

Southern New Hampshire University

Woodrow Wilson's Diplomatic Agenda and Strategic Military Interventions: How They  
Affected the Russian Civil War 1918-1920

A Capstone Project Submitted to the College of Online and Continuing Education in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Master of Arts in History

By

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A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'R. Rinehart', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

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## **Abstract**

This thesis aims to understand the factors that affected Woodrow Wilson's foreign and military policy actions, which subsequently led to decisions that dictated United States' intervention into the Russian Civil War, 1918-1920. The background information discussed demonstrates the importance of the Russian Civil War. This chaotic time in history surrounding World War I caused much of Woodrow Wilson's dilemma and consequentially changed future of Soviet-American relations. It details how it would take numerous foreign policy shifts to convince Mr. Wilson to send U.S. troops to intervene into North Russia and Siberia. Lenin's opposing perspective will encompass what is contained in much of the supporting information surrounding this thesis. In conjunction with military operations there, the allies attempted to broker peace with Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the form of the Prinkipo Proposal, the Bullitt Mission, and the Hoover-Nansen Proposal. The concluding question that frames the argument of this research will answer what happened because Wilson intervened on Russian soil and how it affected the Communist world revolution. What positive results, if any, can be discovered?

## **Dedication**

For my wife, Barbara Ann

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## Introduction

The sheer complexity involved in diplomatic foreign relations while coordinating military operations would present a daunting task; yet, if properly managed could be expected to accomplish the intended missions. Additionally, the important reasons behind this research hinges on the necessary interaction between all agencies concerned and how they would assist in bringing stability to Russia without embroiling the forces of the United States in partisan political and military struggles. America's entry into World War I in April 1917 gave the Army its first taste of sustained conventional warfare in a half century. Andrew Birtle stated, "Yet, even as America's soldiers entered the largest military conflict the world had ever known, they could not escape from performing the type of unconventional, politico-military operations that typify small wars and contingency operations."<sup>1</sup> Nowhere was this more apparent than in Russia, where the Army became bogged down in the chaos of the Russian Revolution and Civil War. In the winter of 1917–1918, Bolshevik revolutionaries seized control of the Russian government and withdrew Russia from the Allied coalition. During the first six months of 1918, Wilson was inundated with constant requests for military intervention in Siberia. Calls came from his Allies, the Supreme War Council, and his own diplomatic staff abroad.

This investigation provides new ways to consider how this virtually unknown U.S. military operation, a military intervention that has influenced future U.S. Soviet foreign relations and U.S. global policies for seventy-five years. The situation in Europe radically changed with

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew J. Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine 1860-1941* (Washington D.C., Center of Military History Publications, 2009), 208.



the elimination of Germany as a combatant force and interventionist fronts in Russia could no longer be regarded as part of the general front against the Central Powers. The insistent question arose, was it to be war or peace with Soviet Russia? The relevant argument follows the evidence that Woodrow Wilson's diplomatic foreign policies agenda and strategic military interventions were directed toward the Bolsheviks during the Russian Civil War 1918-1920, and helped delay the spread of the Bolshevik world revolution in Europe.

Every version behind the Russian Revolution and subsequently the Russian Civil War tells the story of a Marxist revolution intended to transform the world. To gauge a starting point, it is readily acknowledged that the dawn of social and political upheaval in Russia began with the ouster of the Emperor Nicholas II, which coincides with the February Revolution of 1917. What ideological interpretation would become this revolution? There were at least eleven different political parties vying for control. In the end, the Bolshevik party would take control because of the failure of the Provisional government. Of course, in Sheila Fitzpatrick's words, "There were revolutionary parties in Russia before there was a revolution; and when the moment came, in the midst of war, these parties competed for the support of ready-made units of popular revolution (soldiers, sailors, and workers), not the milling spontaneous revolutionary crowd."<sup>2</sup>

How would this eventually change the historiography surrounding the Russian Civil War? Numerous interpretations of the Russian Civil War have presented an overview of how different historians have investigated these changing perspectives involved in this examination. George Kennan and Evan Mawdley's objectives on the foreign relations/military lens will expose new ideas as a basis for the study of the strategic effects on global politics and diplomatic

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<sup>2</sup> Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 9.

relations. These changes would all be related to the interactions between the political, military, and social lenses. The search of all available collections at the National Archives, Library of Congress, and Defense Technical Information Center, have yielded numerous references discovered that are relevant to this work. Concurrently, memoirs and official communications of key players like Woodrow Wilson, Newton Baker, Robert Lansing, George F. Kennan, General Peyton Conway March, General Tasker Bliss and General William S. Graves have been examined and by gaining access to some of the archival papers have proven beneficial. The use of primary sources enhanced the availability of resources that supported this argument.

The inability of the Allies either to make war effectively on Soviet Russia or to come to an amicable agreement with it can only be understood if one considers the political and social conditions, which prevailed in Europe immediately after the end of the War. Bolshevism in one form or another might spread to other European countries. Lenin had foreseen that the end of the World War would bring increased danger as well as increased revolutionary possibilities. He declared, “Now world capitalism will start an offensive against us, but intervention had also its defensive, negative aspect; and here it was perhaps more effective than might appear at first sight.”<sup>3</sup>

There is an element of truth in the reflection, in which Winston Churchill, the sturdiest advocate of intervention, consoled himself in surveying its result. Without the American military intervention, allied aid to the Whites, an aggressive propaganda campaign, along with innovative foreign relations strategies designed as a delaying action, the Russian Civil War would almost certainly have ended much more quickly in a decisive victory of the Soviets. Evidence will

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<sup>3</sup> William Henry Chamberlin, “Allied Intervention,” in *The Russian Revolution, Volume II: 1918-1921: From the Civil War to the Consolidation of Power*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1935, 150-172.

demonstrate the delay caused by American intervention in the form of diplomatic and military actions. Russia would have faced a Europe that was fairly quivering with social unrest and upheaval, which effectively laid the foundation for the beginnings of Lenin's designs of world revolution. Concurrently, there were several episodes in the civil war when Bolshevik advances West were directly hampered by the temporary military successes of the Whites, backed by the allies.

Although the cry for intervention was unanimous among American foreign representatives in Russia and the Far East, President Wilson found strong resistance among his military advisors. Britain and France proposed that the Allies seize the Russian ports of Murmansk, Archangel, and Vladivostok to retrieve tons of Allied war materiel originally intended for the pre-Bolshevik government. Foreign supplied materials in Vladivostok included rubber, cotton, harvesting machinery, barbed wire, ammunition, lathes, railway truck wheels, steel rails, shoes, copper, and lead ingots. What was to happen to this wealth? The lack of stability in Russia forced the Allies to consider protecting their vestments. Additionally, there was the Russian debt to Allied nations that totaled billions of rubles. Russian owed Great Britain 7.5 billion and France 5.5 billion. On 16 May 1917, the United States had extended \$100,000,000 credit to Russia. By 6 July 1917, \$35,000,000 in loans was made and the totals rose to \$325,000,000 credit with \$187,729,750 actually loaned by January 1918.

