

August 9, 1962

**Minutes of Vice Minister Huang Zhen's Talk with
Nikolai Mesyatse, Chargé d'affaires Ad Interim of
the Soviet Embassy in Beijing**

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Summary:

Huang Zhen, Mesyastev, and Xu discuss the flight of Xinjiang residents to the Soviet Union and controversy surrounding the Soviet government's inconsistencies in dealing with illegal border crossings.

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外交部文件

黃鎮副部長接見蘇聯駐華使館

臨時代辦梅曉滋夫談話記錄

梅曉滋夫交來蘇聯政府關於新疆居民逃入蘇聯問題的聲明

時間：1962年8月9日下午6時

地點：本部會客室

列席人：徐明副司長、蘇使館一秘格魯士

譯員：王薏卿

記錄：李德標

梅：我受命遞交一份蘇聯政府聲明，這份聲明是對中國政府6月26日聲明的答復。

（黃副部長請譯員同志讀了該聲明的譯文）。（該聲明請見外交部文件409號）

黃：我報告政府。我听了初步的翻譯，了解了大意，對這個聲明還需要進一步研究，研究後答復。我們對這個問題的看法、態度和要求在历次的照會中以及章漢夫和姬鵬飛兩位同志同蘇聯駐華大使的談話中已經講得很清楚，我不準備在這裡重複這些。徐明同志有什麼意見可以談一談。

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徐：听了苏联政府声明的初步譯文后，我想談几点个人意見。我认为苏联政府的声明是完全不能令人滿意的。我們声明的論点都是有事实为根据的。我們的声明指出了这些事情的严重性。今天代办交来的声明是完全不符合事实的。两国有关非法越境事件的处理，从来就有慣例，为什么这次你們就不按慣例办事呢？在这次非法越境事件发生后，我們边防机关通知过你們，而你們的边防人員在接到我方通知后，只是說报告上級。非法越境事件是在一段时期內，在很长的边境上发生的，是分散地、零星地过去的，而不是几万人一下子冲过去的。苏联边防人員是完全可以阻挡的。然而，苏联方面的鉄絲网却在这个时候开了許多口子，人过得差不多了，还留下少数口子讓零星的人过去，便于他們非法越境。对于这些非法越境的人，你們用汽車运送到苏联边界內几百公里的地方，却没有把他們送回离边界几公里的中国境內，这都說明你們违反历来的慣例。

非法越境的人在苏联，苏联当然有責任把他們送回。这是苏方不能推脫的責任。把責任推到中国方面是不行的。我們的声明是完全符合事实的，說我們的声明出于偏見是没有事实根据的。以上是我个人意見，刚才黄副部长已經讲过，对苏联政府的声明，研究以后再作答复。

梅：請允許我讲几句话。刚才徐明同志談的意見在章汉夫和姬鵬飞两位同志同我国大使的談話中都已談过。今天从徐明同志的談話中我没有听到任何新的东西。徐明同志說，中国政府的声明中指出了这事件的严重性。对此，苏方也并不否认，并且认为这是一件不幸的事情。我們双方都不希望发生这样的事情。但既然已經发生，

那就要采取符合我們两国友好关系的性质的措施，根据真实的情况，找出正确的办法加以解决。我的政府是提出了这些办法。

徐明同志提到，为什么不能采用过去的惯例，将越境人員送回。在我的政府的声明中就直接回答了这个问题。过去发生的越境事件只是个别人的事件，而现在事情却牵涉到几万人。这些人是工人和农民，对他们不能用行政办法对待。我們是按照我們的道德标准和法律标准来处理这个问题的。苏联政府建議中国方面派遣人員赴苏对越境者进行解释，劝說他們回国，而苏方准备在这方面給予协助。徐明同志提到了事情发生的經過，使我惊奇的是为什么要求苏联边防机关首先采取措施。越境者是在中国的領土准备越界的，是經過中国領土到边界去的。他們首先通过的是中国边界，而后才通过苏联边界。这里怎么能談到首先同苏联边防机关有关系呢？难道能对来到边界的人不給予接待和最必需的帮助嗎？这是最起碼的人道标准。至于其他細小問題，我不准备再談了，因为这只会是問題的重复。我深信，我国政府声明中所提出的論据是正确的，提出的解决办法是合理的。在这个声明中还有一个重要之点，即我們两国人民过去和現在都是生活在友好之中，越境事件将成为过去的时刻一定会到来。

