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# *Imperial Russian foreign policy*

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Edited and translated by

HUGH RAGSDALE

Assistant editor

VALERII NIKOLAEVICH PONOMAREV

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AND



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To  
George Frost Kennan,  
whose work as  
diplomat, historian, and statesman  
has advanced the knowledge of Russian traditions,  
especially in foreign affairs,  
and has contributed to a better understanding  
between Russia and the West

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## Preface

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I had not worked long in the frustrating field of Russian foreign policy before I realized how much the study and understanding of the subject would benefit by the genuine international cooperation of both Russian and foreign historians. Long ago, I began to dream of what then seemed such an implausible prospect. But in 1985 the unexpected happened: Mikhail Gorbachev announced *glasnost*, and what had formerly seemed so remote suddenly appeared to be attainable.

On 17–18 October 1990, the historians represented here presented the substance of this volume in a conference at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies in Washington, D.C. The proceedings of this conference, considerably reworked and published here, demonstrate the productiveness of the cooperation of Russian and foreign historians and the promise of examining afresh a subject that had grown as stale as it is important.

As soon as it seemed feasible, I raised the question of this conference and the ensuing volume with those colleagues with whom I had worked most closely at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Aleksei Leont'evich Narochnitskii had served as my official academic adviser during two periods of my research in Moscow, and I had consulted him frequently during shorter visits. A part of the organizational structure of this conference is the outgrowth of criteria that he suggested. He was, of course, to be one of the participants in the program. Unfortunately, already old and ill, he died while we were still in the planning stages.

Even before the death of Aleksei Leont'evich, his associate and my most constant colleague at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Valerii Nikolaevich Ponomarev, had assumed the role of my principal counterpart organizer of the project. He was indispensable, and without his tireless commitment no such work as this could

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have been completed. He has also given me the benefit of his advice in editing this volume for publication.

Throughout the planning and organization, Valerii Nikolaevich and I benefited from frequent consultation with our colleague at the Institute, Nikolai Nikolaevich Bolkhovitinov, a specialist in Russian-American relations and the Russian historian undoubtedly most experienced in research in American archives and libraries.

Our collection of essays on Imperial Russian foreign policy is, of course, not the first such publication. (See the references in the Introduction.) It is, rather, the first of its kind. It is the first to benefit by the extraordinary good fortune that the advent of *glasnost*' and *perestroika* brought to scholarship in the field of Russian history and international affairs.

We agreed at the outset on the criteria for our book. We wanted work that exemplified both the opportunity and the spirit of *glasnost*' on the Soviet side and a similar willingness to reexamine the issues in a fresh and probing fashion on the Western side. Rather than select essays presenting a synthesis, however authoritative, of salient themes of Russian foreign policy, we sought essays with a distinct grounding in research, and we stipulated that the research must be both recent and appropriately based on the exploitation of original, unpublished, and mainly hitherto inaccessible source materials. We sought contributors with experience in Russian research in Russia. The satisfaction of these criteria was simply not feasible until our own time, late in the 1980s. Of course, the concluding chapters in this volume are an exception to these rules; a broad interpretation of Russian foreign policy and a historiographic essay are subject to different criteria.

We are indebted to the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars for its generous hosting of the conference. For financial support, we are indebted to the Kennan Institute, the Woodrow Wilson Center's Federal Conference Fund, President Roger Sayers of the University of Alabama, the International Research and Exchanges Board, the Soros Foundation, and the W. Alton Jones Foundation.

The translations of the Russian contributions are mine. I asked Alexander Frenkel to read and criticize the first of my translations. He did so with conscientious care and improved it considerably. Andrei Korobkov asked to review another, and he made useful suggestions. Both of

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them have responded generously to my queries about difficult expressions. All of the Russian authors have reviewed with me the translations of their work, all of which were approved as they stand here.

The discussions at our conference were recorded by Monique Principi of the Kennan Institute. Where appropriate, these comments were inserted into the notes of the chapters to which they are pertinent.

I have relied on the Library of Congress system of transliteration of Russian into English, but I have made exceptions in the case of commonly Anglicized names.

HUGH RAGSDALE

## Abbreviations

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AII:	Arkhiv Istoriskog instituta (Belgrade)
AMAE:	Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères (Paris)
——, CP:	Correspondance politique
——, MD:	Mémoires et documents
——, NS:	Nouvelle série
AMAEB, CP:	Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères de la Belgique (Brussels), Correspondance politique
AN SSSR:	Akademiia nauk Soiuz sovetskikh sotsialisticheskikh respublik
ARA:	Algemeen Rijksarchief (The Hague)
AVPR:	Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossii
CDBL:	Clarendon Deposit, Bodleian Library (Oxford)
d.:	delo
f.:	fond
FRUS:	<i>Foreign Relations of the United States, 1867–1868</i> , 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1868)
GBL:	Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka imeni V. I. Lenina (Moscow)
GIM:	Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii muzei (Moscow)
GPBSSh:	Gosudarstvennaia publichnaia biblioteka imeni M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina (Leningrad/St. Petersburg)
HHSA:	Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv (Vienna)
——, PA:	Politisches Archiv
INION:	Institut nauchnykh informatsii po obshchestvennym naukam (Moscow)
kn.:	kniga
l.:	list
MGU:	Moskovskii gosudarstvennyi universitet
MID:	Ministerstvo inostrannykh del (Russia)

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ns:	new style (dated according to the Gregorian calendar)
op.:	opis'
os:	old style (dated according to the Julian calendar)
PRO/FO:	Public Record Office (London), Foreign Office
r.:	reel
RAK:	Rossiisko-amerikanskaia kompaniia
razr.:	razriad
SIRIO:	<i>Sbornik imperatorskago russkago istoricheskago obschchestva</i> , 148 vols. (St. Petersburg: Stasiulevich, 1867–1917)
SRA:	Svensk Riksarkivet (Stockholm)
t.:	tom
TsGADA:	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov (Moscow)
TsGAOR:	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii (Moscow)
TsGAVMF:	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv voenno-morskogo flota (Leningrad/St. Petersburg)
TsGIAL:	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv v Leningrade (St. Petersburg)
TsGVIA:	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi voenno-istoricheskii arkhiv (Moscow)
USNA:	United States National Archives