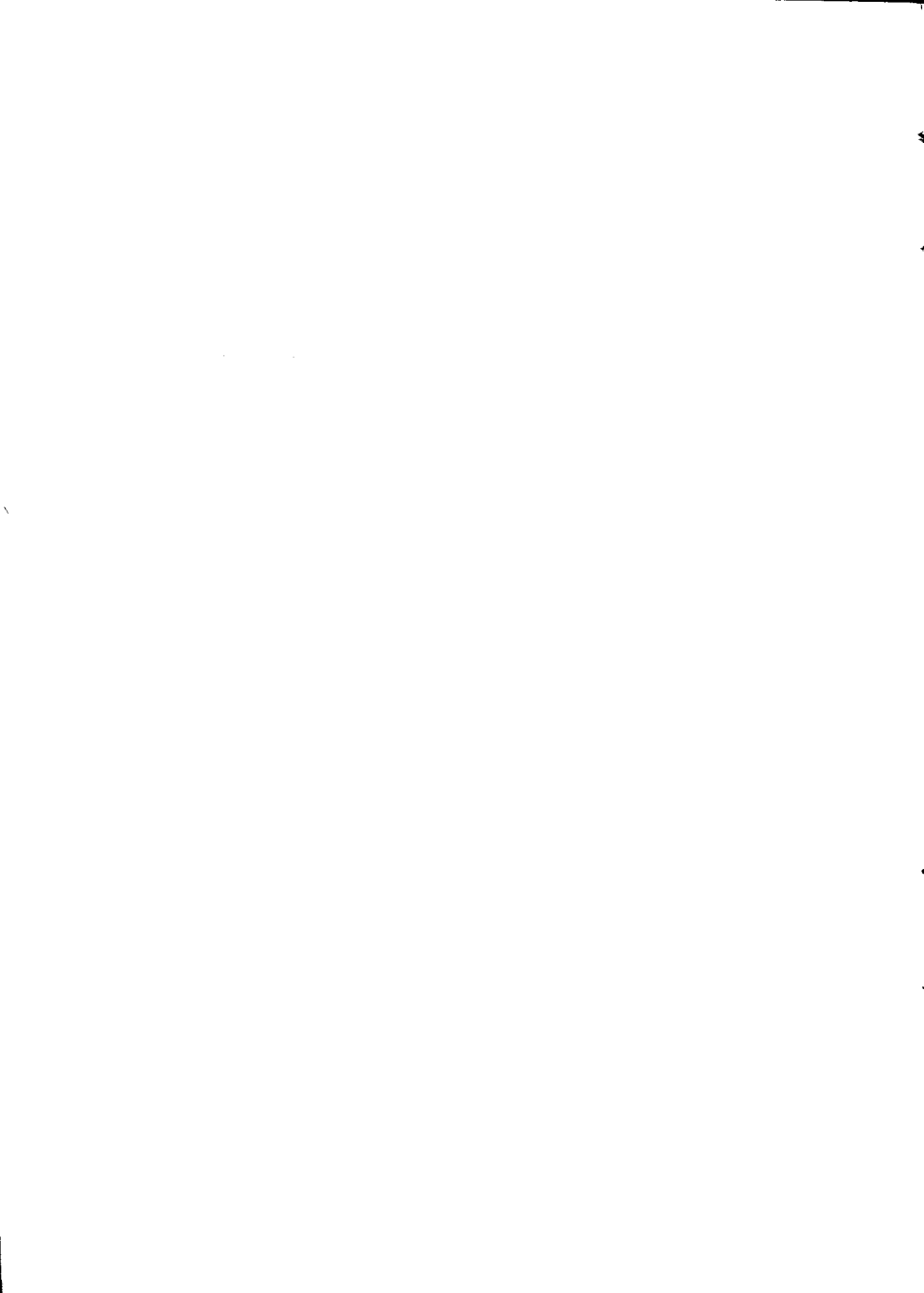


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**STATEMENT
OF
THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA**

(October 7, 1969)



STATEMENT OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA

(October 7, 1969)

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING 1974

First edition 1973
Second printing 1974

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The documents contained in this pamphlet first appeared in a pocket edition in 1969.