黄：原来我本沒打算說話，听了代办的談話，我想讲几句。代办同志的談話也只不过是重复了过去的意見，沒有提出任何新东西。代办同志提到要采取一些符合两国友好关系的方式方法，这我倒很欣賞。中国政府对这一不幸事件从一开始就采取了这样的态度，但苏联方面过去所采取的做法并非如此。今天我們还是希望，双方为了維護两国友好关系，采取切合实际的方式方法来解决問題。

118-01767-01

大量的事实充分証明苏联方面在这个問題上应負的責任是推脫不了的。最后，我再說一遍，对苏联政府声明我們报告政府，研究后再答复。

徐：有些問題，我想再澄清一下。代办說，我要求苏方應該首先采取措施，这是不正确地理解了我的話。我只是說，发生非法越境事件的时候，我們边防机关通知了你們的边防机关，而你們的鉄絲网却开了很多口子，便于非法越境。代办同志，我愿意告訴你一些过去的情况。过去曾經发生过在我国牧民放牧接近苏联边界的鉄絲网或在附近进行正常生产的时候，即使还没有到鉄絲网，苏联边防人員就拿起武器，攆走他們，不許他們接近，而这次你們的鉄絲网却开了許多口子。非法越境事件双方都有，我們对来自苏联方面的越境者也給予吃、住。而不同之处是：我們接待完了之后就通知你們，把人送回給你們，而你們却把他們送到你們的后方去。

現在，人在苏联，苏联有义不容辞的責任把他們送回，这是很明显的。理由我就不再提了。苏联方面如以六亿五千万中国人民的友誼为重，那么，苏联方面是應該滿足中国方面这个正当要求的。

梅：我首先同意黄鎮同志提到的我們双方任何一方所讲的都是过去的事情。事情已經过去，因此不能把它說成这样或者那样。徐明同志企图把事情說成另一种样子。徐明同志談到中国牧民接近苏联边界未到达鉄絲网前，苏联边防人員就对他們提起武器。我对苏联人民和苏联边防人員对待中国人民的态度有很好的了解。請你相信，他們不会对中国和平的牧民采取这样的态度。現在的越境事件具有大規模的性质，男女老幼都有，难道能对这些人，对友好邻邦的工农能使用武器嗎？能讓成千的人在边界流血嗎？何况当时还不

118-01767-01

知道越境的原因。徐明同志說到过去交同越境者問題。过去只是些个別人越界，問題簡單，而苏中双方都是这样做的。但是当越境具有大規模的性质时，就不能采用这种行政办法，而應該采用說服办法。因此，苏方曾不止一次地請中国方面派人去劝說他們返回中国。我們政府和人民毫無疑問是珍視同中国人民的友誼的。苏联政府声明中所提出的合理的建議正是符合于这一目的的。对苏联政府來說，除此之外，沒有任何其他利益和其他目的。

黃：我們今天就談到这里吧。

外交部开放档案



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抄送：主席、少奇、恩来、朱德、陈云、林彪、小平、彭真、贺龙、定一、康生
稼祥、尚昆、维汉、瑞卿、富治、孔原、李涛（2）、中央机要室、外办（4）
中宣（2）、中联（5）、调查（4）、军情（2）、公安、总参、作战、警司
陈、章、耿、黄、孟、韩、刘、办公厅（3）、研究室、苏欧司（2）、新闻司
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[...]

