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Explaining North Korean Migration to China

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EXPLAINING NORTH KOREAN MIGRATION TO CHINA
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Explaining North Korean Migration to China

by Hazel Smith

THE NORTH KOREA/CHINA BORDER REGION is often portrayed as a place of recent North Korean migration that started in the wake of famine of the early 1990s and which accelerated as poverty and economic hardships became a permanent feature of the North Korean economic landscape. This common knowledge is, however, only partially true and obscures as much as it illuminates: It ignores and is ignorant of the pre-existing fluidity of legal and illegal migration between the northern DPRK and the northern provinces of China. Importantly, the dominant narrative fails to understand that what was very new about the 1990s was *not* inter-country migration itself but the reversal of migration flow patterns. Prior to the 1990s, migration between the two countries was mainly a one-way traffic of ethnic Koreans of Chinese nationality heading south towards North Korea. Some contra-flow took place as North Korean women who had married Chinese men attempted, against North Korean government opposition, to move to China (**Document No. 2**). The last document in this series, from 1970, also presages changes in migration patterns as Chinese state authorities reminded local officials that North Koreans attempting illegally to cross the border into China should be repatriated (**Document No. 11**).

These documents trace internal discussions within the Chinese government about border crossers between 1957 and 1970. Also reproduced here is the 1964 agreement on border crossers between the Chinese and North Korean governments (**Document No. 10**). The documents are most illuminating in their contribution to understanding the historical fluidity of cross-border migration, which in turn helps explain why border crossing to China was understood as a viable option for North Koreans in the early 1990s. The pull and push factors shaping North Koreans' decision-making were that China's economy developed exponentially at the same time as North Korea's economy tanked. These documents show, however, that cross-border migration was already a familiar coping strategy for Koreans living in the China/DPRK border region. The only difference in the 1990s was the direction of flow.

Ethnic Koreans of Chinese Nationality Migrate to the DPRK... in Their Doves

Ethnic Koreans of Chinese nationality left China for the DPRK in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, legally and illegally, in order to escape famine, poverty and racial discrimination. These documents make clear that Chinese authorities were well aware that a major reason for ethnic Koreans crossing over to North Korea from the late 1950s onwards was because of the 'temporary economic difficulties' facing China. As China suffered famine and terrible economic hardship, ethnic Koreans saw a North Korea that was undergoing economic growth; where they had family relations and social networks; where they could speak the language; and, most of all, where they might not be hungry. For ethnic Koreans it was not too difficult to swap one authoritarian regime for another, as in the DPRK their civic lives improved by the very fact that they did not face discrimination because of their ethnicity, which, as these documents also record, they frequently confronted in China. For its part, the North Korean government offered work and economic opportunity to in-migrating Koreans because, as detailed here, the government faced labor shortages and saw ethnic Koreans from China as helpful in filling labor gaps. These documents testify to the non-ideological motivation of both in-migrating Koreans

and the North Korean government. Chinese-Koreans wanted work and food, and the North Korean government wanted workers.

Both countries agreed that they should, in principle, return illegal migrants, but prior to the formal Protocol of 9 June 1964, the Chinese government noted that not all were returned by the DPRK. Indeed, as the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs complained in a May 1961 document translated here (**Document No. 3**), the North Korean government provided incentives for Koreans to stay in the DPRK, giving new settlers from China housing, grain, money and work on cooperative farms. Of the 28,028 persons discovered crossing the border into North Korea in 1961, over 7,000 stayed in North Korea. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was also concerned about the high numbers of people risking their lives to cross into the DPRK, with a 24 March 1962 telegram noting that 245 corpses had been found by the Yalu and Tumen rivers in North Korea in 1961, presumably drowning while trying to cross the border (**Document No. 6**).

These documents show that the Chinese government took a rather sympathetic approach to the plight of ethnic Koreans in China. Legal migration was not forbidden, and at the level of policy pronouncements, the Chinese government supported improving conditions of life for ethnic Koreans living in China as well as making it easier for them to visit relatives in North Korea. A 1961 report from the Chinese Ministry of Public Security noted that border residents were “fleeing” China, but “we cannot treat the average fleeing resident as the enemy” (**Document No. 4**).

The 1964 Protocol

The 1964 Protocol was an attempt to differentiate between the different sorts of circumstances in which authorized and unauthorized migration took place between China and the DPRK and to regularize how the different types of border crossers should be treated by both states. The Protocol spells out how both countries should cooperate on a whole range of border issues. These include, for example, dealing with poultry and livestock straying over the border (they should be returned); assisting citizens who cross borders because of disasters such as fire, flood and, perhaps more curiously, “labor incidents”; the return of corpses washed up in the Yalu and Tumen rivers that divide the two territories; the opening times of border crossing posts; and the bureaucratic arrangements for convening meetings between the relevant authorities in both countries to monitor the agreement (**Document No. 10**).

Article Four states that illegal border crossers should be sent back to their country of origin with the important caveat that unless the border crosser is a “criminal,” “those forced to cross the border as a result of disaster will not be treated as illegal border crossers.” Article Five specifies that the security apparatus of both countries should cooperate actively in apprehending border crossers who are criminals and that these criminals include counterrevolutionaries as well as “basic criminals” (Article Five). The controversy today as to whether China should send back North Korean migrants is largely based on how China interprets and implements Articles Four and Five of the 1964 Protocol.

Implementing Articles Four and Five of the 1964 Protocol

China's interpretation of the 1964 agreement has vacillated between leniency and stringency. It has, for example, rather generously interpreted Article Four. Article Four specifies that illegal border crossers should be repatriated except when border crossing is as a result of "disaster." The 50,000 or so North Koreans living illegally in China are testament to Chinese toleration of North Korean migration as are the very frequent repeat border crossings by thousands of North Koreans who have found ways to frequently cross over to China and then go back home again; hence the phenomena of some advocacy agencies referring to North Koreans having "escaped" North Korea on numerous occasions. There are very well established trading routes across the border, some of these authorized and many not, but most are unimpeded by Chinese authorities. Illegal short-term or frequent North Korean border crossers may cause irritation to Chinese and North Korean border guards, but these migrants do not on the whole risk serious penalties. The Chinese government has also shown a generous interpretation of Article Four by regularizing the civil status of children born to Chinese nationals and illegal North Korean migrants, granting them the essential *hukou* (household registration) so they are neither stateless nor denied access to social services and education. One of the reasons it has tolerated economic border crossing for work and food is because North Korean adults have been prepared to take up low-paying jobs in agriculture and forestry that have not been attractive to local residents, many of whom are highly educated and who are more interested in working in booming cities in the border area, such as Yanji City, which is the recipient of very large South Korean investment.

On the other hand, both China and the DPRK are stringent in the application of Article Five if they consider that migrants are involved with "criminal" in the sense of "counter-revolutionary activity." This means that North Koreans who develop relationships with South Korean bodies like churches and advocacy organizations, particularly those that are designed to overthrow the North Korean government, have a hard time of it if they are deported back to the DPRK. It also means that when China considered the North Korean migrant community as becoming politicized at the time of the foreign-organized "invasions" of foreign embassies in the early 2000s, it responded by severely implementing the provisions of the Protocol, rounding up and sending hundreds of North Koreans who had previously lived illegally but relatively securely in China, some for several years.

Explaining North Korean Migration to China in the 1990s

These documents show that, for China, ethnic Korean migration to the DPRK was worrisome, not for the sake of the issue itself, but as these documents frankly acknowledge, because of the example it might set to other ethnic minorities in China (**Document No. 3**). This set of documents goes some way to help us understand the significance of ethnic identification for Koreans living in the northern part of the DPRK and China and the pragmatic motivations underpinning Korean migration in and out of China from the 1950s onwards. They also demonstrate the Chinese government's attempts to achieve a workable policy towards Korean border crossers in conjunction with the North Korean government and the Chinese government's commitment to respond positively to North Korean government imperatives.

