

## The Russian Drive to the East and the Islamic Eurasia

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**Abstract:** *Although the contemporary post-Soviet Russian policy towards the Pacific has changed significantly in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Old Orthodox Slavocentric tradition of “mission in the East” remains unchanged. Russia still did not discover that military might gives only an illusion of influence. And the Russian Peril is still real despite the political, economic and cultural decline of the “evil empire.” This historical survey of Russia’s expansionism in the Northeastern Asia Pacific Rim attempts to look at the realm of colliding cultures, ideologies and religions in a larger context of the hegemonic policy of the Tzarist/Soviet/Neo-Russian empire, from an Islamic civilizational perspective.*

The fall of the Soviet Union in 1990 did not lead, as expected, to the acceleration of the process of self-determination of nations.<sup>1</sup> Instead Brezhnev’s doctrine of “limited sovereignty” was replaced by the Russian President Boris Yeltzin’s doctrine of “Near Abroad.” Yeltzin’s Islamophobic doctrine was strengthened profoundly in the 1990’s by the US President Clinton’s Doctrine of “containment” of the worldwide Islamic revivalism. In 2001, the New-Imperial Triumvirate Bush-Blair-Putin decided to annihilate the armed resistance of the Islamic revivalists and to reshape the geopolitical map of the Muslim Western Asia. The recent, third Russian invasion of *de facto* independent Chechen Republic of Ichkeria and the re-Sovietization of the Russian-led “Commonwealth of Independent States” (CIS) indicate explicitly that the “drive to the East,” inaugurated by the Tzar Ivan the Terrible’s brutal annexation of the Muslim Volga khanates (1552-1556) is not over.

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Before the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Russian acquisitions in the Inner Asia need be scrutinized, and the issue of continuity between the Soviet empire and the post-communist Russian Federation must be addressed. The geopolitical continuity of the Russian neo-colonialism in Asia is delineated by the identical frontiers, presence of the Russian military bases in the Northern Caucasia, Tadjikistan and Sakhalin, as well as by the similar obsession with the national security and imperial power. In spite of the official rejection of the Leninist-Stalinist ideology, the new Post-Soviet regime did not abolish the policy of colonial subjugation of the non-Russian Asian countries that the Bolshevik troops ruthlessly incorporated into the Soviet Union. After the extremely ferocious Civil War between the White Russian Guards and the Reds (1918-1922), the victorious Bolsheviks restored the “territorial integrity” of the Tzarist Russia. This “territorial integrity” of the neo-imperial Russia and its colonies in Caucasia and Siberia was declared recently by Vladimir Putin as the most important feature of his policy of renewed Russian militarism.

The Northeast Asian Pacific Rim, in the modern Russian military terminology known as the Far Eastern Major Theater of Military Activity (DV-GTVD), complicates the question of Russian Federation’s national interest in relations with the economically potent Japan and the neo-industrialized Asian nations. The Russian-held “Primorskiy Kray” (Maritime Land) is a part of it. Its Pacific port city of Vladivostok is the terminus of the 10,000 km Trans-Siberian Railway fastening this eastern outermost Asian colony with the European Russia. The Russian name of this city (the master of the East) “is one of the most offensive vestige” of the Tzarist colonialism.<sup>2</sup> The other equally insulting colonial name of the city is Vladicavkaz (the master of Caucasia), a present-day Russian military base near the Chechen border. Vladivostok is a harbour of the Russian Far East Fleet, the largest naval force of the former USSR and to this day one of the most impoverished city of Russia and the Northeast Asia. The first Bolshevik dictator Vladimir Illiyeh Ulyanov (Lenin), called Vladivostok “the very own town founded by our pioneers on the shores of Pacific Ocean.”<sup>3</sup>

Hough Seton-Watson writes that, the Russian conquest and colonialism in Eurasia was as brutal as the British, French, Dutch, Spanish, Portugal and Italian colonial yoke over Muslim North Africa, Europe and the Southeast Asia. Unfortunately, there is a popular opinion, especially among some of the left-leaning Afro-Asian secular nationalists, that the Russian colonial conquest of Eurasia was less imperialistic than those of the western powers.

Russian expansion in the Volga valley has its parallel in the Spanish *reconquista*, the absorption of the Ukraine in the French absorption of Burgundy and Lorraine, the colonization of Siberia in the colonization of North America, the subjection of the Caucasus in the English subjection of the Scottish Highlands, the annexation of Central Asia in the creation of the British and French empires, Russian imperialism in the Far East in the aggression of other European imperial powers against China. Indeed the Russo-Japanese War shares with the Anglo-Boer War the distinction of more nearly approaching the Marxist model of an imperialist war undertaken for economic motives than any other examples in history.<sup>4</sup>

The Kremlin's geopolitical schizophrenia manifests itself in Mikhail Gorbachev's tirades on the place of Russia in the modern world. In his book *Pyerestroyka (Reconstruction)*, he described Russia as "our collective European house which is also an Asian country."<sup>5</sup>

The "westernizers" among the Russian intelligentsia as well as the commoners see the Muslims inside the Russian Federation and CIS as the constant peril to the political and cultural supremacy of the predominantly Orthodox Christian (*pravoslavnye*) Slavs, along with the billions of Asians regarded by the Euro-Russians as the "Yellow Peril" (*Zheltaya Ugroza*). But in the political sub-consciousness of the "Europeans," the Russians, like the Turks, are "non-European" alien people of the ancient Scythia. Thus, Russia is neither a part of the European West nor the land of Asian East. At present Russia is a nuclear power of nowhere. After the fall of the Tatar Golden Horde, it became a domain of the Slavic Drunken Horde. After the dismantling or dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Russian model of power resembles rather the medieval Khazaria ruled by the *ka-khans* and Jewish merchants than a modern industrial democracy of the presidential or the parliamentary variety.

Since the ancient supremacy of Kimmerians and Scythians over the vast "Betweenland," the Eurasian heartland or the present-day Russia was always a dangerous domain of ruthless autocrats and short-lived stratocracies. The contemporary power struggle behind the Kremlin's walls and the brutal invasions of Turkistan (1919-1924), Poland (1920, 1939), Baltic states, Romania and Finland (1939-1940), Hungary (1956), Bohemia/Czech&Slovakia (1968), Afghanistan (1979-1990), and Chechnya (1994-1996, 1999-?), the horrible ethnic cleansing in the Eastern Germany, Crimea and Northern Caucasus (1944-45) are an alarming reverberation of the medieval Eurasian campaigns in which the Scythians, Sarmatians, Huns, Avars, Slavs, Ruses-Varangians, Bulgars,

Khazars, Slavs, Kumans, Pechenaks, Mongols and Muscovites conquered the pivotal realm of modern Russia at great cost of human lives. Indeed, only to lose control of it and disintegrate themselves into a plethora of weak states.

