PEACE AND JUSTICE: REACTION OF THE MUSLIM

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Abstract

The Muslims who live in the Yunnan province of China strive to follow the principles advocated in the Quran, while living as a minority in a non-Islamic society. Yet the cultural mainstream of contemporary Chinese life often clashes with the core beliefs of the Islamic tradition. Therefore, the Yunnanese Muslims frequently face political pressures as they try to maintain their distinct Islamic way of life. This paper investigates the methods that Yunnanese Muslims employ to confront an adverse, political environment. Particularly their use of the values of peace and justice.

บทคัดย่อ

คุณค่าพื้นฐานของศาสนาส่วนมากมักมี "สันติธรรม" และ "ความยุติธรรม" รวมอยู่ควยเสมอ ศาสนาอิสลามก็มีเช่นเคียวกัน โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งในกรณีของชาว มุสลิมซึ่งเป็นชนกลุ่มน้อยอาศัยอยู่ในมณฑลยูนนาน ซึ่งอยู่ทางทิศตะวันตกเฉียงใต้ ของประเทศจีน ชาวมุสลิมเหล่านั้นได้คำเนินชีวิตควยการปฏิบัติตามหลักการดังกล่าว ซึ่งปรากฏอยู่ในคัมภีร์กุรอานอย่างเคร่งครัด แม้จะเป็นชนกลุ่มน้อยในแผ่นดินที่มิได้ นับถืออิสลาม การที่วิถีชีวิตของชาวจีนรวมสมัยได้ถูกกระแสวัฒนธรรมครอบงำ เช่น การเคารพรูปบูชา การไม่นับถือพระเจ้าและหลงใหลในลัทธิวัตถุนิยมซึ่งแตกต่างกัน มากกับวิถีชีวิตของชาวจีนมุสลิม ด้วยเหตุนี้เองจึงเกิดความขัดแย่งขึ้นบ่อยครั้ง เป็นผล ให้ชาวยูนนานมุสลิมต้องเผชิญกับความกดดันทางการเมืองเพราะพวกเขาพยายามรักษา วิถีชีวิตดั้งเดิมของมุสลิมเอาไว้ บทความนี้จะตรวจสอบวิธีต่าง ๆ ที่ชาวยูนนานมุสลิม

นำมาใช้ในการเผชิญหน้ากับสภาพแวคล้อมทางการเมืองที่เลวร้าย โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่ง การที่พวกเขานำเอาคุณค่าทางศาสนาคือสันติธรรมและยุติธรรมมาประยุกต์ใช้เพื่อ รับมือกับปัญหาทางการเมือง

The fundamental values of most religious traditions certainly contain those of peace and justice. The same is true for Islam, especially in the case of the minority Muslims who live in Yunnan, the most southwest province in China. They exert a great effort, for example, to follow the principles advocated in the Quran, while living as a minority in a non-Islamic society. Since often idolatry, atheism, and materialism have become the norm in contemporary Chinese life, this challenges the core beliefs of the Islamic tradition, and as a result the Yunnanese Muslims frequently face political pressure as they try to maintain their distinct Islamic way of life. How do these Muslims cope in this environment as minorities? How do they deal with the political pressures often facing their community? In essence, they employ peace and justice, the only weapons at the disposal of this group of Muslim minorities to confront an often adverse, political environment.

A Historical Review: How to Survive Strong Political Adversity

To illustrate this point I would like to select two examples from past history demonstrating how the Hui Muslims dealt with crisis situations.

The first one is *The Event of the Mutual Protection* which took place in Nagu Township, Tonghai County. The year 1858 was the climax of the Hui Uprising against the Qing Empire's ethnic cleansing policy, while the Hui force was once very powerful and the Muslim upheaval army was surrounding Hexi Town of Tonghai County. The Hui in Nagu Village accepted the proposal raised by the Han gentries to urge the Muslims to make a peace agreement with the Han villages around the area. Therefore, the Hui accepted the responsibility to protect the lives and properties of their neighboring Han people based upon the principle

of the mutual protection. Later on as the imperial force got the upper hand and wanted to destroy the Hui village of Nagu, the Han people came out to protect the Muslims. Hence, the Hui in Nagu Village never did interfere with the Han villagers raising pigs, nor did they interfere in the Han people's funeral services. The Muslims and non-Muslims respected each other, and the mosque, the Buddhist temple and the Taoist temple stood in the same area, and the different believers peacefully followed their own religions in this chaotic period.²