Minutes of Vice Minister Huang Zhen's Talk with [Nikolai] Mesyatsev, Chargé d'affaires Ad Interim of the Soviet Embassy in Beijing

Statement of the Soviet Government concerning the Flight of Xinjiang Residents to the Soviet Union as Delivered by Mesyatsev

Time: 9 August 1962, 6:00 p.m.

Venue: Meeting Room, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Also Present: Xu Ming, Deputy Director, and Groux, First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy

Interpreter: Wang Gaoqing

Minutes Prepared: Li Debiao

Mesyatsev: I have been instructed to deliver a statement of the Soviet Government in reply to the Chinese Government's 26 June statement.

(Vice Minister Huang [Zhen] asks the interpreter to read out a translation of the statement.) (See Ministry of Foreign Affairs File 409 for the text of the statement.)

Huang: I will report [this] to the government. After hearing the preliminary translation, I have a general idea of the statement. We need to further study the statement and will give you a reply after studying [it]. We've made our views, attitudes, and requests on this issue very clear in the notes and in the talks between Comrades Zhang Hanfu and Ji Pengfei and the Soviet Ambassador. I'm not going to repeat these here. Comrade Xu Ming, if you have any comments, please share with us.

Xu: After hearing the preliminary translation of the Soviet Government's statement, I'd like to express a few personal views. I don't think that the Soviet Government's statement is completely satisfactory. In our statement, all our arguments are supported by facts. Our statement points out the severity of these issues. The statement handed [to us] by the Chargé d'affaires is totally inconsistent with the facts. Our two nations have long had customary practices in dealing with illegal border crossings. Why did you fail to follow these practices this time? After this incident of an illegal border crossing took place, our border defense agency notified you, but upon receiving our notification, your border guards simply said they would report it to higher authorities. This illegal border crossing incident happened over a period of time, on a long stretch of the border, in a decentralized and sporadic manner. It's not that tens of thousands of people swarmed across the border at the same time. The Soviet border guards could have stopped them. However, many gaps were opened in the wire fence on the Soviet side of the border at that time. After most people had crossed over, a couple of gaps were still left there for more people to go over in twos and threes. You transported these people who crossed the border illegally to places hundreds of kilometers into Soviet territory, instead of sending them back to Chinese territory, which is just a couple of kilometers from the border. All of this shows that you've violated the long-established practices.

As the illegal border crossers remain the Soviet Union, of course the Soviet Union has the responsibility to send them back. This is a responsibility which the Soviet Union can't shirk. It's not right to put the blame on China. Our statement accords completely with the facts. The assertion that our statement is biased is utterly unfounded. These are my personal views. Vice Minister Huang has told you that we'll study the Soviet Government's statement before offering a reply.

Mesyatsev: Please allow me to say a few words. First, the views expressed by Comrade Xu Ming just now have already been reflected in the talks between Comrades Zhang Hanfu and Ji Pengfei and our Ambassador. Today, I've got something new from Comrade Xu Ming's remarks. Comrade Xu Ming said that the Chinese Government's statement points out the severity of the incident. The Soviet Union doesn't deny this but thinks that the incident is unfortunate. Neither side wants things like that to happen. But it has happened, so we must take action in line with the nature of the friendly relations between our two nations and look at the actual circumstances in order to find the proper way to resolve the problem. My government has proposed these methods.

