

July 16, 1956

**Report and Recommendations by Yolbars Khan on
Uighur and Kazak Refugees in the Middle East**

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Summary:

Yolbars Khan reports on the conditions of refugees from Xinjiang in Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Kashmir, and Pakistan, including the rival groups led by Isa Yusuf Alptekin and Emin Bugra.

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报告

民国四十五年七月十六日

一、窃职自四十二年度麦加朝圣归来，一度晋谒告以瞬届两载尚未覲见领训。本年一月十三日，曾蒙召见适值病魔缠身未克趋对前以贱躯稍见痊可乃于六月中旬报请谒见。俾得就一年来新籍海外同乡之一般状况及救济事宜等项有所陈述及建议你来（贱思）又见复犯驯致惫，不能与，深恐病势缠绵短期内不能晋见有碍宸断，谨将时拟报告及建议事项缮成书面已备采择。

二、职、旁鄙下吏不学无术X其矢志党国效忠。钧座之素志当为。钧座所深知讳信惟以两度毁家赴难，此次更万里逃窜抵台之日身无常物，一家所需势不得悉仰于公加以来来体弱多病，常与药石为伍，本年初起更病势加剧缠绵床褥已七个月之久，所费不貲以致债台高筑。无法支应，五夜彷徨深X忝为。钧座矢死不二之臣与覬颜忍辱乞怜于他人，无宁披肝沥胆翰诚於。钧座谨将请求事项缮具报告伏照矜登（伏乞矜鉴？）

三、拟俟贱躯稍见痊可再行报告晋见

四、谨随报告事项四件，建议事项四件及请求事项两件。X照批示祇遵

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报告建议大纲

甲、报告事项

一、新籍海外难胞之概况

〈一〉一般状况

新籍海外难胞仍以沙地阿拉伯、土耳其、克什米尔、巴基斯坦等地为主要居留地。各该地之居留人数，计沙地阿拉伯约八千余人，土耳其约千余人，克什米尔约二百人，巴基斯坦各地约四百人，开罗约数十人，总计约一万一千余人，此外中东各地如黎巴嫩伊拉克等国，亦有新籍难胞之经济状况，最为难苦，土耳其次之，沙地阿拉伯因迁居时间较长，多以从事小本经营及小手业，故较为安定。各该地难胞之政治环境，因我与印巴无外交关系而匪帮与该国保有正式邦交，设置使馆，且该两国媚共情结（原文应为别字）。匪帮之活动，占有甚大之便利，故对我倾心祖国，忠贞不二之难胞，情势相当不利，惟该两国难胞，年来绝少动摇。与职多仍保持密切联系，此后似应不致有基本变化。旅土难胞，因已取得该国国籍，情形特殊，惟根据各该部头目如华礼伯克、哈木扎等与职之关系及其渠等已往效忠政府之历史，似尚不难重入掌握。沙地阿拉伯之难胞，人数最多，份子至为复杂，影响亦较为重大。因该国为反共国家，且与我有正式邦交，故该地难胞之政治环境比较良好，自我在该国恢复领馆后，情形相当有利，苟国际如有重大变化，该国不致步埃及后尘，情形当更乐观

〈二〉伊敏艾沙所领导之所谓“东土耳其斯坦独立运动之活动”概况伊敏艾沙等之独立运动，及(职)之反震晓以大义，剖切开导，经已一再报核在案，现伊敏已正规（归）化入籍土国，艾沙亦在申请办理中，惟渠等阴谋迄未稍戢，渠等现以伊斯坦堡及开罗为策动及宣传中心，而以沙地阿拉伯及土耳其之新籍难胞为其主要对象。除利用其近水楼台之便，常施其利诱威迫之伎俩外，并发行定期刊物，其动摇人心及影响国际视听，较共匪之活动更为可虑，自埃及承认共匪之后，我在中东国际地位日趋不利，以应速筹有效对策，以资补救。

二、一年来有关海外新籍难胞之救济

〈一〉集体救济

一年来，海外新籍难胞之集体救济，一为克什米尔之一六六人，二为巴基斯坦及孟买之四八六人，计由每名救济美金十五元，共计一零七八零元，总由之职处商请中国大陆救济总会负责办理，并分别於去年六月本年三月发放完毕。

