuan, “The Announcement of ‘China Islamic Mutual Progress Association’” on March 1, 1912 in Beijing, appended by Bai Shouyi. *Zhongguo Hui Hui Minzu shi (The History of China’s Hui Hui Minzu)*, Beijing: zhonghua shuju, 2003, pp. 734-35.

67 Ma Hongkui, “Yao yong xin jiao jingshen wanjiu Zhongguo minzu de lunwang” (Save the Chinese Nation from Perishing with Religious Spirit), in *Huijiao Dazhong (The Hui Mass)*, issue 1 (Wuchang: Feb. 25, 1938), pp. 8-16.

68 Cf. “Tuerqi fuxing ke wei wo guo bangyang” (The Turkish Revivalism May Become the Example for Our Country) in *Weekly Bulletin of China Huimin National Salvation Federation*, no. 2 (Hankou: Jan. 20, 1938), pp. 6-7.

Also, see Sha Jinming, “Tuerqi diyu wai wu zhi shili jiqi jiaoxun” (The Practical Exemplifications and Lessons of Turkey in Resisting against Foreign Aggressors) in *Bianjiang Banyukan (Frontier Bi-Monthly)*, vol. 3, combined issues 7-9 (Nanjing: Feb. 25, 1938), pp. 1-4.

many questions about China’s anti-Japanese War. After checking their visas, a man who seemed to be an official gave them an authorized paper and told them to keep it well, saying, “You please don’t lose it. We are brothers; but I am sorry that I am limited in my position and cannot give you more assistance.” Then three policemen accompanied them all the way to the centre of Istanbul, and then talked with them until very late in the night.⁶⁹ Hearing of the delegation arriving at Istanbul, the charge d’affaires ad interim, Tong Deqian, and a dozen local reporters came to welcome them. Istanbul is located in the pivot of the Euro-Asian continents and the Dardanelles is well known all over the world with its various architectural types. The delegation head, Mr. Wang Zengshan, had graduated from Istanbul University in 1927, and naturally had many old friends in Turkey, who flooded to his place upon the news that he had come to the city again; they held a tea party to welcome Wang on October 26. Delegation members Ma Tianying, Xue Wenbo, Zhang Zhaoli, and

Time table of the Goodwill Mission to the Middle East

Time from	Time to	Country	City from	City to (or for stay)	Days
Nov.16, 1937	Jan 10, 1938	China	Nanjing,	Hong Kong	56
Jan 11, 1938	Feb. 3, 1938		Hong Kong	Suez Canal	23
Feb. 3	Feb. 5		Suez	Jeddah	2
Feb. 5	March 2	Arabia		Mecca, Jeddah, Arafat, Mina	26
March 3	March 9		Jeddah	Suez	7
March 10	May 14	Egypt		Cairo, Suez, Alexandra (10 days), Port Said	66
May 15	May 17		Port Said	Beirut	2
May 17	May 23	Lebanon		Beirut	7
May 24			Beirut	Damascus	1
May 25	May 30	Syria		Damascus	6
May 31	June 1		Damascus	Bagdad	2

69 Wang Zengshan, *Diaries of the Chinese Islamic Goodwill Mission to the Middle East*, under the sub-title of “Three Policemen Sympathetic towards Us” at p. 379.

Time from	Time to	Country	City from	City to (or for stay)	Days
June 2	June 8	Iraq		Bagdad	7
June 9	June 10		Bagdad	Tehran	2
June 11	June 25	Iran		Tehran, Isfahan, Bushehr	15
June 26	July 1		Bushehr	Bombay	6
July 2	Oct. 10	India		Bombay, Lahore, Lucknow, Patna, Calcutta	101
Oct. 11	Oct. 24		Bombay	Istanbul	14
Oct. 25	Nov. 17	Turkey		Ankara, Istanbul	24
Nov. 18	Nov. 23		Istanbul	Alexandra	5
Nov. 24	Dec. 4	Egypt		Alexandra, Port Said	12
Dec. 5	Dec. 17		Port Said	Colombo	12
Dec. 17	Dec. 18	Ceylon (Sri Lanka)		Colombo	1
Dec. 18	Dec. 26 (morning)		Colombo	Singapore	8
Dec. 26	(day time)	Malaya		Singapore	1
Dec. 26 (night)	Dec. 28		Singapore	Sai Kung	2
Dec. 29	Jan. 2, 1939	Annan (Vietnam)		Sai Kung	5
Jan. 3, 1939	Jan. 10, 1939		Sai Kung	Hanoi	8

Total: 8 countries visited; 26 cities with publicity activities; 55,155 kilometers in distance; and 436 days

Source: Wang Zengshan, ed, *Diaries of the Chinese Islamic Goodwill Mission to the Middle East* (First published in 1943). Publisher: Wang Erli of the Muslim Welfare Organization of Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur: 1996, pp. 444-447.

