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March 1946
THE
U.S.S.R.
AND
CHINA



by
Arthur
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is the hallmark of a pamphlet dealing with the USSR issued by the RUSSIA TODAY SOCIETY, and written by an authority on the subject.

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THE U.S.S.R. AND CHINA

by

ARTHUR CLEGG

The writer of this booklet is the author of THE BIRTH OF NEW CHINA, Editor of WORLD NEWS AND VIEWS, and ex-National Organizer of the China Campaign Committee.

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U.S.S.R. AND CHINA

By ARTHUR CLEGG

TO us in Britain, China may sometimes seem a rather far away country, separated as we are by thousands of miles of land and sea. To the Soviet Union, however, China is an immediate neighbour, one with whom she shares the longest land frontier in the world. Even today, after the recognition of the independence of the vast Mongolian People's Republic, this frontier is some 3,500 miles in length; longer than that between the United States and Canada. Every development of aviation, every development of railways in the adjacent territories brings the two countries physically closer together.

One of the great results of the Moscow Conference of December, 1945, was the appreciation there expressed of the fact that, because of its great position in Asia, the Soviet Union was no less interested in the peace of Asia than of Europe, and that the other major Powers must welcome Soviet co-operation in the solution of Asiatic as well as European problems.

Commenting on the Moscow Conference in an editorial on December 31, 1945, *The Times* wrote:

“The decisions taken at Moscow mark the final recognition by Russia's two principal allies that, without her active co-operation and assistance, the structure of international security would be as incomplete in the east as in the west. Since the Soviet Union's land frontier in Asia is the longest in the world, the magnitude of its stake in the orderly development of neighbouring countries is, if anything, greater than that of the western democracies, which are separated from Asia by sea-barriers; anything that happens in the Far East takes place, as it were, on Russia's own doorstep. For the same reason Russia is well placed to make a decisive contribution to international security throughout the entire area.”

This appreciation of the role of the Soviet Union is relatively new in the policies of Britain and America. At one time they were as intensely concerned to exclude her from contact with the rest of Asia as they were to exclude her from relations with the rest of Europe. At the Washington Conference of 1921, which endeavoured to regulate Far Eastern affairs after the first World War, the Soviet request for admission was rudely ignored. The present Moscow decisions are a measure of the advance that has been made in the world since then.

In relation to China, the Moscow Conference expressed the desire of the three Powers concerned to see the emergence of a

strong, united and democratic China. Since its foundation in 1917, when, breaking through the walls of imperialism, it recognised China as an equal, the Soviet Union has constantly desired such a China, and it was a great joy to millions of people that at last this desire was beginning to be shared by all the three major allies.

Soviet-Chinese Friendship

THIS fraternal feeling for the Chinese people is the major foundation of Soviet policy towards China.

The friendship of the two peoples is deeply rooted in the history of our century and in the lives of the great national leaders of the two countries.

Sharing as they did in the early 20th century the desire to overthrow corrupt and decadent imperial regimes, the Chinese and Russian peoples had a powerful bond in common. Sun Yat-sen, the Chinese revolutionary leader, met Russian revolutionaries in London in 1896. The Russian Revolution of 1905 had a powerful effect in awakening China. Among Europeans, Lenin was the first to point out the true promise of the Chinese Revolution of 1911. Sun Yat-sen telegraphed his greetings to the Soviet Government on hearing of its establishment in 1917, and one of the first acts of that Government was to send a message to the Chinese nation annulling all the secret treaties made by the Tsar's Government at the expense of China. So the two stories have been woven together.

Perceiving the deep nature of these common bonds Sun Yat-sen wrote on his death bed to the Soviet Government:

"You are the head of the union of free republics—that heritage left to the oppressed peoples of the world by the immortal Lenin . . . Taking leave of you, dear comrades, I want to express the hope that the day will soon come when the U.S.S.R. will welcome a friend and ally in a mighty, free China, and that in the great struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples throughout the world the two allies will go forward, shoulder to shoulder, to victory."

That was in 1925.

Today that "free and mighty China," marching hand in hand with the Soviet Union and other democratic countries, has been brought nearer by the defeat of imperialist Japan, which did so much to try to divide the two, and by the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Alliance which facilitated that defeat and will in the future, as it is carried out, do so much to realise the dream of Dr. Sun.

Victims of Japanese Aggression

LONG before the Japanese imperialists opened the first round of the second World War by their attack on China's three eastern provinces (Manchuria), Sun Yat-sen had seen the desperate danger to China from what he called "Japanese Prussianism."

For the expansion of their empire the Japanese warlords, landlords and money lords had long marked out both China and Russia as enemies and lands to be despoiled. China was attacked in 1895, Russia in 1905. Parts of China (Shantung and other provinces) were occupied by the Japanese in the first world war under the pretext of securing China from German imperialism. Before that war was over, the Japanese General Staff had ordered the invasion of Siberia, and for five years they waged a war of intervention against the new Soviet Government.

Japan attacked China again in 1931, 1933, 1935 and finally launched her great invasion in 1937. And she attacked the Soviet Union in 1937 (on the river Amur), in 1938 (at Chang-kufeng), and in 1939 (on the Mongolian frontier in a war that lasted five months).

Both victims of Japanese aggression, China and the Soviet Union have a great common interest in organising joint defence to prevent any renewal of that aggression. Both near neighbours of Japan, both are intensely concerned to see that the roots of Japanese aggression are cut out and their neighbour becomes a peaceful, democratic country.

Economic Bonds

THE bonds of alliance in war and of common revolutionary tradition are powerful and are supplemented by mutual economic interests which will inevitably grow.

Some Chinese products have found a constant and growing market in the Soviet Union—the famous black tea taken in the form of bricks by camel-back across the Gobi desert through Kansu and Sinkiang to Kazakhstan, wool from north China, metals (tungsten, tin) from China's south-west.

The Soviet Union suffers from none of those unhappy compulsions to export goods and capital which afflict capitalist countries. Her Socialist economy ensures an ever insatiable market for what can be produced, and an ever rising standard of living. Yet her economic and political policy

is against autarchy, and if mutually beneficial trade arrangements can be made then they are willingly made, not in an effort to oust competitors from markets but in an endeavour to raise still further the standards of living of her own and other peoples.

The Soviet Union has long been an exporter of machinery, if on a limited scale; and machinery is one of China's great needs. With each year that passes the possibility of such Soviet exports increases rapidly.

The Soviet-Chinese Treaty (1945) declares (Article VI): "The High Contracting Parties agree to render each other every possible economic assistance in the post-war period for the purpose of facilitating and accelerating the rehabilitation of both countries and to make their contribution to the cause of world prosperity."

In the past China, torn by civil war, oppressed, exploited, disrupted and invaded by foreign powers has been able to make but a small contribution to world prosperity. In fact, the terribly low and declining standard of living in China (average income per head before the war was only £5 a year, today it is less because of the destruction of war) has acted as a drag on the whole world economy; for if the Chinese people, amounting to from one-fifth to one-fourth of humanity, live in abysmal poverty, how can the rest of humanity flourish fully?

In this search for Chinese prosperity, Soviet experience has a unique contribution to make. The Soviet Union, as a country which suffered terribly at the hands of an invader, has experience of rapid reconstruction such as no other country can offer to China. It is also a country which in the short space of thirty years has changed its backward industry into one of the most advanced. Here again much technical experience has been accumulated which will be of exceptional value to China.