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Professor Smith has worked, published and broadcast extensively and internationally on the DPRK for 25 years—where she has been a regular visitor since 1990. Professor Smith lived for two years in the DPRK between 1998 and 2001, working for UNICEF, the UN World Food Programme, UNDP and NGOs. Professor Smith's books on North Korea include *Reconstituting Korean Security: A Policy Primer* (2007); *Hungry for Peace: International Security, Humanitarian Assistance and Social Change in the DPRK* (2005); and *North Korea in the New World Order* (1996). Professor Smith is currently completing a book for Cambridge University Press entitled “North Korea in Transition: History, Economics, Politics, Society.” Professor Smith is a regular broadcaster for the BBC and other international media on North Korea. Professor Smith is also the proud owner of a North Korean driving license, after passing her driving test in Pyongyang in 2001.

DOCUMENT NO. 1

Opinions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Handling the Issue of Ethnic Koreans in the Northeast Illegally Crossing the Border to Korea, 17 December 1957

[Source: PRC MFA 118-01026-01. P1-4. Obtained for NKIDP by Shen Zhihua and translated for NKIDP by Jeffrey Wang.]

[To the Chinese] Embassy in [North] Korea and the Public Security Offices in Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang Provinces; copy to the [Provincial] Foreign Affairs Offices:

Regarding Comrade Qiao Xiaoguang's request for instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on how to handle illegal border crossings by Korean residents of the northeast region into [North] Korea, after studying the issue, we believe that [we should] handle the issue based on the principle that border personnel from both sides [China and North Korea] will leniently approve legal border crossings, while severely punishing illegal border crossings. Therefore:

- (1) For residents who have already illegally crossed into [North] Korea, in principle we should still mobilize them to return to China in accordance with the spirit of the Sino-Korean Agreement. If after mobilization, some individuals are still unwilling to return to China and the [North] Korean side consents to their remaining [in Korea], they do not need to be repatriated and can be issued an emigrant passport following an investigation and education by the [Chinese] Embassy. If they request to renounce their People's Republic of China citizenship, then you can also process this according to the principles of renouncing [Chinese] citizenship.
- (2) For [North] Korean citizens who have illegally crossed the border into China, we should, in principle, repatriate them. If it is indeed inconvenient for some of these people to return, then they can continue their residency [in China] after the approval of the [North] Korean side. If the necessity arises in the future, then they can be mobilized to return to [North] Korea.
- (3) If an illegal border-crosser has committed a crime or has a pending civil or criminal case in their home country, both sides [China and North Korea] should absolutely repatriate them.
- (4) From today onward, both China and [North] Korea should continue to strictly comply with the relevant provisions of the "Record of the Joint Meeting on Handling Affairs along the Sino-Korean Border" from the June 1955 conference of the Chinese and [North] Korean Public Security and Internal Affairs [ministries]; each side should take all the necessary measures to prevent and stop residents from illegally crossing the border. People who illegally cross the border should be punished severely. However, in order to curb the continuation of illegal border crossings and to adequately address the request of the Korean side, in the future, [we should], in principle, leniently approve applications to go to [North] Korea from ethnic Koreans in China. As long as the applicant does not have any political issues or a pending civil or criminal case, all applications which are justified

should all be approved. At the same time, [we should] ask the [North] Korean side to take all necessary measures and operate in close coordination [with us].

At the appropriate time, please inform the [North] Korean side of the above points. If you have any views, please inform us.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Public Security
Central Overseas Chinese Committee

17 December 1957

DOCUMENT NO. 2

Notification from the Ministry of Interior on Opinions Relating to Marriages between Chinese People and Korean Women, 18 October 1958

[Source: Hubei Provincial Archives SZ67-01-0540. P6-7. Obtained for NKIDP by Shen Zhihua and translated for NKIDP by Jeffrey Wang.]

(58) Internal Civil [Affairs] No. 750

[To] All Provincial, Autonomous Region, and Municipal Civil Administration Departments (Bureaus):

Regarding the procedure for Chinese individuals who marry [North] Korean women, in the past many localities had asked for the Central Committee's approval. For one case an individual may have applied several times, documents and reports have gone back and forth [between different offices], and [the procedure] ends up taking a very long time. Therefore, the Consular Affairs Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has studied the issue and is drafting [a document entitled] "Internal Opinions on Marriages between Chinese [Men] and [North] Korean Women" specifically for your reference in handling these issues.

Attachment: "Internal Opinions on Marriages between Chinese [Men] and [North] Korean Women"

Ministry of the Interior of the People's Republic of China
18 October 1958

Internal Opinions on Marriages between Chinese [Men] and [North] Korean Women

Due to the shortage of laborers in [North] Korea, the [North] Korean government more strictly controls marriages between Koreans and foreigners. Our country must cooperate with [North] Korea on this policy and adopt certain measures [to support North Korea's views]. This is in the interest of both of our two countries. Therefore, if in the future [North] Korean women request to come to China and marry Chinese, we will, in principle, strictly control [these

requests]. We should also strengthen education [regarding these issues] for active military service personnel and government cadres. The specific details are as follows:

(1) Military personnel, diplomatic personnel, and personnel of vital departments cannot marry foreigners.

(2) For current personnel of other organizations, contract groups, schools, industries and factories (including military personnel who have changed careers and currently work in the above units) who request to marry [North] Korean women, we should try to dissuade them. If dissuasion fails and they insist on marrying [North Korean women], then we can allow them to proceed with the marriage.

(3) In order to account for the shortage of laborers in [North] Korea, for those marriages that we do approve, if the woman has work in [North] Korea or if the man can find work in [North] Korea, we should encourage the man to go to [North] Korea and settle there. However, the man should first apply to local public security organs for permission to leave [China]. With approval for entry from the [North] Korean government, then the man can travel to [North] Korea. If the woman insists on coming to China, the woman should first apply for approval from the [North] Korean government after which we would then allow them to enter and reside [in China] (see item four for specific procedures). For [North] Korean women that have illegally crossed the border for marriage, in principle we will repatriate all of them. However, those who have special circumstances and cannot be repatriated can be approved for marriage and residency in China, and they should be registered and managed in accordance with foreign national [regulations].

(4) Specific procedures for approving [North] Korean women to come to China for marriage: First, the man must complete an application for marriage (one style two copies). [The man's] work unit should pay attention to this matter and provide approval if applicable (mainly this is to examine if the man has been truthful, if he is remarrying, if his work position is appropriate for marriage with foreigners, etc.). After the marriage has been approved by the leader of his work unit, immediately send a copy of the application back to the man so that he may send it to the woman. The woman will then use [the paperwork from the man] to apply to the Supreme People's Assembly Standing Committee for approval of the marriage. One copy of the application should be handed to our embassy in [North] Korea (the letter should say: From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Beijing Office to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in [North] Korea). After the woman receives approval for marriage and a passport from the [North] Korean government, the Chinese Embassy in [North] Korea can then issue entry visas according to the approval of the marriage as provided by the relevant organizations within our country.

After the woman comes to China, she should apply for marriage registration and abide by the stipulations of Chinese marriage laws.

DOCUMENT NO. 3

Telegram from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Public Security to the Chinese Embassy in North Korea on Illegal Border Crossing among Ethnic Koreans, May 1961

[Source: PRC MFA 118-01026-03. P82-83. Obtained for NKIDP by Shen Zhihua and translated for NKIDP by Jeffrey Wang.]

