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Statement of the Soviet Government concerning the Flight of Xinjiang Residents to the Soviet Union as Delivered to Comrade Huang Zhen by Mesyatsev, Chargé d'affaires Ad Interim of the Soviet Embassy in China (Translation)

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Summary:

The situation on the Xinjiang border has stabilized due to Soviet and Chinese actions, and the Soviet Union demands that China recognize the imbalance in efforts to halt the border crossings.

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8月10日办公会议决定退回中苏关系

請苏欧司、領事司商办

机密 文 409

外交部文件

一九六二年八月九日苏联駐华使館
临时代办梅曉滋夫面交黃鎮同志
的苏联政府关于新疆居民逃入
苏联問題的声明(譯文)

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苏联政府收到了中华人民共和国外交部副部长姬鹏飞同志于今年6月26日轉交的中华人民共和国政府对我们6月8日和11日关于中国新疆维吾尔自治区居民大批越界进入苏联領土的声明的答复。

首先应该滿意地指出，新疆维吾尔自治区地区的苏中边界局势近来已在很大程度上稳定了下来。中华人民共和国居民非法越界进入苏联領土的情况已基本停止。这首先是苏联方面采取的措施的结果。还应该指出，中国当局方面近来开始采取了某些措施，因此越界者前往边界的情况已有所减少，而在中华人民共和国領土边界一綫集結的人羣已逐渐散去。

同时，在研究了中华人民共和国政府今年6月26日的声明之后，苏联政府不能对中国方面继续企图毫无根据地把新疆维吾尔自治区居民大批越界进入苏联領土問題归罪于苏联一事保持沉默。这

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种有偏见的态度妨碍中国同志们客观地判断事实，并从而作出正确的结论。而确定不移的事实是：成千上万的人不是从苏联方面，而是从中国方面完全出乎苏联当局意料之外地越过了苏中边界。这些人不是在苏联领土，而是在中国领土进行越界准备的。他们并非在苏联领土这边，而是在中国领土这边前往边境的，他们并非在苏联当局，而是在中国当局的目视之下前往边境的。鉴于这一切，能够和应该阻止大批越界事件的正是中国当局，这不是很清楚的吗？我们更不想谈到的是，苏联当局并没有及时地从中国方面得知有关中国居民正在准备大批越界前往苏联的情况。

中国方面在历次声明中不但不承认这一切，反而企图指责苏联方面“不履行”自己的“义务”。不但如此，中国同志对苏联政府所采取的象封闭边界这样一种非常措施作了十分奇怪的解释，他们在声明中硬说，“在中国方面的一再要求下，苏联方面最近已在边境地区采取了阻挡非法越境的一定措施……”

但是，事情是清楚的：在这里问题完全不在于这些或那些“要求”，而在于中华人民共和国居民越来越多地大批越界，而中国当局却拖延采取有效措施来制止越界事件。在这种情况下，苏联政府本着对兄弟中国友好的感情决定采取紧急措施以制止发生更为严重的局势，否则这首先会对中华人民共和国带来巨大的损失。苏联政府采取这些行动恰巧是因为它想阻止局势向这方面发展。

今年6月11日章汉夫同志在同苏联大使的谈话中说，“现在还有个别人企图越界，但是对他们进行着解释工作，以便阻止他们越界。如果他们仍然企图越界，苏方有责任不让他们通过，如果他们越过了边界，苏方有责任把他们交回给中国当局”（汉夫同志当时

說的是：現在雖然還有另星的居民非法越界，對他們，一方面我們要繼續劝阻，另一方面蘇方有責任制止他們越界，如果有人過去了，蘇方有責任把他們送回）。章漢夫同志的上述意見看來是反映了中國方面在這個問題上的方針的，因為事實上在發生大批越界事件的時候，中國當局實際上並未採取什麼有效措施來制止大批越界事件，與此同時，中國當局卻堅持要求蘇聯邊防部隊不讓越界居民通過邊界，而當他們越過邊界時，採用強制辦法驅逐他們回去。

中華人民共和國政府在歷次聲明中一再援引過去既有的，蘇聯邊防人員阻止和交回中國越境分子的办法，並且指出，既然過去是這樣做的，那麼就沒有理由不這樣做。然而，原先邊境上的情況怎么能同大批越界期間形成的情況相比呢？顯然，這是不能的。據蘇聯邊防機關提供的材料，最近三年多以來平均每兩天發生一起從中華人民共和國非法越界前往蘇聯的事件。在同時期內，從蘇聯越界進入中國領土的只有七人。而從今年4月下半月起發生從中華人民共和國大批越界前往蘇聯的事件，在這時期內，一天就有幾千越境分子。