Wang Shiming was invited to join the party, too. In the party, the guests and hosts honestly talked about many topics such as the Anti-Japanese War, the sacrifice of the Hui people for their country, the relationships between China and Turkey, and so on. Tur-

key had been invaded by Greece fifteen years before, and lost two thirds of its territories at the time. However, the Turkish people and the Turkish army, under the leadership of President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, made great sacrifices and finally won their independence and freedom. Fifteen years after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, the Turkish people threw themselves into the construction of the new country, which grew stronger and stronger; now it had become a big power in the Middle East. The Turkish people regarded the invasion of the Japanese into China as similar to that of Turkey by Greece fifteen years earlier. The Chinese people had an unyielding character, they were fighting against their enemies firmly; their spirit was like that of the Turkish people fifteen years ago.

October 29, 1938 was the fifteenth National Day of Turkey since its foundation and the Turkish government decided to hold a military parade in the capital of Ankara. The delegation was planning to go to the capital and watch the parade. They left for the capital at the night of October 26. On the morning of October 28, accompanied by the charge d'affaires ad interim, Tong Deqian, the delegation paid a visit to Turkish Foreign Affairs Minister Tevfik Rüştü Aras. Mr. Wang Zenshan stated the intention of the Goodwill Mission and the experiences of the delegation in the Middle East countries. Wang Zengshan, on behalf of the delegation and all the Hui people in China, also expressed the best wishes to the Turkish President, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who was recuperating his health in Istanbul. Then, Mr. Ma Tianying talked to the minister in French on the relationship between China and Turkey, on the Sino-Japanese War, and on the various conditions of the countries in the Middle East. Minister Tevfik Rüştü Aras said that the relationship between the two countries, apart from common international friendship, was special since they have same blood origin. The Turkish people came from the Turkic race in Northwest China, so their language, religion and customs are close to those of the Muslims in Northwest China. The skin and hair of the Turkish people are also close to those of the Chinese people. Regarding the Sino-Japanese War, Minister Tevfik Rüştü Aras deeply believed that upon hard struggles by the Chinese people, they would regain their lost land, and would win victory over the enemy, just as the Turkish people had over the Greeks fifteen years before. Furthermore, the Japanese were relying on Western skills and throwing away their traditional oriental morality and civilization, thus and killing their own race. Such deeds

made themselves not only the enemies of the Chinese, but also the enemies of all Asian peoples. After the talk, the minister invited the delegation to watch the military review; this was to show his enthusiasm to the delegation. At two o'clock in the afternoon of 29th, the Turkish government started the military review. The people for the ceremony were swarming and the display magnificent; the only regret, as felt by the Turkish people, was the absence of the president. The Prime Minister, Celal Bayar, on behalf of the president, held the ceremony. He reviewed the Navy that displayed more than 250 airplanes, the boy scouts, the infantry, the cavalry, and the artillery -altogether 30,000 people; they were well armed and were in high spirits. The delegation appreciated that Turkey gained such strong strength within a short time.

On the afternoon of October 31, the Turkish government held a welcoming party to entertain leaders from foreign countries. All the foreign leaders participated in the party. The representatives of China, the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, Japan and Italy shared one table. The Russian representatives sat in the middle, with the Chinese representative on his left and the Italian ambassador on his right. Further left sat the Japanese ambassador, and the Afghanistan ambassador sat on the left-most seat. The Japanese ambassador suddenly spoke to the Italian ambassador, "Have you, lord, heard that a Chinese delegation is doing some activities in Ankara?" The Italian ambassador replied, "Yes, I have. I saw five people of this delegation watching the military review in the National Day celebration. I heard that they are the Hui representatives coming to visit Turkey. Do you, lord, refer to them?" The Japanese ambassador said again, "Yes, I refer to this delegation. This is a delegation dispatched by China to visit all the Middle East countries for anti-Japanese publicity and to break the united front of the Fascist countries. They are not a delegation of the common Hui people." The speaker had raised his voice when he said so, so was heard by the Russian representative. The Russian representative expressed his advice that such a conversation be stopped, and then the Japanese ambassador dropped into silence. This conversation, however, was later spread out as an anecdote, which for a while amused the Turkish people who embraced democratic politics.