[North] Korea
Extra Rush, Early Delivery

[To the Chinese] Embassy in [North] Korea:

[Even] since the conversation between [Chinese] Embassy Secretary Jin and the [North] Korean Consular Bureau Secretary, the number of people crossing the border into [North] Korea has continued to grow daily. [The situation] has developed from a single individual or a single household crossing the border at night to [organized] groups forcefully crossing the border during daytime. According to incomplete statistics from Liaoning and Jilin Provinces, we discovered 4,701 people crossing the border (1,985 people from Liaoning) between January and April [1961], of which 3,381 people were able to successfully cross the border without being stopped (1,439 were from Liaoning). This situation has continued during May, and between May 1 and May 8, we have only been able to stop 350 people [from crossing the border]. These people are not only from Andong [Dandong], Anshan, and Luda [Lüshun-Dalian], but, according [to data], there are also people from Jilin, Heilongjiang, Beijing, and Tianjin. There are [also] 1,843 ethnic Korean households in Andong which are preparing to go to [North] Korea, of which 153 households have already sold all of their properties and attempted to sneak across the border. There are many reasons causing the increase in border crossings, though mainly it is because these people do not understand the temporary difficulties [facing] our country, and ideological education has not fixed this problem. Living arrangements have also not been properly arranged. The other issue is that the [North] Korean side is not returning the border-crossers, as is required by our [Chinese-Korean] agreement, and instead they have adopted measures to settle these people [in Korea]. For example, the [North] Korean side has established reception stations along the border crossing routes; they have also been returning unmarried Han [Chinese men] who crossed the border, but entire households that crossed over have been settled on agricultural cooperatives, and each laborer has received forty yuan as a settling-in allowance as well as a fixed amount of grain.

In addition to actively carrying out [ideological] education among ethnic Korean residents [in China], [improving] living arrangements [for ethnic Koreans], and strengthening border [control], we ask that Ambassador Qiao [Xiaoguang] please meet with the [North] Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs and explain to him that if effective measures are not taken to stem the large numbers of ethnic Koreans crossing the border, there will not only be [negative] consequences for social order [in Northeast China], but adverse consequences will also appear in [other] ethnic minority regions [throughout China]. [Qiao] should request assistance from [North] Korea and ask the [North] Koreans to please mobilize as many border crossers as possible to return [to China]. As for people that cross the border in the future, [request] their timely return [to China]. We will make arrangements for the border-crossers who return, help

them return home, and resolve difficulties in their work and life. Please report back on the results of the discussion.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Public Security
May 1961

DOCUMENT NO. 4

Investigative Report from the 4th Bureau of the Ministry of Public Security on the Outflow of Border Residents, 9 May 1961

[Source: PRC MFA 118-01026-04. P57-65. Obtained for NKIDP by Shen Zhihua and translated for NKIDP by Jeffrey Wang.]

(61) Ministry of Public Security, Border Police, Serial 38

[To] the People's Armed Police Divisions of the Public Security Departments in Heilongjiang, Jilin, Liaoning, Fujian, Guangdong, Guangxi, and Yunnan Provinces and Autonomous Regions:

Beginning this year, the masses [living near] the border in many regions have begun to flee [China]; in some regions, the problem is particularly notable. Externally, this problem is having a negative effect, and we must necessarily pay close attention [to this issue]. The situation of border residents fleeing is, [however], relatively complex, and [we] must investigate and study [the issue], analyze the causes, vigorously make living arrangements, and help to resolve some practical difficulties [encountered by these residents] under the united leadership of the local Party committees and in coordination with all of the relevant departments. [We must] also patiently but repeatedly carry out political and ideological education and employ [the most] effective measures for each specific case. We cannot resolve the problem with simple and blunt methods, just as we cannot treat the average fleeing resident as the enemy. The Public Security Office in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture of Jilin Province conducted a timely and thorough investigative study on the issue of border residents fleeing [China], figuring out the situation, identifying the causes, and, from a practical [standpoint], proposing solutions, implementing effective measures, and producing excellent results. We are now forwarding this investigative report, and hope that you will seriously organize study [sessions] for border defense cadres and police, [act] in close coordination with the actual situation of the region, [complete] earnest investigative studies, assist Party committees and all relevant departments, and implement concrete measures to put an end to the mass exodus.

4th Bureau of the Ministry of Public Security
19 April 1961

Attachment: The original report

Forward to: 3rd Bureau of the Ministry of Public Security and the Second Asia Department and the Department of Consular Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Print 13 copies

Document typed by Liu [and] proofread by Li

Investigative Report on the Outflow of Border Residents

Last November [1960] a low food [provisions] standard was implemented, and since that time the [Yanbian Korean Autonomous] Prefecture has witnessed a clear increase in the outflow of border residents. In order to figure out the causes of this outflow as well as what measures [we should] implement [to stop the outflow], we conducted a model investigation in the Lishu Administrative Area, Dehua Commune, Helong County.

The Lishu Administrative Area has five hamlets, six production brigades, 192 households, and 936 people. Since the implementation of the low food [provisions] standards last November and the replacement of fruits and vegetables, there has been a monthly increase in the outflow of border residents. Last November [1960], there were twelve households which requested a complete household move to [North] Korea, consisting of 6.2 percent of all the households in that area; there were eight individuals applying to travel to [North] Korea, consisting of 0.08 percent of the entire area's population. Last December [1960], there were 29 households which requested a complete household move to [North] Korea, consisting of 15.1 percent of all the households in the area; this was a 140 percent increase from November. There were 20 individuals applying to travel to [North] Korea, which was a 150 percent increase from November. In January [1961], there were 63 households which requested a complete household move to [North] Korea, consisting of 33 percent of all the households in the area—double the amount of requests compared to last December. [This January] there were also 58 individuals applying to travel to [North] Korea, or 6.1 percent of the population, which is almost double the amount from last December. The reasons for the monthly increase in the outflow of border residents are as follows:

- (1) After the implementation of the low food [provisions] standards, a small number of border residents did not have an adequate understanding of the temporary difficulties facing [China]. There was resentment toward the low [food provisions] standard, and, consequently, a small number of backwards masses, seeking to escape hardship, utilized their family connections in [North] Korea and found all types of excuses and did everything possible to move to [North] Korea. There are 27 households that belong to this category, and they make up 42.8 percent of the households requesting to emigrate. Thirty-one individuals that applied to travel to [North] Korea [also belong to this category] and make up 53.4 percent of the total number of people applying to travel to [North] Korea. This is the basic reason for the outflow of border residents.
- (2) In the border region, there are small numbers of bad elements and backwards masses that made up and spread rumors about the current difficulties [facing China]. For example, [they said] “[North] Korea is having its best harvest in 80 years,” “life is good and food is plentiful in [North] Korea, and you can work as long as you settle there,” “Cheongjin [Chongjin] has prepared housing for Chinese guests,” and “this spring, construction personnel will head to [North] Korea.” After being influenced by these types of rumors, the ideology of a small number of backwards masses began to waver and, in tandem, some began to demand to move to [North] Korea, others signed up to go to [North] Korea as construction workers, and some sought to go to [North] Korea for travel. There are 38 households falling into this category, making up 52.3 percent of the households moving

to [North] Korea. There are also 12 individuals who applied to travel to [North] Korea, [also belonging to this group,] and they make up 20.6 percent of the people applying to travel to [North] Korea. This is also an important reason for the outflow of border residents.

- (3) Then there are those who have proper reasons for requesting to move to or travel in [North] Korea, such as the elderly and the physically weak who are going to [North] Korea to rely on their children; those trying to find their husbands in [North] Korea; those with sick parents in [North] Korea; and those who are requesting to travel to [North] Korea to visit the sick. Three households belong in this category, making up 4.76 percent of all households moving to [North] Korea. There are also 15 individuals [in this category] applying to travel to [North] Korea, and they make up 25.8 percent of the people applying to travel to [North] Korea.