The second example is The Event of the Severing of Kin Relations for the sake of Justice. In the 1920s, during the warlord period in the Republic, the Hui militant organization led by Bai Qizhou in Shadian Village raided a French freight train on its way from Vietnam to Kunming, the capital of Yunnan Province. The French diplomats lodged a protest over the robbery to the provincial governor who in return ordered the punishment of the raiders. The local authorities in Southern Yunnan declared that if the Hui community did not hand over Bai Qizhou, the national troops would ransack this Muslim enclave. After hearing the news, the Hui Village Autonomous Committee held the meetings and carefully considered the consequences if the community would shelter the criminals. So they decided to punish Bai Qizhou. However, Bai Qicheng, the elder brother of Bai Qizhou, was the local commander of a militant group and he strongly resisted the pressure from the Hui Village Autonomous Committee on the basis of family ties. Under such circumstances the Committee had to sacrifice the two brothers in order to protect the interests of the whole Muslim village. So they waited for the day that Commander Bai Oicheng came to mosque for prayer, and killed him in the mosque, and carried out the death sentence to Bai Qizhou by other means. After that the Committee also dissolved the Hui militant organization and yielded the weapons to the local authorities. They did that because the community led by the moderate Hui gentleman Bai Liangcheng thought that raiding and robbery were unjust actions according to the teaching of the Quran, therefore, the community must penalize the wrongdoers even if it meant violating the kin relations among the Muslims themselves.³

After the Hui Village Autonomous Committee killed the local commander Bai Qicheng, the corpse was buried. However, a Non-Muslim official wanted to behead Commander Bai's corpse due to his personal

enmity with Bai. According to Islamic law, a buried corpse of a Muslim could not be disgraced. However, with the support of the local authorities the official insisted upon it. The Hui had to bite the bullet and behead Bai's corpse. Bai Liangcheng, the cousin of Commander Bai said. with tears in his eyes, that "The Commander has done lot of good things for the locality, not only in religion, but also in education. All of these successes are tied to his support. But we have been ordered to execute him, and we do this after considering the overall situation".⁴

It can be seen from the above-mentioned two events that the Muslims in Yunnan knew the arts of how to safeguard their lives in the history when the tide was strongly against them.

Living in the Time of "the Great Cultural Revolution"

The Cultural Revolution is one of the darkest times in the history of China. In such a political turmoil followed the great persecution of many religions and the religious believers, how did the Hui Muslims suffer from this catastrophe? It was the greatest trial for the Muslims since Islam came to China.

During the fanatical "Cultural Revolution" led by the Gang of Four in the period spanning 1966-1976, all religious activities were prohibited by the revolutionary regime. Religious people were often treated as counter-revolutionaries and faced the risk of being put into jail. All mosques, about more than 490, in Yunnan province were closed down by force, their buildings either being occupied for other purposes or being destroyed.⁵ The copies of the Quran and other Islamic books were confiscated or were thrown into fire. Almost all the Islamic cultural heritage was damaged or destroyed by the Red Guards or the revolutionaries. All 1300 Akhonds in the province had been denounced and even physically tortured, paraded in public as demons, or evil forces. One case occurred in the early days of the Cultural Revolution, when some revolutionary rebels incited the non-Muslim pupils from a Chinese primary school to rush into the Shuncheng Street Mosque in Kunming and post a portrait of Mao Zedong (1893-1976), the Chairman of Communist Party of China onto the wall of mihrab (niche, the direction to Mecca) in the prayer-hall.