這樣就形成了一種完全新的情況，在這種新的情況下根本談不上採用先前的办法。因此，一切援引“慣例”和過去既有的“办法”顯然是毫無根據的。

中國方面在提出用強制辦法交回越境分子的同时企圖援引慣例，這也是完全沒有根據的。大家知道，在這樣短的時期內就有幾萬人從中華人民共和國越境前往蘇聯，這樣的事件過去是沒有的。因此，在這種情況下當然根本談不上什麼慣例。蘇聯和其他社會主義國家關係的經驗證明，遵守邊界問題方面的規則最好通過相

应的協議取得对双方都有利的解决。有了这样的協議誤解就可以消除。

由于中国政府在6月26日的声明中繼續坚持要苏联方面把越入苏联領土的人轉交給中国当局，我們愿意再次澄清这一問題。如果由中华人民共和国非法进入苏联的人能够返回，那么，自然我們是高兴的。苏联当局过去采取过，現在仍在采取措施向越界者解释說，他們做了非法的事，并且說服他們返回中国。但是，苏联当局不能走上采取強制办法的道路，否則会同苏維埃法制感相违背，因为这里涉及的人是劳动者，而不是刑事罪犯，或者反革命份子。我們认为，从我們两国的长远利益来看，耐心地对待这些人，对他們采取說服的办法，而不是采取行政命令措施，会更为合适。

苏联政府本着合作精神，不止一次地請中国方面派遣自己的代表前往苏联，以便他們在苏联当局的全面协助之下（而这种协助我們是愿意提供的）尽力說服越界者返回中国。对中国方面一再拒絕接受这一建議，苏联政府只能表示遺憾。

最后，苏联政府愿意提醒，正如在苏联政府6月8日的声明中所已指出的那样，它认为在兄弟的社会主义国家之間长期封閉边界是不应该的。这种措施不能是永久性的。因此，我們打算在最近期間內向苏联有关机关发出指示，取消封閉新疆維吾尔自治区这一段边界的非常措施，恢复边防的正常办法。我們这样做的出发点是，中华人民共和国政府将会采取必要步驟，以确保边防。



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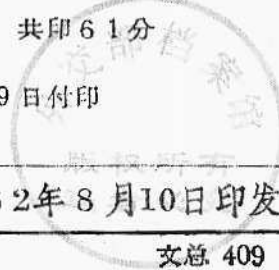


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Statement of the Soviet Government concerning the Flight of Xinjiang Residents to the Soviet Union as Delivered to Comrade Huang Zhen by Mesyatsev, Chargé d'affaires Ad Interim of the Soviet Embassy in China (Translation)

[Illegible brief handwritten note]

On 26 June, the Government of the Soviet Union received, via Comrade Ji Pengfei, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, the reply of the Government of the People's Republic of China to our statements of 8 June and 11 June on the mass exodus of residents from China's Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region across the border into Soviet territory.

First, we are pleased to note that the situation in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region on the border between the Soviet Union and China has significantly stabilized and that the illegal border crossing into Soviet territory by residents of the People's Republic of China has largely ceased. This is primarily attributable to the actions taken by the Soviet Union. We also note that the Chinese authorities have recently taken some actions. As a result, the number of residents making their way to the border has declined and the crowds gathering on the Chinese side of the border have gradually dispersed.

At the same time, after studying the 26 June statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Government of the Soviet Union feels that it can no longer remain silent on China's continued attempts to blame, without any justification, the Soviet Union for the mass exodus of residents from Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region across the border into Soviet territory. Such a biased attitude has prevented the Chinese comrades from judging the facts objectively and drawing correct conclusions. It is an undisputed fact that the tens of thousands of people unexpectedly crossed the Soviet-China border not from the Soviet side, but from the Chinese side. These people made preparations for border crossing not inside of Soviet territory but in Chinese territory. They made their way to the border not from the Soviet side of the border, but from the Chinese side of the border. They left for the border not under the eyes of the Soviet authorities, but under the eyes of the Chinese authorities. As such, the Chinese authorities should have been able to, and were supposed to, stop the mass exodus across the border. Isn't this clear? Not to mention that the Chinese authorities failed to inform the Soviet authorities in a timely manner that a large number of Chinese residents were preparing to cross the border into the Soviet Union.

