

Directive of the CC on Work Concerning Overseas Chinese

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1. Overseas Chinese are persons of Chinese origin residing abroad who retain the nationality of the People's Republic of China (those who have already taken local nationality cannot be regarded as overseas Chinese). In general, overseas Chinese maintain close connections with China in political, economic, cultural, and other respects, and especially maintain inseparable ties with family members in China. They are scattered across Southeast Asia and many other countries. With the exception of those in socialist and people's democratic countries—where overseas Chinese receive reasonable treatment and therefore do not fall within the scope of this directive—most are subject to severe oppression by imperialism and by local governments. They care deeply about their motherland and take pride in being Chinese, unwilling to regard themselves as a “minority nationality” of the countries in which they live; similarly, local governments and imperialist rulers do not treat them as minority nationalities. Some overseas Chinese, as a result of intermarriage or long residence, have already been or may be assimilated into the local population of their countries of residence, but in general overseas Chinese cannot become local minority nationalities.
2. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the patriotic sentiments of overseas Chinese have reached an unprecedented height, and along with the consolidation and growing strength of the motherland, the status of overseas Chinese has also risen. Imperialism fears and hates New China, and therefore also fears and hates overseas Chinese who support New China. On the one hand, imperialism intensifies its oppression of overseas Chinese, attacks progressive forces among them, and destroys their economic position; on the other hand, it works to divide the overseas Chinese, buys off a small number of degenerates, intimidates and splits the middle (industrial and commercial) classes, and suppresses the working class and the petty bourgeoisie. Imperialism openly threatens to expel overseas Chinese from Southeast Asia and force them to return to China. The remnants of the Chiang clique roam the countries of Southeast Asia, becoming the loyal lackeys of imperialism, intensifying the exploitation and poisoning of overseas Chinese. With an increasingly strong motherland as their backing, the people's motherland will certainly do its utmost to protect the legitimate rights and interests of overseas Chinese; however, as “guests under another's eaves,” they are subjected to ever-increasing persecution from imperialism and local governments, and therefore must wage a difficult and protracted struggle for unity, self-help, and survival.
3. Our current work regarding overseas Chinese—that is, our current policy toward overseas nationals—must clearly be distinguished from that prior to the founding of the People's Republic of China. In order firmly to protect the legitimate rights and interests of our nationals abroad, to ensure that policy toward overseas nationals conforms to our foreign policy, and to promote the broad patriotic unity of overseas Chinese, it is entirely necessary to establish new policies for work concerning overseas Chinese. The central focus of our present policy toward overseas nationals is to adopt effective measures, both at home and abroad, to protect the legitimate rights and interests of overseas Chinese, to serve them, to receive and resettle those forced to return as refugees, and to encourage overseas Chinese, where conditions permit, voluntarily, steadily, and gradually to transfer their assets back to China. Among overseas Chinese, we should rely upon the workers, intellectuals, and petty bourgeoisie as the foundation, win over the bourgeoisie, and thereby form a broad patriotic

united front of overseas Chinese—isolating the small number of reactionary elements among them, striking, weakening, and disintegrating the reactionary forces of the Chiang clique. Against the persecution carried out by imperialism and local governments, we should wage struggles that are reasonable, advantageous, and well-timed, in order thereby to strive for survival, strengthen unity, and preserve our forces.

All activities of overseas nationals must strictly comply with the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and with the foreign policy of our People's Government. Chinese nationals should not participate in activities whose direct aim is to overthrow local governments. In countries with which diplomatic relations have already been established, all activities of overseas nationals must strictly follow the guidance of our embassies and consulates.

4. In order to clarify ideological understanding regarding work among overseas Chinese, the following points must be understood:

(a) Revolutionary movements in the countries of Southeast Asia will be long-term. The ultimate victory of revolution in Southeast Asia must rely on the rise of local national-liberation movements, and in particular on the growth of communist parties composed mainly of local people and led by leaders emerging from among them through struggle. Overseas Chinese constitute only a minority among local populations and are not members of the local nationalities; therefore, revolution in those countries cannot rely on overseas Chinese as the main force or as the vanguard.