The Akhond of the mosque could not do anything in the presence of the revolutionaries. However, after the Red Guards went home, Akhond silently asked a few Muslim pupils to take down the portrait of Chairman Mao, since Islam strongly opposing the idolatry worship. Later on this action was discovered by the revolutionaries who accused this event as "the counter-revolutionary". However, Mr. Wang Lianfang, a Hui worked in the Cultural Revolutionary Leading Team Office calmly explained to the people that Islam was a monotheistic religion, appealing for understanding from the revolutionary Red Guards. Nevertheless, Wang was charged as a reactionary and was deprived of all political rights for ten years, but his peaceful way in dealing with atheists at that time was respected.⁶

As the Hui Muslims in Shadian faced the People Liberation Army which had laid siege to the Islamic movement, the Muslim villagers had to give up the arms and open the village gate to welcome the arrival of the military troops on December 8, 1968.⁷

Due to the insistence of the Muslims in Shadian of Southern Yunnan on practicing Islam, the Communist authorities in the province regarded this Muslim community as a "Hornet's Nest", and sent military regiment of a thousand soldiers to surround Shadian Village and eventually station themselves in this Muslim community. After the troops entered the village the soldiers arrested the Muslim leaders. The Chinese soldiers consumed pork meat in the mosque, and threw pig bones into a well whose water was used for ritual ablution and for drink. The army used the mosque as their cafeteria and dormitory. The soldiers even held a party in the prayer-hall of the mosque. They tortured anyone who practiced Islam and insulted them with a pig-head hung around the Muslim's neck and enforced them to lick the pig-head. The soldiers also insulted the Muslims and requested them to imitate pigs, gnawing on toilet walls and rolling downhill which caused one Muslim woman to have a miscarriage. They also pulled off the beard of an old Muslim for the punishment of his keeping Sunnat tradition of Islam. Such persecution and humiliation lasted for one year. The Muslims in Shadian had to suffer this humiliation only finding solace in the teaching of the Quran that Allah would bless those who have a determination to endure the political stress during the Cultural Revolution.8

In the period of the 1960s and the 1970s when the extreme leftists and politicians were rampant, the Muslims were forced to raise pigs and eat pork meat. Any religious activities were prohibited by the atheist authorities. The Muslims had to endure this religious persecution. Some of them turned to the ground to pray, fast and study the Arabic Quran. They also had to hide their religious and ethnic identities in order to avoid such rude persecution and physical suffering. For them, keeping the faith deep in their heart was also to uphold peace and justice in values and in world-view. Therefore, since practicing religion was prohibited, the Muslims in Yunnan maintained such religious practices secretly or quietly underground.

Forgiveness for the Wrongdoings of "the Cultural Revolution"

During the time of the Cultural Revolution, in 1975, the Gang of Four cracked down on the struggle of the Muslims in Southern Yunnan for their religious freedom. Using artillery they totally destroyed several Muslim villages and killing over 1,600 Muslims, and injuring at least 5,000 in the so-called Shadian Incident. However, after the Cultural Revolution, in 1979 the Yunnan government changed their view of this "Counter-Revolutionary Rebellion", and compensation was made to those Muslim families which lost lives in the violent crack-down. The Muslims in Shadian community understood that this terrible slaughter was committed by the Gang of Four, and that it should not blame the junior officials in the grass-roots level of the locality. Consequently, the Muslims easily forgave those who had committed these grave mistakes during the Cultural Revolution. They looked forward to future, and with the broad and tolerant mind the Muslims did not take any revenge in redressing this horrible event. 11

Why did the Muslims easily forgive all the wrongs done to them? Because they understood: "Our Hui are a geographically scattered ethnic minority, if we do not keep good relation with Han Chinese and other non-Muslim ethnic groups, or if we fall into factional fighting among ourselves, without a solidarity and stable social environment, it is impossible for us to develop or to have wealth. ... Once the confrontation with others occurs, we should be good at mutually understanding and mutu-

ally tolerant with the other side, even the confrontation is intense we should uphold the Hadith: "It is the imperative obligation to obey the state", rely upon the government to solve the problem according to the state legal procedures.¹²

After Shadian Massacre was redressed and the mistake was corrected by the central government in Beijing, the PLA commanders went to Shadian to apologize to the Muslims. Shadian Muslim villagers touched by this gesture and said: "During the ten years' turmoil we, the Muslims were the victims, so were the PLA soldiers, the roots were due to the Iblis [Shaitan or evil] Lin Biao (1907-1971) and the Gang of Four". 13