In all its statements, China not only fails to recognize all of this, but also attempts to accuse the Soviet Union of "failing to fulfill" its "obligations." Moreover, the Chinese comrades made a rather strange interpretation of the extraordinary steps taken by the Soviet Government, such as closing the border. They asserted in a statement that "after China's repeated demands, the Soviet Union has recently taken certain actions in the border area to block illegal border crossings..."

However, the facts are clear. Here, the problem does not lie with this or that "demand," but with the procrastination of the Chinese authorities in taking effective steps to stop the growing exodus of Chinese residents. Under these circumstances, the Soviet Government, out of its friendly feelings towards China as a brother, decided to take swift action to prevent the situation from deteriorating, lest it would

cause significant damage to the People's Republic of China. The actions taken by the Soviet Government were aimed precisely at preventing the situation from evolving that way.

During his 11 June talk with the Soviet Ambassador, Comrade Zhang Hanfu said: "there are still some people who are attempting to cross the border, but explanations are conducted to dissuade them from doing so. If they still attempt to cross the border, the Soviet Union has the responsibility to block them, and if they make it to the other side of the border, the Soviet Union has the responsibility to hand them back to the Chinese authorities." (What Comrade Hanfu actually said was that "although there are still a few people attempting to cross the border, on one hand, we will continue to dissuade them from doing so, while on the other hand, the Soviet Union has the responsibility to stop them from crossing the border, and if they do make it to the other side of the border, the Soviet Union has the responsibility to send them back.") It seems that Comrade Zhang Hanfu's viewpoints as described above did reflect China's guidelines for this issue, because in fact when the mass exodus was underway, the Chinese authorities did not take any effective measures to stop it, but insisted that Soviet border defense troops deny passage to the fleeing people and use coercive methods to turn back those who had made it to the Soviet side of the border.

In all of its statements, the Government of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly cited the Soviet border guards' existing practices of stopping and sending back Chinese border crossers, and points out that these practices were followed in the past and that there is no reason not to continue to do so. However, how can the previous border situation be compared with the situation arising from this mass exodus? Obviously not. Information furnished by Soviet border defense agencies shows that over the past three years, on average, there has been one illegal border crossing into the Soviet Union every two days. During the same period of time, there were merely seven persons crossing the border into Chinese territory from the Soviet Union. In contrast, since the second half of April this year, there has been a mass exodus of residents from China to the Soviet Union, and on certain days during this period, thousands of people crossed the border.

This has resulted in a totally different situation. In this new situation, previous practices cannot be followed. Therefore, it is completely groundless to cite "the customary practices" and "the existing practices."

It is equally groundless for China to cite the customary practices while proposing the use of coercive methods to send back border crossers. As we know, there has never been an incident similar to this mass exodus of tens of thousands of residents from the People's Republic of China to the Soviet Union. Thus, no so-called customary practices are still relevant in this situation. The experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries proves that, when it comes to border rules, it is best to work out a mutually beneficial solution through agreements. With such agreements, misunderstandings can be eliminated.

Considering that the Chinese Government insisted in its 26 June statement that the Soviet Union hand back the people entering Soviet territory to the Chinese authorities, we'd like to clarify the issue again. If the residents of the People's Republic of China who have entered Soviet territory can go back, naturally we will be pleased. The Soviet authorities' past and present practice is to explain to the border crossers that they have done something unlawful and persuade them to go back to China. However, the Soviet authorities will never use coercive methods to send them back, as such methods contradict the Soviet legal system. The reason is that the people involved are workers, not criminals or reactionaries. We believe that for the long-term interests of our two nations, it is better to treat these people with patience and use persuasion, instead of using administrative orders on them.

In the spirit of cooperation, the Soviet Government has asked, more than once, for China to dispatch representatives to the Soviet Union to persuade the border crossers to return to China with the full assistance of the Soviet authorities (we're willing to provide such assistance). However, China has repeatedly rejected this suggestion, and the Soviet Government can do nothing but express regret.

Lastly, the Soviet Government would like to reiterate that, as pointed out in the 8 June statement, it believes that the border between brotherly socialist nations should not be closed for an extended period of time. This measure cannot be permanent. Thus, we plan to instruct the relevant Soviet agencies in the coming days to abolish the extraordinary measure of closing the border with the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and restore the normal practices of border protection. We do this with the hope that the Government of the People's Republic of China will take the necessary steps to ensure border security.