Both countries have vast land spaces still requiring railways, both have great rivers requiring control. The Soviet harnessing of the Don and the Volga may easily contribute something useful to China in the harnessing of the Yangtze and the Yellow River, which is one of China's most desperate needs. Both countries grow rice and wheat. Soviet agricultural scientists have evolved new strains of both grains, e.g., upland rice and wheat that will grow on more arid land, which could be of great value to China. Both Soviet and Chinese scientists have experimented with the use of fish in the rice fields which will devour the mosquito larvae and so reduce the danger of malaria from larvae breeding in the water that covers the growing rice.

Of course Soviet advances have been achieved because of the Socialist economy of the Soviet Union, and the prospect of Socialism in China is somewhat distant yet because her economy has not wholly emerged from the feudal stage. Nonetheless many parts of Soviet experience will be of value in the post-war reconstruction of China. The above examples could be duplicated many times.

Human-heartedness

CHINA has the longest continuous history of any country in the world and the cultural contributions she has made and will make to the world are tremendous. It is natural therefore for her thinkers, while looking ahead, also to look back along the road traversed by previous generations. This, of course, is a trait not peculiar to China. Such thinkers as Bacon, Rousseau, Marx and Lenin studied and learnt from the early Greek philosophers.

Early Chinese thinkers were especially concerned with problems of human conduct, of ethics and the qualities in man which can result in socially approved behaviour.

Such an approach must surely make the Chinese of today particularly sympathetic towards the Soviet attitude to social problems, which strives to create that "public morality" of which Mencius, one of the greatest of early Chinese thinkers, wrote. To Mencius, the great problem of government was to promote "human-heartedness," and today in the Soviet Union we see, for the first time in history, a Government and a State which is inspired with "human-heartedness" and sets its promotion as one of its greatest tasks.

"You can find in them (the Soviets)," says a commentator, "a scientist of world repute and a rank-and-file worker, a steel smelter, a swineherd, a weaver, a milkmaid, a railwayman, or airman, a general and a soldier, one who is a member of the Communist Party and one who is not. The Soviets are elected by direct, secret ballot. The right to vote is universal and equal; one person, one vote. There are no qualification restrictions preventing some sections of the populations from having their say. . . . The Soviet Constitution proclaims that all power in the U.S.S.R. is vested in the working people of town and country . . . and so the people of the country can indeed say: 'The State—we are the State!'"

That is the secret of human-hearted government. Government of the people, by the people, for the people, to use Lincoln's phrase, has been at last achieved. This is because in the Soviet Union the working people, the ordinary people, own all the means of production and the wealth they produce.

This human-heartedness is expressed throughout the whole of Soviet foreign policy. For example, the consistent stand against the scourge of Fascism; the championship of China's equality and independence; and the support of the rights of small nations (Greece, Indonesia, Syria, Lebanon) at the first meeting of the Security Council. As the Greek (E.A.M.) delegation said after visiting the Soviet Union in 1946, "We were deeply moved by the signs of great love for the Greek people."

It is also expressed in every aspect of Soviet internal life. For example, the report of one of the American Youth delegates to the Soviet Union in 1946 who, after visiting Soviet hospitals said, "Each patient is not merely a case but also a person and is treated with warmth and affection."

It is the lesson of Soviet history for all working people that this human-heartedness does not come of itself but has to be worked for, and fought for.

Many of the ideas of those early Chinese thinkers are particularly relevant to Soviet policies. Where else today than in the Soviet Union is the principle expressed in this passage from the *Shu-Ching* put into practice:

"I will not employ those who are fond of enriching themselves; but will use and revere those who are vigorously, yet reverently, labouring for the lives and increase of the people, nourishing them and planning for their enduring settlement?"

Compare that with Krupskaya's words at Lenin's funeral—

"His heart beat with a great love for all working people, for all those who are oppressed."

Such are the men whom the people of the Soviet Union choose to lead them.

Again, what Government, other than the Soviet, could so well pass the tests of good government laid down in the *Shu-Ching* which are "the nourishing of the people" and "the securing of abundant means of sustentation"?

Many of the finest Chinese thinkers and statesmen in recent times, notably Sun Yat-sen, have found an immediate sympathy with the practical Soviet approach to politics, which is simply to promote and foster the interests of the people.

"In Soviet society," it has been said, "where there exists no class antagonisms, no national oppression, and where the State protects the interests of all working people, the people truly create policy and put it into effect in their constructive activity. . . . Lenin's idea of the conscious creation of public life by the people itself, is applied in practical form."

When the people govern, then government is for the people—and dreams come true.

Science and Culture

Nor is that thirst for and love of science and positive knowledge which so characterises Soviet culture today and which draws its inspiration from the great founders of Socialism foreign to many trends in ancient Chinese thought. For example, the later Mohist philosophers with their stress on knowledge as the result of observed experience, on observing "the thing for himself" and "scrutiny of the parts of the thing," and their scientific method based on agreement and difference. And if modern Chinese are only now coming to appreciate these ancient trends in Chinese thought, one of the reasons for their doing so is the example of the Soviet Union in the practical application of scientific knowledge for the benefit of ordinary men and women. Chinese scientists are eager to learn of Soviet experience. Dr. Wong Wen-hao, Vice-Prime Minister of China, and Minister of Economic Affairs, himself a leading geologist, has, for example, been many times to the Soviet Union to study scientific conditions there.

Moreover, since the cultural renaissance which began in China in 1919, one of the great intellectual problems of that country has been to relate past Chinese experience, ideas and culture to the surging world of modern science and democracy. Only in the Soviet Union is this assimilation of past and present being satisfactorily carried out, and those Soviet Republics like Uzbekistan, which for centuries, for more than two thousand years, has been a centre where Chinese and Western thought has mingled, can today surely provide some of the clues for which Chinese thinkers are seeking.

One could write also, of how knowledge, coming to Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of the works of such writers as Mencius, with their pronounced and positive belief in human goodness and reason, helped the French, British and American thinkers of that time to shatter the shackles then crippling European thought (such as the theory of "original sin") and so paved the way towards the theories on which the Soviet State is founded.

But it is in yet more practical things that one can see how beneficial to culture are Sino-Soviet contacts. For China, the greatest cultural problem is that of illiteracy, greater even than

that existing in Tsarist Russia on the eve of the Revolution. China can learn much from Soviet methods of eliminating illiteracy, from Soviet health campaigns and the like, especially in the rise of the cinema and similar visual techniques.

Unhappily the cultural barriers raised by reactionary groups in China, often at the instigation of Japan and other powers, have, until very recently, severely limited cultural contacts between China and the Soviet Union. During Dr. Sun's life-time prospects of such contacts were bright. At that time even General Chiang Kai-shek studied in the Soviet Union, but only in recent months has there been a beginning of a return to Sun's policies. The famous Chinese archeologist and poet, Kuo Mo-jo, attended the celebration of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in 1945 and made a tour of the Soviet Union; and a professor from the University of Sinkiang attended the celebration at the Soviet Central Asian University in Tashkent, a centre of cultural contact between East and West for centuries, at the end of 1945. These are but the harbingers of the coming summer.

On their side the Soviet Government and citizens have done much to promote the study of Chinese culture. In the great history of philosophy now being prepared by Soviet scholars, Confucius, Mencius and others are worthily treated, and, for the first time, their place in the world development of philosophy is fully assessed. Much work is being done on translations of the Chinese classics into Russian and other languages.

The Soviet Academy of Sciences has its famous Oriental Institute in Leningrad for research; and in 1944 Leningrad University had 13 chairs in oriental languages—Chinese, Japanese, Indo-Tibetan, Mongolian, etc. Students taking these courses did a three years' general course and then a five years' course of specialization—on government scholarships. Their fortune is the envy of other aspiring oriental scholars. In addition to the Research Institute and the University, there is also the Leningrad Institute of Oriental Languages, which is a teaching body.

In Moscow, the University has an Eastern Department of the Faculty of History with chairs in Near, Middle and Far Eastern History with facilities for research and for teaching. And in Moscow, too, there is an Institute of Oriental Studies, which, existing before 1917 as a private concern, became, after the revolution, at the request of Maxim Gorky, a leading state institution.

The general atmosphere is one of rigorously high standards and the expansion and development of studies. In fact one could say without fear of contradiction that in the Soviet Union today there is more fundamental study of Far Eastern culture and history than in any other country, and study of Eastern languages is more developed than anywhere else.

Leadership in Asiatic studies, which in the 18th century was given by French scholars, in the 19th mainly by British, and which at one time in the 20th century seemed likely to be given by American, is today to an increasing extent the prerogative of Soviet scholars, though, naturally, as in the past so in the future, the scholars of many countries have their contribution to make.

The United Nations

THAT China and the Soviet Union are neighbours means that they have special reasons for close co-operation and for developing relations in the friendliest and most fraternal ways. This is to the advantage of all peace and freedom loving States and to the detriment of none. They are two such great countries that estrangement between them is a general danger, while together they can make enormous contributions to the whole structure of the United Nations and the general welfare.

This is also appreciated in both the United States and in Britain. Henry Wallace, then Vice-President of the United States, sent by President Roosevelt to China in the middle of 1944, said in his official speech in Chungking that it was essential for peace in the Far East "that relations among the four principal powers in the Pacific—China, the Soviet Union, the British Commonwealth, and the United States—be cordial and collaborative;" while the Chinese-American Statement issued on the occasion of that visit declared that: "It was assumed to be axiomatic that essential to such a peace structure [in the Pacific] would be . . . the maintenance of relations on a basis of mutual understanding between China and the Soviet Union, China's nearest great neighbour, as well as between China and her other neighbours." The earlier *Times* quotation shows a similar British appreciation.

Today China is still weak as the result of war, still divided and only painfully advancing to democracy. It is only that "unified and democratic China" envisaged by the recent Moscow Conference which can really ensure peace in the Pacific and evoke the full measure of Soviet friendship.

Tsarist Days

THE full story of the Russian discovery of, and expansion into, Siberia on the heels of the collapsing remnants of the Mongol Empire has still to be written. As an historical episode it rivals the history of the shifting American frontier of the 18th and 19th centuries. Both stories combine heroism and adventure with brutality and cruel exploitation, but in Siberia, at least, there were none of those terrible wars of extermination against primitive peoples which frequently marked early American history. On the whole the Russians settled side by side with or, if officials and merchants, on top of the people of the country. And, since the stretches were so vast and so sparsely inhabited, there was plenty of room.

These Russian explorers often followed the line of rivers. Thus they reached the Amur at the beginning of the 17th century and brought about the first direct contact between Russia and China. Previous contact had been only through trade, passing through the hands of intermediaries, such as the cities of Samarkand and Bokhara, now thriving centres of Soviet Uzbekistan. From the Amur to the north and east Russian explorers discovered the Kamchatka peninsula, the Kurile islands and Sakhalin. To the south they came in touch with lands claimed by the Manchu emperors of China, also at that time very sparsely populated. Naturally enough there were some minor affrays, but on the whole relations were remarkably amicable. The Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689 legalized relations between China and Russia and was the first treaty China signed with a western country. It laid a basis for lasting friendship.

The frontiers it established were, however, but vaguely defined and it was not until 1860 that, by the Treaty of Peking, the present frontier lines along the rivers Amur and Ussuri were drawn. It was not until after the Sino-Japanese war of 1895 that relations between Tsarist Russia and China became strained. Then Tsarist Russia entered the scramble for the division of China that had been started by the Japanese war, and in which Britain, Germany, France, and even the United States to some extent, participated. This unhappy phase of relations reached its peak in the secret treaties concluded between Tsarist Russia and Imperial Japan in the days of the first world war.

Nonetheless, surveying the long period of official Sino-Russian relations, which is twice as long as that of the official relations

of any other country with China, the Chinese historian Fu Kuang-chen wrote in the Chinese *Social and Political Review* for 1926: "As far as Peking and Moscow were concerned peaceful relations between the two countries were never ended since they began. They were occasionally interrupted and hindered . . . but those interruptions and hindrances were merely incidental consequences."

Soviet Policy

FROM the outset, Soviet policy towards China was directed not just by ordinary feelings of friendship and the desire for peace but by feelings of definite brotherhood with the Chinese people shown practically in measures designed to assist the Chinese to win their independence. Soviet policy towards China was not directed towards the benefit of this or that group but towards the benefit of the Chinese nation, towards the ending of China's semi-colonial position, its subjection to foreign states and empires. One of the first acts of the Soviet Government, for example, was to annul forthwith all the secret treaties concluded by the Tsarist Government at the expense of China.

For a few months after the October revolution the Chinese representatives formerly accredited to the Tsar stayed in Soviet Russia and discussions proceeded with them on the ending of other unequal treaties. But the interventionary powers compelled their withdrawal; compelled the Chinese Government to join in the interventionary wars and to keep silent about and suppress the Soviet offers of equality.

In July, 1919 the Soviet Government issued a "Manifesto to the Chinese Nation" which set out the principles of policy of the Soviet Government towards China, and announced its desire for "fraternal" relations. The Soviet Government, it declared, had already annulled all Tsarist secret treaties at the expense of China and was ready to negotiate the end of all unequal treaties and all concessions and special privileges (such as extraterritoriality) wrested from China by the Tsarist Government, and the end of indemnity payments such as the Boxer indemnity.

The Manifesto concluded:

"If the people of China wish to become free, like the Russian people, and to be spared the lot prepared for them by the Allies at Versailles [which confirmed the Japanese occupation of the Chinese province of Shantung, etc.—A. C.], which would make China a second Korea or a second India, let it understand that its only ally and brother

in its struggle for national freedom are the Russian workers and peasants and their Red Army."

At that time the Chinese Government was in the hands of the pro-Japanese Anfu clique of warlords who, as agents of Japanese imperialism, were conniving both at the Japanese occupation of Siberia and also of Manchuria and Shantung, and were therefore hostile to Soviet approaches. But Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who in 1911 had been chosen first President of the Chinese Republic, and in 1921 became the head of the Southern Chinese Government, devoted himself to bringing about relations with the Soviet Union. He achieved success in 1924 when, a rather more patriotic Government having been formed in Peking, an agreement between China and the Soviet Union was concluded which swept away the old Tsarist concessions and privileges and placed Soviet-Chinese relations on an equal basis.

Thus the first breach was made in the system of oppression that had been increasingly strangling China since the first Sino-British war of 1840, and the Soviet Union prepared the way whereby in 1943 the United States and Britain and other countries also ended their former unequal treaties with China.

The example the Soviet Union set twenty years before became the example for all the United Nations. Soviet policy had helped to secure a great general advance in China's independence.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen

PATRIOTIC Chinese in all parts of the country welcomed and were inspired by the Soviet gestures and acts of friendship towards China. As the President of the Peking University remarked to a Soviet representative in 1923:

"Young China will be the disciple of the Great Russian Revolution."

Bernard Martin, in his biography of Sun Yat-sen, *Strange Vigour*, wrote:

"It is necessary to emphasise that it was not only Sun Yat-sen . . . who welcomed the Russians, but Chinese from all quarters; and that China, as a whole, was glad to find one nation willing to treat her as an equal."

But the conception of Soviet-Chinese friendship and alliance as a basic policy and need for the regeneration of China was an essential and central part of Dr. Sun's political outlook. He welcomed the Soviet state from the first moment of its foundation and strove ceaselessly to promote Soviet-Chinese friendship. As

the head of the Southern (the Kuomintang) Government at Canton after 1921 he could do much. He sent to the Soviet Union followers whom he regarded as faithful, to be trained there so that they could be more efficient servants of the Chinese people. He asked the Soviet Government for permission for Soviet citizens to come and act as advisers to his Government and Army, and the request was granted. But his efforts did not end there. As a national leader he strove to persuade the Northern Government, which alone had full international recognition, to open relations and conclude a treaty with the Soviet Union, and he lived to see this hope fulfilled.

He did not consider that China was ripe for Communism, but then neither did (nor does) the Chinese Communist Party, but he knew, as he told an American correspondent, that "the only government that shows any signs of helping us is the Soviet Government of Russia." And he declared roundly:

"Russia believes in benevolence (human-heartedness) and righteousness, not in force and utilitarianism. She is an exponent of justice, and does not believe in the principle that a minority should oppress a majority." Naturally, Russia comes to link hands with the Asiatics. . . ."

When in 1927, as the result of revolution, the Chinese people stood on the threshold of democracy, it seemed that the visions of Sun Yat-sen for China were to be realised. It is one of the tragedies of history that at that time the forces of internal and external reaction were too strong for Chinese democracy to overcome them. Warlord forces invaded the Soviet embassy in Peking and under foreign pressure Soviet-Chinese relations were broken off by the Northern Chinese Government. In a few months the democratic forces in China were crushed and divided and the Chinese people entered a new period of bitterness, of dictatorial rule, and of estrangement from the Soviet Union.

The new policies of hostility to the U.S.S.R., adopted by the reactionaries, reached their culminating point in the attempt, in 1929, by the Chinese authorities to seize the Chinese Eastern Railway which, under the 1924 Treaty, had been put under joint Sino-Soviet management, the Soviet Union having ended the Tsarist policy of stationing armed guards along this Russian-built railway that runs across China's eastern provinces. Sharp Soviet action was required before the then Chinese authorities learnt that, scrupulously as the Soviet Union

fulfilled its own treaty obligations, it demanded that other powers observe theirs no less scrupulously.

Together Against Japan

THOUGH the Japanese attacked China in 1931, 1933, 1935, 1936, and finally launched their great war in 1937, it was not until 1933 that the Chinese Government resumed the diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union that had been broken off in 1927. But the pressure of events and the desire of the Chinese people compelled the resumption.

It was made easier because at the Disarmament Conference in London in 1933 Litvinov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, was endeavouring to persuade the nations to adopt a definition of aggression which, if acted upon, would make impossible the constant Japanese attacks on China. Though he failed to win the acceptance of more than a few nations this attempt naturally aroused much interest and hope in China.

The championship of China against Japanese aggression, begun at the London Disarmament Conference, was continued at Geneva.

As the menace of aggression to China and other countries grew, so the Soviet Union strove to check it. Said Litvinov at the League of Nations session on July 1st, 1936: "To strengthen the League of Nations is to abide by the principle of collective security, which is by no means a product of idealism, but is a practical measure towards the security of all peoples, to abide by the principle that peace is indivisible." But the Chamberlain Government in Britain, and other Governments could not be persuaded that peace was indivisible; and a year later Japan began her second grand attack on China, after signing an Agreement with Hitlerite Germany.

However, right up to 1939, while there was still a hope that the Soviet Union might be able to persuade the other Powers in the League of Nations to stand for collective security, Litvinov was supporting the appeals of China.

"We have received a call for help from two members of the League, victims of aggression. This call puts the League to a great test . . . I am sure that, even with its present membership, the League of Nations can give Spain as well as China stronger aid than these countries so modestly ask," he said in September, 1937. And again, more sharply, a year later, "China is now the victim of aggression and foreign invasion for the second time in seven years . . . The League of Nations has not carried out its obligations."

Assistance To China

THE Soviet Union understood the menace to the world that came from Japanese aggression, and worked not only to strengthen collective security, but to weaken Japan and strengthen China.

A month after the second invasion of China began on July 7th, 1937 (which had been preceded by a Japanese attack on the Soviet Union on June 30th), the Soviet Union signed a Treaty of Non-Aggression with China in which the two Powers confirmed the outlawry of war of the Pact of Paris and pledged each other not to aid any aggressor which attacked the other. Thereafter the Soviet Union sharply cut down its trade with Japan (apart from oil exports from Northern Sakhalin over which Japan had special treaty rights) and was the only Power, until July, 1941, to enforce economic sanctions against the Japanese aggressor.

Positive aid was also given to China through credit arrangements whereby China could receive Soviet military and other supplies. An American economist (F. M. Tamanga, *Banking and Finance in China*) writes: "In October, 1938,* the first of a series of four loans based on barter agreements was negotiated (by China) with the U.S.S.R., the total Soviet advances amounted to 1,500 million roubles," or some £54 million, of which China had used some £29 million by the middle of 1941.

In addition, at China's request, the Soviet Union allowed Soviet subjects, as volunteers, to help train and advise the Chinese army and air force.

All this assistance was, of course, sent to the Chinese Government to distribute in China as it saw fit.

Summing up the question of aid during this, the most critical phase of China's battle for existence, Madame Chiang Kai-shek said in December, 1940:

"Intellectual honesty compels me to point out that throughout the first years of resistance Soviet Russia extended to China, for the actual purchase of war materials and other necessities, credits several times larger in amount than the credits given by either Great Britain or America."

* Note: Credits had also been given before this by the U.S.S.R. Ambassador Davies records (*Mission to Moscow*, p. 165) how in November, 1937, he was informed that the Soviet Government had given a credit of CN \$100,000,000 (c £ 6 million) to China and that Soviet deliveries, which included the best bombing and pursuit planes, had already "far exceeded that amount".

When the Burma Road to China was opened in 1939 the first load over consisted of Soviet munitions, and indeed the Burma Road, long though it was, was the quickest and easiest way of sending Soviet supplies to China. The land route across Sinkiang from the Turk-Sib station of Alma Ata to China was very long and passed through a great desert, and only part of the way was modern road. Wendell Willkie, visiting China in 1942, found that lorries with Soviet supplies could get only part of the way into China across Sinkiang and then had to be unloaded and the supplies mounted on camels, for some members of the Chinese Government carried old hostility to the Soviet Union so far that they preferred to delay the arrival of supplies rather than build a modern road.

When, faced with the growing menace of a German attack, the Soviet Union in April, 1941, signed a Neutrality Pact with Japan, it made it clear that this pact did not affect its relations with China. Aid to China went on, and it went on, to the full capacity of the Sinkiang Road, even after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union in June, 1941, as Wendell Willkie saw; and Soviet volunteer military advisers stayed in China to help her resistance the whole time.

The Defeat of Japan

THE services of the Red Army in the war against Hitler Germany have been frequently attested by Mr. Churchill and other war leaders of the United Nations. The Red Army held and defeated the mass of the German Army. By so doing it saved Europe and the world, including China, from defeat. It was fortunate that during those years the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact held, thus enabling the Soviet Union to concentrate on defeating the world's main and by far the most powerful enemy. That Pact was part of Allied strategy.

The Soviet Union, however, continuously showed its disapproval of Japanese aggression. Japan was named as an aggressor in many articles. On March 31st, 1944, it ended the Japanese concessions in Northern Sakhalin, thus cutting off the oil Japan received from there.

At the Crimea Conference in the early months of 1945, President Roosevelt, with the defeat of Germany in sight, requested the Soviet Union to enter the war against Japan as soon as possible after the German defeat, to which the Soviet

Union willingly agreed. One of the Crimea decisions, therefore, was that the Soviet Union should enter the war against Japan two or three months after the defeat of Nazi Germany.

At the same time the Crimea Conference made an Agreement that the rights of Russia violated by the Japanese attack in 1904, were to be restored. These concerned the southern part of the island of Sakhalin, Port Arthur, Dairen, and the Chinese Eastern railway. Full Chinese sovereignty over Manchuria was recognised, as was the position of the Mongolian People's Republic, and the Kurile islands were to be returned from Japan to the U.S.S.R. The safeguarding of pre-eminent Soviet interests in Manchuria was to be assured by the three Great Powers, with the concurrence of China; and the Soviet Union expressed its readiness to conclude a pact of friendship and alliance with China.

Unlike other Crimean agreements, this one was secret. It had to be, because the whole idea was to prevent the Japanese from knowing about the coming Soviet declaration of war. Thus it is rather odd today to read criticisms of this temporary secrecy. One would have thought that only defeated Japanese fascists would raise such objections.

In April, 1945, when the Neutrality Pact had run the four years required before denunciation, the Soviet Union denounced it as "having lost all meaning," and in June began discussion with Chinese representatives, led by T. V. Soong, Chairman of the Executive Yuan (Prime Minister) of China, to pave the way for a Treaty with China.

Following the Berlin Conference in July, 1945, the three Powers—America, Britain and China—addressed a demand to Japan for unconditional surrender which the Japanese Government refused. The three Powers therefore again formally proposed to the Soviet Union that it join the war against Japanese aggression and, true to its duty to its Allies and to the agreement reached at Crimea, the latter declared on August 8th that, from the next day, "the Soviet Government will consider itself in a state of war with Japan."

Chinese heard this declaration of war with full and happy hearts. It was their salvation.

"It was with great joy that I heard the declaration of the Soviet Government on its entry into the war against Japan," said

the poet, Kuo Mo-jo. "These Chinese people wholly shares this sentiment."

Red Army units had already been transferred across thousands of miles from the German front to the Soviet-Manchurian border following the German surrender in May. That transfer of hundreds of thousands of troops and their equipment over such a distance in relatively such a short space of time is one of the great feats of military manoeuvre of the war and reveals the Soviet grasp of logistics. With the declaration of war Soviet troops went into action against the cream of the Japanese Army, the Kwantung Army, an army perfected in aggression since the seizure of the Kwantung (Liaotung) Peninsula by Japan in 1905 and which, throughout its whole existence, had been studying and perfecting the defences of Manchuria, particularly in the fourteen years after 1931. That Army, estimated at over one million strong, was crushed in the matter of a few weeks.

Officially the Japanese Government surrendered on August 15th, but the Kwantung Army kept on fighting, and it was not until September 2nd that Stalin could announce the real defeat of Japanese aggression.

Thus the great Japanese war base in Manchuria, built up over fourteen years, which had been used to equip Japanese armies for all phases of the Far Eastern and Pacific war and in which the militarists had planned a last resistance, was crushed.

In addition to defeating the Japanese forces in Manchuria the Red Army also defeated the Japanese forces in the Kurile islands, some of which were strongly fortified naval bases, and in Southern Sakhalin.

There has been some discussion in Britain and elsewhere as to the military significance of the Soviet declaration of war, as it came three days after the first atomic bomb was dropped on Japan by the Americans. Major-General Claire Chennault, the Commander of the American Air Forces in China, however, had no doubt about its importance and declared on August 14th that Russia's entry into the Japanese war was the decisive factor in speeding its end and would have been so even if no atom bombs had been dropped. This opinion was also shared by the Military Correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph*, not otherwise notable for sympathy with the Soviet Union.

The declaration of war, moreover had a more than purely military significance. It was well known in those weeks of August

that the Japanese warlords were trying at all cost to avoid unconditional surrender and preserve their position; and also that their feelers were not always unsympathetically met in those circles in Britain and America noted for their past hostility to China. In earlier years these circles had calmly watched and even aided the Japanese occupation of China's three eastern provinces (1931). The Soviet entry into the war strengthened the British and American Governments against such intrigues, and also ensured that the vast bulk of the Japanese Army really knew what military defeat was.

In the fighting the Red Army lost over 8,000 dead and three to four times that number in wounded; its losses were thus roughly equal to the American losses at Okinawa, the costliest campaign of the whole Pacific war. But they had the satisfaction of knowing that they were putting an end to thirty years of aggression against Russia and the Soviet Union.

They also brought deliverance to the forty million Chinese inhabitants of Manchuria, who celebrated their freedom from the Japanese for the first time for fourteen years, and in some places for the first time for forty. With the Americans, they brought liberation to Korea, after forty years of Japanese occupation; and with all the United Nations helped in the final victory of China over Japanese imperialism.

Stalin said: "This means the Second World War has come to an end. . . . The long awaited peace for the nations of the whole world has come. . . . Glory to the armed forces of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, China and Great Britain, which have won victory over Japan."

Five months after victory practically every house in Port Arthur still flew the Soviet and Chinese flags. "Let them wave together," the people said, "in honour of our new-found liberty."

The Soviet-Chinese Treaty

BEFORE the Japanese surrendered the Soviet Union and China concluded the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance that they had begun negotiating in June. It was signed on August 14th, 1945, by the Soviet and Chinese Foreign Ministers and ratified by both Governments a few weeks later. It undoubtedly contributed to the rapidity of the Japanese collapse and its chief significance is that not only does it clear away outstanding issues between the Soviet Union and China, thus contributing to the

stability of the Far East, but it also ensures China during her period of weakness against any possibility of renewed Japanese aggression.

In the security given by the Soviet-Chinese Treaty, which strengthens the United Nations and closes a long existing gap, a weakened China can confidently build her democracy, and repair the ravages of war. The Treaty continues and develops the traditional Soviet policy of assisting and safeguarding China's independence.

Apart from the articles concerning the war against Japan, the Soviet Union and China undertake "jointly to take all measures within their power to render impossible the repetition of aggression and violation of the peace by Japan," and will render "all military and other support and assistance" to each other in case of attack by Japan. They agree not to take part in any coalition directed against the other and "to work jointly in close and friendly collaboration after the coming of peace." Further the Treaty pledges mutual economic assistance, as already mentioned, and like the Soviet-French Treaty, is specifically fitted into the structure of the United Nations.

To both peoples, to all friends of both countries, and indeed to all peace loving peoples everywhere, this treaty came as a great achievement and a promise of future good. As such it was welcomed in the press of the United Nations.

The Chinese Eastern Railway

ATTACHED to the Treaty were a number of agreements designed to amplify its clauses and clear up certain points. Some of these, like the first, which deals with the Chinese Changchun (formerly Chinese Eastern) Railway, carry out in detail the points of the Crimean Agreement. Sometimes people say they support the Treaty but criticise the Agreement, as though there was some difference between them. This is like praising the chicken but damning the egg. The Crimean Agreement and the Soviet-Chinese Treaty form a whole.

By agreement with China in 1896 the Tsarist Government secured rights to build a railway running across the three eastern provinces of China to Vladivostok. The railway was built and operated through a company formed by the Russo-Chinese bank, an entirely Russian concern. The Company could acquire and administer lands "absolutely and exclusively." Later this railway

was extended through Changchun (Hsinking) to the ports of Port Arthur and Dairen in the Liaotung Peninsula.

The railway was entirely in the hands of Tsarist officials and the clause about acquiring and administering land was used to make the railway a state within a state, with its own armed guards, police forces and municipalities. In this it resembled the system of concessions and settlements acquired by Britain, France and other powers in China.

In 1905, by the Treaty of Portsmouth which ended the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese took over the southern part of the railway to which they gave the name of South Manchurian Railway. They put their own guards on it, took over the lands and municipalities, built new lines and used the railway and company as instruments of conquest.

By the Soviet-Chinese Agreement of 1924 the northern railway (Chinese Eastern) came under joint Soviet-Chinese management as a commercial undertaking. The Soviet Government, having no imperialist ambitions, handed all such matters as police, municipal, military, judicial and land administration over to the Chinese authorities. The Japanese conquest of Manchuria, however, placed the Soviet side of the administration in the awkward predicament of having to work with the Japanese puppet administration. They preferred not to do this and so sold out to the Japanese, thus making the Japanese imperialists pay something towards their own eventual defeat and that of their German ally.

The railway agreement attached to the Soviet-Chinese Treaty of Alliance provides for the whole of this railway to be run as a commercial undertaking by a joint Soviet-Chinese administration as the joint property of the U.S.S.R. and China. After thirty years the whole railway and all its property passes to China without compensation.

During this thirty years the railway is to be operated by a Chinese-Soviet Society with a board of directors of ten members, five Chinese and five Soviet citizens. The Chinese Government appoints the President from its five members. Needless to say the Board has no military, police or juridical rights. These are matters for the Chinese Government, which is solely responsible for the guarding and policing of the railway.

Even in the bad old Tsarist days the railway was of considerable benefit to China. The population of the three eastern

provinces grew from six million in 1898, when the railway was built, to twenty-four million in 1920, despite the disturbances of those years. Thus it helped to populate the provinces and relieved the population of other parts of China. Under its new business administration it will be of even greater benefit to China, whose Government is anxious to proceed with the development of the provinces, and will also facilitate the development of the Soviet Far East as goods from the ports of Harbin and Port Arthur, travelling to the Soviet Union along the railway, are not taxed.

Port Arthur itself becomes for thirty years a joint Chinese-Soviet naval base, under a Chinese-Soviet Military Commission, with the defence of the base entrusted by China to the Soviet Union. It is doubly unlike the British base at Hongkong, however, first because Port Arthur is a joint base established by agreement while Hongkong, a base deriving from conquest, is purely British, and second, because Hongkong is a British colony ruled by a Governor, while Port Arthur remains under Chinese civil administration. It is also doubly unlike the position before 1904 when Port Arthur was a colony like Hongkong.

Port Arthur is a key naval base. In the hands of Japanese imperialism it was used to conquer eastern and northern China; in the hands of China and the Soviet Union together it provides the Soviet-Chinese Alliance with teeth, and makes renewed Japanese aggression against either country or Korea exceptionally difficult.

Dairen (Dalny), near Port Arthur, is to be a free port under Chinese administration, open to the trade and shipping of all countries. This will not only help Chinese and Soviet prosperity, but also aid British and American trade in an area from which they have so long been excluded by Japan.

It will be seen from this that the position in Manchuria today is entirely unlike the position in Tsarist days. Charges of "imperialism" and "restoration of Tsarist rights" are ludicrous. Chinese sovereignty is recognised in every particular; and legitimate Soviet interests, like railway facilities to ice-free ports and measures to prevent Manchuria from again becoming a base directed against the Soviet Union, are recognised in an equal treaty which strengthens joint defence, and world peace and prosperity.

Mongolian People's Republic

AFTER the collapse of the Mongol Empire of Chinghiz Khan, in the fourteenth century the eastern (and largest) sections of the Mongol people came eventually under the suzerainty of the Manchu Emperors of China. As such they were exposed to Manchu taxation, their trade fell into the hands of Chinese merchants, they themselves fell into the hands of those same merchants and moneylenders, their lands began to pass to Chinese landlords, their princes were corrupted and the Buddhist church was forced upon them. Their protests were for long in vain, but in 1911 under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen, the Chinese people threw off the Manchu yoke and the Mongols of Outer Mongolia did likewise. They then declared their autonomy. Their country was still ruled by khans (princes) and Buddhist abbots. They were menaced by Tsarist policy and later invaded by the Japanese and White Guards in the interventionist wars. But they formed their own army and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and, calling on the aid of the Red Army, they drove out the invaders.

That was in 1920 and 1921. Later they declared a republic, rid themselves of the princes and the exploitation of abbots, introduced universal suffrage and parliamentary government through the elected Great Khural (Parliament) and the Little Khural (Cabinet) which is responsible to it.

Divided from China by the great stretch of the Gobi desert, the Mongols proceeded on their own way, hoping that one day the Chinese Government would act upon the decisions of the 1924 Congress of the Kuomintang which recognised that the minority peoples of China should have the right of self-determination. With the growing menace of Japan in Manchuria the Mongolian Republic in 1936 concluded an Agreement of Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union, which now (1946), after the recognition of Mongolian independence by China, has been renewed for another ten years as a full Treaty of Friendship.

In 1939 at Nomahan on the Mongolian-Manchurian border the Mongolian Army and the Red Army together met the menace of Japanese invasion, and beat back the Japanese Army until it eventually admitted defeat and retired. From 1941 Mongolia gave much economic help to the Soviet Union and, following the Soviet declaration of war on Japan, Mongolia too declared war and its People's Army swept the Japanese from Chahar and Jehol.

Since the recognising of Mongolian independence concerned both the U.S.S.R. and China the Sino-Soviet Treaty provided that, under Chinese inspection, the Mongols should hold a plebiscite on the question of independence. The plebiscite was held in October, 1945; 98 per cent of the half million registered voters voted and not one of them voted against independence. In December the Chinese Government recognised Mongolian independence and appointed their first ambassador to Ulan Bator, the Mongolian capital.

Sinkiang

THIS enormous territory, meaning "New Dominion," has some two thousand miles of common frontier with the Soviet Union. In it live fourteen different peoples, mostly Turkic speaking and Mohammedan in religion. The Chinese only number some ten per cent and many of them are Moslem Chinese. The majority of the people are Uighurs, related to the Soviet Uzbeks, and there are also numerous groups of Kazhaks. Economically, the lines of trade flow north.

Sinkiang has often been the scene of revolts against Chinese authority, often brutally crushed. With the collapse of the Manchu Emperors and the ensuing civil wars in China the province fell into a disturbed state, which Japanese agents were not slow to turn to their advantage in their efforts to conquer China. At the time of their attack on Manchuria they were actively inciting uprisings in Sinkiang.

The Soviet Government could not overlook this double menace to its frontiers and, when a Chinese official called Sheng Shih-tsai began to restore some order in Sinkiang, it gave his government assistance. At first Sheng introduced a number of reforms and his administration was less harsh and more favourable to the people than any former Chinese administration. He did not introduce democratic forms of government but, with Soviet assistance, he did build up industry, reform taxation, and occasionally hold conferences in which people could express their views. But in the end Sheng got caught up in the intrigues of reactionary officials in Chungking and was dismissed. The men who replaced him were not concerned with the welfare of the people. They also engaged in anti-Soviet propaganda and intrigues at a time when the Soviet Union was fighting desperately against Hitlerite Germany.

To avoid difficulties, in May, 1943, the Soviet Government withdrew Soviet experts and advisers from Sinkiang, and all Soviet-supported economic enterprises. Then the Chinese officials drove the Kazakhs to revolt by trying to evacuate them from their fertile plains in the north to desert land in the south, and when some of the Kazakhs fled to Mongolia, pursued them there with bombing planes. The world was rather astonished that, at a time when the Chinese Government claimed that it was directing its every effort to the speedy defeat of Japan, and demanded more allied planes to help in this, Chinese officials could find planes to bomb not the Japanese, but the Mongolian People's Republic. The Chinese people were very indignant about it and the Soviet Government also sent a protest to China.

The problems of Sinkiang are far from settled. These matters are, however, internal affairs. A note to the Treaty says: "As to the latest events in Sinkiang, the Soviet Government confirms that, as stated in Article V of the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, it has no intention of interfering in China's internal affairs."

The proper fulfilment of the Moscow Conference's desire to see a democratic China, will help to ensure democracy and self-determination for the peoples of Sinkiang too.

Internal Affairs

THE Soviet-Chinese Treaty was, of course signed with the Chinese Government and not only pledged non-interference in internal Chinese affairs but also pledged that the support promised to China under the treaty would "be given fully to the National Government as the Central Government of China."

Now, as is well-known, there is in China a strong Communist Party, and two Communist-led armies, the Eighth Route Army and New Fourth Army, with most valiant records of anti-Japanese resistance. In addition, in the areas liberated from the Japanese by these armies, democratic local governments have been elected, in which Communists participate. Altogether these Liberated Areas had a population of over 95 million people early in 1945. Neither the Chinese Communists, nor any of these local governments, have ever claimed to be a full government claiming international recognition. All they demand is that the Chinese Government shall recognise these local governments, and that it shall change itself from a one-party Kuomintang Government

into a Coalition Government, with the full participation of the Communist Party, and all other patriotic parties and groups. Such a government would fully represent the nation and would introduce democracy throughout China. For China as a whole has never yet enjoyed elected government and democratic rights. The introduction of these is the great demand of the Chinese people, voiced not only by the Communists, but by the Democratic League, and many Liberal and non-party groups.

Now some woolly-minded people, given to exaggerations and distortions, and hoping to promote civil war in China, have deliberately misrepresented the Chinese Communists, saying that they claimed to be a separate Government, whereas, of course, the Communists were and are striving for a China united in democracy.

These same people have pretended that the Chinese Communists were disappointed in the Treaty. Thus they have invented tales which only trip themselves up. For the fact is that the Chinese Communists were exceedingly pleased by it. The Chinese Communist Party paper, *Sin Hua Jih Pao* declared that the treaty represented dawn rising over the gloomy continent of Asia.

"This step," it wrote, "has indeed great significance and one can imagine how grateful the Chinese people is to the Soviet Union . . . The participation of the U.S.S.R. in the war and the conclusion of the Chinese-Soviet Treaty are of exceptional significance for forestalling the renewal of aggressive war and for the complete uprooting of fascism in the Far East . . . only a democratic, united, strong and flourishing China can guarantee peace in the Far East and can bear the responsibility for it together with the Soviet Union and other Allies."

That the Treaty contained references to non-interference in internal Chinese affairs could be of no surprise to anyone who had followed Soviet foreign policy, for the Soviet Government initiated the modern policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The Soviet Declaration to the Chinese people in 1919 said:

"No Russian functionary, clergyman or missionary dare to interfere with Chinese affairs, and if any one should commit a crime he should justly be tried by the local courts."

The Agreement of 1924 said:

"The Governments of the two Contracting Parties mutually pledge themselves not to permit within their respective territories the existence and (or) activities of any organisation, or groups whose aim is to

struggle by acts of violence against the Governments of either Contracting Party."

This policy of non-intervention was followed in the sending of aid to China during the war, military assistance going exclusively to the Central Government.

Thus the clauses of the 1945 Treaty are only the development of a policy towards China pursued by the Soviet Government since its inception. The Chinese Communists do not criticise this policy. Their demand is that this democratic example be followed by all Powers.

In the past, civil war in China has been brought about by the interference in internal affairs by Powers other than the Soviet Union, and one only finds charge of Soviet interference pressed when it is a case of covering up someone else's intrigues. It was not the U.S.S.R. that sent battleships and planes to China in 1927.

In fact, the Soviet policy of non-intervention, consistently and firmly adhered to, has helped the progressive forces in China because it has checked the interventionary tendencies shown elsewhere. That this is so can be seen from the decisions of the Moscow Conference. Before that Conference there was a danger of American intervention in China on a considerable scale; but at the Conference both the United States and Britain at last subscribed to the Soviet doctrine of non-intervention in the internal affairs of others though they have still to carry it out fully.

While scrupulously refraining from interfering in Chinese internal affairs (despite inventions to the contrary from those interested in promoting international misunderstanding rather than understanding), the Soviet Union does, now, as formerly, appreciate that only a united and democratic China can be independent and a bulwark of peace. Such views have often been expressed in the Soviet press. For example, an article in *Red Star* on August 29th, 1945, by Maslennikov wrote:—

"Obscurantism and reaction, which lean for support on the vestiges of feudalism, are pulling China back, obstructing the solution of the enormous problems facing China. Attempts to lead China along the reactionary path will no doubt meet a rebuff on the part of China's democratic forces, because these attempts threaten China with new calamities. To avert these calamities there is only one way—the way of progressive democratic development and close collaboration with the other great democratic Powers. Only in this way will the Chinese people be able to restore a strong independent State and create conditions for rapid development of its natural resources. On this path

the great Chinese nation will meet complete understanding and support on the part of democracy the world over, on the part of the peoples of the Soviet Union."

Just as the Anglo-Soviet Treaty was, and is an inspiration to all progressive forces in Britain and a defeat for reaction, so the Soviet-Chinese Treaty is an inspiration to everything progressive in China. Alliance and friendship with a country so instinct with democracy in every fibre of its organisation as the Soviet Union cannot but help to spread a democratic atmosphere.

Reparations from Japan

Both China and the Soviet Union have great claims to reparations from Japan. Both have suffered from Japanese aggression over many years. This must be remembered in the calculation of reparations from Japan, including Japanese assets abroad and in former colonies like Manchuria (Manchukuo). In the case of the Soviet Union we must remember not only the great services of the Red Army in speeding and completing the defeat of the Japanese Army, but also Japanese attacks on the Soviet Union from 1937 to 1939 and, above all, the tremendous destruction and the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens in the interventionary war from 1917 to 1922, for all of which Japan has as yet paid no restitution. Having defeated the Japanese in Manchuria, the Soviet Union has the right of dismantling Japanese war installations there, and to have a say in the disposal of Japanese (as distinct from Chinese) assets there. It must be noted that when the Soviet Union exercises these rights, the groups in China, Britain and America which raise the outcry of "stripping Manchuria of machinery" and which invent fantastic anti-Soviet rumours, are exactly those groups which raised no opposition to the Japanese conquest of Manchuria in 1931.