Taking the Initiative for Making Compromises if a Dispute Takes Place

The Muslims in South Yunnan always follow the principle: to obey their country's constitutional laws must be a duty and compulsory obligation for every Muslim. This mentality is entirely in conformity with the Hadith: "Submitting to the order of the state is the imperative obligation". 14

The Hui in Guanyi Village and the Han in Xiangmu Village, Jianshui County, were very hostile to each other because of some historical reasons. However, to reduce the social tension, the Hui leaders initiatively went to Han's village to make the gesture of compromise and tried to bury the hatred between the two ethnic groups. The Han were pleased by such a gesture and the hostile atmosphere was gradually disappeared. Particularly, the Hui Muslims in Shadian community excluded all former complaints, even sent their delegation with gifts going to the front of Sino-Vietnam border to make condolences with the military PLA, which once cracked down on the religious movement of the Shadian Hui during the Cultural Revolution.¹⁵

Another case of Muslims preventing violence was Ma Jiangang, a retired official who had served in the local administrative agency for 21 years. He returned to his hometown in Luxi County. Because of his fame and virtue and the Hui Muslims asked him to act as arbitrator to resolve a confrontation. In 1941 there was a severe draught in the area and this

caused the bloodshed over the dam of the river between the Muslim villages at the upper reach of the river and the non-Muslim villages at the lower reach. The latter wanted to dig an outlet in the dam to allow water for drinking and to alleviate the great draught. The confrontation escalated and both sides lost many lives. The possibility of an ethnic massacre between the Muslims and non-Muslims was looming, Mr. Ma Jiangang got news of this danger and immediately came to the site of the confrontation and used his great influence to stop his Hui people from engaging in further violence and appealed both sides to make peace over the issue of the water distribution. Due to his peaceful efforts the bloody massacre was avoided, and a peace agreement was reached on the matter of dividing the river water fairly.¹⁶

Sacrificing Oneself for the Interests of the Majority of Muslims

The Hui Muslims in Yunnan, being an ethnic minority and living in scattered enclaves, have a tradition of sacrificing their leaders to protect the lives of the whole community in times of crisis. This ensured their survival among an overwhelmingly Han majority society armed with the very powerful cultural forces of Confucianism, Buddhism and later Communism. The most remarkable example was Tu Wenxiu (1827-1873), the leader of the Hui Uprising in Yunnan in the period 1855-1874. He surrendered himself to the Qing imperial troops as they had surrounded Dali, the location of the headquarters of the Muslim insurgency. Tu used a peacock gallbladder to poison himself after he had made a peace packet deal with the government that promised an amnesty to all the Hui followers in the insurgent forces. Even in Shadian Incident of 1975 as thousands of PLA military troops with the modern weapons raided Shadian Hui village, while most of the village had been damaged by gun-fire, the Hui leaders appealed for the two thousand civilians to yield to the government to allow them safety from the deadly confrontation.

In the 1970s during the Cultural Revolution when religion was treated as "counter-revolutionary" or "reactionary", the Muslims in Najiaying Village in Tonghai County were suspected by the local revolutionary regime as being religious practitioners, therefore, six regiments of

the People's Liberation Army were sent to the village and the heavily armed soldiers surrounded the Muslim community and were waiting for the order to suppress the Muslims. On March 5, 1975 as the Hui Muslims faced the suspending catastrophe of the military interference, they had to use their wisdom to deal with such an adversity. The community mobilized women and young people who all held the branches of flowers and sang the song of "Love Kin-men Such as People Liberation Army" to go out of the village and welcome the armed soldiers entering village as guests. Using this friendly approach, the Hui Muslims in Najiaying Village averted a military slaughter by the governmental army. So such a strategy of employing non-violence to combat violence or presenting flowers to the gun muzzle is very successful in avoiding the direct confrontation and making peace in relationship with other political groups, particularly with the governmental authorities.¹⁷

Practicing Humility to Avoid Conflict

In Pingyuanjie, Wenshan County if a dispute takes place between the Hui ethnic group and non-Muslim Zhuang group, the Hui consciously show humility, so the quarrel will not develop into inter-ethnic fighting. Maolong Village has a mixed population, the Hui and the Han live side by side. The people have used the same well for drinking water for several dozen years, and there never been any conflict over different living habits.¹⁸