Besides these [three] basic reasons described above, our investigation also [indicates] that there has not been sufficient political and ideological education among border residents, and [as a result,] the masses do not adequately understand the current positive trends and temporary difficulties. The depth of our propaganda about Party policies for the masses is not sufficient enough, while living arrangements for the masses are also inadequate. After the implementation of the low food [provisions] standard, several regions did not have an increase in food substitutes (with a [standard] of 210 catties¹ at the very least, border regions have a higher food [provisions] standard than interior regions). The masses, who did not understand their living situations, panicked. [Additionally,] the masses have complained about cadres because a small number of cadres at the grassroots level have not thoroughly changed the “five winds.”² This is also a reason for the outflow of border residents.

According to the reasons described above, we have specifically carried out the following work [measures] under the united leadership of the Party committees:

- (1) Beginning with making living arrangements for the people, [we] secured food substitutes and readied dining halls. We specifically resolved people’s misunderstandings towards living arrangements and [alleviated] their feelings of panic. We allowed the masses to eat until they were full and to eat well. In order to manage living arrangements among the people, we dispatched Kim Hong-yeol [Kim Hong Yol] to work at the dining halls; he personally cooked for the masses and cleaned out the politically unreliable elements and the family members of the five [unreliable] types.³ He changed the unreasonable system in the dining halls and implemented set amounts of food [per person]. He studied and worked on measures to improve techniques for food products, using [for example] substitute food products to make various kinds of pastries of improved quality. This changed the idea that food substitutes are poor tasting and the idea that people are unwilling to eat them. After the ideological issues were resolved among the masses, [we]

¹ Traditional Chinese unit of mass used across East and Southeast Asia.

² The “five winds” refer to the [abuse of] common property, exaggeration, commandism, cadre privilege and [exercising] blind command.

³ This refers to the five socio-economic groups which are designated as “black” by the Chinese Communist Party, such as landlords.

actively engaged in the production of substitute food products. The number of households involved in producing substitute food products increased from 18 households to 193 households. They produced 78,000 catties of grain powder food materials and 48,000 catties of starch materials as reserve. At the same time [we] organized people to refine food, and they refined 4,200 kilograms. Combining starch, food provisions, and 210 catties of grain rations, [we can] provide each person with an average of 360 catties of food. After the issue of food was resolved, the mood of the people quickly stabilized. Afterwards, we continued to work on heating for cooperative members and fuel for the canteens. We organized part of the labor force to gather wood in the mountains, and in this way, we also resolved the fuel issue. After Hwang Chang-ryul [Hwang Chang Ryul], who was once eager to move to [North] Korea, saw our [new] living arrangements, he decided that he did not want to leave [China] anymore. He even excitedly participated in production; he himself produced 315 catties of substitute food products, refined 100 catties of food, and gathered 100 carts of fertilizers. He even produced a sled for the production team. In February, he was named the top producer of the team.

- (2) With operating mess halls and properly making living arrangements for the masses as the basis [of our work], [we] actively cooperated with Party committees, united with the Party Central Committee, thoroughly publicized Party policies, carried out patriotic ideological education among border residents, closely combined political and ideological education with caring for people's lives, caused the majority of border residents to understand the present situation and difficulties, elevated [the people's] consciousness, established ways to resolve the famine, and had the confidence to conquer difficulties. In order to systematically carry out [ideological] education, [we approached ideological education] from within the Party first, then [moved] outside of the Party afterwards; [we] first [dealt with] cadres, then the common [people]. First, [we] won over, educated, and united Party members and [Party] activists. Of the 66 Party members and political and security cadres in this administrative area, about 50 percent were opposed to the low [food provisions] standard—there were even a small number of Party members and grassroots cadres who requested to move or travel to [North] Korea. We united the Party, though, through rectification, overhauling the communes and by implementing the twelve instructions. In giving priority to patriotic education, [we carried out] rectification via an investigation of [people's] positions, ideology, and work, and organized self-criticism sessions and meetings to inspect one's forgotten origins. After undergoing [ideological] education, all of the grassroots cadres, Party members, and [Party] activists improved their consciousness and enhanced their confidence [in being able to] conquer difficulties. Afterwards, they relied on their practical actions to influence and educate the masses and strove for the unity of the majority. Additionally, [we] adhered to the principle of patience and persuasion in education. Based on the difference in targets, causes, and attitudes towards moving to [North] Korea, during our [ideological] education work [we] adopted different methods; for example, [we had] individual education, individual visits, various types of forums, and mass meetings. With different ideologies in mind, [we] carried out different education. In carrying out education, especially for those who once wanted to move to [North] Korea but now do not want to go and actively participate in production, [we] raised [ideological] consciousness and guided the masses to struggle against

difficulties.

- (3) [We] rebutted rumors, grasped the representative [examples], conducted debates, mobilized the masses, and differentiated between right and wrong. For all the rumors in the border region, [we] mobilized the masses, educated them not to listen to the rumors of a few bad elements, [educated them] not to fall for the enemy's tricks, and enabled them to draw a line [between truth and rumor]. After we raised the [ideological] consciousness of the people, [we] organized the masses to refute the rumors and to conduct debates against specific individual rumors created by bad elements. For the small numbers of backwards masses spreading the rumors, [we] conducted [ideological] education, clarified what is wrong and what is right, united the masses, isolated the bad elements, and narrowed the range of the enemy's activities. [We] deployed Party activists to secretly watch over various kinds of politically dangerous elements and strengthened supervision and political and ideological education—[we] understood and controlled their thoughts, knowing their thoughts by heart and always staying one step ahead.
- (4) For border residents who had proper reasons to visit relatives in or travel to [North] Korea, [we] handled the border clearance procedures and allowed them to visit relatives and travel, [but] educated them that they needed to return at a set-time. [We] strictly differentiated between those traveling to [North] Korea with proper reason and those who improperly left [China].
- (5) While resolving the blind outflow among border residents, [we] educated and improved the [ideological] consciousness of the masses, guarded against enemy incitement and destruction, and paid attention to the enemy. After completing the work described above, the outflow of residents from this administrative area drastically improved—[the work] was quite effective. There is an obvious decrease of people requesting to move or travel to [North] Korea; in February, only six households requested to move to [North] Korea, a 90.5 percent decrease from January; there were only 6 individuals who requested to travel to [North] Korea, which is a decrease of 89.7 percent from January. [We] triggered a high tide of land preparation and production among the people; by February, the area has fixed 57 ploughs, 22 ox carts, 71 sledges, and 5,340 carts used to transport fertilizers. The situation in the border region has greatly stabilized and production has been pushed forward.

Public Security Office
Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture
12 March 1961

DOCUMENT NO. 5

Report from the Ministry of Public Security on Illegal Border Crossings of Ethnic Koreans from Liaoning, 10 May 1961

[Source: PRC MFA 118-01026-03. P69-70. Obtained for NKIDP by Shen Zhihua and translated for NKIDP by Jeffrey Wang.]

[To] Premier [Zhou Enlai] and Comrades [Deng] Xiaoping and Peng Zhen:

On the night of 9 May [1961], the Public Security Department of Liaoning Province reported by telegram that since [the beginning of] this year, there has been an increase of ethnic Korean residents crossing the border through Gulouzi, Hushan, the suburbs of Jiulian City, Langtao, and Anning in Andong [Dandong] to [North] Korea. The illegal crossings have developed from individuals and single households crossing secretly at night to groups attempting to forcibly cross the border during the day. According to incomplete statistics, between January and April we have found 240 households and 1,471 people attempting to cross the border; of these, 715 people made it across the border to [North] Korea, but the rest were stopped. This trend has continued into May, and, as of 8 May, 350 people have been stopped [crossing the border]. On the night of 8 May and on the morning of 9 May, we discovered two groups of fifty people at Jiulian City, thirty of them armed with wooden clubs and iron cudgels. Most of the people crossing the border are peasants; there are, however, also small numbers of the five social elements and smugglers. These people are from Andong, Anshan, Fushun, Benxi, and Luda [Lüshun-Dalian]. It has been said that there are also people from Jilin, Heilongjiang, Beijing and Tianjin. Recently, we have also found people from Anshan, Shenyang, and the surrounding areas who are actively preparing to go to [North] Korea. There are also 1,843 ethnic Korean households in Andong which are preparing to move to [North] Korea, and, of these, 153 households have already sold all of their property and have attempted to illegally cross the border.