Just now Comrade Xu Ming asked why can't you just follow the previous practices and send back the people who have crossed the border illegally. My government's statement offers a direct answer to this question. In the past, incidents of illegal border crossing were isolated cases, but now tens of thousands of people are involved. These people are workers and farmers, and administrative measures can't be used on them. We're dealing with the issue according to our moral and legal standards. The Soviet Government suggests that China send officials to the Soviet Union to offer explanations to the border crossers and persuade them to come back to China, and the Soviet Government will provide assistance in this regard. Comrade Xu Ming has given an account of the incident, but I don't understand why you would expect Soviet border defense agencies to take action in the first place. The border crossers made preparations to cross the border from the Chinese side of the border, and then crossed over Chinese territory into the Soviet Union. They passed through Chinese territory before entering Soviet territory. How do Soviet border defense agencies have anything to do with this in the first place? Shouldn't we give receive them and absolutely provide any necessary assistance to those who have arrived on the border? This is a minimum humanitarian standard. As for other minor issues, I'm not going to talk about them, because I would only be repeating myself. I'm convinced that the arguments made by my government in the statement are valid and that the proposed solution is reasonable. There is another important point in the statement-the people of our two nations live and are living in friendship, and the border crossing incident will surely become a thing of the past.

Huang: Originally, I didn't plan to speak, but after hearing the remarks of the Chargé d'affaires, I want to say a few words. The remarks of Comrade Chargé d'affaires are nothing more than a repetition of the views that he has previously expressed. There is nothing new. I quite appreciate Comrade Chargé d'affaires' suggestion of adopting some methods in line with the friendly relations between our two nations. From the very beginning of the unfortunate incident, the Chinese Government has adopted such an attitude, but what the Soviet Union has done is nothing like this. Even today, we still hope that both nations will adopt practical measures to solve the problem so as to maintain our friendly relations. A lot of facts fully prove that, on this issue, the Soviet Union has a responsibility which it cannot shirk. Lastly, let me repeat that we'll report the Soviet Government's statement to our government and offer a reply after studying it.

Xu: There are a few points I want to clarify. The Chargé d'affaires said that I had asked the Soviet side to take action first. This is not a correct understanding of my remarks. I was just saying that, when illegal border crossing was taking place, our border defense agency informed your border defense agency, but many gaps were opened in your wire fence, making illegal crossings easier. Comrade Chargé d'affaires, I'm willing to tell you something that happened in the past. In the past, when our nomadic herdsmen engaged in production activities near the wire fence on the Soviet side of the border, they would be chased away by gun-wielding Soviet border guards even before they reached the wire fence. They were not allowed to go near the fence. But this time, there were many gaps in your wire fence. Border crossing incidents happen from both sides. We provide board and lodging for border crossers from the Soviet Union. However, we do something different. After receiving the border crossers, we would inform your people and send them back to you, but

you have taken the border crossers to your hinterland.

At present, those people are in the Soviet Union, and it is the bounden duty of the Soviet Union to send them back. This is very clear, and I don't want to talk about the reasons. If the Soviet Union values its friendship with the 650 million Chinese people, it should comply with this justified demand of China.

Mesyatsev: First, I agree with Comrade Huang Zhen's remarks that what both of us have talked about is something of the past. The incident has passed and therefore shouldn't be argued about in one way or another. Comrade Xu Ming was trying to give a misrepresentation of the incident. Comrade Xu Ming claimed that Soviet border guards grabbed their weapons and wielded them at the Chinese herdsmen before they approached the wire fence on the Soviet side of the border. I have a fairly good understanding of the attitude of the Soviet people and Soviet border guards towards the Chinese people. Please believe me that they wouldn't have adopted such an attitude towards peaceful Chinese herdsmen. This border crossing incident is massive in nature. There were men and women, young and old. Should weapons be used on workers and farmers of a friendly neighboring country? Should thousands of people be made to shed blood on the border? Moreover, the cause of the border crossing was unclear at that time. Comrade Xu Ming mentioned the return of border crossers in the past. In the past, there were only a few people crossing the border, and the problem was simple; both the Soviet Union and China did that. However, when a border crossing is massive in nature, this administrative method shouldn't be taken. Rather, persuasion should be carried out. Therefore, the Soviet Union has requested for China, more than once, to persuade them to go back to China. Our government and people undoubtedly value friendship with the Chinese people. The reasonable suggestion made in the Soviet Government's statement perfectly fits this objective. For the Soviet Government, there is no other interest or objective.

Huang: Let's stop here for today.

[...]