Printed in the People's Republic of China

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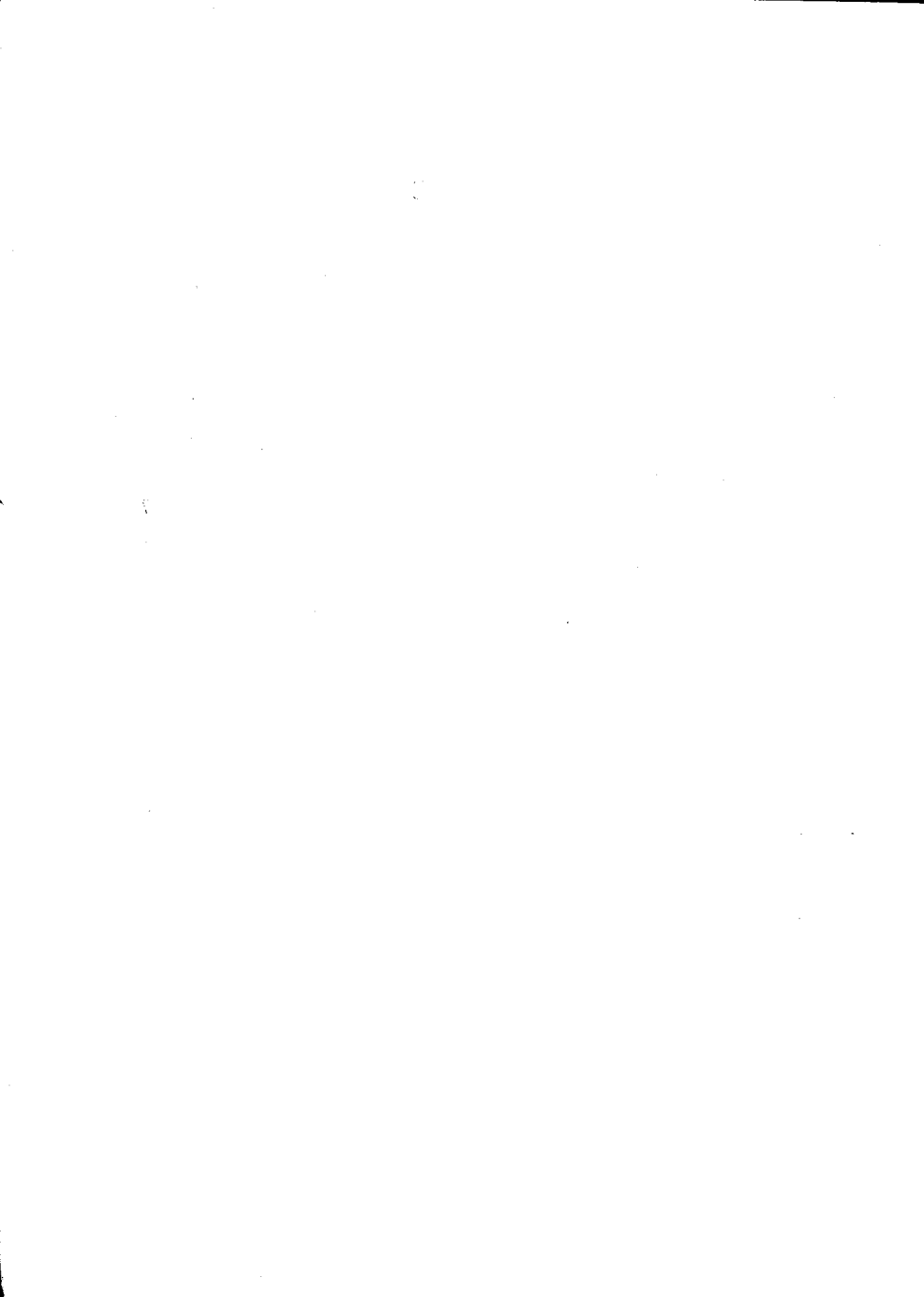
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STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

(October 7, 1969)

The Chinese Government has consistently stood for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question through negotiations. On May 24, 1969, the Chinese Government issued a statement in which it reiterated this stand. In its statement, the Chinese Government pointed out that although the treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary were unequal treaties imposed on China by tsarist Russian imperialism in the latter half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century when power was in the hands of neither the Chinese people nor the Russian people, the Chinese Government was still prepared to take these treaties as the basis for an overall settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question and proposed that, pending a settlement, the status quo of the border should be maintained and armed conflicts averted.

It is regrettable that at the time this stand of the Chinese Government did not meet with a due response from the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government issued a statement on June 13, 1969 defending tsarist Russian imperialism and wilfully slandering China, and continued to carry out ceaseless armed provocations along the entire Sino-Soviet border. Nevertheless, the Chinese Government, proceeding from its consistent stand for the settlement of issues between China and the Soviet Union through peaceful negotiations, still sent its delegation to Poli [Khabarovsk] to hold with the Soviet side the 15th regular meeting of the Sino-Soviet Joint Commission for Boundary River Navigation as from June 18, during which the Chinese side made great efforts and overcame numerous obstacles so that some agreements were finally reached at the meeting.

After the Poli meeting, the Soviet side provoked a fresh incident of bloodshed on the Sino-Soviet border and, at the same time, falsely counter-charged China with provocations on the border and insinuated even more glaringly that China intended to launch a nuclear war against the Soviet Union.

China develops nuclear weapons for defence and for breaking the nuclear monopoly. The Chinese Government has declared solemnly on many

occasions that at no time and under no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. It is both ridiculous and absurd to vilify China as intending to launch a nuclear war. But at the same time China will never be intimidated by war threats, including nuclear war threats. Should a handful of war maniacs dare to raid China's strategic sites in defiance of world condemnation, that will be war, that will be aggression, and the 700 million Chinese people will rise up in resistance and use revolutionary war to eliminate the war of aggression.

The responsibility for the development of the Sino-Soviet boundary question to such an acute state does not at all rest with the Chinese side. The Chinese Government has never demanded the return of the territory tsarist Russia had annexed by means of the unequal treaties. On the contrary, it is the Soviet Government that has persisted in occupying still more Chinese territory in violation of the stipulations of these treaties and, moreover, peremptorily demanded that the Chinese Government recognize such occupation as legal. Precisely because of the Soviet Government's persistence in its expansionist stand, many disputed areas have been created along the Sino-Soviet border, and this has become the root cause of tension on the border.

The Chinese Government has never covered up the fact that there exist irreconcilable differences of principle between China and the Soviet Union and that the struggle of principle between them will continue for a long period of time. But this should not prevent China and the Soviet Union from maintaining normal state relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Chinese Government has consistently held that the Sino-Soviet boundary question should be settled peacefully and that, even if it cannot be settled for the time being, the status quo of the border should be maintained and there should definitely be no resort to the use of force. There is no reason whatsoever for China and the Soviet Union to fight a war over the boundary question.

