

MAX BELOFF

**The
Foreign
Policy of
Soviet Russia**

VOLUME ONE

1929-1936

NO QUESTION IN THE
discussion of international affairs to-day rouses more interest than Soviet foreign policy. In the present volume Mr. Beloff records and analyses that policy during the vital years between the beginning of the first Five-Year Plan and the German re-occupation of the Rhineland. He has attempted to correlate the Soviet contribution to our understanding of events and situations with evidence available from source materials or from secondary works in English, French and German. The attitude throughout is detached though not uncritical.

Volume II will carry the record down to the German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941.

Price
15s.
net

**THE
FOREIGN POLICY OF
SOVIET RUSSIA
1929-1941**

The Royal Institute of International Affairs is an unofficial and non-political body, founded in 1920 to encourage and facilitate the scientific study of international questions.

The Institute, as such, is precluded by its Royal Charter from expressing an opinion on any aspect of international affairs. Opinions expressed in this book are, therefore, purely individual.

THE
FOREIGN POLICY OF
SOVIET RUSSIA

1929—1941

MAX BELOFF

VOLUME I
1929—1936

*Issued under the auspices of the
Royal Institute of International Affairs*

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON

NEW YORK

TORONTO

1947

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
AMEN HOUSE, E.C.4
London Edinburgh Glasgow New York
Toronto Melbourne Cape Town Bombay
Calcutta Madras
GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
3545.6496

TO MY FATHER

FOREWORD

I MUST thank Professor G. N. Clark for having suggested that I undertake the present work and for constant encouragement during its progress. I have tried, in difficult circumstances, to apply here the standards of objectivity and accuracy acquired as his pupil in another field of study.

Professor E. H. Carr, Mr. L. G. Robinson and Mr. B. H. Sumner have given me the greatest help throughout, and their invaluable advice has saved me from very many errors and made possible many improvements in the original design. They do not, however, bear any responsibility for the final form of the book, nor for any conclusions, expressed or implied. The same is true of other authorities who have kindly allowed me to make use of their knowledge and experience; of them, I may only name here Miss Violet Conolly, who has given me the benefit of her detailed studies of the economic aspects of the subject, Sir John Pratt, K.B.E., C.M.G., who has read the sections dealing with China, Professor M. M. Postan, Mr. S. Dobrin, and Mr. A. B. Elkin.

It would not have been possible to carry out the project at all without the extreme helpfulness of many members of the Chatham House staff. I owe particular thanks to Miss Margaret Cleeve, O.B.E.; Dr. E. J. Lindgren and Mr. J. V. Wilson. Mrs. Jane Degras, another member of the Institute's staff, has been of the utmost assistance at every stage and has put me deeply in her debt by taking upon herself, in order to speed up publication, the final preparation of the MS., and by seeing it through the press. I must also thank Miss Rosalind M. Wrong for help with the index, and Mrs. Sylvia Arthur for preparing the map.

The main source of material has been the library of Chatham House itself, but I must also acknowledge the help received from the authorities and library staffs of the following: Manchester University Library; Manchester Central Reference Library; the London Library; the British Museum; the School of Oriental and African Studies; the School of Slavonic Studies, and the American Library in London. I wish to acknowledge the debt which all students of Soviet Russia owe to Philip Grierson for his bibliography, *Books on Soviet Russia, 1917-1942*.

Manchester
November 1945

MAX BELOFF

PREFACE

NO study of the political and economic prospects of the post-war world is possible without a clear understanding of the aims and policies of the Soviet Union. There does not exist, at any rate in English, a scholarly, coherent, and comprehensive account of the evolution of Soviet foreign policy between the Revolution of 1917 and the Soviet Union's entry into the war in 1941. It was therefore decided that the most useful contribution which the Institute could make to the study of this subject was the preparation of a detailed and documented narrative history of Soviet foreign policy.

The size which such a work would eventually reach suggested further limitation of its scope, if any part of it were to be ready within reasonable time. The period prior to 1929 was found to be covered to some extent by existing publications, and primary material for its study, both Soviet and non-Soviet, was also available in some quantity in English. It might indeed be said that the study of the period 1917-1929 in relation to Soviet affairs as well as to international politics generally, is passing from the domain of 'contemporary history' to that of history proper, and it might be worth while, therefore, to wait until that process is nearer completion. The production of a history of Soviet foreign policy between the years 1917 and 1929 remains nevertheless among the tasks which the Institute has set itself for the future.

The work now being produced is therefore confined in essentials to the period 1929-1941. Originally it was planned to include an appendix of documents, but for various reasons it has proved more satisfactory to separate the two projects.

The compilation by Mrs. Jane Degras of a bibliography of documents on Soviet foreign policy covering the period 1917 to 1941 is now proceeding. It will include treaties, decrees, communiqués, the speeches of Soviet statesmen, and articles in the leading Soviet journals. The bibliography will indicate the source in the Russian language and also, where possible, in English, French or German, of the documents cited. A further volume, reproducing textually a selection of the more important documents, will be published subsequently.

The present work has been divided into two volumes in order to allow the first part to be published as soon as possible. Since the subject matter is treated for the most part chronologically,

the first volume, which carries the narrative down to the spring of 1936, can be regarded as complete in itself. Certain portions of the subject have lent themselves better, however, to separate and continuous treatment under a single head. For this reason, the treatment of the attitude of the Soviet Union towards the Chinese Revolution, and of her relations with Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia, have overstepped the chronological framework of this volume, while three important questions have, on the other hand, been held over for detailed treatment in Volume II. These are: the question of the Straits, of Soviet-Turkish relations, and of Soviet policy in the Middle East. Where these questions are of immediate relevance to more general issues they are naturally referred to in the appropriate chapters of the present volume as well.

The book is based entirely upon printed sources, whose value and reliability is of course very variable. For this reason particular points have been documented in what might otherwise seem an over-scrupulous fashion. An attempt has been made to indicate those unofficial sources which appear to be the most reliable.

It was further found that by no means all printed materials known or believed to exist, were easily accessible under war-time conditions. This country was very behindhand in the systematic study of the Soviet Union and its achievements, and in the collection of documents bearing upon them. The Institute can point with pride to the fact that its own collection proved in many ways the best of those available, but a number of gaps of importance have come to light—gaps which it is hoped to fill as soon as circumstances permit. In addition, the Institute's resources in books, pamphlets, press-cuttings, etc., like those of other bodies, were less easy to use than in normal times, owing to the calls upon them by H.M. Government.

The fact that little systematic study of Soviet policy has been made in the past has meant that important classes of material in the Russian language—particularly periodicals of a specialized kind—have not been adequately explored or analysed, but it was clearly impossible for this lost ground to be made up by a single investigator in the time available. It is hoped that the present study may stimulate the further investigation of special aspects of the subject, and may give some indication of directions in which further research might prove rewarding.

The Institute is fully conscious that a study of a country's policy written outside that country, and largely from foreign sources, is bound to be defective in many respects and cannot claim to be a definitive work. But the importance of the subject

PREFACE

ix

and the lack of serious works on it in English may be felt to give an exceptional value even to the incomplete and partial history presented in these pages.