The delegation stayed in Ankara for two weeks, during which time they visited every newspaper house, many social organizations, schools, and some private tea parties. They grasped every opportunity to make anti-Japanese publicity. The newspapers com-

petitively reported anti-Japanese news every day and published anti-Japanese editorials. Once, when they were making publicity, a poor Turkish man, whose name was remembered as Muhammed and who was very sympathetic towards China's resistance, swore piously that he would kill a chicken as a sacrifice the very day China won its victory.⁷⁰

The illness of President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk became worse in those days, and he finally passed away at 09:10 in the morning of November 10. All the army men and people of Turkey were stricken by this tragic news, and all the country became heartbroken. As the remains of the president would be placed in Istanbul so the people could go and offer their condolences, the Chinese delegation also left Ankara for Istanbul on November 11. On November 13, they paid a visit to the Mayor of Istanbul, Muhittin Üstündağ, and they were warmly received. The mayor invited the delegate to participate in the public memorial ceremony for the late president at nine o'clock in the morning of November 15.⁷¹ After the visit to the Mayor, the delegation paid a visit to the Republican People's Party Istanbul Branch and gave them the "Announcement to the World Muslims", which the party appreciated very much, and allowed the delegation to distribute the announcement anywhere inside Turkey, so to reveal the truth of the Japanese invasion against China, and arouse the sympathy of Turkish people towards China. On the morning of the 16th, the delegation bought a wreath, and went to the late president's tomb for the memorial ceremony.⁷² Two officials dispatched by the Mayor accompanied them; the delegation learnt of the president's enormous contributions and felt his great personality. The following day, all the newspapers published photos of the Chinese delegation visiting to the Turkish late presi-

70 *Weekly Bulletin of China Huimin National Salvation Federation*, no. 18 (Chongqing: Dec. 16, 1938), p. 71; this is a repeated report of the Central News Agency on Dec. 13, 1938 (cf. the original remark).

71 There is a discrepancy in dating their memorial activity between two sources: Wang Zengshan, ed., *Diaries of the Chinese Islamic Goodwill Mission to the Middle East* (First published in 1943) says it was "morning of November 15th" (See the version published by Dr. Wang Erli of the Muslim Welfare Organization of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur: 1996, p. 402; while Jue Yuan's "Tuerqi ren shen xin wo guo kangzhan bi huo zuihou shengli" (News Report: The Turkish People Deeply Believe Our Anti-Japanese War Will Win the Victory) says it was "November 16th" [See *Yue Hwa*, vol. 11, combined issues 4-6 (Guilin: 1939), pp. 10-12].

72 Cf. the above note about the exact time.

dent, and the Turkish people were moved that the Chinese Islamic delegation, who were thousands of miles from home, had come to mourn for the president; this was a very special case among all the delegates from all foreign countries, and consequently gained its influence.

Some newspapers were noteworthy in mentioning their backup to the Chinese anti-Japanese war and they offered sympathetic sentiment towards China’s resistance. “*Ulus* (meaning “Nation” and published at Ankara) and *Tan* (meaning “Dawn” and published at Istanbul) have their high moral integrity. The Japanese tried to buy them over with bribery, they were not, however, influenced at all.⁷³ To publicize China, *Ulus* also published the Programme of the Nationalist Party of China and the Three Principles of the People by Dr. Sun Yat-sen.⁷⁴ The *Tan* started reporting on the Chinese delegation even before the delegation arrived Turkey (on October 9th).⁷⁵ On November 11, Mr. Zekeriya Bey, director of the *Tan*, particularly discussed with the delegation for preparation of publishing a feature on China in the newspaper *Tan*. The feature covered three topics on the founder of the Republic of China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, China’s latest revolution against warlords, the Japanese aggression against China, Islam in China, and so on. *Cumhuriyet* (meaning “Republic”) was obviously instigated by the Japanese, and published something unfavorable to the Chinese delegation before the delegation came to Turkey. They changed their attitude, however, and the director Mr. Yunus Nadi visited the delegation to inquire about the war against the Japanese.⁷⁶

The Turkish parliament, in accord with the constitution, elected the former prime minister who was the former Army General, Mustafa İsmet İnönü, as the new president. He was witty and brave. The delegation head, Wang Zenshan, had known him ten years before.