In the winter of 1989, Shuijingwan Village suffered from a severe draught, which badly diminished the water supply. The village is composed of a mixed population, Muslims and non-Muslims used the same well, the only source of drinking water. A Han villager once carelessly dropped a piece of pork meat into the well as he drew the water with the bucket. According to the customs of Islam, the well water was contaminated by pork, so the Hui should not drink it. However, this incident did not lead to the ethnic confrontation, rather, the Hui did not seriously regard it as blasphemy, or a deliberate insult or a challenge, rather they went to a remote place to fetch the water even it caused great inconvenience to their daily life. How did they maintain such a friendly approach

in their co-existence with their non-Muslim neighbors? The reason is that they they have long practiced inter-marriage between the two ethnic groups. ¹⁹ Such a strategy of compromise can also be found in the case in Maojiawan Village in Ludian County. ²⁰

In Taoyuan Township, if pig from a Han household runs into a Hui household, or conversely, if a sheep from a Hui household runs into a Han household, both sides, the Muslims and non-Muslims, will make a compromise and pay each other compensation to dissolve the dispute.²¹ This is also for the case in Kedu Town, either side will buy a long piece of red cloth as compensation or light a string of fireworks to expel the evil as a ritual for solving a dispute with the other side.²²

Adapting to Han Chinese Cultural Elements without Changing the Way of the Islamic Life

Under the political hardships faced by an ethnic-religious minority the Hui in Southern Yunnan has to strengthen themselves by strictly following Islamic law such as abstaining from drinking alcohol, smoking opium, consuming prohibited food, engaging in gambling and committing sexual relations outside of marriage.

Yet the Muslims have assimilated some Han Chinese cultural customs in their long period of co-existence, particularly with regard to social, economic and cultural exchanges. However, these assimilations have not fundamentally changed their Islamic way of life. If the Han Chinese's living customs do not directly clash with the teaching of the Quran and Hadith, the Muslims in Yunnan will not resist some influences from Han culture if it maintains a peaceful life with their non-Muslim neighbors.²³

On the other hand, the Muslims have attempted to make accommodations between Shari'a law and the constitutional law. According to Islamic law, if a husband says to his wife three times "I divorce you" (*talaqa*), the mosque will regard such a marriage being spontaneously abolished for this couple. If they co-inhabit again they are considered to commit adultery. However, such a practice does not fit into the constitutional law on marriage. To solve this problem or contradiction the Akhond of the mosque in that area assisted by the administrative officials, actively

mediates this issue and decrees that if the couple is willing to make reconciliation or re-union, the mosque is able to recognize their relation as husband and wife if they undergo a witnessed ritual for repenting.²⁴

The Muslims in Yunnan also bravely teach Confucianism text-books in their community schools. During the Republic period (1911-1949) the Muslim community in Shadian invited the teachers from the inland to come teaching Confucianism classic books such as *The Analects, Mean, The Great Learning and Mencius*. The Muslim schools even invited non-Muslim intellectuals from other places to teach subjects such as French literature, German philosophy, the Chinese classic literature as well as inviting famous Islamic scholars from outside teaching the Arabic Quran, Hadith, Islamic law and Persian Islamic literature. Even the school provides modern subjects such as English, science, geography, history, language, philosophy, music, mathematics and physics for Muslim students to study. Muslim students to study.

Enhancing Compatibility for the Community's Survival

To display this point, I cite three cases. First is that the Muslims realize the importance of developing education. In order to strengthen the Muslim community, particularly after the Hui population in Yunnan has decreased drastically after the suppression of the Hui uprising, the Muslim scholars decided to develop Islamic education, to improve their capacity to compete with the non-Muslim majority. So Ma Lianyuan (1840-1903), the preeminent Muslim scholar in South Yunnan at the end of the 19th century had introduced a thousand Muslim students coming from all over China to the Arabic Quran theological theory after he came back from Mecca on Hajji. The rapid development of the Islamic education has greatly contributed to the growing vitality of the Muslim community in the region.