Chatham House
10 St. James's Square
London, S.W.1
November 1945

ASTOR
Chairman of the Council

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
FOREWORD	vi
PREFACE	vii
<i>Chapter</i>	
I. THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF SOVIET RUSSIA IN THE AUTUMN OF 1929	
1. The International Position of Soviet Russia in the Autumn of 1929	I
II. WORLD DEPRESSION AND THE RISE OF THE AGGRESSORS	
2. Introduction	12
3. International Aspects of the First Five-Year Plan	27
4. The U.S.S.R. and the Organs of International Co-operation	42
5. Russia and the Weimar Republic	56
6. Russia and the Far East, 1929-1933	70
III. THE SEARCH FOR COLLECTIVE SECURITY	
7. Introduction	89
8. Russia and the Nazi Reich	94
9. Russia and Great Britain	106
10. Russia and America	116
11. The U.S.S.R. and the League of Nations	128
12. The Russian Security Pacts	138
13. Russia and the Far East, 1933-1936	163
14. Soviet Nationalism and the Red Army	178
15. The Seventh Congress of the Comintern	186

APPENDICES

A.	The U.S.S.R. and International Organisation	. 197
B.	The Development of the Soviet Far East	. . . 205
C.	Russia and the Chinese Revolution	. . . 211
D.	Russia and Sinkiang 225
E.	Russia and Mongolia 239
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	 249
INDEX	 251
MAP: Eastern Siberia and its Neighbours		at end

NOTE: *A bibliography for the whole work will be given in Volume Two. In the footnotes to this volume, the place of publication of works in English should be taken as being London unless otherwise indicated. In general the system of transliteration followed is that recommended by the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use in the Russian Glossary published by the Royal Geographical Society.*

INDEX

- Abdul Hamid, 237.
 Alexander, King of Yugoslavia, 141, 148, 199.
 Allen, W. E. D., 37 *n.*
 Alma Ata, 228.
 Altai Mountains, 226, 230, 231.
 Altona, 65.
 Amau, E., 172, 175 *n.*
 Ambassadors, Envoys, and Ministers (Soviet) abroad:
 in Berlin. *See* Krestinsky, Khinchuk, Suritz.
 in London. *See* Sokolnikov, Maisky.
 in Montevideo. *See* Mitkin.
 in Nanking. *See* Borodin, Bogomolov.
 in Paris. *See* Dovgalevsky, Potemkin.
 in Peiping. *See* Karakhan.
 in Tokyo. *See* Karakhan, Troyanovsky, Yurenev.
 in Ulan Bator. *See* Vassiliev.
 in Warsaw. *See* Voikov.
 in Washington. *See* Troyanovsky.
 Ambassadors, Ministers, and Chargés d'Affaires (foreign) in Moscow:
 from Great Britain. *See* Ovey, Chilton.
 from Japan. *See* Amo.
 from Poland. *See* Patek.
 from U.S.A. *See* Bullitt.
 Amo, Monsieur, 86, 87.
 Amtorg, 119.
 Amur River, 205-10.
 Anadyr, Gulf of, 209.
 Adijanis, 233.
 Andreyev, N., 197.
 'Anfu Clique,' 241.
 Anti-Communist Propaganda, 81, 94, 104 *n.*, 105, 108, 109 *n.*, 117, 118, 127, 155, 156, 165. *See* Treaties (Bilateral), Anti-Comintern Pact.
 Arbitration, Soviet attitude towards, 21, 23, 176.
 Archangel, 208.
 Arcos, 6.
 Arctic Ocean, 209, 210.
 Argun River, 207.
 Asturias, 189.
 'Augur.' *See* Poliakov, V.
 Ayuguz, 228, 231.
 Baikal, Lake, 206.
 Baldwin, Stanley (first Earl Baldwin of Bewdley), 113 *n.*
 Baltic Sea, 8 *n.*, 45 *n.*, 104, 133, 134 *n.*
 B.A.M. railway, 210.
 Barga, 244 *n.*
 Barguts, 240, 244 *n.*
 Barthou, Louis, 106, 130, 131, 135, 136, 141, 148, 160.
 Batsell, W. R., 2 *n.*
 Bauer, Colonel Max, 58, 217 *n.*
 Beck, Colonel J., 102, 134 *n.*, 136, 140 *n.*, 143 *n.*, 148-50, 161.
 Bell, Sir Charles, 248.
 Benes, Dr. E., 48, 50, 51, 138, 149, 152, 155-8.
 Bering Strait, 209.
 Berthelot, Philippe, 20.
 Bessedovsky, G., 77 *n.*
 Bessarabia, 8, 22, 23.
 Bienstock, G., 82 *n.*
 Bismarck, Otto von, 56.
 Black Dragon Society, 77 *n.*
 Black Sea Straits, 145 *n.*
 Blagoveschensk, 207 *n.*
 Bluecher, Marshal V. K., 28, 81, 82 *n.*, 184, 208 *n.*, 211, 212 *n.*
 Blum, Léon, 187, 189.
 Bodaibo, 208.
 Bodo (Mongol official), 242.
 Bogdo Khan, 240, 243.
 Bolsheviks. *See* Russia, Soviet, Communist Party of.
 Bogomolov, D. V., 164.
 Borah, Senator W. E., 122 *n.*
 Borkenau, F., 3 *n.*
 Borodin, M., 211-13.
 Briand, Aristide, 19, 20, 42, 44, 91.
 Brogan, Professor D. W., 109 *n.*
 Brüning, Dr. Heinrich, 20 *n.*, 62, 64.
 Browder, Earl, 192.
 Buddhism, 228, 242, 244 *n.*, 246, 248.
 Budenny, Marshal S. M., 184.
 Bukovina, 145 *n.*
 Bullitt, W. C., 122-6.
 Bülow, Herr Bernhard von, 141 *n.*, 156.
 Bureia River, 207, 210.
 Cachin, Marcel, 191.
 Canton, 211-14.
 Catholic Church. *See* Russia, Soviet, relations of, with Vatican.
 Chahar, 173, 175, 224.
 Chamberlain, Sir Austen, 53, 58 *n.*, 108 *n.*
 Changchun, 78.
 Chiang Hsueh-liang, Marshal, 71, 222, 223.
 Changsha, 218.

- Chang Tso-lin, Marshal, 71, 72, 213.
 Chan-tou. *See* Turkis.
 Chelyabinsk, 26.
 Chen, 232 *n.*
 Cherchen, 228.
 Chiang Chun-chang, 234 *n.*
 Chiang Kai-shek, General, 80, 83, 85, 212, 213, 215, 217-23.
 Chiang Kai-shek, Madame, 221 *n.*
 Chicherin, G. V., 7, 11, 147 *n.*
 Chilston, Lord (A. Akers-Douglas, second Viscount Chilston), 106, 133.
 China, Border Governments in, 223, 224; Eighth Route Army of, 223, 224; Moslems in, 222, 225-38; Nationalist Army of, 213, 216, 217; Nationalist Movement in, 106, 211-24 (*see* Kuomintang); New Fourth Army of, 223; Nineteenth Route Army of, 83, 219; Red Army of, 70 *n.*, 215-24; Revolution in (*see* Communist Party of China); Soviets in, 71, 80, 83, 216-24, 233 *n.*
 Chinese Eastern Railway (C.E.R.), 6 *n.*, 71-4, 77-82, 90, 119, 166-71, 174, 205, 206, 207 *n.*, 231, 244 *n.*
 Chinese Turkestan. *See* Russia, Soviet, relations of, with Sinkiang.
 Chin Shu-yen, 231-3.
 Chita, 206.
 Chou En-lai, 218, 224.
 Chuguchak, 228, 231, 233, 235.
 Chu-teh, 218.
 Clark, R. T., 64.
 Coblenz, 192.
 Commission for European Union. *See* Pan-Europa.
 Communism. *See* Marxism and Russia, Soviet, External Propaganda of.
 Communism and Communist Party in:
 Austria, 190.
 Brazil, 126 *n.*, 127.
 British Empire, 106.
 Bulgaria, 192.
 China, 6, 61 *n.*, 70, 73, 79, 80, 83, 86, 93, 164, 172, 211-24, 236.
 Czechoslovakia, 59 *n.*, 156, 191, 195.
 Denmark, 191.
 Esthonia, 8.
 France, 93, 156, 157, 187-95.
 Germany, 14 *n.*, 24, 25, 56-69, 89, 94, 95, 187, 190, 192.
 Great Britain, 106, 191, 196.
 Japan, 8.
 Latvia, 8.
 Mexico, 126 *n.*
 Norway, 191.
 Poland, 61 *n.*, 144.
 Roumania, 22.
 Russia. *See* Russia, Soviet, Communist Party in.
 Saar Territory, 188 *n.*, 199.
 Spain, 187, 189, 190.
 Sweden, 191.
 United States, 188, 191, 192, 196.
 Uruguay, 126 *n.*, 127.
 Communist International, 3, 4, 7, 25, 57 *n.*, 58-68, 83, 105, 179, 186-96, 211-24, 236, 243.
 1st Congress of (1919), 42.
 6th Congress of (1928), 5, 9, 14, 60, 61, 190, 215.
 7th Congress of (1935), 93, 102, 106, 115, 126, 159, 172 *n.*, 190-6, 220 *n.*, 221.
 Dissolution of, 221 *n.*
 Enlarged Plenum of (February 1930), 62.
 11th Plenum of (March-April 1931), 19 *n.*, 61-3.
 12th Plenum of (September 1932), 64, 65, 219.
 Programme of, 9, 10, 46.
 Statutes of, 9.
 Relations of with Soviet Government, 3, 4, 9, 10, 12, 16.
 Conferences, International:
 Peace Conference, 1919 (Paris), 144 *n.*, 145 *n.*
 Pacific Powers Conference, 1921-1922 (Washington), 76, 85.
 Disarmament Conference, December 1922 (Moscow), 13.
 Conference on Turkey and the Black Sea Straits, July 1923 (Lausanne), 48.
 World Economic Conference, May 1927 (Geneva), 6, 44, 54, 55.
 Naval Disarmament Conference, January-April 1930 (London), 46.
 Conference of Wheat Exporting Countries, May 1931 (London), 44.
 Disarmament Conference, 1932-1934 (Geneva), 15, 19, 48-53, 64, 66, 85, 128-35, 200.
 British Imperial Conference, July 1932 (Ottawa), 18 *n.*, 35 *n.*, 54 *n.*, 110.
 Conference on Central European Economic Problems, September 1932 (Stresa), 45 *n.*
 World Economic Conference, June-July 1933 (London), 25, 53-5.
 Conference of Wheat Exporting Countries, August 1933 (London), 54 *n.*

