

O. EDMUND CLUBB

CHINA
&
RUSSIA

THE "GREAT GAME"

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O. Edmund Clubb, in the course of twenty years with the U.S. Foreign Service in Asia, occupied such borderlands posts critical to Sino-Russian relations as Consul at Urumchi, Sinkiang, and Consul General at Vladivostok, USSR, and at Mukden and Changchun in Manchuria. He was Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs in the Department of State from 1950 to 1952.

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PREFACE

FROM THE OUTBREAK of the Pacific War onwards, the United States has played a major role in the affairs of East Asia. Now, three decades after Pearl Harbor, there is still manifest an official intent that, as a Pacific power, we shall continue to exercise a dominant influence in the troubled Asian scene. Many forces will impinge upon the implementation of our design, but it is hardly open to question that one of the most important factors in the whole complex equation will prove to be the course taken in the Sino-Soviet relationship: will the Chinese People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics cooperate for common ends in Asia? Or will their chief efforts be directed in hostility against each other? One way or the other, American power and influence will be affected in important respects. This book is an attempt to depict the nature of the relationship between the two countries, as discovered in historical context, and thus to arrive at a tentative estimate of what the future might hold in that regard.

I would acknowledge my warm appreciation of various assistances I have received in producing this work. I express my thanks to the Rockefeller Foundation and to the Contemporary China Studies Committee of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University, for their financial support of my research travel to the Soviet Union in 1966. I record my deep gratitude to Mrs. Jane Leonard for research assistance and her helpful criticism of the Introduction and first seven chapters of my work; to Mrs. Josephine Burke of *Life Magazine* for valuable aid rendered in con-

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I express my thanks to the Aldine Publishing Company for their permission to use, as basis for maps depicting China at various stages of its historical development, certain maps from the work by Albert Herrmann, *An Historical Atlas of China* (new edition, 1966), General Editor, Norton Ginsburg; prefatory essay by Paul Wheatley. I thank Yale University Press for their similar authorization to use elements from the maps in the work by Allen F. Chew, *An Atlas of Russian History: Eleven Centuries of Changing Borders* (1967) to the same purpose. I further express my appreciation of the permission granted by Doubleday & Company to quote excerpts from *The Memoirs of Count Witte* by Sergei Witte, translated by Abraham Yarmolinsky, copyright 1920, 1921 by Doubleday & Company, Inc.

O. Edmund Clubb
March, 1971

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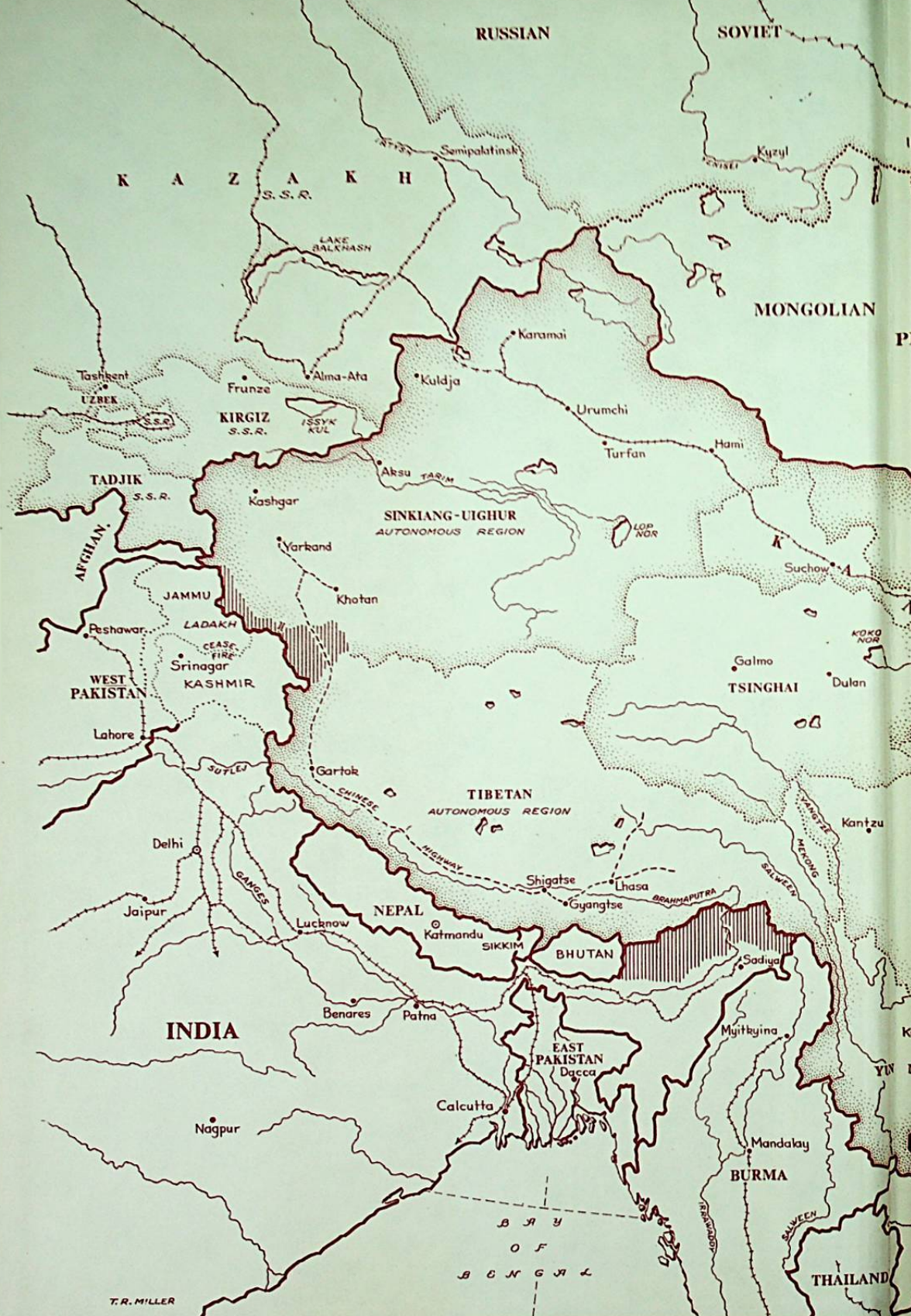
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T. R. MILLER



CHINA AND RUSSIA: The "Great Game"

O. Edmund Clubb

Two years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, the first Russian mission arrived in Peking. The Romanov dynasty had scarcely begun in Russia (1613), while the Manchus has not yet come to power in China (1644). For three centuries, with each nation ruled by dynasties that were to fall within five years of each other in the early twentieth century, there was no full scale war between them — although each fought various Western powers, and Japan, on different occasions during that time span. Similarly, despite quarrels and occasional border clashes, they have not warred against each other during the half century of Communist rule in Soviet Russia and of warlord, Nationalist, and then Communist rule in China.

O. Edmund Clubb acquired wide experience of East and Central Asia as an American diplomatic officer, and in this major work he takes his readers through three and a half centuries of relations between those two great powers. Beginning with the first "meeting of empires," he traces the course of events right through the era of the Sino-Soviet Cold War, with special emphasis on events since 1850. His detailed inquiry into this little-known field brings together in the book much information not currently available elsewhere.

Of possibly even greater value is Mr. Clubb's masterful and authoritative exposition of the significance of this long history of Sino-Russian relations

(Continued on back flap)

Other books by O. Edmund Clubb:

20TH CENTURY CHINA

In response to the growing need in the West for a fuller understanding of 20th-century China, Mr. Clubb has written a political history aimed at providing a bird's-eye survey of the main course of developments that led to the final collapse of the dynastic principle, the abortive experiment in republicanism, and the final resort to a Sinicized Communism in the long, arduous search for solutions to China's tremendous problems.

"This excellent book will force its readers to think carefully about China's place in the world and how other nations must adjust to China's dynamic and dangerous revolution. It is written in a brisk, pungent, sardonic style; and its keynote is realism. On the basis of wide-ranging scholarship, 20 years of experience in China and a keen perception of world politics, the author sets forth with uncompromising clarity his views on modern China and on America's past and present policies toward it. . . . In no other work in English will one find a more graphic, more brutally realistic account of the power struggles that have racked China from the days of Yuan Shih-k'ai to those of Mao Tse-tung, nor of the conflicts between China, Japan, Russia, and the United States to shape the future of eastern Asia."—*The New York Times*

COMMUNISM IN CHINA: As Reported from Hankow in 1932

"It is seldom that a man can have the satisfaction, however bitter it may be, of reading his analysis of a political situation thirty-five years later and finding that in the essential respects his report was correct. In 1932 a young American Vice-Consul, stationed in Hankow, China, named O. Edmund Clubb, wrote a long report on the Chinese Communist movement for the Department of State. Subsequent American policy suggests that this report was either ignored or at best given little credence.

"Thirty-five years later Mr. Clubb has made this report public. His findings and conclusions at that time are still valid. . . . Certainly a good case could be made to the effect that wishful thinking has been a major determinant of American policy toward China for the last half-century. Clubb's report, for those who will take the trouble to read it carefully, should be a healthy and astringent corrective for this kind of ignorance and arrogance."—*The Annals*, The American Academy of Political and Social Science

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