# CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION

A Study of Sino-Soviet Relations

by

AITCHEN K. WU, Ph.D. (London)

Formerly Chinese Consul-General at Vladivostok; Professor of International Relations at Yenching University and West China Union University CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION

First Published in 1950 Reissued in 1967 by Kennikat Press

Library of Congress Catalog Card No: 67-29610

Manufactured in the United States of America

#### FOREWORD

well known to the reading public, and to say a few words on the subject dealt with in the book. Mr. Aitchen K. Wu has had much experience in foreign affairs, having been at home Special Delegate of the Waichiaopu in the provinces in charge of such matters and abroad our Consul-General in Siberia. He resided also for some time in Chinese Turkistan as Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, and as such acquired direct knowledge of the relations between that far-off Chinese province and the Soviet Union. His interesting and authoritative book, Turkistan Tumult, gives a very full account of conditions in that province, its recent history and his personal experiences there.

In the present book he deals in a painstaking manner with the larger aspects of Sino-Soviet relations in recent times, and brings their history up to date—a task which has not yet been undertaken by any other writer, but is of the greatest importance. He has a thorough acquaintance with this vast subject, of which he here provides an excellent bibliography; and, moreover, he writes from personal experience and direct observation both as our Consul-General in Siberia and as a frequent visitor to Moscow. He has also discussed privately certain aspects of the question with the high personages who were entrusted by our government with negotiations with the Soviet authorities. Thus what he has now put on record attains as far as is at present possible to historical accuracy, and often possesses the degree of authenticity only to be had from direct contact with officials ultimately responsible.

He has expressed himself with much frankness at times and has not hesitated to make fair comment. He believes, as many people do, that it is necessary and helpful between good friends to tell each other sometimes the unvarnished truth. No reasonable Chinese can fail to realize that, with a common frontier of many thousands of miles and with diplomatic and commercial relations dating back

vii

to an earlier period than those between China and other nations, the Chinese and the Soviet peoples should and could not be anything but the best of friends, and this idea runs like a thread throughout the length of the book.

With these few lines I commend the book to the large number of readers interested in international relations.

W. W. YEN,
Former Chinese Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.

### CONTENTS

FOREWORD by Dr. W. W. YEN	PAG Vi
PREFACE	i
Part I	
CHINA AND TSARIST RUSSIA: 1618-1917	
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION	1
II EARLY DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND CHINA	
First Sino-Russian Official Contacts—Spathary's Mission—Activities of Golovin—Activities of Ides—First Chinese Envoy Appointed—Ismailoff's Mission—Count Vladislavitch Raguzinsky's Embassy	5
III RUSSIA'S RELATIONS WITH OUTER MONGOLIA  Tatar Invasion—Golden Horde—Russia's New Era  Under Ivan IV—Eastward Drive of the Eleuths— Galdan's Ambition—Influence of Lamaism—Treaty of Kiakhta—Russian Manœuvres in Mongolia—Mongolia's Independence from China—Signing of Tripar- tite Agreement	27
IV RUSSIAN EXPANSION TO THE AMUR  Causes of Amur Expansion—Historical Invasion of Yermak—Under Manchu Lenient Control— Khabarov's Notable Expedition—Ambitious Adventures of Stepanov—Siege of Albazin—Treaty of Nerchinsk—Great Career of Muraviev—Treaty of Aigun —Treaties of Tientsin and Peking—Russia's Occupation of Manchuria	47

~	 DT	FR

V CONSTRUCTION OF THE CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY

Conception of C.E.R.—Russian Eastern Expansion after Sino-Japanese War—Li Hung-chang's Mission—Li-Lobanoff Negotiations—Organization of C.E.R. Company—Lease of Port Arthur and Dairen-wan—America's Open Door Policy—Japan's Objection

### VI RUSSIA'S RELATIONS WITH CHINESE TURKISTAN (SINKIANG)

Border Trade Relations—The Boundary Question—Russian Occupation of Ili During the Islamic Revolt—Tso Tsung-tang's Historic Campaign—Treaty of Livadia—Marquis Tseng's Brilliant Diplomacy—Treaty of St. Petersburg—The Question of Pamirs

#### Part II

CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION: 1918-1930

### VII SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS DURING THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Controversies over the Chinese Eastern Railway—Police, Judicial and Municipal Problems in the C.E.R. Zone—Retrocession of Navigation on the Sungari and Amur Rivers—Retrocession of Russian Concessions and Abolition of Extraterritoriality—Problem of Commercial Relations

### VIII PRELUDE TO THE RESUMPTION OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS (1918-1924)

First Soviet Declaration of 1919—Second Soviet Declaration of 1920—Activities of Yourin and Paikes—Arrival of Joffe—Wang-Karakhan Negotiations—Breaking-off of Negotiations—Signature of Sino-Soviet Agreement

