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**Cable from the Chinese Foreign Ministry, 'Our  
Efforts Against the Subversive Activities of the  
Soviet Union in Xinjiang'**

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Report on Soviet activities in Xinjiang and countermeasures undertaken by the Chinese government.

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## 我对苏联在新疆的颠覆活动的斗争情况

各驻外使馆、代办处：

外交通报 第74期

一、苏联在我新疆的颠覆活动迄未停止。它不但拒绝全部交回去年策动逃苏的六万多人，而且还通过边境喊话、从苏境寄信和派回去年逃苏分子等办法，煽动我国公民逃苏，挑拨民族关系，搜集我边防军事情报，阴谋策划新事件。同时，新疆内部的反、坏分子在苏方策动下，也加紧配合，进行破坏活动。

对此，我采取了坚决反击措施。一方面，在内部由新疆人委颁布命令，宣布不论中国公民或外侨，如制造谣言、煽动外逃、离间民族关系等等，一律以反革命论处。各地并大张旗鼓地镇反，处理里通外国分子，广泛进行社会主义爱国主义的宣传教育运动。另一方面，为了防止苏方继续派人潜回搞颠覆，特别是不让它以送回少数人捞取政治资本，我曾由边防部门先后通知苏方：关于送回六万多人问题应由两国政府解决，在此以前我边防部门不能接收苏方另呈移交的人员；如苏方纵容一部分人非法越界窜扰我边境，其后果应由苏方负责。最近我又拒绝了苏方移交去年越入苏境的“单身

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汉”的要求，坚持苏方有责将六万多中国公民及其牲畜、财产全部无条件送回，重申我对接收这些人的立场。

二、去年8月30日我方照会指出苏联在新疆进行颠覆活动后，9月19日苏方复照力图否认，硬说苏联就其国家性质来说不可能进行颠覆活动，反诬我成了挑衅份子假情报的牺牲品，胡说大批中国公民非法越境去苏事件是由我内部原因引起的，甚至说什么同我报纸公布阿尔巴尼亚的材料有关。为了对苏方保持压力，并给它再记一笔帐，我又于今年7月18日再度照会苏方，对其诽谤予以驳斥。照会说，一国对另一国进行颠覆活动，是外国干涉者惯用的手段，是对正常国际关系起码准则的粗暴破坏。一个社会主义国家对另一个社会主义国家采用这种手段，更是绝对不能容许的。我方本来一直相信苏联不会对自己的兄弟邻邦进行颠覆活动，但苏方滥用了我们的友谊和信任，作出了这种亲痛仇快的事。照会列举大量事实，揭露了苏方通过其领事馆和苏侨协会长期以来在新疆里应外合地进行颠覆破坏活动；指出去年大批中国公民非法越境去苏和伊宁反革命暴乱事件，正是苏方在这种颠覆活动的基础上策动起来的。照会驳斥了苏方的滥言，指出发生非法越境和伊宁反革命暴乱事件的真正原因在于：中国坚持自己的正确路线，苏方想借助于颠覆活动，来增加中国的困难，向中国施加压力，并企图利用这一事件，来证明中国党和政府的政策是错误的。但是，这是决然达不到目的的。照会最后坚持要求苏方立即无条件地全部交回非法越境的六万多中国公民，停止对中国的颠覆活动，以维护两国人民的友谊；声明如苏方仍拒不将人全部交回，则不管苏方提出什么借口，中国

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政府都将永远保留提出这一要求的权利。

外交部

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[...]

## Our Efforts Against the Subversive Activities of the Soviet Union in Xinjiang

[To] Embassies Abroad and Diplomatic Offices:

Foreign Affairs Circular□No. 74

1. The Soviet Union has not ceased its subversive activities in Xinjiang. It has not only refused to repatriate the 60,000-plus residents who it instigated to flee to the Soviet Union last year, but has also spread propaganda across the border by sending letters from Soviet territory and dispatching those who fled to the Soviet Union last year [back to Xinjiang] to incite our citizens to flee to the Soviet Union, provoke ethnic relations, collect military intelligence on our border defenses, and plot new incidents. At the same time, the reactionaries and evildoers within Xinjiang have also, under the instigation of the Soviet Union, increased coordination [with the Soviets] to carry out sabotage.

As a response, we have taken resolute countermeasures. On the one hand, domestically the Xinjiang [Uyghur Autonomous Region Party] Committee has issued an order to punish anyone who makes or spreads rumors, instigates flights abroad, or drives a wedge in ethnic relations as counterrevolutionaries, whether they are Chinese citizens or foreign nationals. All regions have also suppressed counterrevolutionaries and dealt with traitors on a grand scale [while] conducting extensive socialist patriotic education campaigns. On the other hand, in order to prevent the Soviet Union from continuing to send people back to engage in subversion and especially to [prevent them] from allowing a small number of people to return in order to gain political capital, our border authorities have notified the Soviet Union that: the two governments should resolve the issue of repatriating the 60,000-plus people, [but] before this takes place our border authorities cannot accept the fragmentary handover of persons by the Soviets. If the Soviet Union connives to have some people illegally cross the border and harass our side, then the Soviet Union shall be responsible for the consequences. We have also recently rejected the repatriation of "individual Han" who fled to the Soviet Union last year and insist that the Soviet Union is obligated to return, without conditions, the 60,000-plus Chinese citizens along with their livestock and assets to China. We have reiterated our stance on the repatriation of these people.

2. In our note dated 30 August of last year, we pointed out that the Soviet Union's subversive activities in Xinjiang. However, the Soviet Union tried to deny [this assertion] in the reply dated 19 September [1962], claiming that the Soviet Union would never do this considering the nature of its country and falsely accused that we were the victims of false intelligence provided by provocative elements. They also claimed that the massive and illegal flight of Chinese residents to the Soviet Union arose because of domestic reasons and even said that it was related to the publication materials about Albania in our newspapers. In order to continue to pressure the Soviet Union and give another account, we issued another note to the Soviet Union on the 18th of July this year which refuted its slander. As mentioned in the note, subversive activities conducted by one country against another are usually adopted as a way to interfere with the internal affairs of that country. It is never tolerable for a socialist country to take such measures against another socialist country. We used to firmly believe that the Soviet Union would never conduct such subversive activities against the fraternal countries. But the Soviet Union has abused our trust and friendship by doing such incredible things. In the note, I quoted a massive [number of] facts to reveal the Soviet Union's long-term illegal subversive activities through its consulate and the Soviet Nationals Association. I also pointed out that the massive and illegal exodus of Chinese residents to the Soviet Union and the counterrevolutionary riots that took place in Yining [Gulja] last year were the

consequences of such subversive activities on the part of the Soviet Union. In the note, we refuted the rumors [spread by] the Soviet Union by pointing out that the real cause of the illegal exodus and the Yining counterrevolutionary riots: [while] China sticks to its own correct line, the Soviet side wants to create more difficulties for China and put pressure on China through subversive activities. [The Soviet Union] also attempts to take advantage of this event to prove that the policies of the Chinese party and government are wrong China's insistence on its own correct path of development. However, such plots are never going to succeed. In the note, I insisted that the Soviet Union should unconditionally and immediately repatriate the 60,000-plus Chinese citizens and stop its subversive activities so as to maintain the bilateral friendship. If the Soviet Union still refuses to repatriate them, no matter what excuse the Soviet Union may quote from, the Chinese government will reserve the right to file such a request forever.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
1 August 1963