Second is that Yunnanese Muslims have created a comprehensive network, To overcome the weakness of the loosely scattered "patchwork" community, 28 the Hui tried hard to establish a communal network in its long historical interaction with the majority non-Muslims in the surrounding area. Through marriage ties, commercial trade, itinerary clerical mission,

religious students' searching Islamic knowledge, Islamic festival celebrations, fund collection in building mosques, Hajji journeys, traveling among Muslim enclaves, external connections with the Islamic world, the Muslims in Yunnan although a minority, have formulated a powerful network²⁹ which is able to compete with their strong and majority non-Muslim neighbors and would change the political adversity into a political advantage.

Third is that the Muslims stress their solidarity within their community. As the minority living in the majority surroundings the Hui Muslims in Yunnan keep good terms with their different Islamic sects such as Qadim and Ikhwani.³⁰ By this way the Muslim minority can often compete well with the non-Muslim majority.

Conclusion

Through the strategy of upholding peace and justice while living under great political adversity the Muslims and Islam in South Yunnan have gained full development as an ethnic-religious force. Although having experienced several massacres and persecutions, the Muslim population in Yunnan has reached to more than 70000031 from the less than 100000 in the 1880s, and there are almost 900 mosques in the province according to the latest statistics.³² The development of Islamic education is one of the most impressive in China, and the province boosts more than 1400 Hajjis who have fulfilled the pilgrimage to Mecca every year.³³ The Shadian community has recently built the largest and the most modern mosque in China. The Islamic festivals in Shadian can attract several dozens thousand Muslims from all parts of China to come for celebration. The graduates from *madrasahs* in Shadian and the Southern Yunnan have gone to various places in China to take the position as Akhonds or Imams to lead Islamic affairs within Muslim communities. The Muslims in this region live a better life than before since the fast growth of the Islamic economy, and Shadian Community particularly has gained a good reputation as the richest and the most developed economic area in Yunnan. In Islamic dimension. Shadian has a name of "Small Mecca" which refers to its central position in leading other Muslim communities of South Yunnan in Islam. I think the wisdom of the Muslims in dealing with their surroundings, particularly with regard to religious, political, ethical, cultural, educational and social pressures is important to learn. It teaches us how to maintain harmonious relationships among different ethnic-religious groups.

Endnotes

¹I am so grateful to the invitation from Assumption University, Thailand to participate this conference on Asian culture; I also thank Dr. Yang Xinan from Institute of Sino Christianity Theology, Hong Kong for his recommendation for my participating in this conference.

²Yunnan Huizu Xiangqing Diaocha (Investigation to the Situation of Hui Villages in Yunnan), edited by Gao Fayuan, Kunming: Yunnan Nationality Press, 1992, p. 211.

³Ma Meizhong: "Historical Stories of Bai Liangcheng", *Shadian Huizu Shiliao* (Historical Materials of the Hui People in Shadian), edited by Writing Team of A History of Shadian Hui People, Kaiyuan, unofficial publication, 1989, pp. 256-259.

⁴Lin Zhongshu: "Historical Achievements by Bai Liangcheng", *Shadian Huizu Shiliao* (Historical Materials of the Hui People in Shadian), edited by Writing Team of A History of Shadian Hui People, Kaiyuan, unofficial publication, 1989, p. 210.

⁵Yunnan Huizu 50 Nian (50 Years for the Hui People in Yunnan), edited by Gao Fayuan, Kunming: Yunnan University Press, 2003, p. 131.

⁶Yunnan Huizu 50 Nian (50 Years for the Hui People in Yunnan), edited by Gao Fayuan, Kunming: Yunnan University Press, 2003, p. 132.

⁷Shadian Huizu Shiliao (Historical Materials of the Hui People in Shadian), edited by Writing Team of A History of Shadian Hui People, Kaiyuan, unofficial publication, 1989, pp. 47-48.

⁸Yunnan Huizu 50 Nian (50 Years for the Hui People in Yunnan), edited by Gao Fayuan, Kunming: Yunnan University Press, 2003, pp. 136-137.

⁹Na Qi: *Chuantong yu Xiandai de Zhenghe* (Integration of Tradition and Modernity), Kunming: Yunnan University Press, 2001, p. 128.

¹⁰For more detail information of this event, please refer to Dru Gladney's book *Muslim Chinese*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.

