# RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE EAST

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Russian Foreign Policy in the East by Milivoy S. Stanoyevich

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# **MILIVOY S. STANOYEVICH**

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BY

MILIVOY S. STANOYEVICH, M. L. (University of California)



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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 undestand 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 begining 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 Drevnieyshih Vremen (Russian History from the oldest Times), and his brilliant articles in Istoriya Rossiyi 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

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, 1916.

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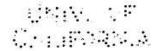
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# RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE EAST.

#### 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.

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. Stanoyevich, Istoriya Srpakoga Naroda.)

The second intervention of Russia in the Near East occured 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