On September 11, 1969, Premier Chou En-lai met Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, in Peking and had an exchange of views with him on the boundary question, trade and other questions in the relations between the two countries. In view of the repeated occurrence of armed conflicts along the Sino-Soviet border, in order to truly and strictly maintain the status quo of the border and avert armed conflicts, the Chinese side further proposed that the armed forces of the Chinese and Soviet sides disengage by with-

drawing from, or refraining from entering, all the disputed areas along the Sino-Soviet border, that is, those areas where the two sides disagree in their delineations of the boundary line on the maps exchanged during the 1964 Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations. In order to relax the situation along the border between the two countries and enable the Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations to be held free from any threats, the Chinese side put forward the proposal that the Chinese and Soviet sides first of all reach an agreement on the provisional measures for maintaining the status quo of the border, for averting armed conflicts and for disengagement. The Chinese Government already delivered an official letter to the Soviet Government to this effect on September 18, 1969. On October 6, 1969, the Chinese Government reiterated this proposal in another official letter to the Soviet Government.

The Chinese Government has always held that the objective existence of questions concerning the Sino-Soviet boundary should not be evaded and that in order to settle these questions in earnest, all-round negotiations must be held. The Chinese Government and the Soviet Government have now decided through discussion that negotiations are to be held in Peking between the Chinese and Soviet sides on the Sino-Soviet boundary

question at the level of vice-minister of foreign affairs. The date for starting the negotiations is now under discussion.

The Sino-Soviet boundary question is a question of great concern to the Chinese and Soviet peoples and also a question of concern to the people of the world. The Chinese Government hopes that the Soviet Government will truly take a serious and responsible attitude towards this question.

DOCUMENT OF THE MINISTRY OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF CHINA

— Refutation of the Soviet Government's
Statement of June 13, 1969

(October 8, 1969)

On October 7, 1969, the Chinese Government issued a statement on the Sino-Soviet boundary question. In its statement, the Chinese Government exposed the essence of the Soviet Government's statement of June 13 this year, reiterated its consistent stand for an overall settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question through peaceful negotiations, proposed that first of all an agreement be reached on the provisional measures for maintaining the status quo of the border, averting armed conflicts and disengaging the armed forces of the two sides in all the disputed areas along the Sino-Soviet border and declared that the Chinese Government and the Soviet Government have now decided through discussion that boundary negotiations are to be held in Peking between the Chinese and Soviet sides. The Chinese Government's stand and proposals have opened a path for the relaxation of the situation along the Sino-Soviet border and

for promoting a reasonable settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question.

In its statement of June 13, the Soviet Government continued to defend tsarist Russian imperialist crimes of aggression against China and slanderously accused the Chinese Government of pursuing what it called an expansionist policy by inventing all sorts of nonsensical and preposterous arguments. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China deems it necessary to reply to and refute these absurdities.

I. HISTORICALLY, WAS IT CHINA WHICH COMMITTED AGGRESSION AGAINST RUSSIA, OR WAS IT RUSSIA WHICH COMMITTED AGGRESSION AGAINST CHINA?

In its statement, the Soviet Government asserted that the 1.5 million square kilometres of land seized by tsarist Russia from China had never belonged to China, that the Ching emperors, like the Russian tsars, had also committed aggression against others and that consequently there could be no talk about aggression and the victim of aggression in the relations between Russia and China. This is a forgery of history in defence of the old tsars' aggression.

The great Lenin taught us: **"The categorical requirement of Marxist theory in investigating any social question is that it be examined within definite historical limits. . . ."**¹ The Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China have never evaded the fact that in the historical process of the formation and development of China as a multi-national country, China's feudal rulers, like the feudal

rulers of other countries, carried out expansion and committed aggression against some surrounding countries. But after the Opium War of 1840, China was gradually reduced to a semi-colony and became a victim of the imperialist powers' aggression. As for Sino-Russian relations, China never committed aggression against tsarist Russia, and it was the military-feudal imperialist tsarist Russia that committed aggression against semi-colonial China; the Sino-Soviet boundary question which remains outstanding to this day is precisely the product of tsarist Russian imperialist aggression against China.

Lenin pointed out in April 1917: **"That both Nicholas II and Wilhelm II represented the reactionary and capitalist classes of their respective countries (i.e. Russia and Germany), that during the last few decades both had been pursuing a policy of plundering foreign countries, plundering China, subjugating Persia, carving up and partitioning Turkey, is a well-known fact. Had Mr. Plekhanov touched, however lightly, upon the history of diplomacy and foreign policies during the last few decades, he could not have failed to see this, and would not have dared to deny it."**² However, the present Soviet Government has tried hard to deny it by inventing all sorts of preposterous arguments.

In its statement, the Soviet Government asserted that only the Hans are Chinese, that neither the Manchus nor the other minority nationalities of China can be regarded as Chinese, and that none of the regions inhabited by China's minority nationalities are Chinese territory. How can this hold water?!

The overwhelming majority of the countries in the world are multi-national countries, and one nationality

often separately inhabits several different countries. As Engels said, “. . . **no state boundary coincides with the natural boundary of nationality, that of language.**”³ China became a unified, multi-national feudal country as early as more than 2,000 years ago. She existed in the world always as a multi-national country irrespective of the changes of feudal dynasties and irrespective of which nationality was the ruling one. In history, many changes occurred in regard to China’s boundary, yet China’s territory was never confined to the Han-inhabited regions; before China was invaded by the Western imperialist powers in the middle of the 19th century, her boundary was clear-cut.

The Soviet Government’s argument that state boundaries should be determined according to nationality is a most reactionary “doctrine”. As early as over a century ago, Engels penetratingly pointed out that this so-called “principle of nationalities” **“is nothing but a Russian invention concocted to destroy Poland”**.⁴ To put it bluntly, the wild aim of the Soviet Government in bringing forth anew this so-called “principle of nationalities” is to split the Chinese nation and occupy China’s frontier regions inhabited by her minority nationalities.