- Conferences, International—*contd.*
 Anglo-French-Italian Conference,
 April 1935 (Stresa), 102 *n.*,
 114, 133 *n.*, 151.
 Constantinople, 145 *n.*
 Corbin, C., 112 *n.*
 'Cordon Sanitaire,' 5.
 Cot, Pierre, 129, 139.
 Curtius, Dr. Julius, 20 *n.*
 Curzon, Lord (George Nathaniel
 Curzon, first Marquess Curzon
 of Kedleston), 145.
- Dairen, 207 *n.*
 Daladier, Edouard, 189, 199.
 Dalny. *See* Dairen.
 Danubian Pact (proposed), 159.
 Danzan (Mongol Official), 244.
 Davies, J. E., 126 *n.*
 Daulat Beg, 234 *n.*
 Deutsche Lufthansa A. G., 164.
 Dimitrov, G., 190-2.
 Disarmament, 5, 13, 21, 45, 52, 58. *See*
 Conferences, International.
 Disarmament, Preparatory Commis-
 sion on, 6, 42, 45-9.
 Dmowski, Roman, 146 *n.*
 Dniester River, 22.
 Dodd, W. E., 99 *n.*, 100 *n.*, 102 *n.*, 104 *n.*,
 109 *n.*, 124 *n.*, 126, 141 *n.*, 156.
 Dovgalevsky, V., 20, 52, 139.
 Duranty, W., 122 *n.*
- Eastern Locarno. *See* Eastern Security
 Pact (proposed).
 Eastern Security Pact (proposed), 92,
 99-101, 108, 112, 128, 138-60,
 194.
 Eastern Turkestan. *See* Sinkiang.
 Eden, Anthony, M.P., 53, 113-15, 138 *n.*,
 151, 160.
 Egorov, Marshal, A. I., 184.
 Elvin, H. H., 198 *n.*
 Ercoli. *See* Togliatti.
 Ethiopia. *See* Italo-Abyssinian Dispute.
 Eurasia Airline Company, 164, 231 *n.*
- Falkenhayn, General von, 217.
 Fascism, Soviet attitude towards, 65,
 66, 97, 103, 104, 127, 187-96.
 Feng Yu-hsiang, General, 236.
 Filchner, Dr. W., 225 *n.*
 Finland, Gulf of, 8 *n.*
 Fischer, Louis, 1 *n.*, 47 *n.*, 122 *n.*
 Flandin, P.-E., 160.
 Fleming, Peter, 230 *n.*
 France, Radical Party in, 189.
 France, Socialist Party in (S.F.I.O.),
 187-90.
 François-Poncet, A., 159, 161.
 Frank, Hans, 104.
 French Revolution (1789), 192.
- Friters, Dr. G. M., 239 *n.*, 241.
 Frunze, M. V., 180.
 Fukien, 218, 219.
- Galen, General. *See* Bluecher, Marshal.
 Galicia, 145, 147 *n.*
 Gamarnik, General I. B., 82 *n.*
 Gamelin, General M., 139, 157.
 Gendun (Mongol Official), 245.
 General Electric Company, 30.
 Geopolitics, 95 *n.*
 George V, King of England, 115.
 Géraud, A., 92 *n.*, 142 *n.*
- Germany:
 Armed Forces of, 26, 58, 59, 94,
 100 *n.*, 101, 112 *n.*, 113, 114,
 133, 193.
 Centre Party in, 63.
 Elections in, 60-9, 97.
 National Bolshevik movement in,
 58, 59.
 National Socialism and National
 Socialist (Nazi) Party in, 26,
 46, 56-69, 89, 91, 94-105,
 109, 143, 159 *n.* *See* Hitler,
 Adolf.
 Nationalist movement in, 23, 58.
 Rearmament of. *See* Armed Forces.
 Reparations from, 58, 62.
 Revolution in (1918), 57.
 Social Democratic Party in, 59-68.
 Goebbels, Dr. J., 100 *n.*
 Goering, Hermann, 68, 100 *n.*, 101,
 104, 150.
 Gosplan (State Planning Commission),
 16.
 Grandi, Dino, 19, 47.
 Great Britain:
 Labour Party in, 17, 18, 109, 198.
 Conservative Party in, 17, 108-9.
 Grew, Joseph C., 124 *n.*, 168 *n.*, 169 *n.*,
 171 *n.*, 172 *n.*, 173 *n.*, 174 *n.*,
 175 *n.*, 236 *n.*
- Halecki, O., 144 *n.*, 146.
 Halinarshan, 207 *n.*
 Hamburg, 57 *n.*
 Hami, 232.
 Hankow, 211-14, 224 *n.*
 Harbin, 207 *n.*, 237.
 Haslund, H., 244 *n.*
 Haushofer, General and Professor Karl
 77 *n.*, 95 *n.*
 Hayashi, General S., 236 *n.*
 Heiden, Konrad, 69 *n.*
 Heiho, 207 *n.*
 Heckert, Fritz, 68 *n.*, 187.
 Hedin, Dr. Sven, 225 *n.*, 231.
 Henderson, Arthur, 18, 48, 123.
 Herriot, Edouard, 129, 139, 160 *n.*
 Hess, Rudolf, 95 *n.*
 Hill, Dr. Elizabeth, 226 *n.*