This allied pressure for American participation would at least ensure that the United States had some leverage over the situation in Russia. Consequently, in July 1918, the president announced that the United States would provide American soldiers for two major multinational expeditions called for by the Allies, which would include the expedition in north Russia at Archangel and the expedition in Siberia at Vladivostok. Exploring the rules of engagement

established by President Wilson and discovering that General Graves followed the Aide Memoire, 17 July 1918, to the letter of the law, was an eye-opening experience for soldiers on the ground. In essence, the Aide Memoire stated that U.S. forces would guard military equipment, aide the Czech Legion in escaping to the west, and keep a section of the Trans-Siberian Railroad open and running. Unfortunately, he was under constant pressure to do otherwise. There was continued conflict between Bolshevik and U.S. forces deployed to Siberia and Northern Russia. This was a constant reminder that the international diplomatic area was in a volatile state. The U.S. involvement, short of military action, was a source of controversy in the United States. Robert H. Zeigler argued that “There was constant pressure from our allies to escalate and there was strong support for the revolutionaries from American socialists, progressives, and laborite, which made up a large part of Wilson’s constituency.”<sup>4</sup>

Examining these actions from the military history perspective and appraising how the relationships that the writings of Sun Tzu, Clausewitz, and Jomini had on the tactics and strategies during other U. S. conflicts, like Vietnam, have caused them to become integrated into the policies of global theater operations. The historical significance of these actions establishes a solid connection between the U.S. military's heightened interest in the works of Sun Tzu, Clausewitz, and Jomini. This eventually led to a much more careful consideration of the connection between politics, policy, strategy, and operations in war. In relation to Thomas Waldman’s essay, he maintains, “that war is an instrument of policy has become something of a truism, almost to the point of cliché, in Western strategic literature, regardless of how well the complexities of the idea are understood. The ubiquity of the idea can largely be attributed to

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<sup>4</sup> Robert H. Zeigler, *America’s Great War: World War I and the American Experience* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 191.

Clausewitz; direct reference is often made to *On War* whenever this principle is outlined.”<sup>5</sup> The fact that diplomatic foreign relations politics are deeply intertwined with the advent of covert military operations, that were developed under the Wilson administration, verifies war as a tool of the political authority designed to gain control of a situation.

Clausewitz described warfighting as a mixture of moral and physical forces through the medium of the latter and an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will. “Ross L. Wilson’s National War College thesis, *Operations Other Than War*, states that not all military activity is fighting and military forces are not always employed in armed combat poorly designed strategy without a clear end-point.”<sup>6</sup> With this purpose in mind, this research evaluates the facts surrounding the American intervention into Russia.

Historical research for this project was based on the evolution and development of United States covert contingency operations and assessing counterinsurgency interventions around the world. Did these actions, orchestrated by Woodrow Wilson in Russia, undermine allowing the option of self-determination, or was this just his secret undeclared war against Bolshevism? As historian William Henry Chamberlin described, "The Bolsheviki were absorbed during the whole of 1919 in the conflicts with Kolchak, Wrangel and Denikin. Their energy was turned upon the internal struggle. A breathing-space of inestimable importance was afforded to the whole line of newly liberated countries which stood along the western borders of Russia, including Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and, above all, Poland and were able during 1919

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<sup>5</sup> Thomas Waldman, “Politics and War: Clausewitz’s Paradoxical Equation,” *U.S. Army War College: Parameters* 40, No. 3 (August 2010), 2.

<sup>6</sup> Ross L. Wilson, *Operations Other than War: U.S. Intervention in Russia 1918-20* (Washington D.C., National War College, 1994), 1-11.

to establish the structure of civilized states and to organize the strength of patriotic armies."<sup>7</sup>

Recent learning has opened the possibilities of more thoroughly studying the era surrounding the Russian Revolutions, the Russian Civil War, and World War I, which have caused changes in the historiography developed after the opening of the Russian Archives. The development of new knowledge discovered since 1989 has led to the creation of numerous historical writings on these subjects.

The motivation for this research revolves around evaluating the overall effects of Allied intervention into the Russian Civil War. David Bullocks's analysis argues that, "Red Victory in the Russian Civil War forced the new doctrine of communism, with its predominant concept of international revolution upon the world. Of course, this fueled the ideological conflict between communist and anti-communist forces globally."<sup>8</sup> Radical communists predicted violent disturbances in the future, which required the complete destruction of the current system. They believed revolution and subsequent war would thoroughly transform existing political and socioeconomic ideologies. The Russian Civil War profoundly affected the remainder of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Red victory unleashed a doctrine whose international intent was bent on challenging the methods of capitalism, democracy, and the general world order.

Studying the behind the scenes workings and complex relationships that are developed between military operations on the ground and the governmental agencies that put them there is the something new that needs to be addressed. The systematic interpretation of United States irregular warfare, 1918-1920, reveals how the coalition of Allied forces covertly furnished aid to

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<sup>7</sup> William Henry Chamberlin, "Allied Intervention," in *The Russian Revolution, Volume II: 1918-1921: From the Civil War to the Consolidation of Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1935), 150-172.

<sup>8</sup> David Bullock, *The Russian Civil War 1918-1922* (Oxford: Osprey Publication, 2008), 1-144.

various counterinsurgent forces in hopes of establishing some form of democracy in Russia. Political factions were advancing the ideology of noninterference and self-determination overtly. Unfortunately, none of the factions were organized enough, nor did they truly have the support of the Russian populace.

Overlooked items in this quest for information lead us to our responsibility to illuminate Wilson's fundamental principle of self-determination which means allowing governments to control their own destiny without any outside interference. Also, the political climate of a war weary United States did not allow the president the flexibility to expend the kind of material and manpower support that would have been necessary to have any real affect in changing Russia. As President Wilson articulated his feelings previously, "my policy regarding Russia is very similar to my Mexican policy. I believe in letting them work out their own salvation, even though they wallow in anarchy for a while."<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, the underlying fears of radicalism that Robert Lansing and other cabinet members perceived were instilled in immigrants and certainly influenced a paradigm shift in United States foreign policy. It, in effect, changed the meaning of Bolshevism in Wilson's mind. How did President Woodrow Wilson's interventions demonstrate the limitations of using force as an instrument of enforcing foreign policy? The fact was that Wilson would not commit enough support to make any appreciable difference would bring mixed reviews from the international community. The White Russian counterrevolutionary forces actions were null because they lacked cohesiveness, manpower, and material; however, the British committed to

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<sup>9</sup> David S. Foglesong, *America's Secret War Against Bolshevism: U.S. Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1917-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 11.

the training of the opposition forces and were also providing them extensive naval support. Was the Bolshevik desire for the spread of world revolution impacted negatively or significantly delayed by foreign interventions? These ideas will be considered the most crucial and highlights one of the most important tenets, which surely must be examined more meticulously during this investigation.