73 “Report on the Islamic Goodwill Mission to the Middle East” in *Bulletin of China Huimin National Salvation Federation*, no. 18 (Chongqing: Dec. 16, 1938), p. 71; this is a repeated report of the Central News Agency on Dec. 13, 1938 (cf. the original remark).

74 Wang Zengshan, ed., *Diaries of the Chinese Islamic Goodwill Mission to the Middle East* under the sub-title of “Programmes of the Nationalist Party and Three Principles of the People Published in Foreign Newspapers”, p. 479.

75 See Wang Zengshan, ed., *Diaries of the Chinese Islamic Goodwill Mission to the Middle East* under the sub-title of “The Newspaper *Tan* Sympathizes with Our Country” at p. 395.

76 Ibid.

The delegation telegraphed to the new president congratulating him on inauguration on November 16, and expressing its gratitude to all those who had warmly entertained the delegation. The mission of visiting Turkey would be completed and the delegation would be bound for Egypt on November 18, and then they would return to China. The delegation had printed several thousand copies of the “Announcement to the World Muslims” in Ankara, now they distributed these to the government and the people, and to schools and religious societies, in order to arouse the sympathy of the Turkish people to morally condemn the Japanese and impose economic sanctions against the Japanese. The very day of November 18 when the delegation left, they gave a public speech in the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, with more than one thousand people gathered.⁷⁷

V. The Delegation’s Struggle against Troubles by the Japanese⁷⁸

The Japanese kept giving troubles to the delegation. When the delegation went by ship to Saudi Arabia via the Red Sea, three Japanese ronins, one of whom was called Suzuki, the second called Kobayashi Tetsuo, and the third was not given the name and was from Manchukuo (Manchu State, i.e., Northeast China where was occupied by the Japanese Army). Suzuki had lived in British Malaya, and this was the fourth time for him to “go to Hajj”. But as the delegation later knew, they went to Mecca only for making propaganda that China would unite Soviet Union and embrace communism, that China was ready to give up any religion; and that Xinjiang in the Northwest should get independence; and so on. They claimed that Xinjiang province had already become a *de facto* independent country, with a Muslim acting as the “president”.⁷⁹ The delegation made great efforts to publicize the real China and to expose

77 See Wang Zengshan, “The General Report of the Chinese Muslim Goodwill Mission to the Middle East” appended by the book of *Diaries of the Chinese Muslim Goodwill Mission to the Middle East*, with the sub-title “Mosques and Public Speeches” at p. 473.

78 This part is mainly from Wang Zengshan, “The General Report of the Chinese Muslim Goodwill Mission to the Middle East” with the subtitle “Trouble the Japanese Made to the Delegation and Their Activities in the Middle East”, pp. 490-493.

79 This might refer to the Uyghur nationalists who established the “Republic of Eastern Turkestan” on November 12, 1933, which lasted for three months.

the fraud of the Japanese when they arrived at Mecca. There were 120,000 Muslims going to Hajj that year, and the annual meeting of the International Islamic Conference was held there. After hajj, the Saudi Arabian King, Ibn Saud, met the delegation on February 11, 1938, at Mina. The Egyptian finance minister, Abdullah Suleiman, met the delegation on February 27, and showed considerable sympathy towards the Chinese people. He also invited the delegation to watch the military review. The publicity in Saudi Arabia was a big success indeed. When the delegation was bound for Egypt in early March of the same year, they met the three Japanese ronins again. This time, the ronins seemed very depressed; when seeing the delegation members, they escaped and hid themselves.

The Japanese spies made troubles to the delegation when it visited Egypt, Iraq and India, too. In Egypt, they shadowed the delegation closely. When the delegation gave speeches, they asked many questions rudely; besides, they created rumors that the Chinese Army was defeated and the Chinese government was negotiating with the Japanese. The delegation, however, just used the victory of the Battle Tai'erzhaung⁸⁰ to slam such rumors. With the efforts of the delegation, more newspapers reported the news of the victory. In early June 1938 when the delegation was staying in a hotel in Iran, four Japanese men, claiming to be businessmen, stayed in the same hotel where the delegation resided. When the delegation reported to the police and the policemen came to check, they disappeared immediately.