- Hindenburg, Field-Marshal Paul von, 60, 67.
- Hirota, K., 171-4, 177, 237.
- Hitler, Adolf, 24, 60, 66-8, 89-91, 95 n., 97, 100, 102-4, 107, 108, 109 n., 112, 113, 134, 141, 146 n., 154-6, 159, 161, 177, 193, 225 n.
- Mein Kampf*, 25, 90 n., 98, 100, 103.
- Speeches of: 23 March 1933, 25; 17 May 1933, 26; 30 January 1934, 99; 21 May 1936, 101, 158; 7 March 1936, 105.
- Hoare, Sir Samuel (first Viscount Templewood), 113 n., 114, 115, 158, 159, 200, 203.
- Hoesch, Herr Leopold von, 138 n., 155.
- Hoetzch, O., 28.
- Hoffmann, General O. F. C. von, 58.
- Hopei, 175, 224.
- Howard, Roy, 161 n., 176.
- Ho Ying-cheng, 238.
- Hsingan, 247.
- Hsinking, 207 n.
- Hsiu Chou-chen, 241.
- Hugenberg, Alfred, 26, 54, 98.
- Hughes, Charles E., 119.
- Hulin, 207 n.
- Hull, Cordell, 124.
- Hupch, 216.
- Hwang Ma-sung, 232 n.
- Ili. *See* Kulja.
- I.L.O., Soviet relations with, 136, 137, 197, 198.
- Inner Mongolia, 206, 220, 222, 223, 233 n., 236, 239-48.
- Irkeshtan, 228, 235.
- Irkutsk, 208.
- Italo-Abyssinian dispute, 115, 137, 198 n., 160, 199-204.
- Jehol, 71, 166, 239 n.
- Jochelson, W., 226 n.
- Joffe, A. A., 211, 243.
- 'Johnson Act', 13 April 1934, 124.
- Jouvenel, Bertrand de, 104 n., 161.
- Juichin, 216, 220.
- Jungaria, 227, 228.
- Junkers Aircraft Company, 59.
- Kaganovich, L. M., 110.
- Kalga, 245.
- Kalinin, M. I., 122.
- Kalmucks, 226-8.
- Kamenev, L. B., 20 n., 112.
- Kansu, 221, 228, 232, 237 n.
- Kara Sea, 209.
- Karakhan, L. M., 78, 96.
- Karakoram Mountains, 228, 238.
- Karashar, 226.
- Kashgar, 225 n., 228, 234, 235, 238.
- Kashgaria, 227-9, 232, 233.
- Kashmir, 228.
- Kazaks, 226, 230.
- Kellogg, Frank B., 119.
- Kemal Kaya Effendi, 237 n.
- Kemal, Mustafa Pasha (Kema Ataturk), 131 n.
- Kerensky, A. F., 120.
- Kerner, Professor R. J., 4 n.
- Khabarovsk, 205, 207, 209, 210.
- Khalka Mongols, 240.
- Kharkov, 16.
- Khotan, 228, 234, 235.
- Kiakhta, 210, 246.
- Kiangsi, 172, 216, 218, 221, 223.
- Kiangsu, 216, 223.
- Kiev, 146 n.
- Khinchuk, L. M., 25, 66 n., 69 n.
- Kirensk, 210.
- Kirghiz, 226, 230.
- Kirov, S., 112.
- Knox, Sir Geoffrey, 109 n.
- Kohn, Professor H., 178.
- Komsomolsk, 208-10.
- Konstantinov (Soviet diplomat), 235.
- Koreans, 205.
- Korovin, Professor E. A., 45 n., 198 n.
- Krestinsky, N., 57 n.
- Krivitsky, W. G., 60 n.
- Kulja, 226, 228, 231 n., 232, 235.
- Kun, Bela, 217 n.
- Kung Cheng-hang, 235 n.
- Kunlun Mountains, 228.
- Kuomintang, 6, 72, 79, 83, 211-24, 233 n.
- Kuriles, 205.
- Ladoga, Lake, 8 n.
- Lanchow, 228, 232, 233 n.
- Lattimore, Owen, 225 n.
- Laval, Pierre, 148, 149, 152, 156-60, 189, 195, 199, 203.
- Lawrence, Colonel T. E., 234 n.
- League of Nations, Soviet relations with, 6, 13, 15, 21, 42-55, 79 n., 81, 83, 84, 91, 92, 103, 107, 109 n., 112, 127-38, 142, 148, 152, 153, 168, 169, 186, 197-204.
- Léger, Alexis, 140.
- Lena Goldfields Company, 111 n.
- Lena River, 205, 208.
- Lenin, V. I., 58.
- Leninism. *See* Marxism.
- Lipski, J., 100, 101, 103, 146 n.
- Littlepage, J., 31 n., 208 n.
- Lloyd, Lord (George A. Lloyd, first Baron), 109 n.
- Lloyd George, David (first Earl Lloyd George), 108, 126 n.
- Loiseau, General F. A. J., 157.
- Loudon, Jonkheer Jan, 48.

- Litvinov, M. M., 11, 19-21, 24, 26, 35, 43, 45-8, 55, 66, 79, 87, 90, 92, 96, 99, 107, 109 n., 115, 122, 123, 125, 126 n., 127, 129, 131, 133, 135, 139, 141, 149, 156, 174, 176, 199, 202.
 Speeches of: 4 December 1929, 17, 75; 25 July 1930, 27, 28; 16 May 1931, 44; 11 February 1932, 49; 12 April 1932, 50; 23 July 1932, 51; 6 February 1933, 24, 51, 52; 14 June 1933, 54; 29 September 1933, 98; 5 December 1933, 134; 12 January 1934, 170; 14 February 1934, 140 n.; 18 May 1934, 130, 131; 29 May 1934, 134; 18 September 1934, 197; 28 March 1935, 114; 17 April 1935, 101, 114; 14 September 1935, 102, 200, 201; 1 July 1936, 203.
- Living Buddha. *See* Bogdo Khan.
- Londonderry, Lord (Charles Vane-Tempest - Stewart, seventh Marquess of Londonderry), 104 n., 108 n., 109 n.
- Long, Breckinridge, 201 n.
- Lothian, Lord (Philip Kerr, eleventh Marquess of Lothian), 108-9, 126 n.
- Ludwig, Emil, 59 n.
- Lvov, 149 n.
- 'Lytton Commission', 246, 247.
- 'Lytton Report', 71 n., 78, 81, 86.
- Ma Chan-shan, General, 78.
- Ma Chung-yin, General, 232, 233, 235-7.
- Macdonald, James Ramsay, 52, 113 n., 154, 155.
- Maillart, Miss E. K., 230 n., 235 n.
- Maisky, I., 55, 111 n., 112.
- Maly-Kinghan Mountains, 210.
- Manchouli, 86, 164, 167, 207 n.
- Manchukuo. *See* Russia, Soviet, relations of with Manchuria.
- Manchus, 226, 227.
- Mann, Heinrich, 63 n.
- Manuilsky, D. Z., 190, 217.
 Speeches of: 5 July 1930, 18; 2 February 1934, 186, 187, 220; 14 September 1935, 35, 137 n.
- Mao Tse-tung, 216 n., 218, 219 n., 220, 223, 236.
- Marxism, 2, 4, 14, 57 n., 95 n., 178-81, 213, 216.
- Matsuoka, Y., 87 n.
- Memel, 147 n., 159.
- Messersmith, G. S., 99 n.
- Metropolitan-Vickers Ltd., 35, 106.
- Mezhlauk, V., 55.
- Miao, 233 n.
- Milioukov, P. N., 1 n.
- Mitkin, A. E., 127.
- Moley, Raymond, 122.
- Molotov, V. M., 114, 161, 174, 210.
 Speeches of: 5 July 1930, 18, 46 n., 59 n.; 7 September 1931, 20, 23 January 1933, 24, 121, 163; 28 September 1933, 98, 110; 26 January 1934, 170; 28 January 1935, 100, 106, 107, 112, 138n., 147, 237, 238; 11 January 1936, 97 n., 103, 115, 127, 160, 203.
- Mongol Industrial and Commercial Bank, 242, 243.
- Monkhouse, A., 216 n.
- Monzie, Anatole de, 19 n.
- Murmansk, 209.
- Mussolini, Benito, 90, 141, 143 n., 201.
- Nanking, 212, 213 n., 214, 223 n.
- Narkomindel (People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs), 7, 11.
- Neurath, Baron Konstantin von, 99, 102 n., 104 n., 141, 160.
- Neutrality, Russia, Soviet system of, 5, 12-14, 23, 86.
- Nicholas II, Tsar of Russia, 8 n.
- Niedermayer, General Oskar von, 95 n.
- Nikolaevsk, 205, 208.
- Nikolaevsky, B. I., 7, 57 n., 77 n.
- Nikolsk. *See* Voroshilovsk.
- Ninghsia, 228.
- N.K.V.D. (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs), 184, 210.
- Non-Aggression, Russia, Soviet system of, 5, 13, 14, 23, 52, 85, 87, 102, 105, 156.
- Non-Intervention. *See* Non-Aggression.
- North China Herald*, 79 n.
- Nuremberg Trial (of German War Criminals, 1945-1946), 94 n.
- Odessa, 108 n.
- O.G.P.U. (Union State Political Administration), 181, 184 n.
- Oil, 7, 28 n., 29, 33, 36, 80 n., 116 n., 166, 243.
- Okhotsk, 206, 208.
- Osoaviakhim (League for Aviation and Chemical Warfare), 182.
- Ovey, Sir Esmond, 17, 106 n.
- Pacific Fisheries, 7, 38, 77, 81, 166, 171, 175.
- Pacifism, 4, 45, 93.
- Pamir Mountains, 226, 228.
- Pan-Europa, 19, 42, 43, 45, 91, 201.
- Pan-Islam, 236.
- Pan-Mongolism, 247.
- Pan-Slavism, 157.
- Pan-Turanianism, 237.