Concurrently, there is key information presented about Lenin and the Bolsheviks that provides critical evidence that helps connect the argument of this research to President Wilson's intervention into Russia. Lenin's preoccupation with the allied intervention would affect his commitment to Communist World Revolution. His aspirations for Russia to be the model for world revolution were severely hampered by the possibility of a full-scale war with their former allies, Britain, France, and the United States. This would pose a series of major catastrophic events in a Russia that was already on the verge of chaos.

During this research a thorough examination of the existing historiography yielded an abundant amount of theories discussing the reasons for these interventions into Russia along with the results submitted by each author. What were the chances that the communist revolution would spread throughout Europe? It would depend entirely on the initial example of the Bolsheviks. The majority of countries in 1918-1919 were plagued with extreme social upheaval caused by volatile economic, social, and political conditions related to the revolutionary climate that was ripe for expansion across Europe, but lacked competent leadership.

Woodrow Wilson was working for a stable global order as the United States sought to restore democracy and, at the same time, support anti-Bolshevik policies. Through covert methods that avoided public attention, the United States did not want to interfere openly in



Russian internal affairs, but essentially fought a sort of noncommittal undeclared war against Bolshevism. Perhaps the possibility that President Wilson's decision to provide a somewhat limited intervention was the wisest choice considering the fragile condition that Europe was experiencing now. If the United States had escalated this intervention too much, it could have created a power vacuum elsewhere in Europe and accelerated the revolution. It is also critical to remember the significant role that Lenin's desire was to obtain for Russia the recognition of the United States on the global political and economic stage. This would prove to have implications of historic proportions later.

The driving force behind this research purportedly hinges on the fact that limited allied intervention into the Russian Civil War had political, social, and economic implications that altered the course of history. After an extensive search of the historiography, it has been discovered that an abundance of fascinating possibilities of study led this investigation to learn the details of how Woodrow Wilson's foreign policies were applied to brokering the Allied intervention into Russia. Furthermore, it has been determined that there were several versions that supported the justification for this action and this investigation will explore the various perspectives, including military operations, foreign relations missions, and diplomatic negotiations of the highest levels.

The policies were geared toward protecting United States's interests in Russia after World War I and would develop into more wide-reaching effects on the global stage. My argument follows evidence that Woodrow Wilson's diplomatic foreign policies agenda and strategic military interventions, directed toward the Bolsheviks during the Russian Civil War 1918-1920, helped delay the spread of the Bolshevik world revolution in Europe.

## **Chapter 1: Historical Background of the Russian Civil War**

The inability of the political parties in Russia, who when trying to form a representative government, needed to establish protocols for working together for the good of the country. Discouragingly, the Soviets contributed to the escalations in the form of the revolutions from April to October 1917. The Russian Civil War grew from a series of devastating events that were brought on by World War One. Lenin being involved in a war with Germany did not lend itself to the advancement of communist ideology that promoted world revolution.

War in Russia was conducted much differently, considering the vast amounts of land and varying terrain. It was a mix of horse cavalry and bayonet charges as new weapons emerged into the vastness of Russia in the form of armored cars, tanks, armored trains, and airplanes that soon would be integrated into the battle plan. Of course, this would herald the change from the tactics and strategies of the trenches and become a look at advanced warfare of future battlefields.

The Russian Civil War was an inevitable product of the revolution that pulled in many countries from the areas that surrounded the Russian Empire. Numerous new nations had broken away or were fighting for independence, such as Finland, Poland, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Belarus, Ukraine, Georgia, and other countries were involved in this conflict due to the proximity of World War One. These countries included Great Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Japan, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Greece, the Ottoman Empire, and the United States. Additionally, there were troops from Czechoslovakia that had been stranded in Russia who were fighting Germany and were unable to escape the Russian Civil War.

An important question is when did the Russian Civil War begin? Historians, authors, politicians, and diplomats have differing views depending on methodology or ideological

perspectives. According to David Bullock's position, "the era of the Provisional Government from April to November 1917 was a period of transition between the fall of the tsar and the outbreak of civil war. Civil war began when an organized White opposition sought to overturn the October Revolution of 1917."<sup>1</sup> The conflict essentially broke down in Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik forces.

The Whites, as the anti-Bolsheviks were called, were not necessarily all monarchists as many had previously thought. They were actually comprised of the full spectrum of Russian society that essentially favored more democratic progressivism. Bullock went on to say, "that the cause ultimately united them against the Bolsheviks and was because the Bolsheviks were anti-religious, anti-property, anti-business, and anti-Russian."<sup>2</sup> The White factions believed in the implementation of a more European-style parliamentary procedural policy and needed to install a true representative Constituent Assembly.

The main White leaders were General Anton Ivanovich Denekin, General Petr Nikolayevich Wrangel, and Alexander Kolchak. It was quite apparent that these men had formulated enlightened policies that would eventually benefit the Russian populous, but lacked experienced advisors or the personal political savvy to make it happen. The only perceived hope for the Whites was for them to remain loyal to the allies and honor any commitments Russia had made previously to what they had supported during World War I.

The Reds were an assortment of revolutionary factions that included the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, Left Socialist Revolutionaries, Right Socialist Revolutionaries, the Jewish Bund, Anarchists, Social Democratic Parties, and the Greens. The Reds contained several factions of

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<sup>1</sup> David Bullock, *The Russian Civil War 1918-1922* (Oxford: Osprey Publication, 2008), 1-144.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, Bullock, 28.

Anarchists in their ranks as well, which were given the moniker of the Black Guards who represented the need for the removal of state authority.

Discouragingly, it should also be noted that the Whites did not recognize the new states that broke away from the new Russian regime. These included Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Poland, Ukraine, and the Caucasian States. Their belief was in keeping Russia united at all costs. The White leaders were military men, not politicians and because of this fact they would be responsible for their own downfall in the end. They had a very conservative nationalist belief system whose ideology was reflected by the symbols they chose as their banners. Many illustrated their faith by the pictures of Orthodox or Maltese crosses, references to God and expressions or images of patriotism and unity for the homeland. The motto that resonated most prevalently with the White forces was Russia One and Indivisible. Although grossly outmanned and outgunned these volunteers survived by their uncanny military knowledge and were determined to save Russia from the Bolsheviks at all costs.