〈二〉个别救济

计伊拉克之阿都拉、黎巴嫩之余苏夫、土耳其之阿不都艾则予、巴基斯坦白沙瓦之阿不都热合满沙白尔等四人，除余苏夫系由侨委会救助美金二十元外，其余三人均由职处商请大陆救济总会办理。

〈三〉土耳其新籍哈胞之救济

远在四十二年该批哈胞一千三百余人尚居留巴基斯坦时，经已邀准由大陆救济总会拨支四千美元，为救助该批哈胞之用。后以该批哈胞，为共匪及生活所迫，西迁土耳其入籍，致将该款退回，其后批哈胞不断来函籲请职亦此项救济，政治意义重於经济意义籲请发放。又以发放技术问题，不断与外交部及我驻土大使反覆磋商，前后几达四年，去<44>年十一月，蒙行政院令饬内政部召集有开机关，集会商讨，签以该批哈胞有从速救助必要，并经制成议案，由前新疆省政府缴存中央银行之美金项下，暂支两万七千元，或另请行政院筹拨新台币六六九零六零元，以资救助，惟此案未见实施，辄经职处呈请办理，亦经政院批复“缓议”，殊深遗憾。

三、陷匪后之新疆概况

新省因僻寡旁陲交通阻塞，故竹幕内之实况，除零星有克什米尔巴基斯坦等地偶有所闻外，甚少外泄，惟去（四四）年七月和阗区因当地居民为饥饿所迫，阻止共匪运粮，曾发生大规模流血暴动，喀什等地亦有同样事件发生，足徵匪帮对新省同胞之压榨而居民之不满匪帮之统治，起而浴血反抗，亦可见一斑。又匪帮自去年宣称成立新疆维吾尔自治区，以南疆为维吾尔族自治区等措置，根据各方反应，新省同胞对共匪之欺骗手段殊为瞭然，丝毫未能减其对共匪敌视之态度。

四、共匪对中东各地之活动

共匪在中东各国，原受排斥，如四十二年度，匪伪派遣之回教朝圣团，本已抵达巴基斯坦，但因阿拉伯拒绝入境，不得狼狈而返，可为证明，惟以中东各回教国家，与以色列有民族仇恨，且饱尝英法殖民地政策之苦果，及欲彻底摆脱其羁绊，因而造成国际间之微妙关系，而于共匪以莫大之便利。故除李匪德全宋逆庆龄等一再访问巴基斯坦，施其狐媚外，本年除鲍逆尔汉率团访问中东各国外，并已派出朝圣团北平剧团文化工作团等一百余人抵达开罗麦加等，积极展开工作。其重视中东各国及新籍难胞之争取，可见一斑。

乙、建议事项

一、中东各地新籍难胞组织与掌握

自埃及承认匪伪之后，我在中东之国际地位，日趋不利，但埃及等国外交立场之转变，由於以阿仇恨及英法殖民地政策之后果所造成之微妙关系，似非对共匪有所偏爱，对我有何岐见，故补救之法及避免扩大，尚非不可为，而伊敏艾沙等之阴谋活动，亦不容听令坐大。职以为争取中东各国，必先争取该国之侨胞。因各该地之侨胞俱属回教徒，在生活及信仰上，与各该国完全一致。情感素孚於各该国人士之心理，有其影响作用，对伊敏艾沙之活动，欲使其无能作为，亦以争取各该侨胞为第一要务，故中东各地新籍难胞之从速组织与掌握，似有必要。