On July 15, 1938, when the delegation was going to give public speeches to the Muslim Students Union in Lahore of Punjab, India, two Japanese men were discovered among the audience. The man in charge of the speech asked the delegation if they should drive the Japanese out of the audience. The delegation replied that the Chinese people were fighting against the Japanese warlords instead of the Japanese people, so what was the harm that they stayed here and listened to their speeches? By the end of the public speeches, when all the audience was moved by the speeches that revealed the brutality of the Japanese invaders, they shouted loudly for the

80 This was one of the biggest battles during the Anti-Japanese War, which was launched in March 1938 on the eastern bank of the Grand Canal of China. The Nationalist Army fighting against the Japanese Army was under the command of General Li Zongren and his Hui colleague, General Bai Chongxi. The Battle broke the myth of the Japanese military invincibility.

boycott of Japanese goods, and then the two Japanese men fled helter-skelter.

Japanese officials were involved in interfering with the publicities of the delegation. In late May 1938, when the delegation paid its visit to Damascus, Syria, one vice ambassador from the Japanese Embassy in Beirut, whose name was not mentioned in the resources, specifically came to this city and visited Fahir Bey Baroudi, an Islamic organization that entertained and financially supported the delegation. He said that the five Hui men from China were communists; and they were cheating the world by claiming that the Japanese army killed the Hui people and destroyed their mosques in China. However, they retorted to him that the five Hui men were good Muslims, and that, “was it not true that the Japanese killed the Hui people and destroyed their mosques in China?” The vice ambassador did not drop his idea to smear the delegation. He wrote a letter to the Syrian General Commercial Society, saying that the five Hui men were publicizing a boycott of Japanese products for the real intention of promoting British goods, and they should not be cheated by these five Hui men from China. The director of the Society, however, told every detail about the letter to the delegation afterwards.

The Japanese ambassador to India, Kiyoshi Fukui, denied the accusations of the delegation that the Japanese Army killed the Muslim Hui and destroyed their mosques, and this was published in the newspaper, *Bombay News*. The delegation gave many practical examples, and dared the ambassador to provide disproof. Kiyoshi Fukui then lapsed into silence. This matter drew the attention of the Indian society at the time.

VI. Contributions of the Hui Publicities Abroad

The Goodwill Mission to the Middle East made great contributions to the Anti-Japanese War. Firstly, during this time, Japan purposely built a mosque in Tokyo to lure Middle East Muslims. The Japanese government invited officials from these countries to participate in the opening ceremony of the new mosque on May 12, 1938, the sole purpose was to camouflage its real intention. The Hui delegates were in Egypt at the time, and they immediately wrote in Arabic an “Announcement to All Muslims in the World by the Chinese Islamic Goodwill Mission to the Middle East” and posted it to all Muslim countries and many people’s societies and organi-

zations, telling the public that there was no Muslim ethnic group in Japan; even years prior to the construction of the first mosque in Kobe, which was sponsored by Indian Muslims, the Japanese government refused to protect it legally; when Muslims gathered for prayers, the Japanese blocked and obstructed them. While the Japanese government was building the Tokyo Mosque, their soldiers were destroying tens of hundreds of mosques in China and were slaughtering hundreds of thousands of Muslims in China. As a result, the Egyptian government immediately refused to join the ceremony of the Tokyo Mosque.⁸¹ They also wrote an announcement and posted it to many Hui societies inside China.⁸²

A second aspect is that they visited many Islamic country leaders when they went to Hajj at Mecca, and they simultaneously attended the annual International Islamic Conference. There, they met many leaders from the Islamic countries, and grasping this opportunity, revealed the brutality of the Japanese Army against the Chinese people. When they visited the Middle East countries on their time schedule, they paid their visits to many top leaders of these countries. The Saudi Arabian King Ibn Saud, the Egyptian King Farouk I, the Syrian President Hashim al-Atassi, and the Iraqi King Ghazi bin Faisal, all met the Middle East delegation. They also paid visits to many prime ministers, ministers, members of parliaments, councilors, and mayors, university presidents, and leaders of public societies and organizations; only those names motioned in the report include more than sixty.⁸³ They articulated in detail the real intention of the delegation and reported the real happenings in China.

A third aspect is that they visited many people’s societies and organizations. The “General Report” by delegation head, Wang

81 “The General Report of the Chinese Muslim Goodwill Mission to the Middle East”, pp. 480-482.

Also, “Ge guo jujue canjia Dongjing libaisi luocheng dianli” (Many Countries Refusing Attending the Opening Ceremony of Tokyo Mosque) in *Yue Hua*, vol. 10, issue 5 (Guilin: May 15, 1938), p. 16.

Only one distinguished name from the Middle Eastern countries, Prince Wahaba of Saudi Arabia, was mentioned for attending the opening ceremony of Tokyo Mosque in 1938. See Muhammed Abdur Rhman Siddiqi, *Islam Shines in Japan: Perspectives and Prospects*, Kuala Lumpur: A. S. Noordeen, 2008, p. 6.