(b) In the early stages of revolution in Southeast Asia in the past, revolutionary elements among overseas Chinese once served as a vanguard, promoting revolutionary movements; Marxists among the overseas Chinese in certain countries organized communist parties. At that time this was necessary and correct. In this regard they waged courageous struggles and achieved significant results. But circumstances have now changed. Since the Second World War, the peoples of Southeast Asia have awakened, and communist parties composed mainly of local people have gradually grown stronger. If overseas Chinese revolutionaries were still to serve as the vanguard of Southeast Asian revolutions, this would be wrong, because it would hinder the growth of local communist parties and impede the revolutionary mobilization of local peoples; moreover, overseas Chinese communists and progressives, by acting as the vanguard in local revolutionary movements, would inevitably expose themselves, become isolated from the broad masses of overseas Chinese and from local people, and consequently suffer oppression, arrest, deportation, and other severe losses.

(c) Therefore, the revolutionary movements of local peoples in Southeast Asian countries and the work among overseas Chinese in those countries must be strictly distinguished from one another. Overseas Chinese should sympathize with local people's revolutionary movements, but should not, in their capacity as overseas Chinese, participate in struggles aimed at overthrowing local governments. Those individuals who wish to participate in local revolutionary movements should obtain local nationality and cease to take part in general work among overseas Chinese. This strict division of labor is necessary. If everything is mixed together, it will not only fail to help matters, but will result in mutual implication and loss; this must be avoided.

5. Current work among overseas Chinese in Southeast Asian countries should follow the principles below:

(a) Work among overseas nationals and among overseas Chinese organizations should be open and legal; they should not engage in secret activities or organize secret groups, but should widely utilize open and legal mass organizations of various kinds. Starting from the immediate problems faced by overseas Chinese, we should inspire patriotism, publicize—through publishing, literature and art,

journalism, and other lively forms—the achievements of New China, explain and help resolve the problems of compatriots abroad, and combat the destructive activities and slanderous propaganda of reactionary elements among overseas Chinese. Overseas Chinese newspapers should not interfere in the internal affairs of host countries or engage in local political struggles; rather, they should focus on introducing the motherland, promoting cultural and trade relations between China and host countries, and enhancing friendship between their peoples and the Chinese people. As far as possible, we should seek the widest legal distribution of various Chinese publications, especially Marxist–Leninist works (including those of Comrade Mao Zedong), which is of particular importance. We should actively promote remittances, assist overseas Chinese in investing back in China, and guide them in protecting their legitimate rights and interests.

(b) In accordance with the principle that there should be only one communist party in any given country, and in view of the requirement that work among overseas Chinese must be open and legal, the Communist Party of China has decided not to establish Party organizations among overseas Chinese abroad, and advises other Chinese democratic parties likewise not to establish overseas branches. Existing Party branches among overseas Chinese should, through appropriate procedures, eventually be publicly dissolved. For the purpose of studying the works of Comrade Mao Zedong and the construction of the motherland, New China study associations or scientific study societies may be organized, recruiting progressive youth; however, such associations must be open and legal.

(c) Leadership relations in overseas Chinese work are to be defined as follows:

(1) Research on policy shall be centralized in the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the Central People's Government;

(2) (omitted);

(3) Guidance for work among overseas nationals abroad shall, wherever embassies or consulates exist, be unified under the responsibility of those diplomatic missions;

(4) Work concerning overseas Chinese and their family members within China shall be carried out by local overseas Chinese affairs organs in coordination with local governments.

6. Although the environments facing overseas Chinese have common features, the political and economic conditions, as well as the scale of revolutionary movements, differ among Southeast Asian countries. Some countries have already established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China; others still maintain relations with the Chiang clique. In some countries, revolutionary movements have entered the stage of armed struggle; in others, they remain relatively undeveloped. The policies of local governments in these countries also differ markedly. Therefore, the general guiding principles for work among overseas nationals must be applied concretely in light of the actual conditions in each country.

7. The Chinese Communist Party's policy toward work among overseas Chinese must be communicated to the Central Committees of fraternal parties in the relevant countries, so that they may clearly understand the CCP's policy regarding overseas nationals.