实施办法：拟请国防最高委员会安全局研究办理。

二、加强中东宣慰工作

在对中东侨胞之组织与掌握办法尚未实施受效之前，为争取时效，拟请派遣本年度回教朝觐团及访问团，以免各该地之侨胞之疑虑彷徨。

实施办法：回教朝觐团案已於五月二十三日送呈中央党部签请钧座核示谨再抄呈原稿恭呈
鉴眷

三、筹建台北回教清真寺

查清真寺为回教膜拜真主之所，世界各地凡回教聚居之处，莫不建有庄严伟大之清真寺，复查匪帮窃据大陆之后，亦於北平见有规模之宏大清真寺，并分别於北平迪化兰州等地设立回教经学院，以遂其欺世盗名之阴谋。再查政府迁台北以来，回胞追随来台湾为数甚多，虽亦有清真寺之设，但以借用民房，规模狭隘，平时教胞礼拜，已感不便，每遇回教国家之使节及其侨民询及台北清真寺或要求参拜者，深恐简陋不堪，遗笑友邦。不得托辞僻远或在修理，以资搪塞，内心殊感痛苦。伏念此种情事，必日见加多，故筹建一相当规模之清真寺，实有必要。在台回胞，本亦早有此谋，惟以财力所限，不克负荷。

实施方案：拟请饬由政府斥资，建筑一清真寺，其规模相当于台北市贵阳街实践堂而保持一般清真寺之回教风格，以壮国际观瞻，而利回民礼拜，并示政府优待回教之德意。

四、遴选优秀青年回胞来台升学及放宽入台限制查教育文化不特为国储才，且有建立共信团结精神之重大作用，政府过去虽有储备边政人才之议，且订有优待边疆青年升学条例。惟态度既嫌消极，而承办人员未尽能体悉此种政策之精义，致良法美意，未睹厥效，且入台限制綦严，手续繁难，故虽有爱国热情，吸受祖国文化，亦因入境不易，不得于国门之外。望洋兴叹，如四十一年旅巴基斯坦新籍哈族青年四百余人请求返国就学商洽经年，终无成议。致该批爱国青年不得不西迁土耳其籍实为国家前途重大损失。

实施办法：

（一）拟请教育部拟订详细办法，规定台湾大中小学保留边疆青年学生名额各若干名，以便边疆子弟就学。

（二）劝导旅外边疆子弟来台就学，由政府供给来往旅费及在学期间一切生活费用。

五、请指拨专款以便适时办理海外临时救济查新籍海外难胞之救济。年来均由职务呈请行政院及洽请大陆救济总会办理，堆多属地域性之集体办理，且公牍往还动辄经年，以致待救难胞屡有烦言，至临时特殊性之小额救济，更少办理，似属不慎切合实际，拟请拍发专款，以便适时救济，以示实惠。

实施办法：拟请一次指发美金两千元（约当于已办各救济案之一二零人量）或於职家经费项下增刻临时救济费用每月新台币两万元，有余缴库，不足补请由（职）检据报销。

Report

July 16

45th Year of the Republic [1956]

1. Since your humble servant [I] returned from the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca in the 42nd year of the Republic [1953], I have called on you to present my report once, and it has been two years since I have presented myself in front of you to receive your instruction. On 13 January this year, I was summoned to see you but I happened to be ill thus I was unable to present myself for the meeting. I could only request to call on you in mid-June when I recovered. I wish to report and give suggestion on matters concerning the general conditions of and assistance to Xinjiang refugees overseas over the past year. But I was unable to do so as I had a relapse recently, which has gradually caused me to feel weary. I am afraid that this will be a lingering illness that will not permit me to call on you in the near future, which may delay your decision. Therefore I have compiled my reports and suggestions in writing for your reference and decision.

2. I am a junior official in a remote place and have neither learning nor skill. My only virtue is the determination to serve the party and the country, and I take it upon myself to fulfill Your Excellency's long-cherished wish. Your Excellency is deeply aware that I have twice given up all my family possessions in aid of the country, and this time round I have even fled thousands of miles to Taiwan without anything. Our family has no choice but to depend on you for everything. Moreover, I have been in ill health all these years and am in constant need of medication. My health has taken a turn for the worse early this year, and I have been bed-ridden for seven months. I spent so much money that I find myself in serious debt, which I am unable to cope with. [For five nights, I wondered in shame?] Your Excellency's loyal servant is shamelessly abasing himself to receive the charity of others. I would rather be honest with you to demonstrate my wholeheartedness. I urge Your Excellency to report the requests to...[meaning of following part of sentence unclear]

3. I plan to submit my request to call on you when my health improves slightly.

4. I hereby append four items of report, four items of suggestions and two items of requests for your instruction and approval.

