

June 25, 1962

**Reply to the Soviet Government Memorandum of 7
June and the Oral Supplementary Statement of 11
June (Draft)**

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Summary:

The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs informs the Soviet government that its accusations against China of illegal migration are groundless.

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陈副总理批。

汉夫 6月22日

中华人民共和国外交部

答复苏联政府6月7日备忘录

和6月11日口头补充声明的备忘录(稿)

中国政府研究了苏联驻华大使契尔沃年科同志6月8日面交的备忘录和6月11日所作的口头补充声明。中国政府注意到，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，对此，中国政府表示欢迎。但是，苏联政府在上述备忘录和口头补充声明中，对于苏联方面应该负责按照惯例交还已经非法越入苏联境内的中国居民的问题根本避而不谈，反而对中国方面提出了毫无根据的指责，对此，中国政府完全不能同意，并且不能不表示遗憾。

苏联政府在备忘录中硬说，它从一开始就力求同中国政府共同努力解决中国居民非法越境问题，然而，无可争辩的事实表明，情

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况恰恰同这种說法相反：在从3月中旬起的两个多月的时间里，苏联方面对非法越入苏联境内的将近六万名中国居民，既没有加以阻挡，也没有交回中国边防当局，而是给他们提供了越境的方便，并且使他们在苏联境内得到了安置。在此期间，尽管中国方面通过外交途径和边防部门再三恳切地要求苏联方面同中国方面合作，采取措施阻挡中国居民非法越境，并且按照惯例交回非法越境的中国居民，但是，苏联方面当时所做的，正象它在备忘录中所說的那样，仅限于把已经发生的事情通知中国方面，显然，无论如何也不能认为这样就算苏联方面尽到了它应尽的同中国方面合作的责任。特别令人惊異的是，直到今天苏联方面不仅仍然没有按照惯例交还近六万名非法越境的中国居民，甚至根本没有表示它准备这样做的意愿。

苏联政府在备忘录中声称非法越境分子本人拒绝返回中国，并再次提到苏联方面提出的由中国方面派人到苏联境内去对他们进行工作的建议。中国政府已经表示过不能同意这种意见，现在愿意再次指出：长期以来，不论中国方面或是苏联方面对于非法越境分子，都是迅速无条件地交回对方，从来不存在非法越境分子本人是否愿意回国或由对方派人对非法越境分子进行工作的问题。既然过去一贯是这样做的，现在显然也没有理由不这样做。苏联政府不顾两国间长期行之有效的惯例，一再强调那些非法越境分子的所谓意愿，这是没有道理的。

境

苏联政府在上述备忘录和口头补充声明中，指責中国方面没有采取必要的措施制止非法越界事件，甚至似乎还协助了非法越境行为，这更是完全没有根据的。苏联方面不难了解，将近六万名中国居民非法越境，带走了大批牲畜和其他财产，荒蕪了大片田地，扰乱了社会秩序，給中国边境地区人民的生产和生活造成了严重的損失，这对于中国方面是非常不幸的。怎么可以設想中国方面对这种不幸事件非但不加制止，反而給予协助呢？事实上，从事件刚一发生时起，中国方面就及时地、不断地、多方面地采取措施，在有关地区作了大量的工作，并且尽一切努力来制止非法越境和恢复边境正常秩序。但是，由于苏联方面采取了不合作的态度，鼓励了更多的中国居民非法越境，給中国方面造成了极大的困难，使中国方面的努力难以奏效。只是到了最近，由于苏联方面开始采取了一定的阻挡措施，中国方面的阻挡工作才取得了成效，大批非法越境的现象已經得到制止，集結在部分边境地区企图非法越境的人已經陸續回到了內地。苏联政府无视这些不容置疑的事实，对中国政府提出毫无根据的指責，中国政府无论如何也不能接受。

中国政府希望苏联政府进一步采取有效措施，同中国政府友好合作，共同努力完全恢复边境地区的正常状态，以利于中苏两国的伟大团结和友誼。

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Request Vice Premier Chen [Yi] read and approve. [Translator's note--Chen's name is circled, an indication that he did read and approve the document.]