Contrarily, the Red Army built their ranks to six hundred thousand men by conscription, but lacked trained officers. Noncommissioned officers were filling many of these positions. The way they fixed the problem championed the name of Leon Trotsky, who became the designer of adapting to the concept of using military specialists. He used members of the old Imperial Army and turned them into professional subject-matter experts, who then were able to advise on technical areas that covered a variety of specialties from aviation to supply.

Improved understanding of how war impacts political, economic, cultural, strategic, tactical, and individual perspectives are ultimately relative to the continued demonstration of how the ideological new doctrine of communism, with its concept of international revolution, divided the world. It is uniquely affected by the beginnings of combined foreign relation and counterintelligence assisted priority military operations. The Russian Civil War, as described by David Bullock in his book, *The Russian Civil War 1918-1922*, relates it from a military perspective and portrays an important part of the historiography seemingly acceptable to audiences interested in this event. Bullock illustrates how Allied intervention grew out of the Bolshevik Revolution and the final stages of World War One. It was a way for the Allies to reconstruct the Eastern front and recover supplies they had previously sent to Russia. The entire expedition proved to be a diplomatic and political quagmire that lacked the support to commit enough troops to produce a decisive impact on affecting change from a military history perspective. Distinguished scholar, Orlando Figes' book, *A People's Tragedy*, should be considered one of the most thorough, comprehensive studies of how social and cultural forces had profound effects on the popular uprisings of 1917 and the failed effort to establish a democratic government. The emphasis of this work is set apart by the way it examines the interactions of people in comparison with the surrounding of socio-political events leading to the revolution. This book is a crucial connection to the historiography of the Russian Revolution in the way that it provides revisionist detail to the mix. An equally advanced and effective text on the subject displays much of the poor logic and strategic malfeasance that led to the downfall of the opposing White forces.

The execution of the Russian Civil War battles between the Bolshevik Red Army and anti-Communist Whites from 1918-1921 are recounted in William Bruce Lincoln's book, *Red*

*Victory: A History of the Russian Civil War 1918-1921*. The White Army's squandering of any real help they could have gained from Allied interventions is one of the valuable concepts taken from this book. Lincoln synthesizes the military, political, and social history lenses and fulfills the requirements, while having the ability to present the stories of both sides without favoring one or the other and encompassed the private memoirs of the main characters, revealing the thinking of Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin.

Allied intervention was portrayed by the United States as a planned counterrevolutionary campaign, but this unfortunate series of events turned out to be far removed from that. The progress of the Russian Civil War is explained in Evan Mawdsley's book, *The Russian Civil War*, and chronicles how the Allies in Russia, countries who were Allies themselves, were now seen as hostile imperialists. There was so much difficulty getting the factions of the White Army together that it was impossible to gain any ground. This book adds a detailed account of the realistic military course of the war and how it relates to historians of strategic military history. Debated throughout the historiography of Wilson's American intervention was mentioned in Mawdsley's writing of how the Japanese intervention into Siberia actually helped unite the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks to come to the aid of the Bolsheviks.

Ultimately, this case can be represented as a multi-faceted, methodically researched account of the political and military upheaval that divided Russia, starting with investigations of the numerous attempts in Central Asia of many non-Russian national and religious groups to divide the Russian empire. Jonathan Smele's book, *The "Russian" Civil Wars, 1916-1926: Ten Years That Shook the World*, presents a profoundly analytical perspective of the events surrounding how world war connected to the global conflict that was created by the Russian

Civil War. Smele's writing argues, "that the advancement of the theory that the 'Russian Civil War' should be treated as a series of continuations of revolutions beginning in 1916 and subsiding in 1926."<sup>3</sup> He goes on to discuss how Poland and Finland were successful; yet, Ukraine, Georgia, and the Muslim Basmachi were unable to gain independence.

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<sup>3</sup> Jonathan Smele, *The "Russian" Civil Wars, 1916-1926: Ten Years That Shook the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 17.



## **Chapter 1 Connections and Conclusion**

Russia's political unrest, along with the years of oppression the peasants had suffered under the monarchy the country soon erupted. The important perceptions display how the interactions of people related in comparison with the surrounding socio-political events that eventually led to multiple revolutions. Inability of factionalized political parties in Russia to work together contributed to the escalation of revolutions and eventually led to events that launched the Russian Civil War. Critical changes in social and cultural forces had profound effects on the popular uprisings of 1917 and the failed effort to establish a democratic government. The main emphasis examined how the interactions of people affected the socio-political events leading to revolution. Lenin believed that the advancement of the Communist ideology promoted the spread of world revolution. The chaos and devastation caused by World War I made Europe a prime target.

## Chapter 2: Wilson's Dilemma

In 1918, England and France were doing everything they could to persuade the United States to intervene in Russia. The Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, had essentially taken over the government of Russia in an effective coup de état over the Kerensky government. Once again, Russia was embroiled in turmoil of a mounting civil war. Where America once had an ally, Russia had made peace with Germany with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. So, could President Wilson trust that they were not going to change sides? After the Bolsheviks had left the war and Russia signed the treaty with Germany, simultaneously, Britain and France began a series of complicated negotiations directed at mounting a joint Allied intervention into the chaos of revolution and civil war in Russia. The result was a series of counter-revolutionary diplomatic maneuvers to deter the Russians from joining the Germans.

At this juncture, Woodrow Wilson faced another problem during his presidency, as the United States was still committed to its involvement in World War I. Even with a history of intervention and a personal belief in self-determination, which means the right of peoples to determine their own fate without outside interference, he was still unsure of what to do.

Andrew J. Birtle argues that “President Wilson knew committing troops to a distant front during wartime would be dangerous at best, something Wilson’s Chief of Staff Newton Baker often mentioned to the president. Wilson’s ideological beliefs were highly important to him, and it was ultimately these concerns that convinced the president, against the advice of his chief of staff, to agree to intervention.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew J. Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine 1860-1941* (Washington D.C., Center of Military History, 2009), 208.

The allies of the United States, Britain and France, pressured President Wilson to send troops into Russia. The United States could not afford to transfer assets from the Western front, considering now that German assets were freed up on their Eastern front with Russia. Army Chief of Staff Peyton C. March opposed the allied plan and the opening of a new front that exceeded the logistical limits of an operation that far away as totally undesirable. President Wilson concurred, for he had serious reservations of his own. He feared that the British and French would support any non-Communist regime that protected their own economic and political interests. Despite this willingness to intervene and Wilson's personal antipathy to socialism, when Kerensky's government fell in the Bolshevik Revolution, intervention was not the first thing on President Wilson's mind. Shane Hapner discusses, "how Wilson was initially firmly against any type of intervention in Russia; although he was sympathetic to the turmoil the country was experiencing. Wilson originally believed, prudently, that intervention in Russia would either be misconstrued or propagandized as a hostile or imperialist action and that it might ultimately turn liberal Russians away from their democratic principles."<sup>2</sup>

Wilson had no love for the Bolsheviks; however, he did not wish to support any white leader not dedicated to the establishment of a progressive democratic society in Russia. He was also worried that if he sanctioned these interventions, that Japan's intentions were questionable, at best. Japan had the motive, ability, and legal cover to annex Asian property and establish

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<sup>2</sup> Shane Hapner, "Woodrow Wilson's Ideological War: American Intervention in Russia, 1918-1920," Wright State University, Undergraduate Thesis, *Best Integrated Writing Volume 2*, Accessed 15 February 2017, <http://corescholar.libraries.wright.edu/biw>.

spheres of influence. Unchecked by the United States it was believed that the Japanese would act as the conquerors. Given this history of mistrust, it is logical that Japanese activities in Asia during the Great War did give many Americans cause for concern.