As a civilizational force, Russia was never an innovative catalyst of history. Since its foundation in the early medieval Kiev and Novogrod, the Russian Slavs slavishly imitated the technological and cultural patterns of Europe. The medieval Muscovy was a replica of Byzantine *polis*, the Russian Tzar Peter I forcibly westernized his subjects according to the Dutch and English molds, the last Romanov Tzars duplicated the British colonial empire. Lenin copied the German socialism, Stalin's scientists plagiarized the Nazi German and American technologies, and Gorbachev emulated the British post-colonial Commonwealth. Vladimir Putin blatantly repeats in Chechnya the American-style air-bombing of Iraq and Serbia and echoes *ad nauseam* the US State Department's statements on "the international terrorism" and "Islamic extremism." Growing as the Christian empire, Russia itself was a post-Byzantine cultural kitsch and political counterfeit of the Teutonic West. Only her legacy of the medieval Mongol Genghiz-khanid despotism seems to be authentic and indigenous. The old Russian cultural identity problem produced a bizarre and dangerous chimera called by the Pan-Slavic messianic writers as the "Russian Idea," a supremacist philosophy developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by *narodniki* (the populists), and rejuvenated recently by the ruling Russian jingoists regardless of their political orientation.<sup>6</sup> In the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the extremist party of the Russian Slavophiles who called themselves *Vostochniki* or the "Easterners," frustrated by their lack of success in the Russification of the western Roman Catholicized Slavs, turned their geopolitical attention to the Islamic heartland of Eurasia and its Pacific Rim. Their spiritual leader, famous writer Fyodor Dostoyevsky, recognized the Russian Orthodox crusade against the Muslims, "yellow Asians" and the world hegemony of the Germanic West as the legitimate imperial aspiration of the "Third Rome." Fyodor F. von Martens (d.1909), a professor of the international law at the St. Petersburg University, wrote that "the Russian acquisition of Turkistan, Manchuria, Northeastern China and Mongolia cannot be judged by the standards of international rights, because Russia conquers the half-savage Asians."<sup>7</sup>

Vasiliy P. Vasilev (d.1900), a professor of Sinology at St. Petersburg University, warned that if China dominates the rich Pacific Rim, she would become "The Yellow Threat" (in German language, *Die Gelbe*

*Gefahr*), a peril to Russia, America, India and Western Powers and “she will exterminate all other human races.”<sup>8</sup>

The foundation of the “Master of the East” port (Vladivostok) on the Pacific coast (1860), as well as the construction of the Eurasian Trans-Siberian Railway (1891-1904) must be considered as the Russian imperialists’ persistence to dominate the Northeastern Asian Pacific Rim, a policy verified during the Russo-Chinese, Sino-Russian, Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The modern Neo-Soviet imperialists inherited also the economically devastating chimera of conquest of the East from the so-called Eurasianist Movement founded in 1920 by the Russian geographer Pyotr N. Savitsky who advocated the doctrine of *mestorazvitye*, or “the territorial magnification.” In 1973, Alexander Solzhenitsyn in his open letter to the Kremlin urged the Soviet leaders to emancipate the Russians by a massive colonization of the Northeastern Siberia and its coasts that will bestow Russia with a new military frontier against the Chinese demographic threat. Solzhenitsyn warned that a new Sino-Russian war would cost at least 60 million Russian lives.<sup>9</sup> The Russian sinophobia among the Slavophiles in Russia is still as strong as the Kremlin’s newest outbreak of the anti-Islamic pugnacity. The shifting geopolitical antinomies of the Sino-Russian relations as well as the continuous Russian occupation of the Japanese northern territories known as Kurile Islands, closing the Northeastern Siberia for the Japanese economical expansion and the Chinese Communist totalitarian rule over the Muslim Eastern Turkistan (Uigurstan), Inner Mongolia and Manchuria did not transform the Northeastern Asian Pacific realm into the zone of peace and prosperity at the end of the grim 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In 1980s, a new hostility between the West supported by Maoist China and the Soviet Union threatened balance of powers in Eurasia. The Soviets occupied Afghanistan and pro-Soviet communist regimes controlled power with armed forces in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Determined to expand the Soviet empire throughout Asia and Africa, Leonid Brezhnev preferred pattern of expansion by exploitation of internal instability and ethnic conflicts in the “Third World.” Until today the Russian elite has a sense of geopolitical mission in the Asian-Pacific region. In 1980s, the Kremlin tried to encircle China by a communist coalition of the Asian states adversary to Beijing’s pro-Western overtures. In the end of 1990s, Russia established close relationship with China. Both China and Russia fear Japan, the second largest industrial power in the world, and its new Asian Pacific zones of prosperity. Both China and Russia strongly oppose the US-Japan Mutual

Security Treaty and the American military presence in South Korea. These East-East conflicts have deep historical roots.<sup>10</sup> With the end of the communist ideology as the major component of the anti-colonial resistance against the common threat from the West, most of Asian countries resumed ethnic and geopolitical rivalries that go back to the Middle Ages. The combination of East-West and East-East conflicts in Asia provides a unique strategic opportunity for the Islamic revivalist movements. None of the Asian nuclear powers (Russia, China and India) will be able to apply unbridled military force on the new emerging Islamic states in the pivotal Heartland without an unpredictable shift of geopolitical axis. These three regional powers have “bloody borders with Islam.”<sup>11</sup> Russia is losing billions of dollars and thousands of soldiers in the pro-independent Muslim Chechnya, India in the occupied Kashmir, and China in the pro-independent Eastern Turkistan (Uigurstan). But the absence of a strong Islamic *core state* (S. Huntington) or the Caliphate “poses major problem for both Muslim and non-Muslim societies.”<sup>12</sup> Russia like Hindu-dominated India and the post-Maoist China is a culturally heterogeneous amalgam. Its Slavic Orthodox majority has no cultural bonds with the Muslim people inside and outside Russia. Samuel Huntington defined Russia as a *torn country* where the Tzar Peter I, Alexander II, Lenin, Stalin and recently Putin exemplify the close connection between Westernization and brutal perfection of despotism.<sup>13</sup> The dynamics of “Fault Line Wars” indicate that

Russia is running the risk of being drawn into prolonged confrontation with the Muslim world. Muslims in the Russian Federation rallied behind the Chechens...The leaders of the six Volga-Ural republics demanded Russia end its military action and the representatives of the Muslim Caucasus republics called for a civil disobedience campaign against Russian rule...The strongest protests against the war occurred in Chechnya’s two neighboring republics of Ingushetia and Dagestan. The Ingush attacked Russian troops on their way to Chechnya, leading the Russian defence minister to declare that the Ingush government “had virtually declared war on Russia” and attacks on Russian forces also occurred in Dagestan. The Russians responded by shelling Ingush and Dagestani villages...The first ethnic-cleansing operation in the Russian Federation led to the immediate mobilization of the overwhelmingly Muslim Confederation of the Peoples of the Caucasus (KNK). The KNK threatened to send 500 000 volunteers against the Russian forces if they did not withdraw from Chechen territory. After a tense standoff, Moscow backed down to avoid the escalation of the North Ossetian-Ingush conflict into a regionwide conflagration.<sup>14</sup>

During the second Russo-Chechen War (1994-1996), the Islamic International immediately sent thousands of mujāhiddīn from all Muslim countries. The third *guerre civilizationnelle* between Russians and the Muslims (the first was won by the Muslims in Afghanistan) was declared by the Kremlin in 1993 in Turkistan and Tadjikistan where the local Islamic revivalists called for Jihād against secular tyranny of the neo-Communist regimes.

The most important historical trend in Eurasia that contributed to the new equilibrium of power at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is undeniably the rapid re-Islamization of the ex-Soviet Central Asian republics. In the context of this trend, the strategic implications of Russo-Chinese alliance would be difficult to exaggerate. In 1990s, the Chinese Communist regime, along with Clinton's administration, Yeltsin's autocracy and Indian ultra-nationalist government represented a massive barrier to the Islamic Resurgence. Because of its overriding interests in containing Islamic revivalism in Eurasia, the Kremlin has discovered many parallel interests with the internationalist leftist governments of the West. During the Russo-Afghan War (1979-1990), the Neo-Conservative governments of USA and Western Europe opposing the "Islamic fundamentalism" of the Iranian Revolution supported the Afghan anti-communist Jihād. During the Russo-Chechen Wars 1994-2000, the Russians united with the western socialists in opposition to Taliban-ruled Emirate of Afghanistan established a cordial relationship with the anti-western Iran and Iraq.