[Zhang] Hanfu

22 June

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

People's Republic of China

Reply to the Soviet Government Memorandum of 7 June and the Oral Supplementary Statement of 11 June (Draft)

The Chinese government has examined the memorandum that Soviet Comrade Ambassador [Stepan] Chervonenko delivered on 8 June and the oral supplementary statement made on 11 June. The Chinese government takes note: Under the repeated requests of the Chinese side, the Soviet side recently has taken certain measures in the border area to stop illegal border crossings. The Chinese government welcomes this. However, the Soviet government in the aforementioned memorandum and the oral supplementary statement has fundamentally avoided mention in regard to the Soviet side's responsibility by convention for the issue of Chinese residents who have illegally crossed the border into Soviet territory, instead leveling groundless accusations against the Chinese side. In regard to this, the Chinese government is completely unable to agree and cannot but express regret.

The Soviet government in the memorandum stubbornly insists that from the beginning it has made efforts with the Chinese government to work together to resolve the issue of Chinese residents illegally crossing the border, but the indisputable facts make clear that the situation is precisely the opposite of this statement. Within a period of over two months from the middle of March, the Soviet side in regard to the nearly 60,000 Chinese residents who have crossed the border illegally into Soviet territory has neither obstructed them nor handed them over to the Chinese border defense authorities but has made it convenient for them to cross the border and resettled them in Soviet territory. In this period, despite the Chinese side's repeatedly making earnest requests of the Soviet side via diplomatic channels and the border defense department to cooperate with the Chinese side and adopt measures obstructing the illegal border crossings of Chinese residents, and by convention hand over the Chinese residents who illegally crossed the border, what the Soviet side has done at this time, just as it has stated in the memorandum, has been limited to notifying the Chinese side of what has happened. Clearly, in any event one cannot consider that this counts as the Soviet side's having done everything it should in its responsibility to cooperate with the Chinese side. Particularly surprising is that to this day the Soviet side not only still has not by convention handed over the nearly 60,000 Chinese residents who have crossed the border illegally but even fundamentally has not expressed its willingness to do so.

The Soviet government in the memorandum claimed that the illegal border crossers themselves refused to return to China and repeatedly brought up the Soviet side's proposal that the Chinese side send persons inside Soviet territory to carry out work towards them. The Chinese government has already indicated that it cannot agree with such a suggestion and at present is willing again to propose: For a long time, whether it was the Chinese side or the Soviet side, in regard to illegal border crossers both sides promptly and unconditionally handed them over to the other side. There has never been an issue of whether or not illegal border crossers wanted to return to their country or of carrying out work by those sent by the other side towards the illegal border crossers. As in the past it has always been done this way, clearly there is no reason at present not to do it this way. The Soviet government, regardless of the two countries' long-term and effective practice, is unreasonable to emphasize repeatedly the so-called willingness of those illegal border crossers.

The Soviet government in the afore-mentioned memorandum and oral supplementary

statement criticizes the Chinese side for not adopting necessary measures to halt the illegal border-crossing incidents and even apparently assisting the illegal border-crossing behavior. This is completely without foundation. It is not difficult for the Soviet side to understand that nearly 60,000 Chinese residents illegally crossed the border, took with them a large amount of livestock and other property, made barren a wide expanse of land, disturbed the social order, and caused severe loss to the property and lives of Chinese residents of the border area. This is very unfortunate for the Chinese side. How can one think that the Chinese side in regard to this unfortunate incident not only would not halt it but give assistance to it? In fact, from the time it happened, the Chinese side has in a timely way, continuously, and in multiple aspects adopted measures, doing a great deal of work in the relevant area and making every effort to halt the illegal border crossings and restore the normal order to the border. However, due to the Soviet side's adopting of an uncooperative attitude, encouraging more Chinese residents to cross the border illegally and causing the Chinese side great difficulties, it has made it difficult for the Chinese side's efforts to be effective. It is only recently, due to the Soviet side's beginning to take certain measures to halt it, that the Chinese side's blocking work at last is taking effect. The phenomenon of large-scale illegal border crossings has been stopped and persons who have gathered in part of the border area to attempt illegal crossing of the border have successively returned inland. The Soviet government has ignored these unquestionable facts and has without foundation suggested that the responsibility lies with the Chinese government. The Chinese government will never accept this.

The Chinese government hopes that the Soviet government further adopts effective measures and cooperates in friendship with the Chinese government, working together to completely restore the normal status of the border area to the benefit of the great solidarity and friendship between the two countries of China and the Soviet Union.

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