Incidentally, Lansing relates a similar theory in his War Memoirs that the Great War would provide Japan with the opportunity to gain a foothold in China and advance Japanese political and economic control over the new Republic of China. The United States, however, was not about to forgo its open door to Asia or its Chinese and Japanese markets, and the fact that China. Fiero stated, “In lieu of this tension and mistrust, the President Wilson proposed sending equal numbers of Japanese and US troops to garrison Vladivostok. Even this international intervention, with United States involvement, failed to allay the fears of Japanese hegemony in Asia.”<sup>3</sup> What contingencies needed to be put in place to leave U.S. options open?

Wilson’s philosophy was founded on the premise that it was easier to begin intervention than to use it effectively for specific purposes, or bring it to an end. “Although the president had a keen instinct for the importance of keeping intervention limited in scope and closely restricted to specific and practical goals, Wilson seriously miscalculated the effects it would have of United States meddling in the internal affairs of Russia.”<sup>4</sup>

The United States was a global power, but leaders had to be aware of the delicate balance between furthering national interests, the rights of the people, and the promotion of national ideals. The world at this time was being transformed by war, revolution, and nationalism. Wilson could manage all his foreign relations assets and coordinate them with military operations better than his predecessors. His ideology in this arena would be the jumping off point for the changes

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<sup>3</sup> Frank Edward Fiero, “In the Name of the Russian People but not For Them: President Wilson, the Allies, and Limited Intervention in Russia, 1918-1920,” Masters Thesis, Florida State University, 2004,

<sup>4</sup> Kendrick A. Clement, *Woodrow Wilson: World Statesman* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987), 146.

that would be necessary, in the future, for the United States to compete diplomatically, militarily, and economically on the global stage.

Martin Ruhaak argues that counter-revolutionary forces were being supported by the United States. Wilson's ideologies and ideas concerning international politics and economics did not naturally dispose him towards intervention in Russia. Conversely, Ruhaak also "acknowledged that Wilson preached the principle of liberal internationalism characterized by self-determination, national sovereignty, and democratic governments. Wilson disliked any sign of revolution or instability."<sup>5</sup>

Wilson felt that it was necessary to investigate what was really going on in Russia after the Bolshevik coup. He and Secretary of State Robert Lansing sent an American commission, led by Elihu Root, to convey to the Russian government that the intentions of the United States held only American friendship and goodwill. This mission issued democratic and American propaganda designed to boost Russian morale, and simultaneously gained valuable insights on the socialist underground movement, the Bolsheviks.

At the urging of Robert Lansing, the case for intervention grew stronger. He pushed Wilson to assist anti-Bolshevik forces, using financial and military assistance, to provide counter-revolutionary forces with a way to work against the Bolshevik government. "David S. Fogelsohn's book, *America's Secret War against Bolshevism: U.S. Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1917-1920*, alleges that America provided covert aid to anti-Bolsheviks in Russia in 1917-1918, as a model for Wilson's secret war against Bolshevism. Wilson clearly had not

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<sup>5</sup> Martin Ruhaak, "Wilsonian Ideology and Revolution: U.S Foreign Policy and Intervention in Bolshevik Russia," *History of the Russian Revolution*, 10 May 2015, Accessed 21 April 2017, <https://babushkabooks.com/pdf-ideology-and-u-s-foreign-policy.html>.

decided how he wanted to proceed in dealing with the Bolshevik government.”<sup>6</sup> Consequentially, he yielded to the competent judgment of ideologically driven Secretary of State Robert Lansing. Wilson’s priority was to assure that he maintained unity with Britain and France during the final phases of World War I. Wilson’s later decision to intervene in Siberia and North Russia was not based on his belief that democracy would eventually triumph over Bolshevism, but rather that he felt it necessary to honor his commitments to the Allies and create a way to establish an Eastern front in support of World War I.

Wilson’s liberal administration supposedly was not responsible for funding these operations. Foglesong suggests that “aid to the anti-Bolshevik enterprise proved that Wilson had taken the initiative through the shipments of weapons, clothing, and food. This serves as a model of Wilsonian covert and limited intervention against the Soviet regime.”<sup>7</sup> Any attempt by the allied powers to support counter-revolutionary forces would have been a futile mistake.

In March of 1918, Allied officials feared that Russia would fall into the hands of Germany, which was unacceptable. German dominance of Russia would destabilize the region. This was a lead-in for Japan’s intervention into Siberia to secure caches of weapons from German seizure. Additionally, this expedition would secure the Trans-Siberian Railroad in hopes that the Allies could transport the trapped Czech legion to the Western front and mount a counter-offensive against the Bolsheviks. Heavy pressure to intervene came from the Allied war counsel. Wilson opposed Japanese intervention, but Lansing pressed Wilson to send an expeditionary force to supervise the Japanese nonetheless.

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<sup>6</sup>David S. Foglesong, *America’s Secret War Against Bolshevism: U.S. Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1917-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 70.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 70.

DeWitt Clinton Poole's diplomatic work helped establish guidelines that closed out World War I. In the midst of political unrest in Russia, civil war erupted in the Soviet Union, which made it inevitable for allied forces to intervene in Northern Russia and Siberia. Historians, Lorraine M. Lees and William S. Rodner, have eloquently interpreted Poole's primary source work, *An American Diplomat in Bolshevik Russia*. This book details the crucial role Poole played in U.S./Soviet relations. "He was active in implementing U.S. policy, negotiating with the Bolshevik authorities, and supervising American intelligence operations that gathered information about conditions throughout Russia, especially monitoring anti-Bolshevik elements and areas of German influence."<sup>8</sup> In 1919, he would return to Washington D.C. as the head of the Russian Division, Department of State. Poole, along with Secretary of State Robert Lansing, advised President Wilson on the situation in Russia.

On August 7<sup>th</sup>, 1919, Robert Lansing sent President Wilson a memo from Poole that detailed the danger of Bolshevism to world security. Poole had exclusive knowledge of events in Russia and could speak intelligently about the danger of the international Bolshevik threat.

