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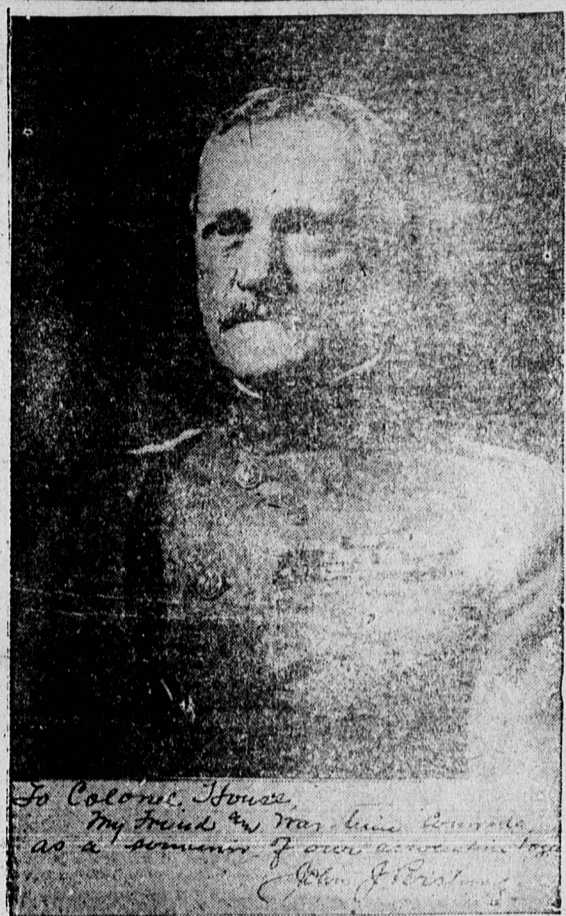
THE INTIMATE PAPERS OF COLONEL HOUSE

(Continued From Page 4)
2. Does he (the President) not think it would be well for me to cable Balfour fully outlining the difficulties and dangers as we see them?
3. The Japanese have already approached the British inquiring whether the holding back of Americans was antagonistic to Japan. They were assured that it was not. However, this indicates the necessity for caution and our press should be warned not to write inflammatory articles.

The Compromise
The compromise which the British

made to the Japanese at an early date and pressed on the ground that the proposed course of action is necessary for a victory of the Allied cause.

The suggested plan is one of primary importance. The proposals outlined above are in no way intended as an alternative to sending American infantry to Europe, the need for which is constantly increasing. The problem of Russia is one of pressing urgency and in the present situation it is essential to bring pressure against Germany in the East without delay. If this cannot be done



GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING

Foreign Office suggested was to substitute for Japanese intervention an interallied expedition in which the United States should play a prominent part. The objections of the Bolsheviks to intervention in Siberia had arisen in part from anti-Japanese feeling. They feared that it meant permanent Japanese control of Eastern Siberia, a fear which was intensified by racial prejudice. They had raised no serious difficulties following the Allied expedition to Murmansk, and it was possible that they might even ask for intervention in the East if it were given an interallied character. On March 26, Wiseman received a telegram from the Foreign Office, instructing him to consult Colonel House confidentially as to whether such a suggestion would cause embarrassment at Washington. If not, the Allies would again take up with Tokyo the question of an interallied expedition, for which the Japanese had earlier expressed some distaste.

British Statement

The British War Cabinet are anxious to learn whether the President would be disposed to agree to the following course of action.
1. Great Britain and the United States to make a simultaneous proposal to the Bolshevik Government for intervention by the Allies on the lines indicated, and understanding to be given for the withdrawal of all Allied forces at the conclusion of hostilities.
2. An American force, composed as described above to be sent to the Far East.
If this general policy is acceptable the question of approaching the Japanese Government remains. Japan would under this scheme intervene in Siberia as part of a joint intervention by the Allies. The proposed declaration might not be very welcome to her, and it would probably be necessary for her to use her troops in conjunction with Russian and Allied forces, in European Russia as well as in Asia. The British Government consider that Japan should, in return, have the military command of the expedition, though a Mission from each Allied country, including a strong propaganda detachment would be attached. It also seems desirable that the proposal should be

It is difficult to see how the blockade can be made effective or how peace is to be reached through a conclusive defeat of the enemies' forces.