¹¹Wang Lianfang: *Huizu Gongzuo de Huigu yu Qiwang* (Review and Expectation for the Work among the Hui People), Kunming: Yunnan Nationality Press, 1985, p. 54.

¹²Wang Lianfang: "Preface", *Shadian de Zuotian Jintian* (History and Present of Shadian), edited by Shadian District Party Committee and District Government, Kunming: Yunnan Nationality Press, 1996, p. 2.

¹³Zongjiao Diaocha yu Yanjiu (Investigation and Research on Religion), edited by Institute of Religions, Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, Kunming, 1986, p. 87.

¹⁴Wang Lianfang: *Huizu Gongzuo de Huigu yu* Qiwang (Review and Expectation for the Work among the Hui People), ibid, p. 69.

¹⁵*Ibid*, p. 46.

¹⁶Ma Hengui & Ma Shaoqing: "Ma Jiangang, the Old Loves People", *Honghe Zhou Huizu Shiliao Xuanji* (A Selection of the Historical Materials of the Hui People in Honghe Prefecture), edited by Islamic Association of Honghe Autonomous Prefecture of Hani Nationality and Yi Nationality, Gejiu: unofficial publication, 1993, p. 203.

¹⁷"Chronology", *Tonghai Xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Tonghai County), Kunming: Yunnan People Publication House, 1992; I got confirmed through my personal interview with Na Jiarui, the local teacher in Najiaying Village, Tonghai of Yunnan on Nov. 14, 1994.

¹⁸Yunnan Huizu Xiangqing Diaocha (Investigation to the Situation of Hui Villages in Yunnan), edited by Gao Fayuan, Kunming: Yunnan Nationality Press, 1992, p. 141.

¹⁹*Ibid*, p. 237.

²⁰*Ibid*, p. 261.

 $^{21}Ibid.$

²²*Ibid*, pp. 330-331.

²³Yunnan Yisilan Jiao (Islam in Yunnan), edited by Ma Kaineng and Li Rongkun, Beijing, Religious Cultural Press, 2004, p. 79.

²⁴Zongjao Diaocha yu Yanjiu (Investigation and Research on Religion), edited by Institute of Religions, Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, Kunming, 1986, p. 106.

²⁵Shadian de Zuotian Jintian (History and Present of Shadian), editor in chief: Wang Zihua, Ma Shaomei, edited by Shadian District Party Committee and District Government, Kunming: Yunnan Nationality Press, 1996, pp. 268-270.

 $^{26} \it{Yunnan~Yisilan~Jiao}$ (Islam in Yunnan), edited by Ma Kaineng and Li Rongkun, ibid, p. 101.

²⁷ Yunnan Yisilanjiao Shi (A History of Islam in Yunnan), edited by Yao Jide, Li Rongkun and Zhang Zuo. Kunming: Yunnan University Press, 2005, p. 228.

²⁸See Jonathan Lipman: "Patchwork Society, Network Society: A Study of Sino-Muslim Community", *Islam in Asia*, edited by Raphael Israel & Anthony H. Johns. Vol. 2, Jerusalem: the Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, pp. 246-274.

²⁹For more detail information of the network for the Muslim community in Yunnan, please see Jianping Wang's book: *Concord and Conflict: the Hui Communities of Yunnan Society in a Historical Perspective*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wilsell International, 1996, pp. 127-161.

³⁰Yunnan Huizu Xiangqing Diaocha (Investigation to the Situation of Hui Villages in Yunnan), edited by Gao Fayuan, Kunming: Yunnan Nationality Press,

1992, p. 259; Also see Yunnan Yisilanjiao Shi (A History of Islam in Yunnan), edited by Yao Jide, Li Rongkun and Zhang Zuo. Kunming: Yunnan University Press, 2005, p. 217.

³¹Gao Fayuan: "Speech at the Celebration of Day of Break-Fast in 2011", *Yunnan Huizu Yanjiu* (Journal of Hui Studies in Yunnan), No. 3, 2011, p. 3.

³²Yang Zexiong: "Speech at the Celebration of Day of Break-Fast in 2011", *Yunnan Huizu Yanjiu* (Journal of Hui Studies in Yunnan), No. 3, 2011, p. 8.
³³Ibid.