In DeWitt Clinton Poole's memorandum, on August 12, 1919,

He summarized how he was warning the people of the United States against the evils of Bolshevism and calling for a solution to the Russian difficulty. Seeming uncertainty in the attitude of the United States has long been a reliance of the Bolsheviks and a source of confusion to their opponents. A statement from the president would have great moral weight. What would have been an effective deterrent to Bolshevism and a means of bringing about normal conditions of life, enabling the people to choose a representative government? Aside from humanitarian considerations, it is important from the point of

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<sup>8</sup> DeWitt Clinton Poole, and Lorraine M. Lees, and William S. Rodner, Eds., *An American Diplomat in Bolshevik Russia* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 270.

view of policy to avoid the charge of starving the people of Central Russia. The responsibility should be placed where it belongs---upon the Bolsheviki.<sup>9</sup>

There was growing bitterness of the ideological conflict between Bolshevism and Democracy. As much as President Wilson believed in the rights of sovereign nations and self-determination, he, in this case, did not believe that the United States could just stand by in this looming global conflict. Public opinion in the U.S. generally favored Wilson's resolve not to recognize the Bolshevik government.

President Wilson refusing to recognize the Soviet government put the United States in the role of an enemy of the Bolshevik state, but he reiterated once again that the United States wanted no part of interfering in Russia's internal affairs. Wilson entered the United States into World War I and Russia's actions had caused serious strategic ramifications that threatened the success of the Allies in the war against Germany. Military action was admissible in Russia as the government of the United States saw the circumstances to aid the trapped Czecho-Slovaks reconsolidate their forces, guarded previously cached military stores at Murmansk, Archangel, and Vladivostok, and assisted in maintaining the security of the Trans-Siberian Railroad.

In George Kennan's book, *The Decision to Intervene: Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920, Volume II*, it is interesting to note that Woodrow Wilson was on top of the situation in Russia by implementing a division of George Creel's Committee on Public Information. He established a Russian branch under the direction of Edgar Sisson, which fell under the American Propaganda Office of the First World War. From the beginning, the Russian Operation of the Committee on Public Information, or ComPub, was run by Arthur Bullard. He conducted informational and propaganda activities in Russia. His main mission was to affect public opinion

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 272.



in Russia. He did this by implementing designed propaganda materials into existing media and communication channels, which was seen as an inventive method of American diplomacy. As George Kennan goes on, he writes of the “many changes that have come over the environment of international life: the growth of literacy in many countries, the spread of parliamentary democracy, the influence of telegraph and wireless on the daily press, and the growing belief (to which Americans were particularly susceptible) in the power of public opinion to affect governmental action.”<sup>10</sup> Of course based on Kennan’s research from another perspective, to look at the allied intervention into the Russian Civil War, it would be appropriate to look at the writing by S.F. Naida, Russia military historian who demonstrated the Soviet version of the events surrounding the intervention. As Naida stated, “the American imperialists repeatedly tried to strangle the Soviet state in its infancy, to take merciless reprisals on the workers and peasants, to turn Russia into an American colony. They tried it is said to prolong the war.”<sup>11</sup> Kennan recounted Naida’s facts, which stated that the blame should rest solidly on the American imperialists for all anti-Soviet conspiracies conceived against the Bolshevik government. When reading Soviet diplomatic history and how it is related to the opinions of junior members the state department, although communiqué had reached them, the Consul General in Moscow, Maddin Summers, consciously exceeded his authority. At this time, the United States was not prepared to commit to military operations.

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<sup>10</sup> George Kennan’s, *The Decision to Intervene: Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920, Volume II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company/Macmillan, 1958), ix-511.

<sup>11</sup> George F. Kennan, "Soviet Historiography and America's Role in the Intervention" *The American Historical Review* 65, No. 2 (Jan., 1960), 304.

Wilson's actions were somewhat haphazard when deciding on the best course of action when dealing with the question of American policy toward the Bolsheviks. The Wilson administration's ideas differed radically from that of Lenin. American policy was set in the midst of a society struggling between the fear of Bolshevism and an attraction to the Russian revolution. Lenin, on the other hand, held out hopes for a working relationship with the United States pursued through economic and diplomatic means. After two years of consideration, the question still remained of how to deal with the Bolsheviks, Woodrow Wilson's administration never effectively established a policy.

In the words of author, David W. McFadden, in his book, *Alternative Paths: Soviet & Americans 1917-1920*, he reflects that there were two sides to Wilson,

These two sides of Wilson, the compromiser and the crusader, were reflected in his approach to people and politics, as well as to the world and to revolutionary challenges to his ideal world order. There was a part of him that tried to be open to the idea of revolution as a force to be accepted and incorporated into a higher consensus for society. But the crusader in Wilson, with such strong beliefs about the proper course for the world and for Russia, also saw revolution---and Bolshevism in particular---as a threatening obstacle to achieving any higher consensus on Wilson's terms. Wilson's inflexibility and uncompromising moral judgement tended to sweeping condemnation of Bolshevism, leaving his confusion and agony more in the realm of whether to best deal with it by force or by compromise.<sup>12</sup>

With the refusal of the United States, in concert with the other Allied powers, liberal elements in the United States and throughout Western Europe, who were disturbed by the discovery of secret treaties, began questioning the ideological background of the war for democratic rights. Unfortunately, because the United States was still at war with Germany and

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<sup>12</sup> David W, McFadden, *Alternative Paths: Soviets and American, 1917-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), vii-464.

the Russians appeared to be aligning themselves with the Germans, it put the United States in a precarious position. The continued seriousness of military situations that involved the Bolsheviks finally drove President Wilson to obtain the approval of Supreme Allied Command, at the request of General Tasker Bliss, to intervene in limited roles, but not against the Soviet government at that time. Some historians underplay the extent of foreign intervention and place the choices that the Bolsheviks made on the Bolshevik leadership. Wilson's ideological animus toward Bolshevism grew as he received reports of the ferocity of the civil war in Russia and the spread of revolutionary fervor abroad. "That ugly, poisonous thing called Bolshevism," he told the Democratic National Committee during a brief return to Washington in February 1919, fed on people's doubts and despair.<sup>13</sup>

There are several differing perspectives examined by scholars, Leopold Haimson, Martin Malia, and Ronald Gregor Suny that explain the causes of the Russian Revolution and subsequent civil war. One contributing analysis of the Bolshevik decisions were made primarily, as Richard Pipes stated, "The Civil War was not forced on the Communist leaders by the foreign and domestic 'bourgeoisie'; it lay at the heart of their political program."<sup>14</sup> Against many of President Wilson's liberal progressive principals his new designs establishing a different style of foreign relations would set the tone for the future.