With regard to the eastern sector of the Sino-Soviet boundary, the Soviet Government asserted in its statement that the Heilung River basin was first settled by Russian immigrants, that it had always belonged to Russia and that the Hans and Manchus of China had never been there. This is indeed a fantastic tale.

Anyone with a slight knowledge of history knows that it was not until the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century that Russia became a uni-

fied country, it was not until the latter half of the 16th century that tsarist Russia crossed the Ural Mountains and expanded to Siberia, and it was not until the middle of the 17th century that a handful of tsarist Russian colonialists invaded the Heilung River basin, while China had exercised jurisdiction over this area many centuries before Russia became a unified country.

In the first half of the 8th century, not to mention earlier periods, China's Tang Dynasty already set up administrative organs in the Heilung River basin. In the beginning of the 15th century, China's Ming Dynasty set up several hundred administrative organs of different levels, such as the *Tuchihhuishi-szu*, *wei* and *suo* in the vast area from the Onon River in the west to the Kuyeh Island [Sakhalin] in the east and from the Oudi River in the north to the Sea of Japan in the south. The well-known Nurkan *Tuchihhuishi-szu* was set up in 1409 in Tirin near the estuary of the Heilung River. Among the officials and officers of these administrative organs, there were Hans and Nuchens (Manchus) as well as people from China's other nationalities. In the first half of the 17th century when the Manchus became China's ruling nationality, China's Ching Dynasty continued to exercise jurisdiction over this area, stationing officers and officials there for defence and administration, recruiting soldiers and collecting taxes. The wars between China and the tsarist Russian colonialists in the latter half of the 17th century were wars of resistance waged by China against the invaders and were not military expeditions as asserted in the Soviet Government's statement. It was the Cossacks of tsarist Russia who had really made expeditions from beyond the Ural Mountains thousands of

miles away to the Heilung River basin. The 1689 "Sino-Russian Treaty of Nipchu" confirmed in legal form that the vast areas of the Heilung and Wusuli River basins were all Chinese territory.

Moreover, the Soviet Government alleged that the "willow pale" in the Ching Dynasty formed the then northeastern boundary line of China, vainly attempting to prove thereby that the Heilung and Wusuli River basins were not Chinese territory. What was the "willow pale"? It was a willow fence built by the Ching Dynasty authorities in the Liaoho River basin to mark the limits of forbidden areas, and ordinary inhabitants were prohibited from crossing the fence for hunting, grazing their flocks or collecting ginseng. The areas marked by the "willow pale" covered only a very small portion of the vast region of northeast China which included the Heilung and Wusuli River basins and was under the jurisdiction of the General of Aihwei, Governor of Heilungkiang, the General of Ningkuta, Governor of Kirin, and the General of Shengching, Governor of Liaoning. That the Soviet Government should describe such a "willow pale" as forming China's state boundary is as absurd as describing the walls of the Kremlin as forming the state boundary of Russia.

With regard to the western sector of the Sino-Soviet boundary, the Soviet Government alleged in its statement that back in the forties of the 18th century the Chinese minority nationalities east and south of the Balkhash Lake had been naturalized as tsarist subjects, implying that this area had long belonged to tsarist Russia; it further alleged that it was not until the fifties of the 18th century when the Ching rulers "seized" Dzungaria that

Sinkiang became Chinese territory. This is a sheer distortion of history.

Political, economic and cultural ties between the Sinkiang region and the rest of China have existed for at least more than 2,000 years. Far back in the years before Christ, China's Han Dynasty set up administrative organs in the vast area east and south of the Balkhash Lake. In the 8th century the great Chinese poet Li Po of the Tang Dynasty was born in the town of Chu by the Chu River south of the Balkhash Lake. Dzungaria, which was situated in the area east and south of the Balkhash Lake, was composed of the nomadic tribes of Oirat Mongols of China. The pacification of Dzungaria by the Ching Dynasty was an internal affair of China, which had nothing at all to do with the Sino-Russian boundary.

The fact that in the Ching Dynasty China's western frontier was originally at the Balkhash Lake is not only recorded in a large number of Chinese official documents but even corroborated by many writings and historical maps of tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union. For instance, Babkov, the Russian representative who signed the 1864 "Tahcheng Protocol on the Delimitation of Sino-Russian Boundary", stated clearly in his writings that China's boundary was at the northern bank of the Balkhash Lake.⁵ In the *Atlas of History, USSR* authorized by the Soviet Government in 1958, it is also clearly drawn that up to the 19th century China's frontier was still at the Balkhash Lake.

The Chinese minority nationalities east and south of the Balkhash Lake had never been naturalized as Russian subjects before the mid-19th century. The Soviet Gov-

ernment claimed that in the first half of the 18th century the Kazakhs of eastern and northern Kazakhstan in the vicinity of the Balkhash Lake were naturalized as tsarist subjects. There is a mix-up in places here. Those who once expressed their willingness to become tsarist subjects in those days were some of the tribes of western Kazakhstan situated between the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea and of northern Kazakhstan, and not the Kazakhs of eastern Kazakhstan, still less had they anything to do with the Chinese minority nationalities east and south of the Balkhash Lake.

The Soviet Government asserted that China's northern frontier was marked by the Great Wall. This is not the Soviet Government's invention. The inventor of this "theory" was Nicholas II, the last of the old tsars. The different sections of the Great Wall were constructed in the 4th century B.C., while the linking up of these sections by the Chin Dynasty took place in the 3rd century B.C. But even then, the Great Wall did not form China's boundary. While discussing the Sino-Soviet boundary question, the Soviet Government referred to the Great Wall which was built more than 2,000 years ago and dwelt upon it with such great relish. We would then ask: And where was Russia's boundary at that time?