82 “The General Report of the Chinese Muslim Goodwill Mission to the Middle East”, pp. 483-484.

83 Ibid, under the sub-title of “The Elites that the Delegation Paid Visits” at pp. 468-69.

Zenshan, mentioned a dozen well-known societies and organizations that they visited. These were mainly in Egypt, Syria, Iran and India. Normally, after a public speech given by the delegation to a society, the audience would voluntarily go on to persuade businessmen to give up selling Japanese goods.⁸⁴ They also visited eighteen universities and schools.⁸⁵ They made twenty-one public speeches to these societies and organizations, universities and schools; besides, they also gave sixteen mosque speeches.⁸⁶ Nineteen welcoming meetings and twenty-three tea parties were held by various personalities and societies; as a rule, the delegation also gave speeches.⁸⁷ Apart from these speeches, they gave many news briefings to the newspapers and news agencies. And they distributed many brochures and leaflets for publicity, with topics covering “The Goodwill Mission Saluting to the Muslims”, “Islam in China”, “Japanese Aggression against China”, “China’s Resistance against the Japanese”, “The Hui People’s Sacrifice in the Anti-Japanese War”, and “Our Hope to the World Muslims”.⁸⁸ The Sino-Egyptian Cultural Council was established on April 20, 1938, with members Abdulhamid bin Said, director of the International Muslim Youth Society; M. Khalid bin Hassany, General Supervisor of Al-Azhar University; and three Hui students in Al-Azhar, Sha Guozhen, Pang Shiqian and Ma Jian. Two conferences in Egypt were extremely successful: one was the “Supporting China Day” held in Alexandria by the World Peace Campaign Egyptian Branch with its headquarters at Cairo. This was held in Cairo on April 23, 1938, many elites participated in the conference, and many people gave enthusiastic speeches, and newspapermen took many photos. The next day, newspapers published the news, which aroused a new wave of the Egyptian people to boycott Japanese products. The Relieving China Society Alexandria Branch held the second conference at Alexandria in April 23.⁸⁹ This society was originally established to sup-

84 Ibid, under the sub-title of “Visits to People’s Societies and Organizations and Universities and Schools”, p. 470.

85 Ibid, “List of the People’s Societies and Organizations”, p. 471.

86 Ibid, “List of Public Speeches” and “List of Mosque Public Speeches”, at p. 472 and p. 473 respectively.

87 Ibid, “List of Welcoming Meetings” and “List of Tea Parties” at p. 474 and 475 respectively.

88 Ibid, “Publicity Printings”, p. 478.

89 This is the translation by this article writer from Chinese original; he failed in finding the original English title of this society.

port the Chinese by the British people in the early time of China’s Anti-Japanese War. More than 500 people participated in the conference, most of who were from military, political and educational fields. Hearing of the heroic battles against the Japanese Army and the brutality of the Japanese soldiers, many people were moved to tears, and they shouted “Down with the Japanese imperialists!” “Long live China!” The fundraising activity following the speeches was very successful, and the entire donation was posted to China via the headquarters of the society in England. A third successful conference was the “China Fund Day” held on three successive days, July 7, 8, and 9, 1938 in Bombay, India. This was the anniversary of the “July 7 Incident” that symbolized the entire outbreak of China’s Anti-Japanese War. The “Fund Day” was successful and donations by the Indian people were booming; besides, the Indians organized a clinical team and dispatched it to China.⁹⁰

The first immediate consequence of the success of the Goodwill Mission to the Middle East was that it led two subsequent international anti-Japanese publicities abroad, that is, the Chinese Islamic Goodwill Mission to Southeast Asia and the Chinese Students Hajj Team to Mecca. The team-leader of the Goodwill Mission to Southeast Asia was a member of the Middle East Mission, Mr. Ma Tianying, with two Hui men, Wu Jianxun and Ma Dawu, who visited the Southeast Asian countries from the spring 1939 to August 1940. They visited Singapore and many places in British Malaya, then Brunei and North Borneo (presently Sabah and Sarawak, Malaysia); they met many patriotic overseas Chinese, gave many speeches, and distributed many publicity materials. It was also successful: three “Sino-Malaya Cultural Associations” were established, and the donations were big -the Hui established a hospital in Chongqing with the donation.⁹¹

90 Wang Zengshan, “The General Report of the Chinese Muslim Goodwill Mission to the Middle East”, pp. 476-77, under the sub.titles of “The World Peace Campaign and the Publicity Conference in Alexandra” and “The Anniversary of the July 7 Incident in India” respectively.