Before consulting the other Allied powers the British Government think the most important step is to ascertain whether the President concurs in these proposals, for without his concurrence the British Government would not care to proceed further with them.

House's conviction of the necessity of taking some action of this kind was further intensified by a visit from the British Ambassador, Lord Reading laid before him the contents of a new cable from England analysing the military situation. Colonel House's note of the substance of the cables were as follows:

1. Unless Allied intervention is undertaken in Siberia forthwith we have no chance of being ultimately victorious and shall incur serious risk of defeat in the meantime.

2. By the first of June 1919, the exhaustion of British and French reserves of man-power will have necessitated a very serious reduction in the number of divisions that they can maintain in the field. The growth of the American army even under the most favorable circumstances, will not suffice to equip, train and place in the line enough divisions to restore the original balance in our favor. Thus the Germans, reckoning on a similar scale of battle casualties for them as for the Allies, will in the first half of 1919 still have a formidable army on the Western Front, even without withdrawing any further divisions from the East.

3. But if the Central Powers are not threatened by any military force in the East they will by that time be in a position to withdraw from there many more divisions, still further increasing their superiority. In view of the unfavorable strategic situation of the Allied armies in France it is possible that the Germans might with this superiority obtain a decision in their favor in the West.

4. On the other hand if intervention is started now it is estimated that by the spring of 1919 a sufficient Allied force could be deployed west of the Urals to rally to the Allied cause all those Russian elements which are in favor of law and order good government and economical development, and which would render possible the reconstitution of democratic Russia as a military power.

5. The greater part of this force must for the time being be Japanese as it would be strategically unsound

to divert forces that can be used in the Western Theater, except such small detachments of the other Allied Powers as are necessary to give the operation an international character.

In this manner, too German troops would be held by an Allied force which would not otherwise be employed. Ultimately there may be a surplus of American troops over and above what can be maintained in France, and this should be used in support or in substitution of the Japanese.

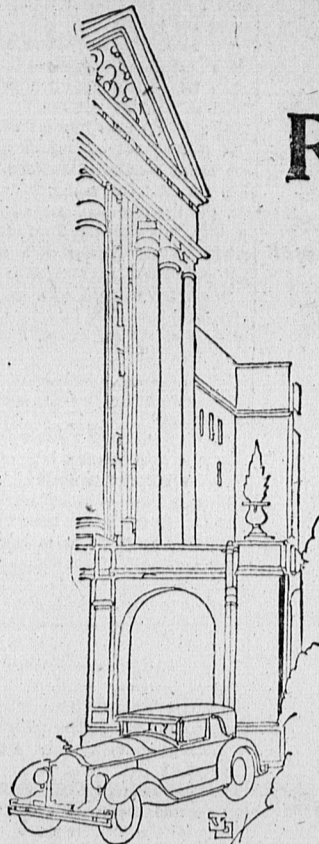
6. The immediate effect of this force would be, first, to prevent the withdrawal of any further German troops from the East; second, to oblige them to draw divisions from the Western Front and thus give the Allies a real chance of obtaining a military success in the West even in 1919.

7. Finally, it is not considered that any military success which it is within the power of the Allies to obtain on the Western Front can be decisive enough to force the Central Powers to tear up the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, or to prevent Russia and most of Asia from becoming a German colony. The immense spaces at the enemy's disposal for maneuver in the West and his superior communications would enable him to fight for unlimited time without a decision being obtained. Even if driven off completely driven out of France Belgium and Italy, the Central Powers would be still unbeaten. Unless therefore, Russia can reconstitute herself as a military power in the East against the time when the Allied armies are withdrawn, nothing can prevent the complete absorption of her resources by the Central Powers, which would imply world domination by Germany; the only means by which the resurrection of Russia can be brought about is by immediate military intervention in that theater.

8. To sum up.
No military decisions in the Allies' favor can ever be expected as the result of operations on the Western Front alone; nor will such a measure of equality as may be looked for in that theater in any way secure the object for which the Allies are fighting, unless combined with the maximum military effort that can be made in the East.

9. The matter is urgent not merely politically, but also because it is necessary to take advantage of the summer, which is rapidly passing away, and because the agricultural

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