II. WHO IS IT THAT IS PURSUING AN EXPANSIONIST POLICY?

Engels pointed out: ". . . the Russian who is a Chauvinist, will sooner or later fall on his knees before the tsar. . . ." ⁶ To speak in defence of the old tsars is to defend aggression. He who wants to commit aggression

against others accuses others of the same; this is a habitual practice of all aggressors.

In its statement, the Soviet Government slanderously asserted that China's territorial claims on other countries occupy a very large place in China's present foreign policy and propaganda and that today the Chinese leaders claim lands which, in the past, Chinese conquerors invaded or intended to invade.

However, the label of expansionism cannot be pinned on China. The whole world knows that New China has no territorial claims against any country and that she has not stationed any troops in any foreign country. With regard to the boundary questions left over by history between China and her neighbouring countries, the Government of the People's Republic of China has always held that a fair and reasonable settlement should be sought on the basis of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, taking into consideration both the historical background and the actual conditions. Since 1960, China has successively and satisfactorily settled boundary questions and concluded new equal boundary treaties with neighbouring countries such as Burma, Nepal, the People's Republic of Mongolia, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Both China and her neighbouring countries concerned find these treaties satisfactory. Until recently, even leaders of the People's Republic of Mongolia could not but admit that tranquillity prevailed along the border between China and the People's Republic of Mongolia.

It is the Soviet Union, and not China, that has sent large numbers of troops to be stationed in the People's Republic of Mongolia. It is the Soviet Union, and not

China, that has dispatched hundreds of thousands of troops to occupy Czechoslovakia. And it is again the Soviet Union, and not China, that is making a show of force everywhere, in Eastern Europe, the Mediterranean Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. Facts speak louder than eloquence. Is it not perfectly clear as to who is carrying out expansion and aggression and is today claiming lands which, in the past, conquerors invaded or intended to invade?

The reading of these preposterous arguments advanced by the Soviet Government in its statement cannot but bring to one's mind the wild plans of carving up China, which the old tsars had dreamt about in earlier days.

In his diary of February 16, 1903, the Russian War Minister Kuropatkin wrote: ". . . our sovereign has grandiose plans in mind: Seize Manchuria for Russia and proceed to incorporate Korea into Russia. He also dreams of placing Tibet under his own rule."⁷

In his secret memorial to Tsar Nicholas II in 1916, the same Kuropatkin said that the alteration of the Sino-Russian boundary was a very urgent matter and suggested that a straight line be drawn from the Khan Tengri Peak of the Tienshan Mountains to Vladivostok [Haishenwei] as the boundary line, so that Kulja [Ili], the northern part of Mongolia, and Manchuria would be included in the territory of the Russian empire.⁸

Lenin made similar references in 1916 in his "Notebooks on Imperialism": Tsarist Russia "was constantly carrying out expansion also in East Asia according to a premeditated plan, which changes in the light of circumstances but remains unchanged in its essential portions,

aimed at direct seizure of vast territories right up to the Great Wall and the achievement of hegemony in East Asia".⁹

And now, the Soviet Government flagrantly repeated in its statement the assertion that before the Ching Dynasty China's northern frontier was marked by the Great Wall and that in the west the Chinese border did not extend beyond Kansu and Szechuan Provinces. This cannot but make one suspect that in the state policy being formulated by the Soviet Government, there is a shadow of the "grandiose plans" of carving up China, which the old tsar had in mind.

In the past the old tsars colluded with the Western imperialist powers in carving up China; today the Soviet Government is attempting to ally itself with U.S. imperialism and the Japanese and Indian reactionaries for realizing its ambitious design of carving up China or dividing spheres of influence in China. The U.S. imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries say that Taiwan is not China's territory; the Indian reactionaries say that Tibet is not China's territory; the Soviet Government says that none of the land north of the Great Wall and west of Szechuan and Kansu Provinces is China's territory. One aims at southeast China, another at southwest China and still another at northwest, north and northeast China. Is this not a marvellous co-ordination?!

Recently, all sorts of sensational anti-China outcries have emanated from Moscow, clamouring about how brutal the Chinese are and alleging that China wants to alter her boundary by force of arms, swallow up the People's Republic of Mongolia, launch a large-scale nuclear war against the Soviet Union and create a huge

empire stretching from the Pacific to the Black Sea, and so on and so forth. This cannot but make one recall Lenin's remarks of December 1900: **"At the present time, the press is conducting a campaign against the Chinese; it is howling about the savage yellow race and its hostility towards civilisation, about Russia's tasks of enlightenment, about the enthusiasm with which the Russian soldiers go into battle, etc., etc. Journalists who crawl on their bellies before the government and the moneybags are straining every nerve to rouse the hatred of the people against China."**¹⁰ What a striking likeness between the anti-China waves stirred up by the Soviet Government today and the doings of the old tsars in the past!

It should be pointed out that this statement of the Soviet Government inciting animosity against China was turned out shortly after Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, had proposed the so-called "Asian collective security system". In concocting the "Asian collective security system", the Soviet Government's aim is not merely to form an anti-China ring of encirclement and further its aggression against China, its more immediate and practical aim is to use the name of "collective security" and "regional cooperation" to control Asian countries, just as it has used the "Warsaw Treaty Organization" and the "Council for Mutual Economic Aid" to control East European countries.

We would advise the Soviet Government to sober down a little! The Chinese people have long stood up. The time when the people of the Asian countries could be trampled upon at will has gone forever. More and more Asian countries have seen through your intention. If you should insist on going down the road taken by the

old tsars, you will definitely come to no better end than the old tsars.