- Papen, Franz von, 26, 63, 64, 67.
 Paris Commune (1871), 192.
 Patek, Monsieur, 21.
 Peiping, 167, 212, 213, 224 n., 238.
 Peiping, Archbishop of, 237.
 Peking. *See* Peiping.
 People's Front, 106 n., 191, 193, 196.
 Permanent Court of International Justice, 160.
 'Pertinax.' *See* Géraud, A.
 Pétain, Marshal Philippe, 139.
 Petropavlovsk, 208.
 Persian Gulf, 199.
 Phipps, Sir Eric, 102, 109 n., 159, 160.
 Piatnitsky, O., 64 n.
 Pieck, W., 190, 191.
 Pilsudski, Marshal J., 8, 61 n., 92 n., 101, 143 n., 146, 150 n.
 Pogodin (Soviet diplomat), 234.
 Pogranichnaya, 207 n.
 Pokrovsky, M. N., 179.
 Poliakov, V., 92 n.
 Polish Corridor. *See* Pomorze.
 Pollitt, Harry, 196 n.
 Pomorze, 67, 108 n.
 Popular Front. *See* People's Front.
 Port Arthur, 210.
 Potemkin, V. P., 152, 201, 203.
 Primorskaya. *See* Russia, Soviet, Maritime Territory.
 Profintern (Red International of Labour Unions), 60.
 Promethean Movement, 146 n.
 P.U.R. (Political Administration of the Army), 181.
- Radek, Karl, 25, 57, 58, 67, 83, 84, 110, 122 n.
 Ramzin, Professor L., 18.
 Rashin, 207 n.
 Rathbone, Eleanor, M.P., 109 n.
 Red Army. *See* Russia, Soviet, Army of.
 Red International of Labour Unions. *See* Profintern.
 Reichstag Fire, 67, 89.
 Revisionism, Soviet attitude towards, 25, 26.
 Rhineland, 58, 109, 161, 177, 203.
 Ricino (Mongol Official), 244.
 Robbins, Clifton, 198 n.
 Robins, Colonel Raymond, 122.
 Rocque, Colonel François de la, 189.
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 122, 123.
 Rosen, Baron R. R., 8 n.
 Rosenberg, A., 25, 26, 67, 94, 98.
 Rosengoltz, M., 97 n.
 Rothermere, Lord (Harold Sidney Harmsworth, first Viscount), 108 n.
- Russia, Provisional Government of (1917), 144; debts of. *See* Russia, Tsarist, debts of.
- Russia, Revolution in (1917), 1, 2, 76.
 Russia, Soviet:
 Agriculture in, 10, 16, 37, 41.
 Air Force of, 156, 181, 182, 184, 208.
 Army of, 26, 27, 45 n., 59, 100, 113, 140, 157, 162, 172, 180-5, 207, 242-3.
 Civil War and Intervention in, 52, 76, 123, 205, 241-2.
 Commercial Treaties and Agreements of, with:
 Great Britain, 16 April 1930, 18, 34, 35.
 Germany, 14 April 1931 (Piatakov Agreement), 33, 63.
 Italy, 28 April 1931, 19.
 France, 11 January 1934, 139 n.
 Great Britain, 16 February 1934, 111.
 Manchukuo, 23 March 1935, 173.
 Czechoslovakia, 25 March 1935, 155 n., 157.
 Germany, 9 April 1935, 96, 101 n.
 United States, 13 July 1935, 96 n., 125.
 Germany, 29 April 1936, 97.
 Communist Party of, 2, 3, 10, 95 n., 144, 146 n., 180, 189, 192, 212, 213.
 14th Congress of (1925), 10.
 15th Congress of (1927), 10, 214.
 16th Conference of (1929), 5, 15.
 16th Congress of (1930), 18, 123.
 17th Congress of (1934), 98, 170, 183, 220.
 18th Congress of (1939), 210.
 Youth Organization of (Komsomol), 209.
 Concessions in, 28, 29, 111 n.
 Congress of Soviets:
 December 1922, 2.
 May 1929, 15.
 March 1931, 20.
 January 1935, 100.
 Constitution of (1923), 2, 3.
 Consulates of, abroad, 72, 73, 230, 231.
 Consulates, foreign, in, 123 n., 124 n.
 Credits to, 29-41, 54, 77, 93, 96, 97, 120.
 Dumping by, 19, 31, 32, 43-5, 110, 120.
 Economic Relations of, with:
 Afghanistan, 38 n.
 Austria, 34 n.
 Belgium, 32 n., 36, 37.
 British Empire, 11.
 Canada, 29, 32 n., 54, 110.
 China, 38 n., 164, 165.
 Czechoslovakia, 6 n., 34 n., 155 n., 157.
 Denmark, 34 n.

- Russia, Soviet: Economic Relations—*contd.*
 Finland, 34 *n.*
 France, 11, 19, 20, 32 *n.*, 35, 36, 39, 125, 126 *n.*, 139 *n.*
 Germany, 16 *n.*, 19, 33, 34, 39, 96, 97.
 Great Britain, 6, 17, 18, 33-5, 39, 54 *n.*, 96-7, 106-15, 125.
 Italy, 19, 31 *n.*, 36, 200-2.
 Japan, 34 *n.*, 38, 39, 77, 166.
 Latvia, 8 *n.*
 Manchuria, 72, 81.
 Netherlands, 36, 37.
 Norway, 34 *n.*
 Outer Mongolia, 38 *n.*, 230, 242-6.
 Persia, 38 *n.*
 Poland, 21, 34 *n.*, 144.
 Roumania, 32 *n.*
 Sinkiang, 38 *n.*, 225-38.
 Turkey, 38 *n.*
 United States, 11, 30, 32 *n.*, 33, 34, 39, 96, 97, 116-27.
 Yugoslavia, 32 *n.*
 External Propaganda of, 17, 19, 23, 24, 73, 93, 99, 101, 104 *n.*, 105, 116-18, 124, 126. *See* Communist International.
 Five-Year Plan (first), 5, 10, 15, 16 *n.*, 27-41, 163, 182.
 Five-Year Plan (second), 91.
 Foreign Exchange, need of, 29.
 Foreign Experts employed in, 16 *n.*, 26, 28, 30, 31, 120.
 Foreign Trade of, 10, 11, 27-41, 44, 93. *See* Economic Relations of.
 Gold Production in, 31 *n.*, 93, 97 *n.*
 Historical teaching in, 179, 180.
 'Industrial Party' in, 16, 19 *n.*
 Industry in, 10, 11, 16, 27, 28, 31 *n.*, 37, 84, 91.
 Internal Propaganda in, 16.
 Mensheviks in, 16, 19 *n.*
 Nationalities of, policy towards, 179, 180.
 Navy of, 45 *n.*, 115 *n.*, 181-4, 185 *n.*, 208.
 Political Emigrés from, 49, 74, 78, 79 *n.*, 87, 165 *n.*, 226, 232, 235.
 Recognition of, 5, 6, 116, 119-21, 127, 131 *n.* *See* Relations of.
 Relations of, with:
 Afghanistan, 52, 228, 229, 234.
 Albania, 6 *n.*, 51, 131 *n.*, 201.
 Argentina, 136, 197.
 Austria, 143, 201.
 Balkan Entente, 131, 138 *n.*
 Belgium, 6, 131 *n.*, 158, 197.
 Bolivia, 198, 199.
 British Empire, 7.
 Bulgaria, 6, 47, 131 *n.*
 China, 6-8, 23, 51, 52, 64, 70-88, 90, 95 *n.*, 106, 193-7, 201, 211-48.
 Columbia, 127.
 Cuba, 197.
 Czechoslovakia, 6 *n.*, 103, 105, 121, 131 *n.*, 138, 141 *n.*, 142, 147-9, 152, 155, 159, 161, 199.
 Danzig, Free City of, 9, 143.
 Eire (Irish Free State), 54 *n.*
 Esthonia, 5 *n.*, 8, 140-2, 161, 162.
 France, 5, 7, 16, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26, 42, 43, 47-51, 58, 64, 67, 74, 76, 84, 89-92, 106, 108, 114, 116, 125 *n.*, 129, 132, 133, 135, 138, 141-3, 146 *n.*, 148-56, 156-61, 172, 176, 187, 193, 200, 219.
 Germany, 15, 18-20, 23, 24, 26, 42, 43, 47-52, 54, 56-68, 73, 74, 77, 84, 89-105, 107, 108, 113, 114, 124, 128-133, 138, 139 *n.*, 142, 143, 146, 148-51, 154-6, 158-65, 170, 172, 175 *n.*, 176, 185, 187, 193, 199, 200, 215, 223, 245.
 Great Britain, 6, 7, 15, 17, 18, 19 *n.*, 26, 30, 34, 43, 52, 53, 67, 73, 74, 76, 77, 79 *n.*, 80, 83, 84, 89, 90-1, 106-16, 131-5, 138, 140, 142, 143, 146 *n.*, 150-5, 159-61, 172, 187, 193, 199, 200, 212, 225, 228, 230, 232, 234, 235 *n.*
 Hungary, 6, 129, 131 *n.*, 148, 199, 201.
 India, 7, 95 *n.*, 225, 228, 229, 232, 234.
 Iraq, 199.
 Italy, 7, 19, 42, 43, 47, 51, 52, 67, 90, 91, 114, 129, 132, 135, 137 *n.*, 138 *n.*, 158, 199-204, 223. *See* Italo-Abyssinian dispute.
 Japan, 7, 8, 15, 53, 61 *n.*, 70-88, 90, 91, 95 *n.*, 99, 102, 103, 106, 107, 114, 116, 117, 122-214, 126, 129, 146 *n.*, 152, 159, 163-77, 184, 187, 193, 212, 219-24, 234, 236-48.
 Korea, 72 *n.*, 76, 169, 207 *n.*, 233 *n.*
 Latin America, 116, 121, 122.
 Latvia, 2, 5 *n.*, 8, 140-2, 148, 149, 159, 162.
 Lithuania, 2, 8, 51, 140-2, 147-9, 158, 159, 162.
 Little Entente, 6, 90, 131, 132, 135, 138 *n.*, 141, 158.
 Luxemburg, 6, 131 *n.*, 197, 202 *n.*
 Manchuria, 6 *n.*, 17, 28, 71, 73-82, 86, 87, 90, 107 *n.*, 117, 163-77, 206, 207, 209 *n.*, 219, 220, 225 *n.*, 237, 244, 247, 248.
 Mexico, 6, 116, 122.
 Netherlands, 6, 48.