The Public Security Department in Liaoning Province believes that the present increase in border crossings among ethnic Koreans is due to the following:

- (1) An inadequate understanding of the temporary difficulties [in China], improper living arrangements, and the habit among ethnic Koreans to move around.
- (2) [Ideological] education for ethnic Korean residents has not been kept up.
- (3) The [North] Korean government has not returned border crossers as stipulated by the Sino-Korean Border Defense Agreement. [Furthermore,] individuals who have already crossed the border are influencing those who have not by writing letters. The [North] Korean government has even established reception centers along border crossing routes; while single Han [Chinese] men have been returned in a timely manner, whole families that crossed the border were settled on agricultural communes. Every laborer was given 40 yuan as a settling-in allowance and a fixed amount of grain. These measures have had a great effect upon the Korean minority in China.
- (4) Bad elements have been instigating [border crossings].

The Liaoning Public Security Office proposed five measures [to resolve] this issue:

- (1) Under unified leadership at all Party committees, begin making living arrangements, strengthen [ideological] education, and calm the morale [of ethnic

Koreans].

(2) Strengthen interception work [at the border].

(3) Monitor the activities of bad elements through investigations and studies; first resolve internal contradictions among the people, and then resolve the contradictions between us and the enemy.

(4) For those that were intercepted while crossing the border, make proper living arrangements, offer financial assistance to return home, and fix any problems they have in production or their livelihood.

(5) In accordance with the stipulations of the Sino-Korean Border Defense Agreement, open negotiations with the [North] Korean side to immediately settle the issue of returning residents who have crossed the border. According to reports of the Liaoning Public Security Department, border defense representatives from Andong traveled to Shineuiju [Sinuiju] twice in early March and late April to discuss the return of border crossers with the [North] Korean side. The [North] Korean side's response was that "these people are currently receiving [ideological] education, but the Chinese side's opinion will be reported to [North Korean] superiors."

We have already [instructed] the Liaoning Provincial Public Security Department to actively work on stabilizing people's lives and strengthening [ideological] education work under the instruction of the Party Committee. [We are] still awaiting instructions on negotiations with the [North] Koreans. We are presently studying the matter with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The above is a briefing.

Ministry of Public Security Party Committee
10 May 1961

DOCUMENT NO. 6

Instructions from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Public Security on the Issue of Ethnic Koreans Crossing the Border to Korea, 23 March 1962

[Source: PRC MFA 118-01025-02. P1-3. Obtained for NKIDP by Shen Zhihua and translated for NKIDP by Jeffrey Wang.]

Vice Ministers Zhang [Hanfu] and Huang [Hua], after reading and verifying, send to the Foreign Office for approval (Zhang and Huang have read the document)

Han Nianlong
23 March [1962]

On March 5, [North] Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs Pak Seong-cheol [Pak Song Chol] met with [Chinese] Ambassador Hao Deqing and discussed the issue of ethnic Koreans crossing the border into [North Korea]. He [Pak] said those who crossed the border into [North] Korea are

unwilling to return [to China], and therefore the [North] Korean side could only work on settling [the immigrants]. However, most of them cannot settle down and work because they still have family [in China] who could not come to [North] Korea or because they still have property left in China. He [Pak] said there are more and more people crossing the border, and deaths have occurred [in the process]. [This trend] is having a negative political influence and is also affecting social order in [North] Korea. Lastly, Pak proposed that the two governments conduct negotiations in order for Koreans to come and go [between China and Korea] legally. He even accused our country of not properly implementing the relevant bilateral agreement concerning the movement of people [between China and Korea], stating that [North] Korea had issued many “authorization letters” but that [China] approves very few people to actually go to [North] Korea.

Before this, the Chief of the [North] Korean Foreign Affairs Consular Bureau twice requested that the Chinese Embassy assist in reuniting some [North] Korean leaders and cadres with 35 family members in China (Chinese nationals) wanting to go to Korea. Through our arrangements, most of them have traveled to [North] Korea, but some of them have not yet left. The [North] Korean side has expressed some dissatisfaction with our sluggish handling of [this issue].

Regarding this issue, [Chinese] Comrade Ma Lie orally informed the Premier [Zhou Enlai] of the instruction that if our side has made mistakes, then we should admit to our mistakes and apologize to the [North] Korean side.

According to our initial understanding, the situation of ethnic Koreans crossing the border to [North] Korea is particularly severe in Jilin Province. According to the report of the Jilin Provincial Public Security Department, last year our border defense guards discovered 28,028 people crossing the border. Of these, 7,939 people were convinced to return [to China]; there were also 7,528 people who returned [to China] on their own initiative after they went to [North] Korea. The [North] Korean side also sent back 2,361 people, but presently there are still 7,034 people in [North] Korea. In January of this year, 2,323 people crossed the border, which is basically the same as last year. Within one year, we found 243 corpses in the Yalu River and the Tumen River; of these, 82 corpses are Chinese nationals, 11 corpses are [North] Korean nationals, and 150 corpses are still unidentified. In Liaoning Province, a total of 8,237 people crossed the border to [North] Korea from January 1961 to March of this year [1962]. Of these, 1,266 people returned while the [North] Korean side sent back 213 people. We found nine people who drowned while trying to cross the border.

Regarding the issue of “authorization letters,” according to statistics from the Yanbian [Korean] Autonomous Prefecture, last year they received 2,667 “authorization letters” from [North] Korea. Out of this number, there have been about 1,778 applications to travel to [North] Korea; 1,053 applications have already been approved, while 735 applications were not approved.

According to our understanding, the border crossing phenomenon has not eased mainly because we lack a process to resolve the temporary difficulties [facing China]. The density of urban populations is also a factor at play [in the problem]. In October 1961, the Northeast Bureau of the CCP received a forwarded report from local work units entitled “the Jilin Provincial Committee Report on Handling the Outflow of Ethnic Koreans.” There have been problems and shortcomings, however, in implementing the measures offered in the report [to resolve this problem]. For example, we originally stipulated that each ethnic Korean should receive 360 catties of grain each year, but some production brigades can only provide 200 catties. Additionally, local authorities tend to be too strict, overly restrictive, and sluggish when

processing the applications of ethnic Koreans wanting to go to [North] Korea. The main reason behind the border crossings of ethnic Koreans, then, does not have much to do with the implementation of the [Sino-Korean] bilateral agreement on “authorization letters.”