III. IS IT WE WHO HAVE DISTORTED MARXISM-LENINISM, OR YOU WHO HAVE BETRAYED MARXISM-LENINISM?

The treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary are all unequal treaties imposed on China by tsarist Russian imperialism in the latter half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century when power was in the hands of neither the Chinese people nor the Russian people. After the Great October Revolution, the Government of Soviets led by Lenin advocated the annulment of these unequal treaties. But owing to the historical conditions at the time, this proletarian policy of Lenin's failed to materialize. These are objective facts which brook no distortion.

The Soviet Government said that these treaties were all signed by the two contracting parties and lengthily quoted hypocritical empty words from the treaties, trying hard to prove that they were equal treaties. This only further reveals that the Soviet Government has lost its reason in its effort to justify the old tsars' crimes of aggression against China. One may ask: Is there any treaty on earth which is not signed by the contracting parties? If treaties signed by the contracting parties were all equal treaties, then are there any unequal treaties on earth at all?

The Soviet Government has extolled these treaties in such a way as if treaties were all sacred and inviolable so long as they were signed by the contracting parties.

Yet the Soviet Government made no mention whatsoever of the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Nipchu" and the "Sino-Russian Burinsky Treaty". Were not these two treaties also signed by the Chinese and Russian Governments?

The Soviet Government asserted that the first Declaration of the Government of Soviets to China of 1919 already pointed out which treaties between Russia and China were unequal treaties and that the second Declaration of the Government of Soviets to China of 1920 only confirmed the principles contained in the first Declaration. This is a distortion made with ulterior motives.

The second Declaration to China made by the Government of Soviets clearly provided for a "development" of the principles contained in the first Declaration. How could it be described as a mere "confirmation"? Since an explicit declaration was made to annul "all the treaties concluded with China by the former Governments of Russia" and to "renounce all seizure of Chinese territory", how could it be said that the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun", the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Tientsin", the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking", the "Sino-Russian Ili Treaty", etc., by which vast expanses of Chinese territory were annexed, all kinds of privileges seized and huge amounts of indemnities extorted, were not included in "all the treaties" that should be annulled?

Article VII of the 1924 "Agreement on General Principles for the Settlement of the Questions Between China and the Soviet Union" stipulates in explicit terms that the two countries are "to re-demarcate their national boundaries. . . , and pending such re-demarcation, to maintain the present boundaries". If indeed as asserted by the present Soviet Government, the treaties relating

to the present Sino-Soviet boundary were all equal treaties and no problems whatsoever existed, then what was the need for re-demarcating the national boundaries?

The facts about tsarist Russian imperialist aggression against China have long been recorded in the immortal writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and no one can tamper with them.

In October 1858, Engels said in referring to the benefit obtained by tsarist Russia from the Second Opium War that **"beside sharing in all the ostensible advantages, whatever they be, secured to England and France, Russia has secured the whole of the country on the Amoor, which she had so quietly taken possession of"**.¹¹

In September 1859, Marx said: **"When Russia requested the cession of the Amur, he (i.e. British Prime Minister Palmerston) brought it about by the second Chinese war, and now that Russia wants to consolidate her influence at Peking, he extemporizes the third Chinese war."**¹² The 1860 "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" was the treaty which tsarist Russia imposed on China by taking advantage of this war of aggression against China.

In February 1916, Lenin said: **"But the whole world knows that for decades tsarism has been oppressing more than a hundred million people belonging to other nationalities in Russia, and that for decades Russia has been pursuing a predatory policy towards China, Persia, Armenia and Galicia."**¹³

In April 1924, Stalin said: **". . . tsarist Russia was the home of every kind of oppression — capitalist, colonial and militarist — in its most inhuman and barbarous form. Who does not know that in Russia the omnipotence**

of capital was combined with the despotism of tsarism, the aggressiveness of Russian nationalism with tsarism's role of executioner in regard to the non-Russian peoples, the exploitation of entire regions —Turkey, Persia, China — with the seizure of these regions by tsarism, with wars of conquest? Lenin was right in saying that tsarism was 'military-feudal imperialism.' Tsarism was the concentration of the worst features of imperialism, raised to a high pitch."¹⁴

Tsarist Russian imperialism seized vast expanses of Chinese territory, and it goes without saying that the boundary treaties by which these territories were annexed are unequal treaties. Many earlier Soviet writings also recognized that the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun", the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Tientsin", the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" and the "Sino-Russian Ili Treaty" were unequal treaties. For instance, it is unequivocally admitted in the *Diplomatic Dictionary* published in 1961 under the editorship of Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and others that the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" is an unequal treaty. But now the very same Gromyko has gone so far as to describe such a statement as a "false allegation". As Lenin pointed out as early as 1915, "This is not at all surprising in this day of words forgotten, principles lost, philosophies overthrown, and resolutions and solemn promises discarded."¹⁵

Since the Soviet Government accused us of distorting Marxist-Leninist classical writings, we would ask you to publish in the Soviet press the full texts of both the previous and the latest statements of the Chinese Government and the present document as well as the relevant articles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin from

which we have quoted, so that the people and the Communists in the Soviet Union may judge for themselves whether it is we who have distorted Marxism-Leninism or you who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism.

IV. IS THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT REALLY PREPARED TO TAKE THE TREATIES AS THE BASIS FOR SETTTLING THE SINO-SOVIET BOUNDARY QUESTION?

In its statement, the Soviet Government expressed in an equivocal way its willingness to take the treaties as the basis for settling the Sino-Soviet boundary question, as if its stand were not at variance with that of the Chinese Government. Actually this is not so. Please note the following examples.