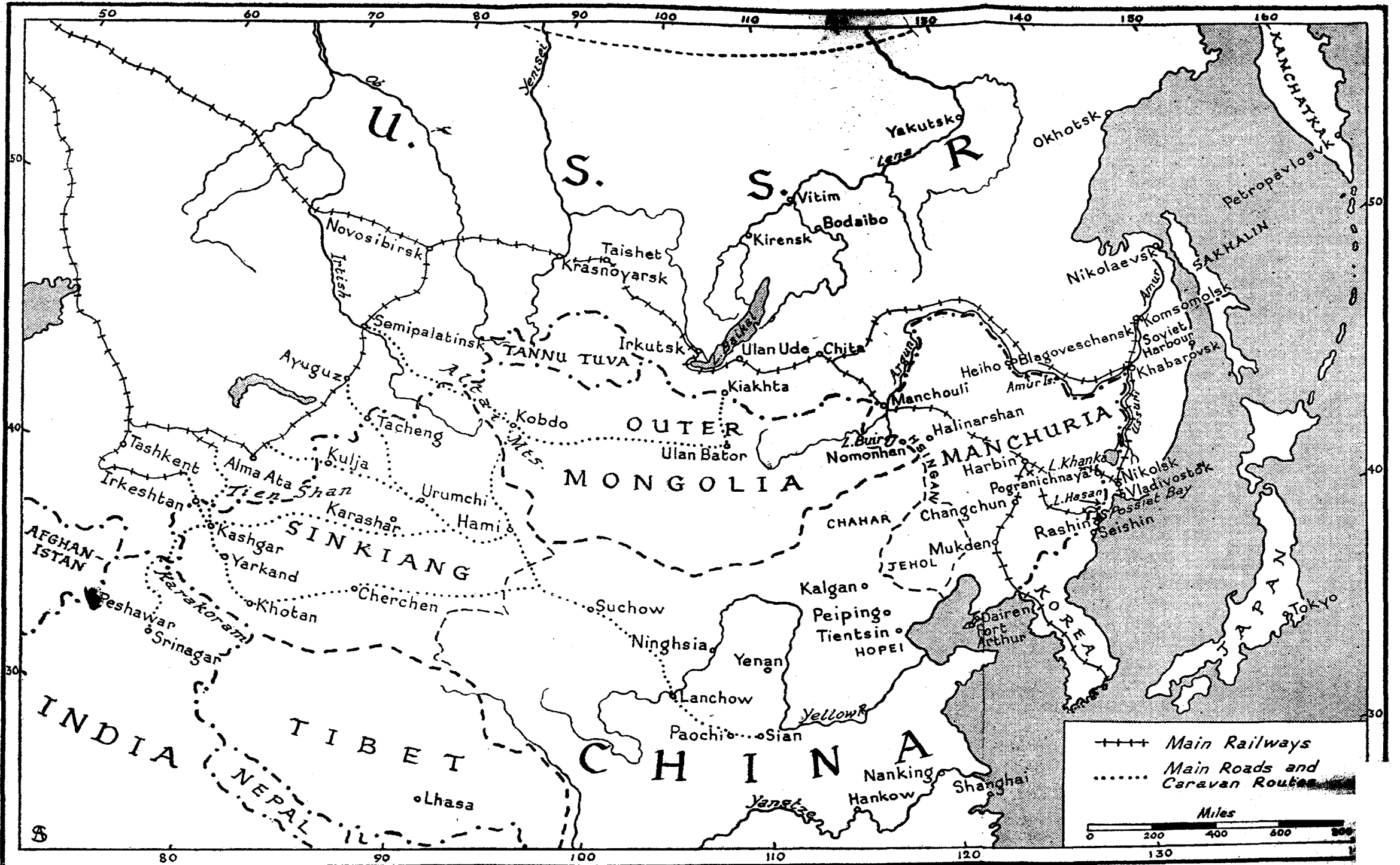
- Russia, Soviet: Relations—*contd.*
 Outer Mongolia, 6, 79, 83, 86, 164, 166, 167, 174-7, 206, 207 *n.*, 210, 225, 226, 228, 236-48.
 Panama, 197.
 Paraguay, 198, 199.
 Persia, 5, 50, 52, 199.
 Poland, 2, 5, 7, 8, 19 *n.*, 20, 21, 24, 53, 54 *n.*, 58, 67, 84, 90-2, 95 *n.*, 100-4, 108 *n.*, 129, 134-6, 140-50, 155 *n.*, 157, 159, 175 *n.*, 193.
 Portugal, 6, 136.
 Roumania, 2, 8, 19 *n.*, 20, 22, 23, 75, 138, 140, 157, 158, 161, 203.
 Saudi Arabia, 6.
 Sinkiang, 70, 83, 106, 164, 174, 220, 225-38.
 Spain, 6, 131 *n.*, 135.
 Sweden, 146 *n.*
 Switzerland, 6, 48, 202 *n.*
 Tannu Tuva, 6, 239 *n.*, 243.
 Tibet, 220, 228, 233 *n.*, 234, 236.
 Turkey, 5, 15, 42, 47, 50-2, 54 *n.*, 91, 129, 131 *n.*, 145 *n.*, 146 *n.*, 234, 237.
 United States, 17, 30, 47, 70, 74-6, 79 *n.*, 80, 83-5, 90, 96, 116-27, 168, 169, 193, 196, 212, 215.
 Uruguay, 6, 116, 122, 127, 137 *n.*
 Vatican, 17, 148, 188.
 Yemen, 6.
 Yugoslavia, 131 *n.*, 141, 157, 199.
 Religion in, 17, 18.
 'Right opposition' in, 15.
 Social services in, 16 *n.*
 State Trials in, 94.
 Territorial divisions of (political and geographical):
 Biro-Bijan Autonomous Jewish Province, 207, 208.
 Buriat Mongol Autonomous Republic, 206, 208, 209 *n.*, 239 *n.*, 242, 247 *n.*
 Caucasia, 135 *n.*, 146 *n.*
 Central Asia, 38, 230.
 Chita Province, 206.
 Donetz Basin (Donbass), 140 *n.*
 Far East, 38, 70, 72 *n.*, 172, 174, 182, 183, 205-10.
 Far Eastern Territory (*see* Far East), 78, 85, 206, 208, 209.
 Kamchatka, 107 *n.*, 174, 208.
 Karelia, 140 *n.*
 Khabarovsk Territory. *See* Far Eastern Territory.
 Kirghiz S. S. R., 228.
 Maritime Territory, 126, 174, 205, 206. *See* Far Eastern Territory.
 Moldavian Autonomous Republic, 22.
 Siberia, 38, 76, 84, 123, 205-10, 226 *n.*
 Tajik S.S.R., 225.
 Turkestan, 135 *n.*, 228, 235.
 Ukraine, 16, 37, 67, 94 *n.*, 95 *n.*, 101, 105 *n.*, 135 *n.*, 136 *n.*, 145-7, 157, 158, 205.
 White Russian S.S.R., 136 *n.*, 140 *n.*
 Yakut Autonomous Republic, 206.
 Treaties and Agreements of (bilateral):
 R.S.F.S.R., with:
 Estonia 18 March 1920 (Treaty of Tartu), 8 *n.*
 Lithuania, 12 July 1920 (Treaty of Moscow), 8 *n.*
 Latvia, 11 August 1920 (Treaty of Moscow), 8 *n.*
 Finland, 14 October 1920 (Treaty of Dorpat), 8 *n.*
 Poland, 18 March 1921 (Treaty of Riga), 8 *n.*, 136, 144, 146-8.
 Outer Mongolia, 5 November 1921, 242.
 Germany, 16 April 1922 (Treaty of Rapallo), 7, 56, 58, 59.
 U.S.S.R., with:
 China, 31 May 1924, 17, 73, 170, 243.
 Great Britain, 8 August 1924, 17.
 Manchuria, 20 September 1924, 71.
 Japan, 20 January 1925, 76, 116 *n.*
 Turkey, 17 December 1925, 8, 13.
 Germany, 24 April 1926 (Treaty of Berlin), 7, 14, 20, 24, 25, 57, 63, 68, 97.
 Afghanistan, 31 August 1926, 8, 14.
 Lithuania, 22 December 1926, 9, 14, 21, 141, 147 *n.*
 Latvia, 9 March 1927, 8 *n.*
 Persia (Iran), 1 October 1927, -8, 14.
 Germany, 24 January 1929, 7, 25, 57, 63.
 Manchuria, 22 December 1929 (Khabarovsk Protocol), 73.
 Germany, 25 January 1931, 97.
 Sinkiang, 31 October 1931, 231, 233.
 Finland, 21 January 1932, 21, 141.
 Latvia, 5 February 1932, 21, 141.
 Estonia, 4 May 1932, 21.
 Estonia, 16 June 1932 (Conciliation Convention), 21.
 Latvia, 18 June 1932 (Conciliation Convention), 21.