The perspective concerning the historiographical methodology used in this research indicates a true necessity to procure primary sources such memoirs, letters, diaries, and documents affect the validity, accuracy, and investigative objectivity. Much of the heart of what

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<sup>13</sup> Melvyn P. Leffler, *The Specter of Communism: The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1917-1953* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994), 3.

<sup>14</sup> Richard Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), xvii-587.

this research is trying to prove is contained in primary sources that provide the basis for the historical truth this investigation has discovered.

The Russian problem was about to become the focus of American and Allied policy toward the Bolsheviks. World War I had ended with the armistice; yet, now would the allies intervene or bring them in on the peace process somehow. There would be three peace initiatives: Prinkipo, Bullitt, and Hoover-Nansen, which were the significant negotiations of the Wilson-Lenin interactions. The Hoover-Nansen proposal was based on the concept of exchanging food relief in lieu of a cease fire. The Russian Relief Commission envisioned providing relief assistance to Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik Russia. Herbert Hoover's belief was that by providing food relief to the Russian people, they would be more amenable to responding favorably to negotiations by the allies. Lenin considered the proposal from the United States as a positive humanitarian standpoint, but rejected it completely from the political side, based on the restrictive conditions demanded by the Entente forces.

President Wilson authorized another secret mission to attempt to solve the Russian problem. William C. Bullitt's role with the State Department of the United States was current intelligence on and analysis of Central Europe. He was considered highly knowledgeable and his interests were commonly focused on the breakdown of order and problems of revolution in Central Europe. Bullitt was considered the primary expert on Bolshevism and revolutionary activities in Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, and Germany. In two comprehensive memos to Colonel House and Secretary of State Lansing, Bullitt stressed, "economic disorganization and famine are the parents of Bolshevism and urged in the strongest possible terms the mounting of major

hunger relief and economic reconstruction effort coupled with contacts and support for moderate socialists throughout Europe as the best means of countering the spread of Bolshevism.”<sup>15</sup>

Of course, President Wilson wanted to wait until the Paris Peace Conference. In his response to Sir William Wiseman, Wilson to him; “I believe in letting them work out their own salvation, even though they wallow in anarchy for a while. I visualize it like this: a lot of impossible folk, fighting among themselves. You cannot do business with them, so you shut them all up in a room and lock the door and tell them that when they have settled matters among themselves you will unlock the door and do business.”<sup>16</sup>

Many of the indications that connections exist between the varying perspectives in the historiography can be found if the existing primary sources both concerning the perspectives of foreign relations and military operations policies are examined. The bottom line was as President Wilson stated in his speech on 4 July 1918, “There can be but one issue. The settlement must be final. There can be no compromise. No halfway decision would be tolerable. No halfway decision is conceivable. These are the ends for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting and which must be conceded before there can be peace.”<sup>17</sup> President Wilson goes on to lay out his four tenets that outline his great objectives for world peace. “What we seek is the reign of law, based on the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.”<sup>18</sup> By July 6, 1918, President Wilson is contemplating some form of intervention to assist the anti-Bolshevik forces, guard stores of weapons, and rescue the Czechoslovakian

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<sup>15</sup> David W, McFadden, *Alternative Paths: Soviets and American, 1917-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 221.

<sup>16</sup> David W, McFadden, *Alternative Paths: Soviets and American, 1917-1920* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1993), 193.

<sup>17</sup> *The sun*. (New York [N.Y.]), 05 July 1918, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030431/1918-07-05/ed-1/seq-1/>>

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, *The sun*. (New York [N.Y.]), 05 July 1918.

Legion trapped in Soviet Russia. The Czechs had been fighting on the side of the allies and were stranded when the Bolsheviks pulled out of World War I. The New York Sun, 8 July 1918, published an article that discussed how Secretary of War Newton Baker had been in conference with President Wilson. They had decided to deploy American troops as an expeditionary force to Siberia along with British and Japanese soldiers. The developments concerning the Bolshevik problem had hastened Woodrow Wilson's decision to commit American troops to this intervention in Russia.

However, as evidenced in George Creel's, *How We Advertised America: The First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public Information that Carried the Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the Globe*, it details how George Creel established the Committee on Public Information to use all available components of mass media of the time to effectively sway public opinion from neutrality and prepare the country for mobilization. The priority use hinges on how Woodrow Wilson allowed the establishment of the Russian Division under the guidance of Edgar Sisson. With the help of Arthur Bullard, they were assigned to set up a working committee organization in Russia. This agency was designed to monitor the developing situation surrounding the Russian Revolution and establish a continuous education operation in support. The Russian Campaign helped pioneer other more secretive means of intervention, including propaganda, financing of counter-revolutionary forces, covert action, and chronicles the work of the Creel Committee from beginning to end.

American forces in Siberia during the Siberian Expedition commanded by Major General William S. Graves was an integral portion of American intervention into Russia. Major General William S. Graves' book, *America's Siberian Adventure, 1918-1920*, discusses the on the ground commander's account, recording the facts and circumstances connected with the intervention

into Siberia during the Russian Civil War. It seems at times that this work is meant to be a rebuttal of other scholarship that downplayed the character of American forces in Russia. With the help of Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, Major General Graves carried out the policies of the government without error, even though he encountered many situations contrary to his designated rules of engagement not to interfere in Russian internal affairs. All rules of engagement were dictated by the "Aide Memoire" and were designed to protect the interests of the Allied cause. This is an important indicator of the day-to-day military operations of the Siberian intervention mission. Much of this information relies very heavily between United States foreign relations which has been accessed and displayed online in *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919, Russia* at the University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries. This evidence was in the form of letters between Secretary of State Robert Lansing, Ambassador Robert Francis and Vice Consul General DeWitt Clinton Poole, discussing the plan connected to the U.S. to direct its future policy regarding all factions in Russia. Further communications discovered help make the connections between Allied requests for a peace conference, proposed to occur at Prinkipo, although some of the main participants refused attendance.

Wilson's intervention had a far greater bearing on the continuation of the Russian Civil War. It affected how the Bolsheviks responded to outside pressures. They were impacted economically, politically, and militarily by the isolation caused by the intervention. It ultimately accomplished the goal of quarantining the spread of the communist world revolution, which shielded them from the revolutionary upheaval elsewhere. Betty Miller Unterberger's book, *American Intervention in the Russian Civil War*, occupies a prominent place in the history of Soviet-U.S. international relations.

This American intervention initiated a trend in U.S. foreign policy, but was seen as a moderating influence against Anglo-French designs to broaden the scope of involvement. This book contains selected official documents from the contemporary record and five essays that represent varying points of view of how the public perceived the reasoning behind American participation. Her work illustrates how President Wilson changed his mind over time and detailed how his policies were implemented. The strength of this work is shown in the way it provides the different perspectives and reaches varying types of research audiences.

