



PACIFIC OCEAN

	SOVIET UNION and OUTER MONGOLIA until 1945.
	Limits of SOVIET sphere, 1945.
	Limits of SOVIET sphere, 1939.
	Newly acquired spheres.

SOVIET RUSSIA
AND
THE FAR EAST

BY
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LONDON
HOLLIS & CARTER

1949

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*Printed in the U.S.A. for Hollis & Carter, Ltd.,
25, Ashley Place, London, S.W. 1*

First published, 1949

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Preface

In Soviet Russia's international relations Europe has always occupied a more important place than has the Far East; for a comprehension of Soviet policies, however, the Far East is at least as important as Europe. In east Asia, Soviet policy could set itself its most ambitious goals, develop new political methods, and test new techniques long before they could be applied in Europe. As early as the 'twenties the Far East had emerged as an important workshop of new devices and strategies in Soviet international activities. A China ripe for the great upheaval; Japan as a buffer against the Anglo-Saxon world; a Manchurian railway worth fighting for; Outer Mongolia as the first Soviet satellite state; Tannu Tuva, the first area to complete the full course from "sovereignty" and "integrity" to the position of a third-rate province of the Soviet Union—these were the major elements of a peculiar policy conducted from Moscow: a policy often successful, sometimes miscalculated, but always a policy *sui generis*, bold, and dynamic, peaceful in relations with a superior power, aggressive toward inferior force. In this scheme of things, the Soviet Far East itself became an advanced military base, a stronghold in the Pacific constantly being fortified for further action; an outpost of Soviet might, and a base for expansion. Many a misconception and many an error in evaluation of Soviet policy in general could have been avoided had the Far Eastern pattern been better known and understood.

Strictly speaking, "the Far East" is an inexact designation for this book. Embracing, as it must, relations between the Soviet Union on the one hand and China, Japan, and Korea on the other, the subject matter of this volume could not be limited to that sector of land in eastern Asia and the adjacent islands that are usually called the Far East. Russian relations with China have extended deep into central Asia; Chinese Turkestan and Mongolia have been important objects of Sino-Soviet contests. This book must therefore also be concerned with the peripheral areas of

China. Furthermore, no work dealing with Soviet foreign policy in the Far East would be complete if it did not consider the activities of the Communist parties in the countries of the Orient. Sometimes these parties proclaimed proudly and publicly the ties that bound them to Moscow; at other times they preferred to parade as "independent" and "nationalist" forces. Actually, they at no time ceased to function as an arm of Soviet international activities.

Chronologically this volume begins with the crucial year 1931 and covers the period down to the present time. This book constitutes a part of my work on Russian policy in the Far East which will embrace a period of about 90 years, from the date of the Russian acquisition of the key area in the Pacific to our days. The history of the period from 1860 to 1930 is the subject of a companion volume to be published in the spring of 1949.

The author wishes to express his gratitude to Eugene Davidson, of the Yale University Press, at whose suggestion this work on the Far East was undertaken; to Professor M. Pavlovsky, of Shanghai, for valuable assistance in placing at my disposal important data and source material; to Professor Robert T. Oliver for his expert advice on Korean problems; to Professor Harry R. Rudin for comments and suggestions concerning this manuscript; to Alexander Dallin for research and assistance in the literary shaping of the book; and to Mrs. Tilly Klorman for valuable aid in editing the manuscript.

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