- Russia, Soviet: Treaties—*contd.*
 Poland, 25 July 1932 (Soviet-Polish Non-Aggression Pact), 21, 23, 136, 140, 143-4.
 Poland, 23 November 1932 (Conciliation Convention), 23.
 France, 29 November 1932, 22, 23, 154.
 Italy, 2 September 1933, 91, 200.
 Outer Mongolia, 27 November 1934 (Gentleman's Agreement), 247.
 France, 2 May 1935 (Franco-Soviet Pact), 92, 101, 102 *n.*, 103, 105, 108, 109, 128, 133 *n.*, 138 *n.*, 142, 151-61, 176, 189, 192, 194.
 Czechoslovakia, 16 May 1935, 92, 128, 152, 153, 157, 161, 194.
 Outer Mongolia, 12 March 1936, 247.
 Great Britain, 17 July 1937 (Naval Limitation Agreement), 134 *n.*
 China, 21 August 1937, 223.
 Treaties and Agreement of (multilateral):
 Straits Convention (Lausanne Treaty), 24 July 1923, 91.
 Pact of Paris (Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact), 27 August 1928, 9, 14, 23, 43, 49, 52, 74, 119, 168, 201.
 Litvinov Protocol (to Pact of Paris), 9 February 1929, 9, 14, 21-3, 53.
 Conventions for the definition of Aggression, 3, 5 and 23 July 1933, 21 *n.*, 24, 53, 54, 136.
 War with Poland (1920), 58, 147 *n.*
 Territorial losses after World War I, 2
 Russia, Tsarist:
 Debts of, 7, 11, 18, 19, 111, 120, 123-5.
 Foreign Ministry of, 7.
 Nationalities, policy towards, 179.
 Relations of, with:
 Central Asia, 8 *n.*
 France, 56.
 Germany, 8 *n.*, 56, 145.
 Japan, 8 *n.*
 Manchuria, 71.
 Outer Mongolia, 239-41.
 Persia, 8 *n.*
 Social conditions in, 216.
 Treaties and Agreements of:
 Russia, with:
 China, 27 August 1689, O.S. (Treaty of Nerchinsk), 205.
 China, 25 July 1851, O.S. (Treaty of Kulja), 228.
 China, 16 May 1858, O.S. (Treaty of Aigun), 205.
 China, 14 November 1860, O.S., 205.
 China, 3 September 1879, O.S. (Treaty of Livadia), 229.
 China, 12 February 1881, O.S. (Treaty of St. Petersburg), 229.
 Japan, 23 August 1905, O.S. (Treaty of Portsmouth), 76, 169.
 Japan, 30 July 1907, N.S., 76.
 Japan, 4 July 1910, N.S., 76.
 Japan, 8 July 1912, N.S., 76.
 Outer Mongolia, 3 November 1912, N.S., 240.
 China and Outer Mongolia, (Kiakhta Agreement) 7 June 1915, N.S., 241.
 Japan, 3 July 1916, N.S., 76.
 War with Japan (1904-1905), 76.
 Saar Plebiscite, 188, 199.
 Sakhalin, 7, 76, 116 *n.*, 169, 174, 205.
 Sanctions. *See* Italo-Abyssinian Conflict.
 Sarts, 226.
 Schlieffen, Count Alfred, 104.
 Schleicher, General Kurt von, 67.
 Schuman, Professor F. L., 107 *n.*
 Schweissgut, General, 157.
 Scott, John, 26, 210 *n.*
 Second International, 9, 16, 19 *n.*, 189, 191.
 Security, Soviet attitude towards, 5, 9, 12-14, 52, 102, 194-6. *See* Eastern Security Pact (proposed).
 Seeckt, General Hans von, 217 *n.*, 221.
 Seishin, 207 *n.*
 Semenov, Ataman Gregori, 78, 79 *n.*, 241.
 Sergiopol. *See* Ayuguz.
 Shanghai, 80, 83, 164, 212, 213, 217, 219.
 Shansi, 224.
 Sheng Shih-tsai, 232-8.
 Shensi, 216, 221-3.
 Shestakov, Professor A. V., 179 *n.*
 Sian, 222, 231.
 Sikhota-Alin Mountains, 207.
 Silk Road, 225, 228.
 Simon, Sir John (first Viscount Simon), 35, 112-14, 128, 131, 151, 152, 155.
 Skoropadsky, Paul, 94 *n.*
 Slavutsky (Soviet diplomat), 232 *n.*
 Snow, Edgar, 216 *n.*, 219 *n.*, 222.
 Social Democracy, 14. *See* Second International.
 Sokolnikov, G., 17.