In the Far East, the Russians were always well aware of their geopolitical vulnerabilities. When the Third Reich's armies reached Chechnya in 1941, Stalin was fortunate to have neutralized Japan because the Japanese army was preoccupied with the Chinese armed resistance and later with war against USA. The Soviets waited until the Americans bombed Japan to submission before they declared war against the demoralized Nippon's troops in Manchuria. In 1944, Churchill and Roosevelt deliberately ignored Stalin genocidal policy against the Muslim Caucasians. Since 1968, the Russians once again faced a two-front security problem. In 1970s and 1980s, the Soviets kept a million troops in the eastern Siberian border between China and USSR.

The Russians' search for the secure borders in Asia manifested itself in their inclination for authoritarian dictatorship and territorial extension of the Russian Steppe into Pacific and Indian Ocean.<sup>15</sup> Japanese legitimate demands of return of the Russian-occupied Kurile Islands are

portrayed in the Russian school curricula and mass media as the “Japanese imperialists policy” inaugurated by the Siberian Intervention (1918-1920) and the Manchurian conflict (1937-1939). The grass-root Islamic revivalism in the Muslim republics of the former Soviet Union is presented as “Saudi-financed Wahabi extremism.”

### **Russian Colonization of the Northeastern Pacific**

The Crimean War (1853-1856) exposed the vulnerability of Russian Pacific littoral to British and French naval attacks. Acquisition of the Amur and Maritime provinces from the weak Chinese emperor in the treaties of Aigun (1858) and Beijing (1860) followed by conquest of the Muslim Turkistan and Caucasia changed the rules of the colonial great game between the British and the Russian empires. The Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 did not change the Russian objectives in the Asian Pacific realm. The invasion and occupation of Japanese-held Manchuria, North Korea, Southern Sakhalin and Kurile Islands in 1945 reinforced the Northeast Asia’s strategic importance for Stalin. But after Stalin’s death in 1953 and the end of Korean War, the Soviets faced a chain of American military bases along an arc from Hokkaido to Taiwan. After the Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the Americans strengthened military ties with Japan and developed a new strategic relationship with China. In Moscow’s view, the Americans compensated in the Northern Asia Pacific realm their losses in Vietnam and Iran.

After the demise of the powerful Tatar Golden Horde in the late fifteenth century, the weak and fragmented Muslim khanates of the Volga Basin were subjugated by the Tzar Ivan, the Terrible of Muscovy, between 1553 and 1556. In 1582, Yermak, the Cossack warlord, called as the “Cortez of Siberia,” opened the vast Eurasia for the Russian conquest. Like the Hudson’s Bay Company in North America, the main inspiration of the enterprise was a great demand in Russia and Europe for furs. In 1639, Ivan Moskvitin reached the sea of Okhotsk. Eight years later, Russia’s first Pacific port, at Okhotsk, was established by the Cossacks who acknowledged that “Tartary” or the Eastern Siberia was separated from the North America at the apex of the Pacific Ocean.<sup>16</sup> In the seventeenth century, the Russian *yasak* gangs penetrated Kamchatka and Chishima (Kurile Islands). Taking advantage of rivers, the Russians “pacified” the Pacific Coast almost 250 years before the Russian troops conquered Caucasia and Turkistan.

Cossack Khabarov, a sadistic “Pizzaro of Russia,” established the first Russian fort on the Amur River and massacred the Tungus clans on the banks of the Ussuri River. By the end of the seventeenth century,



more than 25% of total Russia's state wealth came from the Asia Pacific fur trade. In the Amur and Ussuri valleys, the swiftly expanding Russian empire came into direct proximity with China troubled by the Manchurian invaders. In 1689, the Sino-Russian treaty of Nerchinsk halted temporarily the Russian conquest of the Far East.

The waning Chinese empire and the isolationist policy of Japanese *shoguns* in the last decades of 17<sup>th</sup> century contributed profoundly to the Russian speedy *zavoyevanye Dalnogo Vostoka* (conquest of the Far East). By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, all Southeast Asian kingdoms and empires collapsed and the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, British and French naval powers had been able to turn the entire Pacific Ocean into their colonial possession in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Russia which came to the Pacific by land, played a pivotal role in the European colonization of the *Tikhyy Okean* (Pacific Ocean). Between 1725 and 1743, Vitus Jonassen Bering, Danish explorer in the service of the Tzar Peter I, proved that the American continent is separated from Eurasia. In 1740, his crew established the port of Petropavlovsk in Kamchatka. The Danish explorer died from scurvy and frostbite on the largest island of Archipelago Komandorskiy (present-day Bering Island). During the reign of Tzarina Catherine II (1762-1796), the Asia Pacific trade of fur for Chinese gold, silver and silk drove Russia into the first direct colonial conflict with British and Spanish empires in the Far East.<sup>17</sup> Russia and Japan had established diplomatic and commercial relations in 1855. When Japan gained the commercial rights in China and Korea (Tientsin Treaty of 1871 and Korean-Japanese agreement in 1876), Russia identified the Land of Rising Sun as her most dangerous competitor in partition of the crumbling China called by the western politicians as "the sick man of Asia."

The Sino-Russian treaties of 1858 and 1860 banned the British, French and American ships to enter the Amur, Sungari and Ussuri rivers and allowed the Russians to build the port of Vladivostok. Russia strengthened its grip over Sakhalin but recognized the Japanese possession of the central and northern Kuriles populated by the Ainu, a proto-Caucasian indigenous people of Hokkaido, Sakhalin and nearby isles. The Kurile (in Russian language *kurit* or "smoking") volcanic Islands were explored by the Dutch sailor Vries in 1643 and by the Cossacks Danilo Antsiferov and Ivan Kozyrevskii in 1711-1713. Later, in 1778, a group of Russian hunters led by Lebedev-Lastochkin forced the Ainu tribesmen to pay *yasak* or fur tax. But until 1809, no Russian settlements were established there. The largest island, Etorofu, was occupied by the Japanese settlers in 1799 who defended their forts

against the Russian pirates. On February 7, 1855, the Russians and Japanese signed the Treaty of Commerce, Navigation and Delimitation at Shimoda, which specified that the Etorofu and islands to the south were to belong to Japan. The Tzar's decree of 1853 declared Sakhalin (Karafuto) as a part of Russia, even though the Japanese fishermen established several villages in the island at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Although the question of the Kuriles was settled in 1875, Russia remained the main threat to Japanese economic and political interests in the Northern Asia Pacific Rim.<sup>18</sup> After the victorious war against China in 1885, Japan seized Korea (which was declared independent Japanese protectorate after the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895) and Manchuria, but the Russo-Franco-German alliance forced Japan to abandon the strategic Liaodong peninsula. Russia seized the Chinese-held Manchuria during the "Boxer Rebellion" in 1900, and built its second biggest Pacific naval base at Port Arthur. A new shift in the Pacific balance of power came with the British-Japanese pact of 1902. Britain weakened by the heroic resistance of the South African Boers, and threatened in her Indian colony by the Russian encroachment in Turkistan and Afghanistan, supported the Japanese anti-Russian policy in Korea and Manchuria. When in June 1903, Japan proposed an agreement with Russia recognizing Japan's vital economic interests in Korea, the Tzar Nicholas II refused to negotiate with "these little monkeys." On the night of February 2 (January 26, according to the Julian calendar) 1904, the Japanese navy sunk three Russian battleships and blockaded Port Arthur. In April 1904, the Japanese First Army led by General Tamemoto Tamesada Kuroki routed the Russian army led by General Alexei N. Kuropatkin on the Yalu River. On May 30, the Japanese Second Army led by General Yasukata Oku annihilated the main Russian army in the battle of Nanshan and captured Kinchow (now Ching Hsien). The Japanese Third Army of General Maresuke Nogi and the Fourth Army under General Michitsura Nodzu besieged Port Arthur and defeated 25,000 Russians at Wafangtien on June 14. Although the Japanese were outnumbered by the Russian forces (130,000 vs 180,000), the former forced the Russians to retreat toward Shenyang (Mukden). On January 2, 1905, the Russian General Anatoly M. Stesel surrendered Port Arthur.

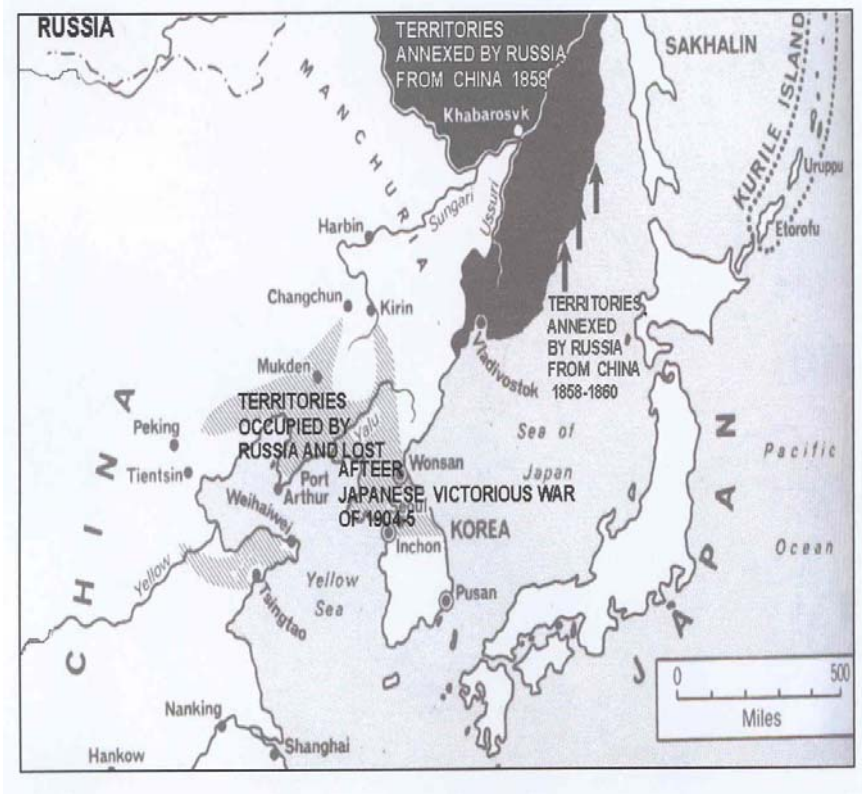
The Russian army (330,000) lost almost 100,000 soldiers and Japanese army (270,000) lost 50,000. In the battle of Tsushima (May 27-29, 1905), the Japanese fleet led by Admiral Heihachiro Togo destroyed the Baltic Fleet of Russia commanded by Admiral Zinovy P. Rozhdestvensky. The Russians lost 8 battleships, 9 cruisers, 6 special-service steamers and 12 smaller boats. More than 4,000 Russian sailors

were killed and 3 admirals and 73,000 sailors were captured. The Japanese lost 3 torpedo boats, 116 killed and 538 wounded. After the crushing defeat on the sea and land, the Tzar Nicolai II accepted the mediation of U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt. On September 5, the Treaty of Portsmouth (New Hampshire) was signed. Russia surrendered its lease to Liaoyang and Port Arthur, ceded the southern half of Sakhalin, withdrew from Manchuria (known to the Chinese as the “Three Eastern Provinces: Fengtien, Kirin, and Heilugkiang”), and recognized Korea as the Japanese sphere of influence.<sup>19</sup> Japanese marines also captured the northern Sakhalin. As the new regional power in the Asia Pacific, Japan annexed Korea in 1910 and consolidated its position in Manchuria over the next three decades.

### **The Sovietization of the Northeastern Pacific**

After the Bolshevik coup in 1917, the anti-German Entente urged Japan to join American forces for an offensive against the Central Powers in the East via the Trans-Siberian Railway from Vladivostok where the anti-Bolshevik Russians and the Czechoslovak Corps declared their own “Socialist State of the Far East.” On April 5, 1918, the Japanese troops followed by the American, British and French contingents landed at Vladivostok to protect Japanese residents and their property attacked by the Russian armed gangs. One month later, the Czech and the Slovak legions, composed of former Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war, whose evacuation via Vladivostok had been negotiated with the Bolshevik regime, clashed with the Red militiamen in western Siberia. With the encouragement of the Western powers, the Czech and Slovak legionaries moved toward the Volga River, seized Samara and cut off the entire Siberia from the Bolshevik power centers in European Russia. Immediately, several anti-Communist governments emerged throughout Eurasia. In Omsk, a Western Siberian free state was established in July 1918. By 1919, the Japanese army of 72,000 soldiers seized the entire Eastern Siberia from the Baikal Lake to the Sea of Ochotsk and supported several anti-Communist guerrilla groups. In 1920, after the retreat of the American and British troops from the Far East, Japan was the dominant force in Siberia and Manchuria. When the Russian Bolshevik troops led by Commissar Tryapitzyn, a leader of “Russian commune in the Far East”, massacred 383 Japanese civilians and 351 soldiers in Nikolaevsk, at the mouth of the Amur River; the Japanese troops occupied once again Sakhalin (Karafuto). Three weeks after the last Japanese troops left Vladivostok (Oct. 25, 1922), the pro-Bolshevik puppet regime of “Far Eastern Republic” declared a “voluntary

incorporation” into the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR). In 1990, Dimitri Volkoganov, a Russian revisionist historian found documents which prove that on May 3, 1923, Lenin had ordered



\* Russian Conquest and Retreats in the Northeastern Pacific Rim 1858-1905

Adolf Yoffe, the Soviet chief peace negotiator in Tokyo, the sale of northern Sakhalin to Japan for \$1 billion.<sup>20</sup> But Kawakami Toshihiko, a Japanese Foreign Ministry official refused to buy the Northern Sakhalin. When the Soviets apologized for the Nikolaevsk massacre and recognized the Tzarist old debts and treaties, Japan recognized the Bolshevik regime in January 1925.

The Bolshevik policy of “national self-determination for the toilers of the East” was obviously a political humbug. Josef Vissiarionovich Djughashvili (Stalin), People’s Commissar for the Affairs of Nationalities (Narkomnats), like other non-Russian Bolshevik Commissars,<sup>21</sup> agreed that “social equality” of the peoples conquered by the Russian Tzars and

“reunited” during the Civil War by the Red Guard means an abolition of political and cultural liberty of those who understand the right of national self-determination as a freedom to declaration of independent states. All pro-independence movements and parties in Caucasia, Inner Asia and Siberia were declared as “reactionary separatism,” “banditry” or “foreign imperialist interventions.” The dreadful Extraordinary Commission to Combat Sabotage and Counter-Revolution (CZEKA) was the instrument through which the Bolshevik policy of “Red Terror” and “total annihilation” (*vsyeyi unichtozhenye*) was applied against the so-called “separatist bandits” in the Muslim Caucasia, Inner Asia (Turkistan) and Siberia.

In January 1918, a “Provisional Commissariat for Jewish National Affairs” and a “temporal commission for the affairs of the Muslims of Internal Russia” were established but two years later the “Muslim Commissariat” was dissolved and the Jewish Commissariat continued to exist as the special “Jewish Section of the Russian Communist Party.”<sup>22</sup> Two Jewish-origin Bolshevik commissars of Narkomnats, Dimanstein and Vainstein from the Marxist Zionist Bund, were appointed by Stalin as the presidents of the Kazakh and Bashkir “Muslim” Central Executive Committees. In 1921, the Society for the Study of the East, the Petrograd Institute of Living Oriental Language and the Communist University of Toilers of the East were founded under the direct control of Narkomnats.

Unfortunately, the armed resistance which the Communist dictatorship continued to confront everywhere in the Eastern Asia was mostly the result of foreign military aid, for as long as the Western and Japanese troops occupied the Russian colonies of the Far East, the Bolshevik policy of extermination of the indigenous population was hindered. But after the withdrawal of the Japanese, French, British and American forces, the Bolshevik regime turned the entire Northeastern Asia Pacific Rim into the nefarious “Archipelago GULAG” or the network of hard labour and concentration camps depicted by Alexander the Russian-dominated Eastern Siberia had been generally restive to the “White Guard” led by Admiral Alexander Kolchak and the anti-Bolshevik Cossack *voiska*. The bands of Siberian Cossacks were frontier settlers who had colonized the Far East for the Tzars in return for a permanent military service. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, they became the praetorian guard of the Russian emperors organized in several military hordes, extending from the Don River through Inner Asia to the Pacific, led by an elected *atamans*<sup>23</sup> who enjoyed almost absolute power over their *voiska*. After the Bolshevik takeover in 1917, Semenov, ataman of

the Ussuri Cossacks collected a Russian volunteer army in Harbin, Manchuria and joined the White Guard led by Admiral A. Kolchak. Supported by French and Japanese troops, Semenov captured Chita and flushed out the Bolsheviks from the entire Trans-Baikalia. Many “White Russian” bands terrorized the Tunguz reindeer herders who preferred their own government. Experience of the Cossacks’ “White Terror” was one of the factors which made the indigenous people more compliant to



\* The Islamic Inner Asia

the Communist commissars’ power. In July 1918, the Siberian anti-Bolshevik Russians established their government in Omsk. In Samara, the nationalist Kazakhs, Tatars and Boshkurts met the anti-Bolshevik Russian populists and signed a treaty constituting a “Provisional All-Russian Government,” but Samara like Kazan and Simbirsk, was abandoned by the Czech Legion and captured by the Bolshevik irregulars in October 1918, when Admiral Kolchak overthrew the “All-Russian Government” led by Avxeniev as its President. Semenov and

his *harbintyz* (Russian followers recruited in Harbin, Manchuria) refused to recognize both Admiral Kolchak and Avxeniev as the legitimate representatives of Russia. When Japanese military authorities declared Admiral Kolchak as a British pawn and sabotaged his political plans in the Eastern Siberia, the Bolshevik disciplined troops conquered Omsk on November 10, 1919. Kolchak disbanded his government in Irkutsk on January 5, 1920, and fled to Verkhne-Udinsk, where he handed his almost non-existing political authority over Siberia to supporters of General Anton I. Denikin (1872-1947) and Cossak ataman Semenov. But when the Bolshevik cavalry of Commissar Syemon Budionny defeated Gen Denikin's "Southern Russian White Army" in 1919 at Orel, and Denikin fled to Istanbul, Western Siberia became a domain of the Red Terror. Many Tatar and Boshkurt volunteers from Kolchak's dissolved army under the command of General Kappel marched through Yakutia and after an amazing trek across the ice-bound Baikal lake, they joined Semenov's Cossacks in Manchuria. Admiral Kolchak was betrayed by the Czech legionaries who handed him over to the Bolsheviks. He was executed by Felix Dzerzhinski's CHEKA death squad on February 7, 1920. After the final evacuation of the Czech legionaries and the withdrawal of the British, American and French contingents, the Japanese army were forced to recognize the pro-Bolshevik buffer state in the Far East led by Krasnoshchekov, a Jewish-origin Bolshevik plenipotentiary of V. I. Ulyanov [Lenin] and L. Bronstein [Trotsky]. Krasnoshchekov spent many years in the US and returned to Irkutsk from Chicago in 1917. He assured his Soviet comrades at Tomsk on January 19, 1920, that America accepted the existence of a buffer state in the Far East led by the pro-Bolshevik regime. On April 6, he declared himself as the Prime Minister and minister for foreign affairs of the "independent democratic Far East Republic. His friend, Bill Shatov, also a Jewish Russian origin American Communist agitator, became the Minister of Interior Affairs of FER. Blücher, a Bolshevik commissar from Ukraine, was appointed the first Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of FER.<sup>24</sup> After the declaration of "independence" of "Far East Republic", no effective nationalist or pro-independent movements arose in the Northeast Asia Pacific realm. On July 17, 1920, the Japanese military command and Krasnoshchekov signed a peace treaty in the Trans-Siberian Railway station of Gongotta near Chita. Five months later, after the evacuation of Japanese troops, the last band of Semenov's White Guard was routed in Chita, which became the "capital" of FER. Semenov froze to death in *taiga* (the northern Siberian forest). In April 1921, Kamchatka was incorporated into RSFSR and Lenin sold a concession to exploit the

mineral resources of this volcanic peninsula to an American tycoon. The American government put economic pressure on Tokyo to end the Japanese occupation of the “Russian Far East,” when *de facto* independent Maritime Province was still under the control of the White Guard led by General Kappel. But after the negotiation between the Soviet envoy, Adolf Joffe, and Nippon’s delegation at Changchun in Manchuria (Sept. 4, 1922), the Japanese troops were completely withdrawn from Vladivostok, and the last White Russian government, established in May 1921, immediately disintegrated itself. The fall of Vladivostok on October 29, 1922, was a turning point in the modern history of Soviet Union which marked the final stage of reunification of the former Russian Pacific Frontier with the post-Tzarist Communist empire.

In 1922, the vast territory of Yakutia was recognized as an “autonomous republic,” though much of the territory was controlled by the anti-Communist guerrillas till the end of 1923.<sup>25</sup> Many Yakut pan-Turkists survived Stalin’s ideological purges and established several crypto-nationalist cultural associations which popularized and protected the Yakut ethnic identity. Even in the 1930’s, the Soviet dictatorship exercised a limited power over the Turkic-origin Yakuts who never allowed to Russianize their lifestyle.

## **The Manchurian Gamble and World War II**

In the spring of 1920, the Comintern (The Third Communist International) agent, Gregory Voytinski, arrived in China to organize a nucleus of the Han Communist party. At its first “congress” in July 1921, the Russian and Chinese Bolsheviks appointed Chen Duxiu, an editor of Marxist-Leninist journal *New Youth* at Beijing University as the Secretary General of the new Chinese Communist Party. Lenin advised Chen Duxiu to form a coalition with Sun-Yat-sen’s Guomintang. The small number of Chinese Bolsheviks obediently accepted Zinovyev’s [Arnov-Radomylsky] orders to accept the Guomintang party discipline, but the honeymoon of “progressive Nationalist-Communist partnership” lasted until 1927. Sun-Yat-sen was favourably predisposed to Lenin-Trotsky’s regime, because the Bolsheviks initially renounced the Tzarist territorial claims to Manchuria. In 1923, he signed a pact with the Jewish-origin Bolshevik envoy, Adolf Joffe, and the Guomintang received financial assistance from Soviet Russia. Under the guidance of the Comintern Jewish-origin agent, Mikhail Borodin [Grusenber], the Guomintang was reorganized into a well structured and disciplined organization, while General Galen [Blücher] performed the same service for the Guomintang army.<sup>26</sup>



Shanghai and Canton [Guangzhou] became a battleground of skillfully manipulated “class warfare,” when Sun-Yat-sen died of liver cancer in March 1925. In November 1929, the Soviet Far East Army, commanded by Gen Blücher and supported by airplanes, crossed the Ussuri River and invaded two Manchurian towns. The Chinese Nationalists were forced to sign a protocol at Khabarovsk on December 22, which restored the Manchurian *status quo ante*. The Soviet Union emerged from the confrontation as a new military force in the Asia-Pacific Rim.<sup>27</sup> The Soviet invasion of Manchuria alerted the Japanese military elite.

After the Manchurian incident of September 18, 1931, the Japanese troops led by Colonel Ishiwara Kanji took control of the entire Manchuria and supported the pro-Japanese state of Manchukuo which was declared as the independent country on February 18, 1932. The new state was placed under the rule of Puyi, the last emperor of China. The Western anti-German powers refused to recognize Manchukuo, and the Japanese version of American “Monroe Doctrine” in Asia. The League of Nations condemned the Japanese intervention in China and in March 1933, the outraged government of Japan withdrew its membership from this first international body dominated by the western powers. The Soviet Union was still militarily too weak to resist the Japanese influence in the continent. A Sino-Japanese truce, signed in May 1933, legitimized Japanese military presence north of the Great Wall of China, and delineated borders of a demilitarized zone demarcated by Beijing-Tianjing-Tanggu railway line.

The Japanese Kwantung Army protected the Manchukuo-Soviet Maritime Province border against the Communist infiltration, after several border incidents in 1935. To cope with the Soviet threat in Manchuria, the Japanese government dominated by *toseiha* or the “Control Party,” joined in December 1936, the anti-Comintern Axis led by the German Third Reich and Fascist Italy. European Fascism was also very popular among the Chinese Nationalists, graduates of the Whampoa Military Academy who founded the Blue Shirts, a special unit of storm trooper totally loyal to Chiang-Kai-Shek. The Blue Shirts, ultra-Confucianist-Zeng-Guofanist New Life movement (Chinese version of German Conservative *Juniklub* and *Herrenklub*) and a political secret police led by Chen’s biological brothers terrorized several non-Chinese minorities during the so-called “annihilation campaigns” aimed mainly against the Chinese Communists. Thus, the Japanese control over the Northern China was beneficial for the Inner Mongolia, Tibet and particularly for the Muslim Eastern Turkistan occupied by the Chinese military regime.

In July 1937, a scuffle between Japanese and Chinese soldiers on the Marco Polo Bridge at Beijing ignited a full-scale Sino-Japanese war. Chiang-Kai-Shek refused to recognize Manchukuo and the Japanese government of Prime Minister Prince Konoe Fumimaro declared Chiang-Kai-Shek's dictatorship illegitimate. In December 1937, after three months of bloody fighting, the Japanese forces captured Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and Nanjing. The Chinese Nationalist regime moved its capital to Chongqing in Sichuan, where Chiang-Kai-Shek was aided since August 1941 by the American Flying Tigers of the 14<sup>th</sup> U.S. Air Force commanded by General Claire L. Chennault. The pro-Japanese Chinese established their own government in Nanjing led by Wang Jingwei, a leftist disciple of Sun-Yat-Sen, who accepted Konoe's New Order in East Asia and the Japanese slogan "Asia for Asians."

In July 1938, thousands of Japanese and Soviet soldiers died in the fierce border war known as the Nomonhan Incident. In April 1941, Viacheslav M. Molotov, the Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs and Matsuoka Yosuke, a Japanese Foreign Minister, signed in Moscow a Non-Aggression and Neutrality Pact. Eight months earlier, in September 1940, the Japanese Prime Minister, Konoe, signed the Tripartite Pact forming the Axis Berlin-Rome-Tokyo. USA, Britain and Holland declared a total embargo on scrap iron and oil, two products crucial for survival of the Japanese industrial production. Dependent on oil and rubber from Southeast Asia, Nippon faced a fatal choice, either to fight against powerful USA, the British Empire and Dutch colonial power, or to retreat from China and French colony of Indochina.

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941), USA and Britain pressured the Soviet Union to invade Japan through Manchuria, but Stalin was preoccupied with the desperate struggle for survival against the victorious Germans. In March 1942, the American President and the British Prime Minister agreed that the United States should wage its anti-Japanese war in the Pacific, and the British will conduct their war in the Indian Ocean. As the fortune of war changed the situation in Europe by the late 1943, Stalin indicated his willingness to attack Japan after the fall of the Third Reich.

Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill agreed at the Yalta Conference in February 1945, that the Soviet Union will attack Japan after the end of war in Europe. Roosevelt who did not know that Japan possessed the Southern Kuriles offered Stalin these islands as the war booty.<sup>28</sup> At Potsdam, in August 1945, the Allies agreed that the Soviet Union would enter Korea. After the genocidal bombing of the Japanese cities by the US air forces and the Germany's surrender on May 7, 1945, Japan's

struggle for survival became desperate. Two days after the Holocaust of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Soviet Army violated the Pact of Non-Aggression of 1941 and invaded Manchukuo, Korea and the southern Sakhalin. Outnumbered Kwantung Army fought valiantly almost a month in Manchuria. After the Japanese capitulation on September 2, 1945, Stalin received the southern Chishima Islands called by the Japanese patriots as *Hoppo Ryodo* (The Northern Territories) and the Eastern Prussia in Eastern Europe which had never been in Russia's possession. The most apparent effect of the elimination of the Japanese empire was the postwar American supremacy in the Pacific Ocean. Stalin who planned to add the Indochina, Malaya and Indonesian archipelago to his enormous Red empire stretched from the Saxony in Germany to the Yalu River in Korea, found this new American threat very uncomfortable.

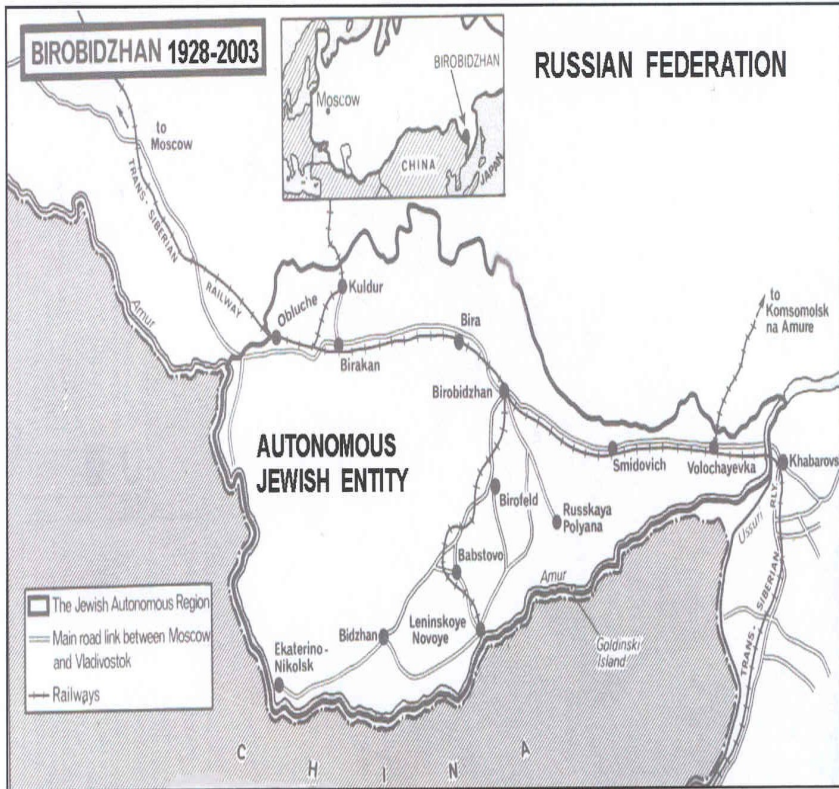
The Soviet dictator's hubris led him believe that he could "unite" the Communist China with USSR. Both, Mao Tze Tong and Stalin shared perception of the American imperialism as a common enemy in their Asian dreams. In result of the Sino-Soviet "proletarian brotherhood", a new Communist Peril arose in the Asia Pacific Rim. But the geopolitical honeymoon in Sino-Russian relations was a short season. After the death of Stalin and the end of Korean War, Beijing began to feel confident enough to follow its own "Chinese way" to the Communist "worker paradise." The result was worse than Stalin's collectivization of Russian agriculture in the 1930s. After the "Great Leap Forward" more than 25 million Chinese died in the early 1960s. Additionally, the ideological breakup between Khrushchev's "revisionism" and the Maoist-Stalinist orthodoxy led to the horror of the so-called "Cultural Revolution" led by the fanatical *hunveibin*. The Manchurian Frontier was not turned into the "peaceful border" between Communist China and USSR after the defeat of "Japanese militarism" and the rise of Red Star over the Dragon. In 1969, the two Communist states clashed in the Amur-Ussuri Rivers. The most widely noted clashes between the Russian and Chinese armies took place in March 1969. In February 1974, the Chinese downed a Soviet helicopter over the Ussuri and in the Eastern Turkistan. In May 1978, the Russian troops crossed the Ussuri river and in July 1979, the Chinese troops invaded the Maritime province's southern boundary. In July 1986, a Soviet armed patrol ambushed the Chinese border guard in the Chinese-occupied Uigurstan. The Chinese reports inform that 13,250 armed clashes and border violations took place between 1964 and 1975 in Manchuria and Xinjiang.<sup>29</sup> Until present days, hundreds of the Uigur Islamic guerrillas

cross easily the border between the pro-independent Eastern Turkistan (Chinese called it “Xinjiang”) and Kazakhstan. In the end of 1990s, the so called “Islamic Peril” and the “western hegemony” marked a new season of friendship in Sino-Russian-Turkistani turbulent relationship. The ideologically divided and heavily armed Korea which has a very short but strategically very important border with Russia - and a long border with China along the Yalu river, near where the Chinese pivotal industrial complex is located - will always play a pivotal role in any eventual new conflict between Russia, China and Japan in the Asia Pacific Rim.

### **Conclusion**

Contemporary *ersatz*-imperial Russian Federation and its extension, the Commonwealth of the Independent States (CIS) is a largely coercive union of several aboriginal races and nationalities that are deeply divided by religion, culture, lifestyle and history. The Russian Tzars and “multi-ethnic” Communist commissars brought them together into *volkgemeinschaft* united by a state terror. But future of this detritus of the Communist behemoth is predictable in the context of the Russian history, sooner or later the Russian federal new empire will come apart like its predecessor the Soviet Union. And the Russian Northeast Asian Pacific Rim will have once again opportunity to declare its secession. There are several ethnic groups contesting for the political and economical supremacy in this post-Soviet *Azyatsko-Tikhookeanskyi Region* (ATR) (Asian Pacific Oceanic Region). The most dominant are the Slavic colonists divided into Russian and Ukrainian communities. The aboriginal Tunguzes (Evenks and Even), Buriats, Manchurians and Koryaks are rediscovering their own history and culture, but they are politically weak.

The most enigmatic is the future political and economic reality of the Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidzhan (*Yevreiskaya avtonomicheskaya oblast*), a former Soviet Jewish National District populated by 210,000 Jewish and Slavic settlers who recently established close relationship with the extremist party of the Russian Jews in Israel led by Anatoliy (Nathan) Sharansky. The first modern Jewish Authority - established in 1928 by the Zionist Communists from Belarus, Ukraine and Western Russia - is situated between the Amur River that demarcates the Russo-Chinese frontier and the Far Eastern section of the Trans-Siberian Railway. This Eastern Siberian Jewish homeland is larger than Belgium. Despite present-day Birobidzhan’s non-Jewish majority, its official language is Yiddish, a German-Hebrew jargon of the European Ashkenazi Jews.<sup>30</sup>



\* The Autonomous Jewish Region of Russia

According to Andrei Fursov, a Russian political scientist, the post-Soviet Russia is stretched between two pivots of the modern global economy; the European Far West and the Asian Far East.

The struggle for hegemony over ATR manifests itself in the clash of several cultures, ethno-religious traditions of Confucianism, Islam, Shintoism and West. Marxism (communism) as well as liberalism is not anymore a potent ideological weapon. The acute crisis of liberalism disarms the western powers battling against such foe as Islam.<sup>31</sup>

The demographic situation in Eurasia is a puzzle not only for the Russian ideologists. Many western experts on Eurasian heartland and its Pacific rim observe a gradual de-Europeanization of the vital Asian

Pacific hemisphere. In 1880, the Europeans - who controlled the economical resources of the Pacific realm between Americas, Australia and the Southeast Asia - composed more than 20% of the whole world population. But in 1980, the European race dwindled to 8% of mankind. In 2050, only 5% of the world population will be of European-origin. The fall of USSR and the “decline of Europe” is closely related to the rapid growth of the Muslim population and *al-ṣahwah al-Islāmiyyah* (the revival of Islam) which will affect the development in the Asian Pacific economic zone. The Russian Federation and its CIS, which did not decolonize itself yet like the British, French and Dutch empires, will face a dangerous low intensity guerrilla wars. Chechnya, Daghestan, Tatarstan and Siberia will be Kashmir, Kurdistan, Palestine and Quebec of Russia in the coming decades.<sup>32</sup>

The struggle for hegemony over the Pacific Rim and the inevitable process of decolonization of Russian Federation will have a tremendous impact on the regional economic and political competition between USA, Canada, China, Australia, Japan, New Zealand and ASEAN.<sup>33</sup> Undoubtedly, the future historians of the 21st century will not be languid. If the recent Sino-Russian pact against the so-called “religious extremism, terrorism and western hegemonism” (read: legitimate rights of the Muslims of Central Asia to national and religious self-determination enshrined in the Chart of UN, signed by both Russia and China) will survive the Russian Sinophobia and the Chinese xenophobic distrust of the northwestern “barbarians,” the Muslim Asia, Nippon, ASEAN, Eastern Europe, NATO and America will face an alarming growth of new stratocratic leviathan unknown since the emergence of Mongol Empire ruled by khans Kublai, Batu and Hulagu. But knowing history of the rapid overgrowth of Eurasian empires and their rapid decline, one can say that the Third Russian Empire in the 21st century will follow historical trajectory of the Scythian, Hunnic, Avar, Tatar and Soviet hordes.

The downfall of Russian, Altaic and Chinese empires was always the commencement of liberty for the native peoples of the North Eurasia. The future of Caucasians, Tatars, Boshkurts, Ewen, Ewenkis, Koraks, Yakuts, Itelmens (Kamchadals), Nanais, Negidals, Nivkhs, Oroks, Udeghes, Ulchis, Sikhotes, Tungus and other indigenous peoples of the Russian colonies in Eurasia lie open. The “Russian” Siberia, Yakutia, Kamchatka, Sakhalin and Amur-Ussuri Valley like the Central Asian, Eastern European and Caucasian post-Soviet “republics” may secede as an independent “Far East Union” or separate states. Whatever the future of the crumbling Russian empire, the rights of the colonized native peoples in the northern Asia Pacific rim, like the rights of the peoples of

the Southeast Asia and Micronesia, have to be recognized by the international community of free nations.

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## Notes

1. The American President Ronald Reagan called the Soviet Union the “evil empire,” and the 19<sup>th</sup> century anti-Tzarist revolutionaries called it the “prison of nations.”
2. M. Hauner, *What is Asia to Us? Russia's Asian Heartland Yesterday and Today* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 13.
3. Quoted by Mikhail Gorbachev during his speech in Vladivostok, 28 July 1986; T. R. Thornton, “Gorbachev's Courtship of India,” *The Round Table*, no. 304 (1987), 460, cited by M. Hauner, *What is Asia to Us*.
4. H. Seton-Watson, *The New Imperialism* (London: Bodley Head, 1961), 22.
5. M. Gorbachev, *Perestroyka: New Thinking for Our Country and the World* (New York: Harper & Row, 1987), 91; Idem; (text of speech in Vladivostok, July 28, 1986) in *Problemy Dal'nego Vostoka* (Problems of the Far East), no. 60, (1986): 3-21. For more details on the geopolitical schizophrenia of the Russian ruling elite in the post-Communist Russia, see Richard N. Haas, “The “Europeanization” of Moscow's Asia Policy,” *SAIS Review*, vol. 7 (2) (Summer-Fall 1987): 127-141.
6. See A. B. Kopanski, “Burden of the Third Rome: the Threat of Russian Orthodox Fundamentalism and Muslim Eurasia,” *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 9, no. 2, (1998): 193-216; See also V. Bondaryev, “Russkaya natsionalnaya ideya: Gosudarstviennyya, intelligentskaya i narodnaya,” *Rubyezhi*, (Moscow), no. 2, (1995): 145-156.
7. A. Malozemoff, *Russian Far Eastern Policy 1881-1904* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958): 40-43; See also F. F. von Martens, *Russland und England in Zentralasien*, St. Petersburg 1880.
8. V. P. Vasilyev, *Die Erschliessung Chinas* (pamphlet) (St. Petersburg, 1909), 45-50.
9. For response to Solzhenitsyn's utopia of the “Northeast Siberian Russia,” see A. Samokhin, *Kitayskiy krug Rossyi* (The Chinese Circle of Russia) (Frankfurt: Possev, 1981).
10. D. S. Zagoria, “The Strategic Environment in East Asia” in *Soviet Policy in East Asia*, ed. D.S. Zagoria (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 5.
11. Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster 1996), 109-111, 254. Huntington correctly declared and defined the Islamic Resurgence as the “extremely

important historical event affecting one-fifth or more of humanity. It is at least as significant as the American Revolution, French revolution or Russian Revolution...It is a broad intellectual, cultural, social, and political movement prevalent throughout the Islamic world. Islamic "fundamentalism" commonly conceived as political Islam, is only one component in the much more extensive revival of Islamic ideas, practices, and rhetoric and the rededication to Islam by Muslim populations. The Resurgence is mainstream not extremist, pervasive, not isolated...*La revanche de Dieu* is a global phenomenon, but God, or rather Allah, has made His revenge most pervasive and fulfilling in the ummah, the community of Islam...Beginning in the 1970s, Islamic symbols, beliefs, practices, institutions, policies, and organizations won increasing commitment and support throughout the world of 1 billion Muslims stretching from Morocco to Indonesia and from Nigeria to Kazakhstan. Islamization tended to occur first in the cultural and political realm and then to move on to the social and political spheres."

12. Ibid., 135.

13. Ibid., 140.

14. D. Temin, "Decision Time for Russia," *Moscow Times*, Feb. 3, 1995, 8; U. Doroszewska, "Caucasus Wars," *Uncaptive Mind*, no.7, (Winter-Spring 1994), 6; V. Cheterian, "Chechnya and the Transcaucasian Republics," *Swiss Review of World Affairs*, (Feb. 1995), 10-11; F. Hill, *Russia's Tinderbox: Conflict in the North Caucasus and Its Implications for the Future of the Russian Federation* (Harvard: J. Kennedy School of Government, 1995), 4-104; see also Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the remaking of World Order*, 277.

15. Vide A. Lobanov-Rostovsky, *Russia and Asia* (New York: Macmillan 1933), 35-36; see also N. V. Riasanovsky, "Asia Through Russian Eyes," in *Russia and Asia*, ed. Wayne S. Vucinich (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972): 3-5.

16. B. N. Slavinski, "Russia and the Pacific to 1917," in *Soviet-American Horizons on the Pacific*, ed. B. N. Slavinski (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 30-32.

17. For more information, see G. Barratt, *Russia in Pacific Waters, 1715-1825* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981).

18. See, G. A. Lensen, *The Russian Push Toward Japan: Russo-Japanese Relations, 1697-1875* (Princeton: University Press, 1959); J. J. Stephan, *The Kuril Islands: Russo-Japanese Frontier in the Pacific* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974); Idem, *Sakhalin: A History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 50-59; L. Pasvolsky, *Russia in the Far East* (New York: The Macmillan, 1922), 20-26; see also William. F. Nimmo, *Japan and Russia. A Re-evaluation in the Post-Soviet Era* (London: Greenwood Press, 1994), 2-4.

19. For details on the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 and Russo-Japanese rivalry in the Pacific Ocean, see A.N. Kuropatkin, *The Russian Army and the*



*Japanese War*, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 1909), E. G. Kemp, *The Face of Manchuria, Korea, and Russian Turkestan* (London: Routledge, 1910); D. C. B. Lieven, *Russia and the Origin of the First World War* (London: Routledge, 1983); B. Romanov, *Russia in Manchuria, 1892-1906* (Ann Arbor: Harper & Row, 1952), H. J. Whigham, *Manchuria and Korea* (London: T. Nelson & Sons, 1904); D. and P. Warner, *The Tide at Sunrise: A History of the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905* (London: MacMillan, 1974); J. A. White, *The Diplomacy of the Russo-Japanese War* (Princeton: University Press, 1964); E. H. Zabriskie, *American-Russian Rivalry in the Far East, 1895-1914* (Philadelphia: Prentice Hall, 1946); I. Nish, *The Origin of the Russo-Japanese War* (London: Longman, 1985); R. M. Connaughton, *The War of the Rising Sun and Tumbling Bear. A Military History of the Russo-Japanese War 1904-1905* (London: Routledge, 1987).

20. *Moscow News*, July 26-August 2, (1992), 14, quoted by William F. Nimmo, *Japan and Russia*, 10.

21. Ovsel Gershon Aronov Radomyslky (Zinovyev), Lev Borisovich Rosenfeld (Kamenev), Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin, Grigory Leonidovich Pyatakov, Meyer Wallach (Maksim Litvinov) and Lev Davidovich Bronstein (Leon Trotsky).

22. E. H. Carr, *A History of Soviet Russia: The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923*, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1950), 277.

23. *Ataman* is an official Cossak title (military). Literally, Turkish verb: *ata* – (father, headman, group of soldiers), is equivalent of colonel.

24. *Ibid.*, 355.

25. *Ibid.*, 350.

26. C. Schirokauer, *A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, Fort Worth, Texas* (Tokyo: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1978), 491.

27. E. H. Carr, *A History of Soviet Russia: Foundations of a Planned Economy, 1926-1929*, vol. 3, part 3 (London: Macmillan, 1978), 895-908.

28. See, William F. Nimmo, *Japan and Russia*, 16-17.

29. See H. Gelman, *The Soviet Far East Buildup and Soviet Risk-Taking Against China*, (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, August 1982); M. Parks, "Near the Soviet Border, China a Thaw in Relations Warily," *International Herald Tribune*, Nov. 24, 1982; See also T. G. Hart, *Sino-Soviet Relations: Re-examination of the Prospects for Normalization* (Sydney: Gower 1987), 50.

30. M. Steen, "Struggle For a Homeland," in the last 10 years since *perestroika* in Birobidzhan, "Jewish Culture Has Started to Revive," *The Sun* (Kuala Lumpur), January 14, 2000.

31. A. Fusov, "Vzgyad z drugogo bryega," *Rubyezhi*, (Moscow), no. 2 (1995): 109.
32. Vide; D. Lieven, "Empires, Russian and Other," in *A Collapsing Empire*, ed. M. Buttino, (Milan: University Press, 1992), 89-103.
33. A. Dirlik, "The Asia-Pacific Idea: Reality and Representation in the Invention of a Regional Structure," *Journal of World History* (Honolulu), 3, no. 1 (1992): 55-79.