Four-Power Co-operation

IN the past thirty odd years Soviet-Chinese relations have experienced occasional difficulties. These have arisen not by any wish or act of the Soviet Government, nor from any wish of the Chinese people. When representative Chinese have expressed their wishes they have always been in the terms used by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The difficulties have arisen rather from China's lack of democracy and the consequent inability of the Chinese people to express their wishes, and also from difficulties in the

relations of countries other than China with the Soviet Union.

For example, it was Japan and the other interventionary powers who compelled the Chinese Government to withdraw its representative from Moscow in 1918; the action of Britain's first Labour Government in 1924 in recognising the Soviet Government facilitated the Chinese recognition of the U.S.S.R. a few weeks later; the Arcos raid on the Soviet Trade Delegation by the British Conservative Government in 1927 and the consequent breaking off of relations with the Soviet Union fitted in with the raid on the Soviet Embassy in Peking and the Chinese rupture of relations in that year; while the American recognition of the U.S.S.R. in 1933 assisted the Chinese resumption of relations in 1933, and so on. Indeed, for us in Britain, the promotion of Anglo-Soviet friendship is the best and surest method of promoting Sino-Soviet friendship.

The Soviet-Chinese Treaty opens a new stage in relations between the two countries and, while China is still weak from the Japanese invasion and the effects of past strife, her people are growing in maturity. The dreadful sufferings inflicted by Japanese imperialism over a period of fifty years and more, are a constant reminder of the need of friendship with China's other neighbours. Together, China and the Soviet Union are intensely concerned to see enacted the Potsdam terms to Japan which said:

"There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest . . . Stern justice will be meted out to all war criminals . . . The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people."

In expressing their concern for the speedy and complete fulfilment of the terms the two countries are naturally expressing the concern of all peoples that the roots of Japanese militarism and imperialism be cut out. There will be no happy life for China till Japanese Fascism, and all its roots and branches have been destroyed, and an end has been put to the intrigues of Japanese agents who for so long have sown division in China and spread anti-Soviet propaganda there. This danger is emphasised by the disturbances which Japanese puppet gangs, turned bandits, have been creating in Manchuria.

The Moscow Conference in 1945 set up United Nations machinery to deal with this problem of eliminating Japanese

fascism. It also declared "the need for a unified and democratic China under the National Government, for broad participation by democratic elements in all branches of the National Government, and for the cessation of civil strife," re-affirmed the policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of China and the desirability of the withdrawal of American and Soviet Forces from China. Thus Anglo-Soviet-American co-operation was also helping both to avert the threat of reactionary civil war in China, and to end dictatorial rule there. This international co-operation must be continued. But it requires to be continuously fought for. It will not come of itself.

Naturally there will be difficulties, but provided the unity of the main powers can be maintained and developed these can be overcome.

Some of these difficulties are already apparent. Thus, after the Moscow Conference, the American forces in China did not begin to withdraw. Rather they were increased by 3,000 men. Nor has Britain yet handed back the leased territory and colony of Hongkong to China, though France has handed back her former leased territory. Rather Hongkong is being turned into a great air base. The Chinese people have been sharply demanding both the withdrawal of U.S. forces and the return of Hongkong. Reactionaries in Britain, China and the United States have replied by attacking the Soviet Union for not withdrawing its troops from Manchuria. But the Soviet position is clear. The Chief of Staff of the Soviet Command in Manchuria stated on February 26th, 1946, that the Soviet withdrawal was going on continuously and that, "The Soviet Command in Manchuria reckons on completing the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Manchuria earlier than the time in which the American command can withdraw the American troops from China or at least not later." All those who are interested in an independent China must be intensely concerned at the continued stay of American forces in China to which no time limit has been set.

A second difficulty is that in China today, as in Britain and America, there are two attitudes to the Soviet Union. The young, progressive, patriotic, popular and forward-looking Chinese forces, full of life and desiring fuller life, turn to the Soviet Union with ardent friendship. They are inspired by its championship of democracy, its steady help in China's fight for independence, its living culture and advanced science. Other backward-looking forces, who prefer the pickings of the old semi-colonial position

of China, hate the Soviet Union because it does stand for democracy and the welfare of the people.

In the past these old forces persecuted Dr. Sun Yat-sen; now they often venerate his name with their lips while hating his principles with a bitter hate. Sometimes they try to hide behind a mask of loyalty to Chinese culture, while they try to destroy all that is living and mighty in it. Often such groups are to be found in the right-wing of the Kuomintang, which in recent years has become more and more a landlord party. Such men are traitors to the patriotic principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

As Gunther Stein, former *News Chronicle* correspondent in China, has shown in his *Challenge of Red China* many Chinese Liberals, as well as Communists, have long opposed the anti-Soviet tendencies of right-wing Kuomintang groups.

The third and greatest difficulty to the fulfilment of the Crimean and Moscow policies of co-operation arises because the British and American peoples do not yet own the means of production in their own countries. Some circles, interested in the big monopolies which do largely own them, are expansionist and hostile to policies of international co-operation. In the past these monopolies have never been noted for friendship to either China or the Soviet Union. They care not for culture but for rates of interest; not for the livelihood of the people, but for increased profits. In the past their exploitation has been a major cause of China's poverty. They especially fear Soviet-Chinese economic co-operation designed to promote the welfare of the people and China's independence. It was noticeable that General Hurley, who in 1945 had to be removed from his position of United States Ambassador to China and who had openly intervened in Chinese affairs on the side of reaction, was a former representative of a big U.S. oil company; and that, on his return to the United States, he launched bitter attacks on American policies of co-operation with the Soviet Union and Britain.

Such opponents of United Nations co-operation must be constantly combated. Churchill's Anglo-American *bloc* for example, would be a dreadful menace to China.

Owen Lattimore, at one time Adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and leading American authority on Far Eastern questions, has written a book *Solution in Asia* dealing with some of these problems. He sees "that we must live henceforth in a

world in which Communism has become a permanent factor;" that American policy must be based on co-operation with the Soviet Union; and that :—

"Victory can lead to peace only through continuing agreement between the United Nations."

Along the lines of constant and increasing co-operation of the United Nations lies the hope of China and the world. Towards the fulfilment of that hope the Soviet-Chinese Alliance makes a powerful contribution.

This Soviet-Chinese friendship and the prospect of its further growth is a matter for great happiness for the Chinese people. Said Dr. T. V. Soong, on his arrival in Moscow in June, 1945, to begin the Treaty negotiations :

"It is with great joy that I have come to the capital of our great neighbour the Soviet Union, and on behalf of the people and Government of China I convey warm greetings to the people and Government of the Soviet Union. I am specially glad to congratulate here the army, people and Government of the Soviet Union on the brilliant victory over Fascist Germany, and to express my deepest admiration for the unsurpassed heroism shown by them under the guidance of Marshal Stalin in this world war. I express unshakable confidence that sincere, friendly collaboration between China and the Soviet Union will contribute enormously to the establishment of firm, universal peace."

But Soviet-Chinese friendship and the prospect of its growth is a matter for joy to other peoples besides, for it offends no peace-loving country or person, but is rather one of the great corner-stones of peace.

In the further development of the Moscow Conference policy of a united and democratic China and in the fulfilment of the Soviet-Chinese alliance there lies a tremendous blossoming for China—scientific, economic, cultural and political—which will increase the prosperity and enrich the life of the whole world.

The visions of Dr. Sun Yat-sen will be fulfilled, and a mighty, free China, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union and the other powers which treat her as an equal, will march forward to the days of "human heartedness," when all governments shall spring from the people and their attention will be directed solely to the nourishing of the people, as the Chinese sages dreamed. It is for us to advance and bring nearer those days.

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