- South Manchurian Railway (S.M.R.), 75, 78.
- Soviet Harbour, 208.
- Spengler, O., 95 *n.*
- Stampfer, F., 66 *n.*
- Stalin, J. V., 4 *n.*, 59 *n.*, 72, 77, 114, 156, 161 *n.*, 176-8, 194, 195, 212
- Speeches of: December 1925, 10; 1 July 1927, 213; 19 December 1927, 214 *n.*; 13 July 1928, 215 *n.*; 26 June 1930, 18, 28, 37, 42, 43 *n.*, 217; 7 January 1933, 163; 26 January 1934, 98, 99, 110, 130, 170, 183.
- Stimson, H. L., 119.
- Stomoniakov, B. S., 176.
- Stresemann, Gustav, 7, 57.
- Su Ping-wen, 86.
- Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, 148, 158.
- Suchow, 232.
- Sudetenland, 143.
- Sun Yat-sen, 77 *n.*, 211, 224 *n.*, 243.
- Suritz, J., 100 *n.*
- Swanson, Claude A., 169.
- Szechuan, 216.
- Szembek, Count J., 101, 150 *n.*
- Tacheng. *See* Chuguchak.
- Taishet, 208.
- Tajiks, 226.
- Taracouzio, T. A., 2 *n.*
- Tardieu, André, 49.
- Tashkent, 228, 236.
- Tassigny, Colonel Jean de Lattre de, 140.
- Taube, Baron M. de, 145 *n.*
- Teh Wang, 247.
- Teichman, Sir Eric, 225 *n.*, 238.
- Teschen, 147.
- Thaelmann, E., 61.
- Thorez, M., 188, 189, 191.
- Tientsin, 233.
- Tihwa (or Tihua). *See* Urumchi.
- Timber, 28 *n.*, 29, 33, 54, 80 *n.*
- Titulescu, N., 23, 138, 161.
- Togliatti, P., 193-5.
- Tokyo, 176.
- Torgsin, 29.
- Torguts, 226, 227.
- Torrès, H., 133 *n.*, 142 *n.*
- Trans-Siberian Railway, 81, 164, 167, 205-8, 210, 231, 233.
- Treaties and Agreements (bilateral):
- Poland-France, 18 February 1921, 21 *n.*
- Poland-Roumania, 3 March 1921, 21 *n.*, 22.
- Esthonia-Latvia, 1 November 1923, 141 *n.*
- France-Czechoslovakia, 18 October 1925, 156.
- France-Roumania, 10 June 1926, 22.
- China-Japan, 31 May 1933 (Tangku Truce), 167.
- Poland-Germany, 26 January 1934, 92, 140, 143.
- France-Italy, 7 January 1935, 132, 149.
- Great Britain-Germany, 18 June 1935 (Naval Agreement), 106, 107, 115, 133, 134 *n.*
- Germany-Japan, 25 November 1936 (Anti-Comintern Pact), 95 *n.*, 223.
- Great Britain-Germany, 17 July 1937 (Naval Agreement), 134 *n.*
- Treaties and Agreements (multilateral):
- Treaty of Versailles, 28 June 1919, 42, 68 *n.*, 91, 101 *n.*, 132, 133, 146, 193.
- League of Nations Covenant, 49, 57 *n.*, 90, 127, 138, 142, 152, 153, 168, 200.
- Washington Treaty (Nine-Power Treaty), 6 February 1922, 53, 168, 173.
- Geneva Protocol, 2 October 1924, 13.
- Locarno Treaties, 16 October 1925, 7, 13, 57, 92, 106, 107, 109, 135, 142, 152, 153 *n.*, 154, 155, 158, 160.
- London Naval Treaty, 22 April 1930, 53.
- Four-Power Pact, 15 July 1933, 25, 90, 91, 129.
- Balkan Pact, 9 February 1934, 131 *n.*
- Baltic Pact, 12 September 1934, 141 *n.*
- London Naval Treaty, 25 March 1936, 134 *n.*
- Trekhgornaya Manufaktura, 197.
- Treviranus, G. R., 59 *n.*
- Trotsky, Léon, 4, 15, 61 *n.*, 128, 180.
- 'Trotskyists,' 213.
- Troyanovsky, A., 79, 123 *n.*, 124, 168 *n.*
- T.U.C. (Trades Union Congress), 198 *n.*
- Tukhachevsky, Marshal M. N., 82 *n.*, 104, 113, 115.
- Speeches of: 30 January 1935, 184 *n.*; 15 January 1936, 161, 184.
- Tungans. *See* China, Moslems in.
- Turanians, 226 *n.*, 228, 237 *n.*
- Turkis, 226, 234, 235, 239 *n.*
- Turksib railway, 37, 228, 231, 233.
- Tyrna, 210.
- Ugolnaya Bay, 209.
- Uighurs. *See* Turkis.
- Ukraine and Ukrainian Problem. *See* Russia, Soviet, Territorial Divisions of.

- Ulan Bator, 176, 210, 239 *n.*, 241-6.
 Ulan-Ude (Verkhne Udinsk), 209 *n.*,
 210.
 Ungern Sternberg, Baron von, 241, 242.
 United Front, 9, 191, 193, 196, 198,
 219-21, 224.
 United States Export-Import Bank, 124.
 United States Secretary of Navy. *See*
 Swanson, Claude A.
 United States Trade Agreements Act,
 12 June 1934, 125.
 Ural Mountains, 26, 37, 95 *n.*, 210 *n.*
 Uriankhai. *See* Tannu Tuva.
 Urga. *See* Ulan Bator.
 Urumchi, 225 *n.*, 228, 231-3, 235, 237,
 238.
 Ushida, Count Y., 163.
 Ussuri River, 205, 207, 208.
 Uzbeks, 226 *n.*
- Valmy, Battle of (1792), 192.
 Valtin, Jan, 60 *n.*
 Valuta. *See* Russia, Soviet, Foreign
 Exchange.
 Vansittart, Sir Robert (first Baron
 Vansittart), 112.
 Vassel, G., 231 *n.*
 Vassiliev (Soviet diplomat), 243, 244.
 Vellin, 206.
 Ventsov, Colonel S. I., 140.
 Vigilantes. *See* Zilliacus, K.
 Vilna, 147.
 Vinogradov, S. A., 66 *n.*
 Vitim, 208.
 Vladimir, St., Prince of Kiev, 145 *n.*
 Vladivostok, 72, 76, 166, 205-10, 231,
 245.
 Vorovsky, V., 48.
 Voikov, P., 21.
 Voroshilov, Marshal K., 82 *n.*, 130, 184.
 Speech of: 30 January 1934, 183.
 Voroshilovsk, 209.
- Wang, C. T., 74.
 Wang Yu-chuan, 224 *n.*
 Wang-ming, 218.
 Wells, Linton, 140 *n.*, 209.
 Welles, Sumner, 126 *n.*
 Western Air Pact (proposed), 103, 107,
 132, 150, 159, 160.
 Wetzel, Lieutenant-General, 217 *n.*
 Weygand, General M., 139.
 Wheat, 29, 44, 45, 55 *n.*
 White, D. Fedotoff, 180 *n.*
 'White Russians.' *See* Russia, Soviet,
 Political émigrés from.
 William II, Emperor of Germany, 56.
 Wilson, H. R., 47 *n.*, 201 *n.*
 Wilson, T. Woodrow, 4, 117 *n.*, 122.
 World War I, 1, 5.
 World War II, 1, 60.
 Wostwag Company, 245.
 Wu, A. K., 231.
 Wuhan. *See* Hankow.
 Wysocki, A., 146 *n.*
- Yakhontoff, V. A., 211 *n.*
 Yakub Bey, 228, 229.
 Yakutsk, 208.
 Yangtze River, 216, 220.
 Yang Tseng-hsin, 229-31.
 Yangi-Hissar, 225 *n.*
 Yao, 233 *n.*
 Yarkand, 225 *n.*, 228, 234.
 Yen-an, 223.
 Young, Owen D., 62.
 Yoshizawa, K., 79.
 Yunnan, 220.
 Yurenev, K., 168 *n.*, 169 *n.*, 171 *n.*,
 172 *n.*, 173 *n.*, 174 *n.*, 175 *n.*,
 236 *n.*
- Zilliacus, K., 107 *n.*
 Zinoviév, G., 112.
 Zog, King of Albania (Ahmed Zogu),
 6 *n.*

**PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
BY WESTERN PRINTING SERVICES LTD., BRISTOL**



SOME OXFORD BOOKS

A SHORT HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

by G. M. GATHORNE-HARDY

Third Edition, 1920-1939

15s. net

(Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs)

SOVIET FAR-EASTERN POLICY

by HARRIET L. MOORE

20s. net

A HISTORY OF RUSSIA

by

GEORGE VERNADSKY and MICHAEL KARPOVITCH

To be completed in three volumes

Vol. I. ANCIENT RUSSIA

by George Vernadsky

27s. 6d. net

RUSSIA AND THE BALKANS, 1870-1880

by B. H. SUMNER

(Warden of All Souls College, Oxford)

30s. net

(All prices are subject to alteration without notice)

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS