

RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE EAST

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BY

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UNIVERSITY OF
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PREFACE.

Whoever has carefully considered the past and present of historical phenomena might certainly judge and conclude of the future political issues. To comprehend general European politics, one should study the history of Eastern Europe, to wit, the history of Russia; and to understand the Russian European history one must be intimate with Russian diplomatic activities in Asia, particularly in Far Asia. The aim of this condensed essay is to sketch Russian foreign policy in the East, from about the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present time. The student of political questions who wish to grasp *in extenso* Russian and European politics, which, in recent tragic days is written, not by pen but by blood of our brothers and fathers, can not find sufficient data for his perusal in the following pages. If such a student want to be informed of Russian internal and external policy from original sources and books more detailed and authoritative, he is advised to consult the documents and general works which are listed in the bibliography at the end of this monograph.

I desire to acknowledge the invaluable aid for facts and ideas received from the writings of M. N. Pokrovskago. His illuminating book, *Russkaya Istoriya s Drevneyshih Vremen* (Russian History from the oldest Times), and his brilliant articles in *Istoriya Rossiya v XI X Viekie* (History of Russia in the Nineteenth Century), offer mines of information, as well as a sympathetic interpretation of constructive Russian politics. More particular gratitude has been richly merited by Dr. D. P. Barrows, Professor of Political Science in the University of California, and

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Dr. Payson J. Treat, Professor of History in Stanford University, for their acute observations and suggestions offered to me. Acknowledgments and sincere thanks are also due to Mr. Lewis Anderson, B.A., Miss Margaret Hodgen, B.L., and Dr. Frank F. Nalder, of the University of California, for their kind assistance efficiently rendered in the reading and revising of proof.

M. S. S.

Berkeley, California.

February 14, 1918.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

Russia in the Near East.

Three phases of Russia's expansion in the East — Decadence of Turkey — *Tsarigrad* [Constantinople] the metropolis of the Orthodox Church — Russian policy in the Near East from 1806 to 1812 — The Alliance between Russia, France, and Great Britain for liberation of Greece under the Turkish domination, 1827 — The Crimean War — The Epoch of the Great Reforms — The Russo-Turkish War of 1877 — Occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria — Annexation of these two provinces — Rivalry between Slavonic and Germanic powers in the Balkan Peninsula — The Balkan Alliance of 1912 — Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria, and Montenegro declare war on Turkey — The second Balkan War — The Treaty of Bucharest of 1913 — Russia's failure in the Balkans — Her gain in Asia. pp. 1-9.

CHAPTER II

Russia in the Middle East.

Expansion of Russia toward the Arabian Sea — Annexation of Khiva, Bokhara and Caucasus — Russia's influence in Persia and Afghanistan — Collision with Great Britain in the Middle East — Germany's *Drang nach Osten* — The Bagdad Railroad — Russian and British spheres of interest in Persia — *Entente cordiale* between the two powers in Afghanistan — Criticism of the Anglo-Russian agreement in the Middle Orient — Renunciation of Russia from the Persian Gulf — Russia and England prior to the Convention of 1907 — Their policy after the Convention of 1907 — Persia and Afghanistan at the beginning of the European War of 1914 — Their neutrality. pp. 10-16.

CHAPTER III

Russia in the Far East.

Relation of Russia to the Far East — Muraviev-Amurski, governor of Eastern Siberia, 1847 — Annexation of the Amur and Maritime Province — Russian steamships in communication with Japan and U. S. of America — Russian trade in Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan — Formation of the Russo-Chinese Bank — Concessions in Manchuria — Russian policy and the Boxer rising in China — The Tsar protects "the Son of Heaven" — A secret agreement between Russia and

VIII

CONTENTS

China — Japan and Russia in Manchuria — Russia and Japan in Korea — War between Russia and Japan.pp. 17-22.

CHAPTER IV

Russian Policy after the Japanese War.

A parallel between the Japanese and Russians in fight — Why did Japan succeed? — The treaty of peace — Did Russia's policy fail in the Far East? — General characteristic of her foreign politics — Relation with Mongolia in the beginning of the twentieth century — Russia the protector of the Mongolian peoples — Her protection of the Slavonic peoples — Turning from the Far to the Near East — Liberation of the subjugated peoples from the Turkish yoke — Why is Russia in war with the Huns and Teutons?pp. 22-27.

APPENDIX

Bibliography pp. 29-38.

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RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE EAST.

CHAPTER I

RUSSIA IN THE NEAR EAST.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century up to the present time, the foreign policy of Russia in the East has passed through three important stages. These three stages or phases of expansion may be focused respectively on the Aegean Sea, the Arabian Sea, and the Yellow Sea, or in other words, on the Near East, the Middle East, and the Far East. To secure the first outlet, Russian diplomats knew that the route lay through Constantinople and the Dardanelles; to attain the second outlet, the way lead through Persia and Afghanistan; and to reach the third point, the route passed through Mongolia and Manchuria. The southward expansion toward the Mediterranean had sometimes a religious and idealistic aspect. Transcaucasian expansion had a commercial significance, and the eastward expansion a political aspect. Let us first consider the Russian foreign policy in the Near East.

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Since Russian expansion towards the north was made impossible by the icy solitudes of Lapland, and westward by the frontiers of firmly established states such as the German and Austrian Empires, the only way open to Russia was in the direction of the south. The decadence of Turkey seemed to offer her a splendid opportunity for such purposes.

Diplomats from the Neva dreamed of the Black Sea, Marmora Sea, and Aegean Sea, becoming Russian lakes. And since Russia as the chief political representative of the Greek Church feels that there exists an historic connection between her and the former Eastern Roman Empire, she has always coveted the restoration of Constantinople as the metropolis of the Eastern Orthodox Church, and as the capital of her great empire. She longed for centuries to free that city, *Tsarigrad* (Tsar's City) from the yoke of the infidel, and to replace the crescent by the cross on the dome of St. Sophia. But, as the facts show, it was in this direction that her diplomacy, after some brilliant successes, found itself most completely deceived.

During the Russo-Turkish War in 1804 under Tsar Alexander I, Russian armies were victorious, and after the war they occupied the Turkish Danubian principalities of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria. Occupation of these provinces lasted from 1806 to 1812. The rupture with Napoleon compelled the Tsar to sign the Peace of Bucharest by which of all his conquests he retained only a bit of Rumanian territory, Bessarabia, and two Danubian towns, Ismail and Kilia on the mouths of the Danube. The Rumanians and Bulgarians fell again under the Turkish yoke, and Serbia, which won her independence with her own forces (1804—1812), was left to herself. Such a state of affairs in the Near East remained throughout the Napoleonic wars in Europe. (St. Stancyevich, *Istoriya Srpakoga Naroda*.)

The second intervention of Russia in the Near East occurred on the occasion of the Greek Revolution. In July 1827, Russia, France, and Great Britain, entered into concerted action by the Treaty of London. The united fleets of the three powers totally annihilated the Turkish and Egyptian fleets October 20, 1827, at Navarino, under Admiral Codrington. This decisive naval battle precipitated the Russo-Turkish War of 1828—1829, and weakened the resistance of Turkey against Russia. At that time the