Yours respectfully,
Yolbars [Khan]

Outline of Report and Suggestions

A. Items of Report:

1. General conditions of Xinjiang refugees living abroad:

i. General conditions:

Fellow countrymen who are seeking refuge overseas are mainly based in places such as Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Kashmir, and Pakistan. As for the number of refugees in each place, there are about 8000 or so in Saudi Arabia, about 1000 or so in Turkey, about 200 in Kashmir, about 400 in various areas in Pakistan, and about a few dozen people in Cairo. In all, there are about 11,000 people or so. In addition, there are also Xinjiang refugees in various Middle East countries such as Lebanon and Iraq, but there has been no accounting of their numbers, thus it is unclear how many people

there are. Among the refugees listed above, the economic conditions of those living in India and Pakistan are the worst, followed by those in Turkey. Those in Saudi Arabia have been there longer, thus most are able to engage in some petty business or sell small handicrafts to lead a more stable life. As for the political environment for the refugees in these various places, because we have no diplomatic relations with India and Pakistan, while the bandit gang has formal diplomatic relations with both of them and has established embassies, thus the two countries have pro-Communist tendencies, and the bandit gang is greatly aided in its activities. This makes the situation very unfavorable to the refugees who have undivided loyalty to our beloved motherland. But few of the refugees in these two countries have wavered all these years, and they have been in close contact with me, and there should not be any fundamental changes to this situation in the future. Refugees in Turkey have obtained citizenship from that country, and their circumstances are special. But based on the relationship that the various chiefs such as Qali Beg and Hamza have with me and their past allegiances to the government, it would not seem difficult to get them back into our fold. The refugees in Saudi Arabia are the most numerous and their makeup, the most complex, thus they also have a greater impact. As that country is anti-Communist and have official diplomatic relations with us, the political environment for the refugees over there are better. Circumstances have been rather favorable ever since we have reestablished our embassy in that country. Even if there are major changes internationally, that country will not go the way of Egypt and the circumstance should be more optimistic.

ii. On the activities of the so-called "East Turkestan Independence Movement" led by Emin and Isa.

General situation:

Regarding the independence movement led by those such as Emin and Isa, I tried to talk sense into them and counsel them earnestly and sincerely, and have made repeated reports on what transpired. Now Imin is now a naturalized citizen of Turkey, and Isa has also submitted his application for processing. Yet they have not given up on their conspiracy and they are now using Istanbul and Cairo as their centers for planning and propaganda, with the Xinjiang refugees in Saudi Arabia and Turkey as their main targets. Aside from exploiting their advantage of being near to these people, they also often use both temptation and coercion, as well as distribute publications regularly to sway the minds of men and influence international opinion. This is even more worrying than the activities of the Communist bandits. Our international position in the Middle East has become increasingly unfavorable ever since the Egyptians recognized the Communist bandits. It seems that we should quickly come up with effective countermeasures to remedy the situation.

2. On the relief given to Xinjiang refugees living overseas over the past year:

i. Collective relief:

Over the past year, the collective relief given to Xinjiang refugees living overseas consists of relief to 1) 166 people in Kashmir and 2) 486 people in Pakistan and Bombay, with each individual given 15 US dollars in aid, amounting to 10,780 US dollars in total. These were disbursed last June and this March after my request to the Chinese Mainland Relief Association to take charge of the matter.

ii. Individual relief:

Four individuals Abdullah [sic] in Iraq and Yousuf [sic] in Lebanon, A-bu-du-ai-ze-zi [sic] in Turkey, A-bu-du-re-he-man-sha-bai-er in Peshawar, Pakistan. Apart from Yousuf [sic] who received 20 US dollars from the Overseas Chinese Affairs

Commission, the rest were aided by the Chinese Mainland Relief Association at my request.

iii. Relief give to Xinjiang Kazakh refugees in Turkey:

As early as the 42nd year of the Republic [1953] when this group of 1300 or so Kazakh refugees were still living in Pakistan, we have received permission for the Chinese Mainland Relief Association to offer 4000 US dollars to aid them. Later, Communist bandits and the necessities of living drove these Kazakh refugees to head west to take up citizenship in Turkey, and the money was returned. Later, these Kazakh refugees have repeatedly written letters myself to disburse this money, as its political significance was greater than its economic significance. Thereafter, there were repeated discussions with the foreign ministry and our embassy in Turkey on the technicalities of disbursing the money, which went on for almost four years. Last year [the 44th year of the Republic], the Executive Yuan ordered the Interior Ministry to gather all the relevant departments for discussions, where it was decided that the Kazakh refugees had to be given assistance as soon as possible, and they drafted a resolution to temporarily obtain 27,000 dollars from the US currency deposited by the former Xinjiang provincial government in the central bank or for the Executive Yuan to raise 66,9060 New Taiwan dollars to render assistance. But this has yet to be implemented and when I put up a request for it to be processed, the response from the Executive Yuan was that the discussion had been shelved, and this is deeply regrettable indeed.

3. On the situation in Xinjiang after its fall to the bandits:

As the Xinjiang province is in the inaccessible and remote frontier area, it is difficult to know the real situation behind the Bamboo Curtain apart from sporadic reports coming from Kashmir and Pakistan. Little news is being leaked out, except that in July last year [44th year of the Republic], local residents in Hotan were forced by hunger to stop the Communist bandits from transporting food supplies, and a large-scale bloody rebellion ensued. Similar incidents have also occurred in places such as Kashgar. It is proof of how the bandit gang is oppressing the Xinjiang compatriots and shows how the people are unhappy with Communist rule that they have risen in bloody rebellion. Thereafter, the bandit gang had announced the establishment of the Xinjiang Autonomous Region last year, with measures such as giving autonomous rule to the Uighurs in Southern Xinjiang. Based on the reactions of various parties, the compatriots of Xinjiang are very aware of the deceptive ways of the Communist bandits and this has not reduced their enmity toward the Communist bandits in the slightest bit.

4. The various activities of the Communist bandits in the Middle East:

The Communist bandits had originally been shunned by the Middle Eastern countries. For instance during the 42nd year of the Republic, the Hajj delegation sent by the bandit puppet regime to Mecca had already reached Pakistan, but found themselves in the awkward position of having to turn back when Saudi Arabia refused to let them in, which proves the point. But because the various Muslim countries in the Middle East harbor an ethnic hatred against Israel, suffered bitterly under British and French colonial policies, and desire to free themselves from the yoke, this gives rise to a tricky situation in international relations, which is greatly advantageous to the Communist bandits. So apart from Li Dequan and Song Qingling who have made repeated visits to Pakistan to beguile them, this year, Burhan Shahidi had also led delegations to visit various Middle Eastern countries and they have sent more than a hundred people under the Hajj delegation, Beiping Theatre Group, and cultural delegation to places such as Cairo and Mecca to actively engage in their work. It goes to show how much they desire to get the various Middle Eastern countries and the

Xinjiang refugees on their side.

B. Items of Suggestion:

1. Organizing and gaining control of the Xinjiang refugees in various Middle Eastern countries:

Our international position in the Middle East is becoming increasingly untenable ever since Egypt recognized the bandit puppet regime. But the shift in diplomatic position of Egypt and other countries seems to be the result of delicate relations caused by Arab-Israeli rivalry and British and French colonial policies, and not because they favor the Communist bandits while being prejudiced against us. Thus, it is not yet impossible to remedy the situation and prevent it from worsening. And we must not allow the conspiracy of Emin and Isa to gain traction. I think that in order to win over the Middle Eastern countries, we must first win over the compatriots in these countries, because they are all Muslims and have the same way of life and the same beliefs as the people in these countries, thus they are able to appeal to their emotions and influence their minds. As for the activities of Emin and Isa, if we are to prevent them from achieving anything, our foremost task should also be to fight for the support of our compatriots. Thus it seems necessary to organize and gain control over the Xinjiang refugees in the Middle Eastern countries as soon as possible.