91 Hajjah Aliya Ma, *Haji Ibrahim T. Y. Ma, A Biography*, Kuala Lumpur: The Muslim Welfare Organization of Malaysia, 1991, pp. 165-66.

This article says the source origin is from Ma Tianying, “Sun Yanyi shi he wo” (Sun Yanyi and I) in *Islamic Light* published in Kuala Lumpur, no. 74 (August 31, 1975). This writer, however, cannot find its origin. As the book writer Hajjah Aliya Ma is the daughter of Hajji Ma Tianying, there is no doubt that she has the first-hand resource; it must come from elsewhere.

The Hui students in the Middle East also carried out their anti-Japanese publicity activities. Pang Shiqian, a councilor of the Sino-Egyptian Cultural Council, received a telegram from the Huijiao National Federation inside China via the Chinese embassy in Cairo on January 18, 1938.⁹² The telegram urged him to organize a Hui student delegation to visit Mecca to perform pilgrimage, and at the same time to struggle against the so-called “China Huijiao Pilgrimage Delegation” dispatched by the puppet North China Council. “China Huijiao Pilgrimage Delegation” was a part of the Japanese program to “unite the Muslims” in China and abroad. The Japanese sponsored the trip and Tang Yichen led the delegation, with the purpose of gaining publicity for the Japanese.⁹³ Pang successfully organized a 28-person team within a few days. Pang acted as the team leader and Ma Jian the vice team leader, they led the student delegation for their publicity campaign in Mecca. They followed the five members of the “China Huijiao Pilgrimage Delegation” closely so to make the delegation feel embarrassed and not care anything.⁹⁴

A second significance of the success of the Goodwill Mission was its impact on the Chinese people inside China. It encouraged the people to fight against the invaders and to struggle for their freedom. The Chinese Central News Agency, many newspapers, and magazines -Hui magazines in particular, such as the influential *Weekly Bulletin of China Huijiao National Salvation Federation* and *Yue Hwa (Moon Light) Magazine*, followed the Goodwill Mission’s schedule to report their activities continuously, so that their activities abroad became publicity materials inside China. Even

92 This date is given by Yu Zhengui & Yang Huaizhong in *Zhongguo Yisilan wenxian zhu yi tiyao (Abstracts of Islamic Works and Translations in China)*, Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin, 1993, p. 268. The end time was “February 20, 1938”. Pang Shiqian mistook the beginning date as “1939” (in fact, the 27th Year of the Republic). See “Diaries by a Farouk-Sponsored Chinese Student in Egypt” (Faluke liu Ai xuesheng guiguo riji) by Pang Shiqian, published in *Yue Hwa*, issue 12 (Beiping: 1947), p. 22.

93 “Biography of Pang Shiqian” in Bai Shouyi, *The History of China’s Hui Hui Minzu*, Beijing: zhonghua shuju, 2003, p. 1454.

94 Yu Zhengui, ““kangzhan qianai da houfang Huizu renshi de aiguo wajiao huodong” (The Patriotic Activities of the Huizu from the Rear-Areas during the Earlier Stage of the Anti-Japanese War) in the Nationalities Affairs Commission of Hebei Province, ed, *Huizu kangri douzheng shi lunji (Collected Articles of the Hui’s Anti-Japanese Struggles)*, Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin, 1991, p. 173.

when they came back, their activities continued because many societies invited them to give speeches about their experiences abroad.⁹⁵ The government also held exhibitions to advertise their publicity achievements.⁹⁶

The director of the China Huijiao National Salvation Federation summarized the achievements of the delegation and gave them high appraisal:

“The Hui people, employing the cultural communications and people-to-people diplomacy, gloriously started their mission to establish liaison with the international society. Such examples were those such as the overseas students dispatched by Beijing Chengda Teacher’s School and Shanghai Islamic Teacher’s School, and in the latest times, the Goodwill Mission to the Middle East, the Chinese [Students’] Hajj Delegation, and the Goodwill Mission to the Southeast Asia..... What they did is beneficial to the construction of the relationships between our country and the Islamic countries. In other words, they made their contributions to the international peace campaign.”⁹⁷

VII. Conclusion

During China’s Anti-Japanese War, the Hui energetically participated in the Nationalist Army, fighting in its war zone with positional warfare, and in the Communist Army, fighting in its war zone with guerilla warfare. Their publicities broad, furthermore, actually formed independent third war zone. The Hui people displayed both their energy and their ethnic traits most impressively in the Anti-Japanese War. The war widened the perspective of the Hui from a restricted district or province to a national-wide scale. Furthermore, the anti-Japanese publicity of “The Chinese Islamic Goodwill Missions” to Middle East and to Southeast Asia widened the Hui field of vision from national to international level. In the

95 For example, see “Jindong Fangwentuan zhaodai xinwen jie” (The Goodwill Mission to the Middle East Entertaining the Newsmen) in *Weekly Bulletin of China Huimin National Salvation Federation*, no. 29 (March 10, 1939), p. 115.

96 “Zhongguo Huijiao jindong fangwen tuan ji Da Pusheng” (Exhibition of the Achievements Made by the Chinese Goodwill Mission to the Middle East and by Da Pusheng) in *Bulletin of China Huijiao National Salvation Federation*, vol. 3, issue 9 (Chongqing: July 1941), p. 5.

97 Bai Chongxi, “Fan qinlue yu Huijiao wenhua” (Resistance against Aggression and Islamic Culture) in *Huijiao Wenhua (Islamic Culture)*, vol. 1, issue 1 (Chongqing: 1941), pp. 2-3.

past, they struggled against the Manchu and the Han authorities; today, they realized that they had to fight shoulder to shoulder with their previous rivals against a common and cruel enemy, the Japanese aggressors. Never had the Hui so fully interacted nationally with its own people and with the Han and other peoples in China, and internationally with the people of Middle East and Southeast Asia. The interactions accelerated their awakening with a modernist sense for considering their status and position in China.

The Hui culture is a combination of two great traditions: the Chinese and the Islamic. The Chinese element of the Hui culture decided the Hui loyalty to China. Examples of their loyalty were not only in the Republican era, but also in dynastic times. The Hui, scattering across China, are bound to the Chinese soil and to China's national fate. In fact, the Hui people have strong "masterhood" consciousness as Chinese people, or as a group of people in China, in case the term "Chinese" might lead to any misinterpretation. This characteristic seems outstanding in comparison with Islamic ethnic minorities in some other countries, and need further researches to explore the causes.

The Hui built a bridge of Sino-Mideast communications. During the long history of the Hui people in China, they enjoyed their cultural revivals several times; each time, it relied on communications with the Middle East. During the Anti-Japanese War, to save their country, the Hui headed to the Middle East one more time, where it became one of their battlefields. The Hui activities in the Middle East during the Anti-Japanese War were not only war stories but also a good exemplification for anthropological studies of the Hui people in China for their integrity of the intercommunications between the two civilizations, the Chinese and the Islamic.

This author's article just draws the general picture of the efforts made by the Chinese Islamic Goodwill Mission to the Middle East during the Anti-Japanese War. However, it relies primarily on Chinese sources, particularly the Hui Muslims' sources during the late 1930s and naturally there is a lack of wholly sources of literature during the time. To make a better assessment of these public diplomacy efforts, Japanese accounts of the same events and more importantly literature in relation to local Turkish, Arabic, Persian and even English coverage are needed. Researching all these may be beyond the capacity of a single researcher, and may require col-

laborative effort. Therefore, this article may be described as, as old Chinese saying states, “casting a brick to attract jadestone”; and this author definitely hopes more researchers of the similar research field would enjoy local literature and generate more public discussions on the topic.

Özet

Japonya’ya Karşı Savaşta Çinli Müslümanların “Orta Doğu İyi Niyet Heyeti”

Bu makale Çin (Huijiao) Federasyonu tarafından 1930’ların sonlarında Orta Doğu’ya gönderilen Hui “İyi Niyet Heyeti”nin faaliyetlerini ele almakta ve bu heyetin Çin’in Japonya’ya karşı kazandığı zaferdeki katkılarını özetlemektedir. Çin’deki Müslüman azınlıktan biri olan Hui halkı tarafından başlatılan bu türden halklar arası diplomasi, Çin ile Orta Doğu ülkeleri arasındaki dostluğu geliştirmek başta olmak üzere pek çok açıdan büyük önem taşımaktadır. Ancak bu konu aynı alanda çalışan pek çok araştırmacı tarafından şimdiye kadar ihmal edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Orta Doğu İyi Niyet Heyeti, Japonya karşıtı Savaş, Çin Huijiao (İslam) Federasyonu, Hui halkı, Diplomasi.

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