#### IX WHITE-RED CONTESTS IN OUTER MONGOLIA

Semenov, Head of White Russian Activities—Little Hsu's Appointment—Mongolia Cancels Her Indepen-

ш

73

96 /

118

134

1 58

xiv	CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION	
CHAPTER		
TI NI	dence—Baron Ungern's Tyranny—Counter-move of the Reds—Mongolian Nationalist Party—Soviet In- fluence over Mongolia—Sovietization of Outer Mon- golia	
X CON	TROVERSIES OVER THE SINO-SOVIET CONFERENCE	
	Soviet-Mukden Pact—Opening of Sino-Soviet Con- ference—Disputes Regarding Chinese Eastern Railway —Soviet-Mukden Conference—Sino-Soviet Committee —Soviet-Japanese Convention	173
XI SEV	ERANCE OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS	186
	Question of Return of Russian Legation—Raids on Soviet Embassy—Party Purge	100
XII TH	E SINO-SOVIET CRISIS OF 1929	0
I Sand	Taking Over of the C.E.R.—Soviet Ultimatum— Melinikoff-Tsai Negotiations—Germany's Mediation —Military and Naval Engagements—Peace Move- ments—Khabarovsk Convention	198
	Part III	
CH	HINA AND THE SOVIET UNION: 1931-1950	
I	SUMPTION OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS, DECEMBER 12, 1932	
100	Sino-Soviet Relations Since the Manchurian Incident  —Reasons for Resumption of Sino-Soviet Relations  —Soviet Diplomacy—Sino-Soviet Relations Formally  Resumed—Mutual Appointment of Ambassadors	213
XIV MO	NGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC	
	Outer Mongolia Outer Mongolia—Soviet Aid to	222
C.	Outer Mongolia—Soviet Aid to Outer Mongolia—Soviet Aid to hurian Incident—The Soviet-Outer Mongolia Protocol Outer Mongolia Becomes an Independent State of the Sino-Soviet Treaty—Peitashan Incident	

#### XV SALE OF THE CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY

234

Soviet Union's Concession to Japanese Aggression— Chaos in Chinese Eastern Railway—Soviet-Japanese Parley—China's Protests—Motives of Proposed Sale of Railway—Controversies Over Ownership—Controversies Over Price—Conclusion of Conference

## XVI SOVIET INFLUENCE IN CHINESE TURKISTAN (SINKIANG)

248

Brief Description of Chinese Turkistan—Sinkiang and the Russian Revolution—Exchange of Consulates between Sinkiang and U.S.S.R.—Ili Trade Agreement—Soviet-Sinkiang Provincial Trade Agreement—Soviet Influence in Sinkiang—Sino-Soviet Land and Air Routes via Sinkiang—Political Changes in Sinkiang

#### XVII SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT

263

Bogomoloff-Sun-Wang Parley — Sino-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact—Soviet Attitude to League of Nations —Soviet Attitude to Brussels Conference—Soviet Material Aid to China—Commercial Treaty

#### XVIII SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS

272

Amur Incident—Changkufeng Incident—Nomonhan Incident—Soviet-Japanese Trade—Fisheries Convention—Sakhalin Concessions—Anti-Comintern Pact—Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact—Denunciation of Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact—Occupation of the Kuriles and Southern Sakhalin

# XIX SINO-SOVIET TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND ALLIANCE, AUGUST 14, 1945

286

T. V. Soong's Visit to Moscow—Soong's Second Visit to Moscow, Accompanied by Wang Shih-chieh, Newly Appointed Foreign Minister—Signing of Sino-Soviet Treaty—Comments on Sino-Soviet Treaty—Release of Yalta Secret Agreement—Controversies on Taking Over Manchuria

CHAPTER	PAG
XX RISE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY	300
Birth of Chinese Communist Party—Sun Yat-sen-Joffe Declaration — Reorganization of KMT — Ups and Downs of KCT—Anti-Communist Campaigns—Sian Coup—Border Region—New Fourth Route Army Affair—Political Consultative Conference—Wild Conflict Between KMT and KCT—Recognition of Chinese People's Republic	300
XXI SINO-SOVIET TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, ALLIANCE AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE, FEBRUARY 14, 1950  Mao Tze-tung's Visit to Moscow—Signing of Treaty —Important Terms in Treaty—Comments on Treaty —Future Trend of Sino-Soviet Relations—Relations Between U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and China—Future of Asia	332
APPENDICES	247
BIBLIOGRAPHY	347
INDEX	422
MAROEOWA	429
MAP OF CHINA, showing boundaries between China and the U.S.S.R. Endpap	ers