July 16, 1956
Report and Recommendations by Yolbars Khan on Uighur and Kazak Refugees in the Middle East

Citation:

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.

Credits:
This document was made possible with support from the Chun & Jane Chiu Family Foundation.

Original Language:
Chinese

Contents:
- English Translation
- Chinese Transcription
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 increasing 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 Is3 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
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.
告建大

甲、告事

一、新籍海外胞之概

〈一〉一般

新籍海外胞仍以沙地阿拉伯、土耳其、克什米尔、巴基斯坦等地主要居留地。各地之居留人
有千余人，土耳其千余人，克什米尔二 hundred，巴基斯坦及中 soil 四百人，十人，一万一千余
人，此外各如黎巴嫩伊拉克等，亦有新籍胞之。最苦，土耳其其次之，沙地阿拉伯因居久，多以
事小本及小手。故安定。各地胞之政治境，因与印巴无外交系而匪与保有正式邦交，置使，且
有姻共情（原文字）。匪之活，占有甚大之便利，故我心祖，忠不二之胞，胞情不利，胞
年少，与多仍保持密切系，此后似不致有基本化。旅土胞，因已取得籍，情形特殊，惟根据各
部目如伯克、哈木札等与之系及其渠等已往效忠政府之。似倘不重入掌握，沙地阿拉伯之胞，人
最多，份子至夏，影亦重大。因反共家，且与我有正式邦交，故地胞之政治境比良好，我在
恢复后，情形可有利，如保有重大化，不致步埃及后。情形更可

〈二〉伊敏艾沙所之“土耳其斯坦立之活”概伊敏艾沙等之立，及(之反叛以大，切)

已一再核在案，伊敏已正（）化入籍士，艾沙亦在申理中，渠渠等均无稍数，渠等以伊斯坦堡及
策及宣中心，而以沙地阿拉伯及土耳其之新籍胞其主要象。除利用其近水台之便，常施其利威迫之伎
外，行定期刊物，其人心及影断，共匪之活更为，自埃及共匪之后，我在中地日不利，以速
之有效策，以救。

二、一年有海外新籍胞之救

〈一〉集休救

一年，海外新籍胞之集休救，一克什米尔之六人，二巴基斯坦及孟之四之六人，由每名救
美金十五元，共一零七八元，由之商中大教，理，并分过去六月本年三月放完。

〈二〉救
伊拉克之阿都拉、黎巴嫩之余夫、土耳其之阿不都艾予、巴基斯坦白沙瓦之阿不都合沙尔等四人，除余夫系由委救助美金二十元外，其余三人均由商大救理。

〈三〉土耳其新籍哈胞之救

在四十二年批哈胞一千三百余人在境留巴斯坦，已邀准由大救支四千美元，救助批哈胞之用。后以批哈胞，共匪及生活所迫，西土耳其入籍，致款退回，后其批哈胞不函，亦此救，政治意重，放。又以放技，不与外交部及我土大使反覆磋商，前后凡四，去<44>年十一月，蒙行政院令政部召集有机关，集商，以批哈胞有速救助必要，井制成案，由前新疆政府存中央行之美金下，支万七千元，或另行政院新台六六九零六元，以救助，惟此案未施，呈理，亦行政院批复“三”，殊深惋。

三、陷匪后之新疆概

新疆因厂又僧交通阻塞，故竹幕之，除零星有克什米尔巴斯坦等地偶有所外，甚少外泄，惟去（四四）年七月和因地居民所迫，阻止共匪，曾生大模流血暴，喀什等地亦有同事件，生足匪新省同胞之桑而居民之不匪之治，起而浴血反抗，亦可一斑。又匪自去年宣成立新疆自治，以南疆吾尔族自治等错措，根据各方反，新疆同胞共匪之欺手段，曲 aproximation，而居民之不匪之治。

四、共匪中各地之活

共匪中各地，各原受排斥，如四十二年度，匪派遣之回教圣，本已批巴斯坦，但因阿拉伯拒入境，不得狼而返。可明，惟以中各回教家，与以色列有民族仇恨，且英法殖民地政策之苦果，及欲底其，因而造成之微妙系，而至于共匪以莫大之便利，故除李匪德全逆等一再巴斯坦，施其狐媚外，本年除逆鼠率中各地，开已派出圣平文文化工等一百余万人抵加等，极展工作。其重中及新籍胞之取，可一斑。

乙、建事

一、中各地新籍胞与掌握

自埃及承匪之后，我在中之地位，日不利，但埃及等外交立之，由以阿仇恨及英法殖民地政策之后果造之微妙系，似非共匪所偏，我有何岐，故救之之法及避免大，尚非不可，而伊敏艾沙等之活，亦不容听令坐大。以取中各，必先取之胞，因各地之胞俱回教徒，在生活及信仰上，与各完全一致。情感亲字，其土之心理，有其影作用，伊敏艾沙之活，欲使其无能作，亦以取各胞第一要，故中各地新籍胞之速与掌握，似有必要。

施法：防最高委安全局研究理。

二、加强中宣慰工作

在中胞之与掌握法尚未施受效之前，取效，派遣本年度回教朝及，以免各地之胞之疑仿徨。

施法：回教朝案已五月二十三日送呈中央党部，座核示再抄呈原稿恭呈

三、建台北回教清真寺

查清真寺回教膜拜主之所，世界各地凡回教聚居之，莫不建有庄大之清真寺，复查匪据大之之后，亦北平有模之宏大清真寺，并分北平迪化州等地立回教院，以述其欺世名之。再查政府台北以回回逃台，甚多，亦有清真寺之，但以借用民房，模隘，平教胞拜，已感不便，每遇回教家之使及同民及台北清真寺或要求拜者，恐深防不堪，亦友拜，不得托僻或在修理，以攘之，心殊痛苦。

伏念此宵情事，必日加多，故建一相模之清真寺，有必要。在台北胞，本亦早有此，惟以力所限，不克荷。
施方案：由政府斥建，建造一清真寺，其模相于台北市街，堂而保持一般清真寺之回教格，以瞻，而利回民拜，井示政府优待回教之德意。

四、遴优秀青年回胞 台升及放入台限制查教育文化不特才，且有建立共信精神之重大作用，政府去有政人才之，且有优待 疆青年升例，方度既嫌消极，而承人未体悉此种政策之精，致良法美意，未睹厥效，且入台限制，手繁，故有情，吸受祖文化，亦因入境不易，不得不于之外，望洋，如四十一年旅巴基斯坦新籍哈族青年四百余入求返就商洽年，无成。致批青年不得不西土耳其籍 家前途重大失。

施法：

〈一〉教育部法，定台大中小保留疆青年生名各若干名，以便 疆子弟就。

〈二〉旅外 疆子弟台就，由政府供往旅及期一切生活用。

五、指款以便适理海外救查新籍海外胞之救。年均由呈行政院及洽大救理，堆多地域性之集体理，且公往年，以致待救胞有言，至特殊性之小救，更少理，似不慎切合，拍款，以便适救，以示惠。

施法：一次指美金千元（于已各救案之三零人量）或家下增刻救用每月新台万元，有余，不足由（）据。