The 1884 "Protocol on Sino-Russian Boundary in the Kashgar Region" clearly stipulates that in the Pamir area, from the Uz-Bel Mountain Pass "the boundary of Russia turns southwestwards, the boundary of China runs due south". This is the only treaty stipulation relating to the Sino-Russian boundary in the Pamir area. Yet the Soviet Government alleged that this Boundary Protocol "has nothing at all to do with" the ownership of the Pamir area and that it was the notes exchanged in 1894 which were the documents of "demarcation".

What are the facts? The facts are: In 1892, tsarist Russian imperialism, in violation of the stipulation of the 1884 Boundary Protocol, dispatched its troops to the Pamir area again and further occupied by force of arms more than 20,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory west of the Sarykol Range. At the time, the troops of the two sides faced each other along the Range. In April

1894, China and Russia exchanged notes, and the Chinese Government was forced to agree to the tsarist Government's proposal to maintain temporarily the respective positions of the troops of the two sides pending a final settlement of the Pamir question. However, the Chinese Government made explicit reservations at the time, declaring that "in adopting the above-mentioned measure, the Chinese Government does not at all mean to abandon the rights China possesses over the territories of the Pamirs which are situated beyond the positions occupied by the Chinese troops at present. It considers that it should maintain the rights based on the 1884 Protocol until a satisfactory understanding is reached". Finding itself devoid of justification, tsarist Russian imperialism dared not insist that the Sarykol Range should form the boundary.

The present Soviet Government has gone farther than the old tsars. It wants to force on China as the Sino-Soviet boundary line the line of military occupation of the old tsars and itself. How can this be regarded as taking the relevant treaty as the basis for determining the alignment of this sector of the boundary?

The 1860 "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" clearly stipulates that in the sector of the Heilung and Wusuli Rivers, the rivers form the boundary line between China and Russia and that the land lying left of the Heilung River and right of the Wusuli River belongs to Russia while the land lying right of the Heilung River and left of the Wusuli River belongs to China. The map attached to the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" and the red line on the attached map were drawn unilaterally one year before the signing of the Treaty and imposed on China by

tsarist Russia. The attached map is on a scale smaller than 1:1,000,000. The red line on it only indicates that the rivers form the boundary; it does not, and cannot possibly, show the precise location of the boundary line in the rivers.

That the river forms the boundary means that the central line of the main channel shall form the boundary line. This was recognized not only by tsarist Russian imperialism but also by the Soviet Government. Article 5 of the "Regulations on the Safeguarding of the State Frontier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" ratified by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in August 1960 stipulates in explicit terms: "The state boundary of the USSR on navigable boundary rivers runs along the centre of the main channel or the thalweg of the river." The *Bolshaya Sovietskaya Encyclopaedia* published in 1926 also clearly wrote in the entry "The Amur" [the Heilung River] that from Khabarovsk [Poli] upwards, the Amur is the boundary river and, moreover, the boundary with China runs along the centre of the channel. However, the Soviet Government has now claimed that according to the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking", the boundary line between the two countries in the Heilung and Wusuli Rivers runs along the Chinese bank of the rivers. This is a new territorial claim in violation of the treaty stipulations, which even the old tsars dared not advance.

In order to deny the principle of international law that the central line of the main channel shall form the boundary line in the case of navigable boundary rivers, the Soviet Government cited as an example the treaty concluded between Costa Rica and Nicaragua in 1858,

saying that this treaty stipulates that "the boundary line" between Costa Rica and Nicaragua "runs along the right bank of the San Juan River" and that "the Republic of Nicaragua enjoys exclusive right of possession and sovereign jurisdiction over the waters of this river"; moreover, it impudently alleged that the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" was likewise a case in point. Of course, there are exceptions to any established principle of international law, and the same is true of the principle that the central line of the main channel shall form the boundary in the case of navigable boundary rivers. But explicit stipulations must be made in treaties for any exceptional case. Articles II and VI of the 1858 boundary treaty between Costa Rica and Nicaragua do contain such stipulations. Now we want to ask the Soviet Government: Where is it stipulated in the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" that the boundary line between China and Russia runs along the Chinese bank of the Heilung and Wusuli Rivers? And where is it stipulated that tsarist Russia "enjoys exclusive right of possession and sovereign jurisdiction" over the Heilung and Wusuli Rivers?

The above two examples give one reason to doubt whether the Soviet Government is really prepared to take the treaties as the basis for settling the Sino-Soviet boundary question.

V. THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT'S STAND BROOKS NO DISTORTION

The Chinese Government's stand for an overall settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question is, in summary, as follows:

1. Distinguish between the right and wrong in history and confirm that the treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary are unequal treaties imposed on China by tsarist Russian imperialism in the latter half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century when power was in the hands of neither the Chinese people nor the Russian people.

2. In consideration of the actual conditions, take these treaties as the basis for an overall settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question through peaceful negotiations and for determining the entire alignment of the boundary line. China does not demand the return of the Chinese territory which tsarist Russia annexed by means of these treaties.

3. Any side which occupies the territory of the other side in violation of these treaties must, in principle, return it unconditionally to the other side, but necessary adjustments of the areas concerned on the border may be made by the two sides in accordance with the principles of consultation on an equal footing and of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation and in consideration of the interests of the local inhabitants.

4. Conclude a new equal Sino-Soviet treaty to replace the old unequal Sino-Russian treaties and carry out boundary survey and erect boundary markers.

5. Pending an overall settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question through peaceful negotiations, maintain the status quo of the border, avert armed conflicts and disengage the armed forces of the Chinese and Soviet sides by withdrawing them from, or refraining from sending them into, all the disputed areas along the Sino-

Soviet border, that is, those areas where the two sides disagree in their delineations of the boundary line on the maps exchanged during the 1964 Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations.