Method of implementation: propose to have the security bureau of the Supreme Defense Council look into and execute this.

2. Step up on publicity and pacification work in the Middle East:

Before we are able to effect measures to organize and gain control of compatriots in the Middle East, in order to achieve timely results, I propose that we should send Hajj pilgrimage and visiting delegations this year in order to prevent compatriots in these countries from feeling doubtful and hesitant.

Method of implementation: The Hajj pilgrimage delegation proposal has been sent to the party central for implementation suggestions on May 23, may Your Excellency please appraise and make a decision, and [I will respectfully submit the original proposal?]

3. Building of a mosque in Taipei:

The mosque is a place where Muslims pray to Allah, and wherever there are Muslims in the world, there will be magnificent and stately mosques. Since the bandit gang occupied the Mainland, there have also been mosques of significant scale built in Beiping, and they have also set up Islamic institutes in places such as Beiping, Dihua [Urumqi], and Lanzhou, so as to gain popularity by deceiving the people. Since the government shifted to Taipei, there have been many Muslim compatriots who have followed suit. Although there have also been mosques established here, they are all located in civilian homes and are cramped in scale. It is already inconvenient for ordinary Muslims to pray in these places, but when there are dignitaries from Muslim countries and overseas nationals requesting to see or pray at Taipei's mosques, I fear that they might find them too simple and crude, which will make us a laughing stock. I had to make excuses that the better mosques were too far away or under renovation and it pains me to do this. I suppose that such incidents will become increasingly common. Thus I think it is necessary to build a mosque of a sufficient scale. The Muslim compatriots in Taiwan have been thinking about this from very early on but are limited in their financial ability and cannot afford to do so.

Method of implementation: I propose that the government fund the building of a mosque that is comparable in scale to the Shih Chien Hall on Kwei Yang Street in Taipei, in the usual style of a mosque, which will boost our international stature and make it easier for Muslims to pray. It will also show the government's goodwill towards Muslims.

4. Selection of exemplary young Muslims to further their studies in Taipei and relax the restrictions to enter Taiwan.

Education and culture not only helps to build a pool of talent for the country, but also play an important role in fostering a sense of mutual trust and unity. Although the government had spoken of grooming talented administrators for the border regions in the past and stipulated preferential rules for young people living in border regions wishing to further their education, attitudes have been a little passive, and those implementing it have not been able to understand the substance of such a policy. Thus good intentions have not had the desired effect. Furthermore, the barriers to entering Taiwan are high, and the paperwork cumbersome. Thus, even if they are full of patriotism and wish to imbibe the culture of the motherland, it is not easy to enter the country and they can only sigh from across the ocean and outside the gates. For example, in the 41st year of the Republic when 400 or so Xinjiang Kazakh youths living in Pakistan requested to return to the country to study, there was no agreement after years of negotiation. These patriotic youths had no choice but to move west to gain Turkish citizenship, thus representing a big loss to the country's future

Method of implementation:

i. I propose that the education ministry can draft detailed measures to stipulate that Taiwan's universities, middle schools, and elementary schools must set aside a number of places for youths from the border regions in order to make it easier for them to study.

ii. Proposal to advise and urge youths from the border regions living overseas to come to Taiwan to study and for the government to provide them with travel fees and all living expenses for the period of study.

5. Please consider the setting up of a special fund to provide overseas temporary relief in a timely manner.

On the issue of providing relief to Xinjiang refugees living overseas, I have been putting in requests to the Executive Yuan and the Chinese Mainland Relief Association to do so for years, and most were collectively processed by region. But the official correspondence goes back and forth for years and the waiting refugees are grumbling. There were fewer cases of issuing small sums of temporary relief. It would seem that this is not practical, and I propose to set up a special fund to provide assistance in a timely manner, so as to bring real benefit.

Method of implementation: I propose to have a lump sum of 2,000 US dollars [enough to help about 130 people whose cases have been processed] or to increase the funding under my management with a temporary sum of assistance at 20,000 New Taiwan dollars per month, the surplus of which would be returned, whereas I would claim with receipts if there is a deficit.