As we recently held a meeting to specifically study [this issue], we believe that resolving the issue of [illegal] border crossing requires us to complete our internal work properly, make proper living arrangements for ethnic Koreans and improve production. In order to resolve these issues, we recommend sending a three man team from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Public Security, and the State Ethnic Affairs Commission to the Northeast. Apart from resolving some specific issues that the [North] Korean side has raised, they will work with the provincial committees to further understand the situation and the existing issues. [The group] will then write a report to the Central Committee and [recommend] measures for improvement. Regarding the issues raised by the [North] Korean side, we will ask [Chinese] Ambassador Hao [Deqing] to meet with the [North] Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs, and with a cooperative and truthful attitude, explain to the [North] Korean side the situation, the causes, and the measures we have adopted toward the [illegal] border crossings. We will thank the [North] Korean side for their past assistance and will express our regrets for the difficulties which our ethnic Koreans have caused as well as the deaths that have occurred during border crossings. We will apologize [to the North Korean side] for having been too strict in implementing [our agreements], for poorly handling [issues], and for other shortcomings in our business [conduct]. At the same time, we should also appropriately explain our present difficulties and ask that the [North] Korean side understands the difficulty in halting the border crossing phenomenon. Using the above [information], write telegrams to the [Chinese] Embassy in [North] Korea and, under the name of the State Council, to Liaoning, Jilin and Heilongjiang Provinces. Approve both [telegrams] together.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Public Security
March 1962

DOCUMENT NO. 7

Telegram from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Public Security on the Issue of Ethnic Koreans Crossing the Border to Korea, 24 March 1962

[Source: PRC MFA 118-01025-02. P4-6. Obtained for NKIDP by Shen Zhihua and translated for NKIDP by Jeffrey Wang.]

North Korea
Additional Rush

[To the] [Chinese] Embassy in [North] Korea:

[We] received your telegram dated 6 March [1962].

According to [our] initial understanding, the situation of ethnic Koreans crossing the border to [North] Korea is quite severe in Jilin Province, and according to incomplete statistics, there

were 28,028 people who crossed the border during the past year from Jilin Province alone. We also found 243 corpses in the Yalu and Tumen Rivers.

The border crossing phenomenon has not eased mainly because we still need a process to overcome the short term difficulties [in China]; the density of urban populations is also an influential [factor]. Additionally, at the local level, there are practical difficulties in [making] living arrangements for ethnic Koreans, and there are weaknesses in [our] work—[we have been] too stringent in examining and approving the applications from ethnic Koreans wanting to go to [North] Korea, and [we have been] too slow to process [these applications]. The fundamental way to resolve this problem is to complete our work well, make proper living arrangements for ethnic Koreans, and improve production. The implementation of the “authorization letters” protocol is not the main issue, and from today onwards we need to be significantly more lenient [with this protocol]. The Central Committee has already decided to dispatch personnel to understand the situation at the local level, and they will study further measures jointly with local authorities.

Please have Ambassador Hao [Deqing] meet with the Minister of Foreign Affairs Pak Seong-cheol [Pak Song Chol] and clarify the issue of Chinese-Koreans crossing the border along the following lines:

(1) Since last year, huge numbers of ethnic Koreans have crossed the border into [North] Korea. Having caused many difficulties and troubles for the [North] Korean side, [North] Korea has adopted measures to return a portion of the people [back to China]. At the same time, [the North Korean side] has arranged work for many of these people. [These measures] are helpful to us, and we have expressed our thanks on this matter.

(2) As many ethnic Koreans have crossed the border to [North] Korea, a number of deaths have also occurred [in the process]. The [national] government, as well as the affected localities, attaches great significance to this matter; we have adopted many measures and are trying to make proper living arrangements for ethnic Koreans and improve production. However, there are many causes behind the border crossings, and apart from historical habits, the most direct cause is the temporary difficulties currently facing China. The resolution of this problem will therefore still require a process. We ask that the [North] Koreans offer assistance and understanding on this point.

(3) There were delays and other shortcomings with localities approving [legal] border crossings; [the cases of] individuals with “authorization letters” or others who applied to visit relatives in [North] Korea—especially the relatives of [North] Korean cadre going to [North] Korea for reunions—were not handled in a timely fashion. We apologize for this. We have already instructed local authorities to correct these shortcomings, and we have told local authorities to process those individuals possessing [North] Korean “authorization letters” as soon as possible and allow them to travel to [North] Korea, even with their property.

(4) Regarding two specific issues, we have the following views:

a. For those individuals who have already crossed the border into [North] Korea, if they are willing to reside in [North] Korea and the [North] Korean side is also willing to settle them, then those people can stay in [North] Korea. If the [North] Korean side has problems settling them, then [North] Korea can be asked to assist in mobilizing them to return [to China].

b. For those that have already settled and reside in [North] Korea, if they have family members in China and [the family members] are willing to go to [North] Korea, in principle we agree [for the family to go to North Korea]. They can also handle any property which they have left behind in China. However, because this will affect local work, production, and a number of other issues, it is difficult to resolve both these issues [family members and property] at once. These issues can only be processed gradually, and we ask that the [North] Korean side understands [the amount of time and work that is needed on this issue].

(5) Foreign Minister Pak's suggestion to conduct government negotiations in order to allow citizens from both China and Korea [to cross the border] legally is excellent. However, considering that Chinese and Korean citizens already travel and back forth using the "authorization letters" protocol, and that there are huge numbers of border crossers—an irregularity which is caused by temporary difficulties in China as well as various shortcomings in our work—we can continue to implement the "authorization letters" protocol and need not renegotiate this specific issue at the present time. If the [North] Korean side still has other views, then we will not only welcome them; we will also consider and study them.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Public Security
24 March 1962

DOCUMENT NO. 8

Instructions from the CCP Central Committee on Handling the Issue of Ethnic Koreans in the Northeast Going to Korea, 8 August 1963

[Source: PRC MFA 118-01784-01. P8-9. Obtained for NKIDP by Shen Zhihua and translated for NKIDP by Jeffrey Wang.]

[To] the Northeast Bureau, Jilin, Heilongjiang, and Liaoning Provincial Committees, the North China Bureau and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Party Committee:

- (1) As the international revisionists line up with the imperialists and reactionaries to oppose China and the world's people, the Korean [Workers'] Party is standing firmly with us. We are loyal comrades in arms, and the relations between our two countries are excellent—it is [a relationship] of mutual assistance. Therefore, when we handle issues related to [North] Korea, we should take them seriously. We must handle these issues well and we cannot make mistakes. The counties and districts and foreign affairs, public security, border defense and customs work units where ethnic Koreans and Korean immigrants

live should strengthen education about proletarian internationalism and Sino-Korean friendship.

- (2) If ethnic Koreans have social relations with [North] Korea and they have applied to participate in the development of [North] Korea, then in general we should allow them to move and reside in [North] Korea. We will not make additional restrictions. As for the [North] Korean nationals who requested to return to [North] Korea, we will approve each of these requests.
- (3) Regarding the [North] Korean request for travel authorizations for family members who are related to officers of the Korean People's Army and who are also Chinese nationals or residents in China: we should actively implement the instructions from the State Council's Foreign Affairs Telegram 182. Quickly go through the procedures so that they [the family members] can take their trip as soon as possible.

Please report back immediately on the current situation and [any] existing issues.

Central Committee
8 August 1963

DOCUMENT NO. 9

Report from Jilin Province on the Sino-Korean Border Region Usage of Permits [for Border Crossings], 10 September 1963

[Source: PRC MFA 118-01342-04. P150-156. Obtained for NKIDP by Shen Zhihua and translated for NKIDP by Jeffrey Wang.]

Third Office, Jilin Provincial Public Security Department
Situation Report on the Use of Border Crossing Permits for Border Residents in the Border Regions of Jilin Province and [North] Korea

(63) Provincial Public Document 74

[To] the 3rd Bureau of Central Committee Ministry of Public Security and the Department of Consular Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

As ordered by Central Committee Ministry of Public Security (63) Document 425 and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (63) Consular Document 2/188, we will now report on the use of border crossing permits for border residents in the border regions of Jilin Province and [North] Korea:

- (1) The border regions of Jilin Province and [North] Korea will use only one type of permit: the "Sino-Korean Border Resident Border Crossing Permit" (sample attached).
- (2) Beginning on 8 June 1955, both China and [North] Korea started to use the Sino-Korean Border Resident Border Crossing Permit. Use of the permit is limited to within the border

region on both sides. Jilin Province has nine cities and counties that are within the border region, including Yanji [City], Hunjiang City, Yanji [County], Helong, Hunchun, Wangqing, Antu, Zhangbai, and Ji'an. Ordinary [North] Korean nationals who are legally residing within the border region are eligible to obtain this permit. State employees above the level of commune who also live within the border region may use this permit. Those who are crossing the border for non-work related purposes may also use this credential.