Any unbiased person can see that this stand of the Chinese Government is reasonable and just and demonstrates its utmost sincerity for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question. Now the Chinese Government and the Soviet Government will soon hold boundary negotiations in Peking at the level of vice-minister of foreign affairs. We hope that the Soviet Government will seriously consider the Chinese Government's stand and proposals for an overall settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question, so that positive results may be achieved in these negotiations.

NOTES

¹ Lenin, "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination", *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 20, p. 401.

² Lenin, "In the Footsteps of *Russkaya Volya*", *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 24, p. 91.

³ Engels, "What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?" *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Chinese ed., Vol. 16, p. 176.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁵ Babkov, *Recollections on My Service in Western Siberia, 1859-1875*, p. 162.

⁶ Engels, "The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom", *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Chinese ed., Vol. 22, p. 18.

⁷ "Kuropatkin's Diary", journal of R.S.F.S.R. *Red Archive*, 1922, Vol. 2, p. 31.

⁸ Soviet journal *New East*, Vol. 6, p. 270.

⁹ Lenin, "Notebooks on Imperialism", *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 39, p. 765.

¹⁰ Lenin, "The War in China", *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 4, p. 338.

¹¹ Engels, "The Progress of Russia in Far East", *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Chinese ed., Vol. 12, p. 664.

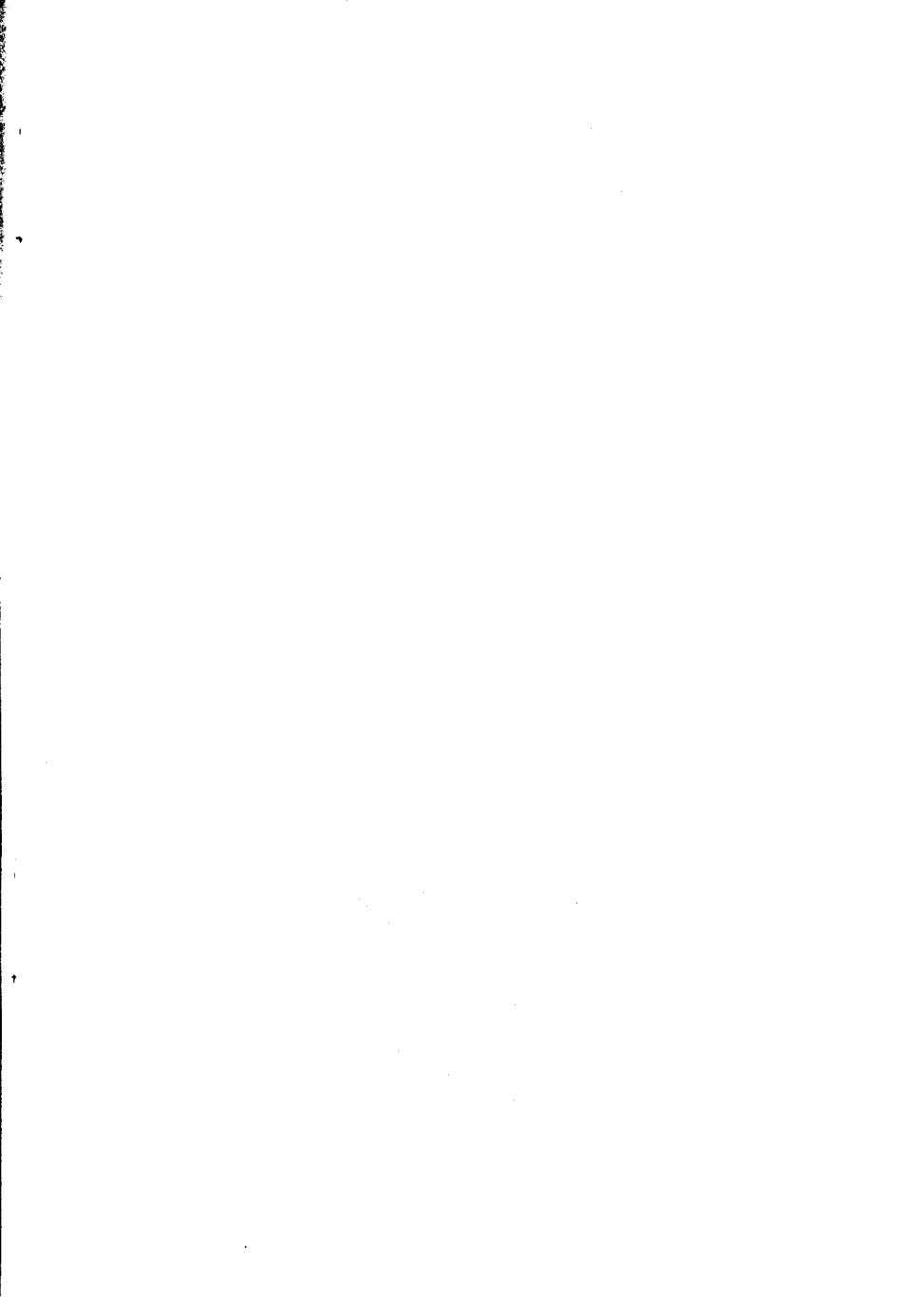
¹² Marx, "The New Chinese War", *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Chinese ed., Vol. 13, p. 574.

¹³ Lenin, "Speech Delivered at an International Meeting in Berne, February 8, 1916", *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 22, p. 116.

¹⁴ Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 6, p. 67.

¹⁵ Lenin, "Preface to N. Bukharin's Pamphlet, *Imperialism and the World Economy*", *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 22, p. 94.





中华人民共和国政府声明

(一九六九年十月七日)

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外文出版社出版(北京)

1973年(32开)第一版

1974年第二次印刷

编号: (英)3050-2124

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3-E-1208P