- (3) The Sino-Korean Agreement on the Usage of Border Crossing Permits was approved on 8 June 1955 by representatives of the Ministry of Public Security of the People's Republic of China and by representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.
- (4) Regarding the problem of issuing the permit and approving the procedure: for the convenience of border residents, to prevent hostile intelligence gathering and other criminal activities, and to maintain social order near the border, [we have implemented the following requirements]. We have stipulated that [Chinese] applications for crossing the border will require introduction letters from [North] Korean relatives and [Chinese] communes. [North] Korean nationals [applying to cross the border] will be required to provide their national credentials and letters of introduction from their supervising department. Application and distribution of the permits will be through local public security or border work stations. For communes without public security or border work stations, permits will be issued by special personnel. State employees above the level of commune are required to obtain a letter of introduction from their work unit's human resources or protection department; then they are required to complete an application for state employees who desire to cross the border for private reasons. The credential will be released [to state employees] after review and approval by local county or city police and by the deputy representative of the border defense [guards].

There are not many problems with the usage of permits, and border defense departments have not provided differing views. If new issues emerge, they will be reported.

Third Office
Jilin Provincial Public Security Department (chop)
10 September 1963

DOCUMENT NO. 10
Protocol between the PRC Ministry of Public Security and the DPRK Social Safety
Ministry for Mutual Cooperation in Safeguarding National Security and Social Order in
Border Areas, 9 June 1964

[Source: PRC MFA 106-01434-04. P59-72. Obtained for NKIDP by Shen Zhihua and translated for NKIDP by Jeffrey Wang.]

Representatives from the Ministry of Public Security of the People's Republic of China and the Social Safety Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, meeting from 11

May through 9 June 1964 to [discuss] mutual cooperation in safeguarding national security and social order in the Chinese-Korean border areas, have reached the following agreement:

Article One:

Both sides will cooperate in defending [each] country, community properties, civilian lives and civilian properties in the border areas between China and Korea.

- (1) Both sides will actively cooperate to prevent fires, typhoons, floods, labor incidents and other incidents. Civilians who are forced to enter the other side's territory as a result of a disaster should be assisted.
- (2) When one party finds missing vessels, livestock, poultry or other physical property, the [property] should be kept safe and the other side should be notified. When one side finds lost ships, livestock, domestic birds or other material properties belonging to the other side, then [these material properties] should be placed under the appropriate safekeeping. Once notified, the other side should retrieve these properties as soon as possible.
- (3) When infectious diseases or pests break out on one side of the border and risk spreading to the other side, the other party should be notified immediately. When necessary, the border crossings can be temporarily closed through mutual agreement.
- (4) When one side plans to conduct work that may endanger the other side's country, society, civilians or properties, then proper safety precautions should be negotiated in advance.
- (5) When one side discovers corpses in the border region, the nationality and cause of death should be investigated. If the victim was a resident of the other side, then he or she should be returned. If the discovered corpse is related to a criminal case in both countries or if the nationality of the corpse is unknown, then joint-inspection can be conducted. If the nationality or residency of the corpse cannot be established, then the corpse should be handled by the country it is discovered in.

Article Two:

The two sides will cooperate in installing guards in the border areas.

- (1) Both sides will consider the Yalu River and the Tumen River boundaries as joint security areas.
 - For the convenience of guard duty, each side will be responsible for the territory closer to their border in the joint security area.
- (2) Installing guards along the border will continue in accordance with current management principles. Each side will be responsible for their own parts, and work will be conducted according to the actual situation.
- (3) In performing the abovementioned security missions, [both sides should] inform one another of situations when necessary.

Article Three:

The two sides will cooperate in maintaining order and protecting the border crossings.

- (1) The locations of border crossings shall be determined through mutual agreement, and border passage inspection bodies shall be established to organize and enforce the maintenance of order at border crossings.
- (2) Both sides should allow border personnel and residents with border permits, passports, public affairs border permits and other negotiated credentials to cross the border at the appointed border crossings.
- (3) When a border resident requests to visit relatives on the other side of the border, the responsible public security authorities at the municipal or county level should issue a border resident transit pass valid for one-month. The Chief Representatives and Deputy Chief Representatives for Border Area Public Security and Safety, as well as public servants, should be given an official permit valid for up to one-year.
- (4) The six times for border crossings are as follows:
 - (a.) From April to September: 8:00 a.m.–5:00 p.m. (Beijing time), 9:00 a.m.–6:00 p.m. (Pyongyang time). From October to March: 9:00 a.m.–4:00 p.m. (Beijing time), 10:00 a.m.–5:00 p.m. (Pyongyang time)
 - (b.) Outside of these set times, all personnel and transports are prohibited from crossing the border (excluding personnel and transports receiving authorization based on other agreements).
 - [In the event of] an important situation when personnel must cross the border outside of the specified times, transit will be permitted with the consent of the other side's [border] inspection bodies.
- (5) The use of one side's roads near the border area by border guards, civil servants and residents (including transportation) of the other side must be agreed upon by the Chief Representative for Public Security and Safety.
 - During emergencies, the [situation] can also be negotiated and resolved by local border area representatives for public security and public safety. The matter can be reported to each side's Chief Representative afterwards.

Article Four:

The two sides will cooperate to prevent illegal border crossings.

- (1) Those who do not hold legal documents or have used a crossing point not specified in the documents will be treated as illegal border crossers.
 - However, those who were forced to cross the border as a result of a disaster will not be treated as illegal border crossers.
- (2) Illegal border crossers will be returned to the other side with information on their identity and specific situation. However, if [illegal border crossers] commit crimes after crossing the border, then they can be legally handled according to the laws of the country where the crime was committed. The other side should be notified of such situations.

Article Five:

The two sides will actively cooperate in the struggle against criminals.

- (1) When counterrevolutionaries (including spies, special agents, saboteurs and conspirators)

and basic criminals escape across the border, the other side should be notified. The side receiving notification should take necessary measures to provide assistance.

- Elements that cross the border after committing crimes should be returned.
 - For criminals that have escaped to the other side, requests can be made for their investigation, arrest, and related materials. If, upon capture, it is discovered that the criminal has committed even more severe crimes within the country of capture, then, following mutual agreement, the criminal can be kept for handling by the country of capture.
- (2) Both sides should exchange intelligence materials related to each other's security work.
 - One side can request that the other side conduct an investigation when it is necessary for the handling of criminal cases. The side receiving the request should conduct an investigation and reply as soon as possible.
 - (3) For cases involving both countries, both countries should be responsible for their own investigations, [but] contact should be strengthened, intelligence should be exchanged, and cooperation should be active.
 - (4) Materials should be exchanged when hostile class enemies and dangerous criminals cross the border.
 - (5) When the identities (political background, family, relatives, surrounding environments, ideological tendencies, etc.) of individuals crossing the border remain unclear, then requests can be sent for the other side to conduct an investigation. The side receiving the request should conduct an investigation and respond.
 - (6) The other side should be notified of border crossings by third country nationals. Information to be sent should include the identity and movements of third country nationals.
 - (7) While cooperating in the struggle against criminals, issues involving provinces on both sides of the border and other related problems should be handled by the Representatives for Public Security and Safety from both countries. Other issues can be resolved between China's Ministry of Public Security and [North] Korea's Social Safety Ministry.

Article Six:

The two sides define the Sino-Korean border region as the municipalities and counties near the border. The other side shall be promptly notified if there are any changes to administrative divisions near the border region.

Article Seven:

Both sides should have one Chief Representative and Deputy Chief Representative for Border Area Public Security and Safety, [positions] which can be the responsibility of the provincial [Chinese] public security and [North Korean] social safety organs located near the border. There should be an appropriate number of Representatives for Border Area Public Security and Safety, [positions] which can be the responsibility of municipal and county-level [Chinese] public security and [North Korean] social safety departments.

The Chief Representatives and Deputy Chief Representatives for Public Security and Safety will be appointed and removed by the Chinese Ministry for Public Security and the [North] Korean Social Safety Ministry.

Article Eight:

The tasks of the Border Area Public Security and Safety Representatives are as follows:

- (1) The Chief Representatives for Border Area Public Security and Safety are responsible for the discussion and formulation of specific methods and steps for the execution of the agreed matters between the Chinese Ministry of Public Security and the [North] Korean Social Safety Ministry, as well as for organizing the implementation [of agreements].
- (2) The Deputy Chief Representatives for Border Area Public Security and Safety are responsible for assisting the Chief Representatives with their tasks. If the Chief Representatives cannot carry out their mission, then the Deputy Chief Representatives will take charge.
- (3) Representatives for Border Area Public Security and Safety will directly organize the implementation of agreed matters between the Chinese Ministry of Public Security and the [North] Korean Social Safety Ministry and between the Chief Representatives for Border Area Public Security and Safety.

Article Nine:

Mutual contact and consultation procedures between the Chinese Ministry of Public Security and the [North] Korean Social Safety Ministry and the Representatives for Border Area Public Safety and Security are as follows:

- (1) The Chinese Ministry of Public Security, the [North] Korean Social Safety Ministry and the Representatives for Border Area Public Safety and Security are to use telephones, letters and dispatched personnel to directly contact [one another]. When necessary, diplomatic channels can also be used for notification of the appointment and removal of Chief Representatives and Deputy Chief Representatives and when transferring political criminals.
- (2) Convenient locations will be selected through mutual agreement for the exchange of criminals, illegal border crossers, information, materials and properties.
- (3) When a meeting is required between the two sides, then the advanced consent of the other side should be obtained regarding time, location and subject:
 - The Chinese Ministry of Public Security Representative and the [North] Korean Social Safety Ministry Representative [require] two-months' advance notice;
 - The Chief Representatives for Border Area Public Security and Safety [require] one-month advance notice;
 - Representatives for Border Area Public Security and Safety [require] 15 days' advance notice and 3 days' advance notice for a meeting.
 - During an emergency, conferences and meetings can be held at any time following mutual agreement.
 - The location of conferences will rotate between the two sides; the conference chairman will be a representative of whichever side is hosting the conference.
 - After obtaining the approval of senior authorities from both sides, conference resolutions will become effective following mutual notification.

- (4) Concerning the entry of Representatives for Border Area Public Security and Safety into the other side's territory, the Chief Representatives and Deputy Chief Representatives for Border Area Public Security and Safety must be in possession of a permit from the Chinese Minister for Public Security [or] the [North] Korean Minister for Social Safety; Representatives for Border Area Public Security and Safety must be in possession of a permit from the Chief Representative for Public Security and Safety.

Article Ten:

Following the approval of both governments, this agreement will take effect from the day of mutual notification. The 8 June 1955 "Records of the Joint Meeting between the Representative of the Ministry of Public Security of the People's Republic of China and the Representative of the Interior Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Handling Affairs in the Border Area between the Two Countries" and its appendixes ("Method for Residents Passing through the Chinese-Korean Border Region," "The Temporary Protocol between the Representative of the Ministry of Public Security of the People's Republic of China and the Representative of the Interior Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Protecting the Safety of the Yalu River Bridge between Andong [Dandong] and Shineuiju [Sinuiju]," "The Conversation Minutes between the Representative of the Ministry of Public Security of the People's Republic of China and the Representative of the Interior Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Exchanging Intelligence on the Activities of Enemy Spies and Special Agents and on Cases of Reconnaissance involving Both Countries") will simultaneously become ineffective.

This agreement is hereby signed on 9 June 1964 in Pyongyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in both Chinese and Korean, each of which are equally effective.

Representative of the Ministry of Public Security of the People's Republic of China
Xu Zhirong

Representative of the Social Safety Ministry of the People's Republic of China
Ri Myeong-sup [Ri Myong Sup]

DOCUMENT NO. 11

Opinions from the State Council on Correctly Administering the Korean Nationals Issue, 19 August 1970

[Source: Hebei Provincial Archives 1057-2-1. P139. Obtained for NKIDP by Shen Zhihua and translated for NKIDP by Jeffrey Wang.]

(70) State Council Document 70

[To] All Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Revolutionary Committees (not to be sent to Tibet):

As of late, Korean nationals have been writing to [government] departments to report that they have been discriminated against and beaten. During the Cultural Revolution, they were criticized and struggled against, their homes were ransacked, and their passports were confiscated; the hardships encountered by those who were injured during work have [also] not been resolved. According to the letters that we have received, it seems that these types of situations are quite common in a number of regions. If these practices are real, then they are not in accordance with the policies of the Central Committee. Based on the current Sino-Korean relationship, these issues should be viewed as important and swiftly corrected. The relevant work units should carry out an investigation and render an appropriate solution based on the following views:

- (1) Based on the great leader Chairman Mao [Zedong's] instructions on proletarian internationalism and anti-great power chauvinism, policy education should be carried out amongst local cadres and peoples in any region in which Korean nationals live. [The education] should emphasize the friendship which emerged during the common struggle conducted by the peoples of China and [North] Korea and our friendly relations. Korean nationals should [also] be taken care of and treated as friends. If they encounter any problem, they should be treated fairly and reasonably and should not be discriminated against or insulted.
- (2) Appropriate solutions should be provided for those Korean nationals who have real difficulties. These issues cannot be ignored, lest they [begin to] complain all over the place or petition the Central Committee. Problems which arose during the Cultural Revolution are to be handled swiftly.
- (3) Korean nationals should not participate in our domestic political campaigns. If a Korean national makes a request for general political study, however, then you may make selective arrangements for them to study at work units or on the streets with the masses. Do not set up independent study organizations for Korean nationals.
- (4) When a Korean national is [found] violating a government decree, public security organs should handle this [case] in accordance with the standard measures for Korean nationals stipulated by law. If they need to be detained or sentenced, then [this] should be reported for approval. Work units and street masses cannot attack, detain, or secretly detain Korean nationals.
- (5) Korean nationals are not to be transferred to lower levels for work. If their present work position is inappropriate, then the appropriate adjustments can be made. Accommodations can be made for Korean women who are unwilling to participate in agricultural labor in the mountains or in the countryside. Do not force them [to do labor in these areas].
- (6) In general, Koreans who illegally crossed the border should be sent back [to Korea]. If there is a special situation, report and request for instructions. In the future, those who illegally cross the border will, in principle, be repatriated in a timely manner.
- (7) After obtaining an "authorization letter," Korean nationals who have applied to return to

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their home country (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea) and are not suspects in serious political cases should, according to the stipulations of our agreement [with North Korea], be approved by the provincial (municipal) or autonomous region revolutionary committees.

- (8) From today onwards, all applications from Korean nationals to go to South Korea, Hong Kong, Macau, or other capitalist countries will be denied. Individuals who insist on going [to these places] should be reported to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Public Security for [further] review and instructions.
- (9) Korean nationals who have applied to receive Chinese citizenship will be reviewed by provincial, municipal, and autonomous region revolutionary committees. The cases will be sent to the Ministry of Public Security, which will then issue the letters of naturalization.

The various points above are to be implemented by provincial (municipal) and autonomous region revolutionary committees according to the local situation among [North] Korean nationals. If there are additional views, please notify the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Public Security.

19 August 1970