The historiography of United States Foreign Relations and diplomatic policy can be thoroughly evaluated starting with George Frost Kennan, who was an American diplomat and historian who played an active part in the development of U.S. foreign relations policies with Russia. His work, *The Decision to Intervene: Soviet-American Relations 1917-1920, Volume II*, breaks down two important reasons why there was so much confusion involved in United States-Soviet relations from the beginning. Were the Allies just terrified of the emergence of the Bolshevik world revolution promised by communist ideology? The world had been at war, but once again there was an advancing rivalry for global control. Kennan illuminates the problems caused by Woodrow Wilson's lack of a definite policy in dealing with the complicated international situation. Kennan has been able to clarify many of the obscure facts surrounding America's decision to intervene by utilizing newly available collections of diplomatic correspondence and should prove valuable to examining diplomatic relations. His ability to expose the problems involved in any proposed diplomatic action, in which execution of American policy hinges on having all the right intelligence was of greatest value.

The book, *An American Diplomat in Bolshevik Russia*, written by DeWitt Clinton Poole, and edited by Lorraine M. Lees and William S. Rodner was derived from his memoir, "The



Reminiscences of DeWitt Clinton Poole”, and was made possible from a series of interviews conducted by Wendell H. Link, for the Oral History Research Office of Columbia University. DeWitt Clinton Poole worked for the State Department and intelligence agencies. Information was provided from consular and diplomatic service before, during, and shortly after the First World War and the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. Poole provides detailed accounts of his experiences in Russia from late 1917 through the summer of 1919. His story provides information from inside the country about the events basically happening just outside his window. Poole participated on the political side of the Northern Russian expedition, in conjunction with American and Allied operations in Siberia, which turned out somewhat ill fated. Poole was active in initiating United States policy, negotiating with the Bolshevik regime, and supervising American intelligence gathering agencies throughout Russia. Poole’s firsthand oral history relates foreign relations and diplomatic audiences and has helped fill gaps in the historiography of the Allied intervention into the Russian Civil War.

Motives behind Woodrow Wilson’s policies toward Bolsheviks were examined in depth in David W. McFadden’s article, “After the Colby Note: The Wilson Administration and the Bolsheviks, 1920-21,”. This is a somewhat different look at how historians have always contended how much weight was given to anti-Bolshevism, economic interest, and idealistic internationalism. The purpose of Woodrow Wilson’s Russia policy had continually been viewed as controversial; yet, this article gives clarification. The Colby note was a response for policy clarification that was a comprehensive and clear elicitation of the United States’ position against dealing with Bolshevik Russia. McFadden’s interpretation discusses how the Wilson Administration attempted to avoid economic and diplomatic interchange with Russia, essentially

causing his refusal to deal with the Bolsheviks. This article supports the ideals Wilson held about dealing with the Bolshevik government and how there was absence of meaningful interaction.

Eugene P. Trani's article, "Woodrow Wilson and the Decision to Intervene in Russia: A Reconsideration," revisits and reconsiders the series of events that surrounded Woodrow Wilson's decision to dispatch elements of U.S. troops to north Russia and Siberia. Even now, it is somewhat puzzling as to why American soldiers intervened in the Russian Civil War and the importance of Trani's work assists in clarifying these confusing times. What impact did this have on the beginnings of Soviet-American relations? Additionally, this article discusses the five different ways American intervention has been explained by historians, to include, Japanese expansionism, rescue Czech legions, anti-Bolshevik move, and the two ways to treat the Siberian intervention as part of allied strategy of the First World War. This article also discusses Wilson's reasoning as to why he was unwilling to expand U.S. participation into Russian internal affairs. Trani's work definitely helped illuminate another covert interpretation that researchers discovered concerning behind the scenes foreign relations backgrounds.

## Chapter 2 Connections and Conclusions

How exactly did Woodrow Wilson's actions affect the spread of the Communist world revolution? Additional evidence shows that in February 1918, Woodrow Wilson sent to Robert Lansing a copy of an article by William E. Walling called, "The Chief Danger of Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements in Eastern Europe," where he discussed, The facts surrounding how revolutions could spread throughout Europe if something was not done to alter their course.<sup>19</sup> This was a revelation that Woodrow Wilson acknowledged referencing the seriousness of the situation in Europe and that the Communist revolution was truly a threat and that the United States needed to work to establish policies to counter-act immediately. Secretary of State Lansing concurred with Walling's appraisal and responded in a letter back to President Wilson that confirmed current American foreign policy concerning the Bolsheviks.<sup>20</sup> President Wilson's limited intervention coupled with progressive foreign relations and American military operations contributed to slowing the spread of the Communist threat.

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<sup>19</sup> Woodrow Wilson Papers Collection, William E. Walling, 9 Feb., 1918, "The Chief Danger of Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements in Eastern Europe," Accessed 31 May 017, <http://www.woodrowwilson.org/digital-library/view.php?did=2474>.

<sup>20</sup> Woodrow Wilson Papers Collection, Letter from Robert Lansing to Woodrow Wilson, 15 Feb. 1918, Presidential Library and Museum Digital Archives, Accessed 31 May 2017, <http://www.woodrowwilson.org/digital-library/view.php?did=3973>.

### **Chapter 3: The U. S. Interventions North and Siberian**

From the beginning, Wilson gave in to the British request for assistance in North Russia. The initial phase of the intervention consisted of sending the USS Olympia to Murmansk, under the command of CPT Bion B. Bierer. Wilson cautioned his on-site commander not to get drawn in to further action without first obtaining instructions from home. The United States and French cruiser Admiral Aube were all put under the command of the British naval commander, Admiral Thomas W. Kemp. The goal of these actions was mandated to protect the ports of Archangel and Murmansk. There was a need to keep the ports open for the delivery of supplies. Also, there would be troops garrisoned there to guard previously cached weapons and ammunition destined for our Russian allies. Per the writings of Richard Pipes, who claimed “there was nothing resembling imperialist intervention in the sense of a concerted, purposeful drive of the western powers to crush the communist regime!” One historian of the Russian Civil War, Evan Mawdsley, argues that the military operations of the Central Powers from February to May 1918 were the most important foreign intervention in the civil war. Due to the continuation of World War I, there was only a minimum of head to head engagements with the Bolsheviks. Although, British aid to the Whites provided arms and material, training officers, providing spies, communication aid and naval contingents to the Baltic. Intervention by France was driven to recoup lost investments in Russia. The United States sent seven thousand troops to Siberia to rebuild the eastern front against Germany and the Japanese sent seventy thousand troops. Eventually the number of interventionist forces in Russia reached three hundred thousand. What was the extent of foreign intervention responsibility for in relation to the policies that the Bolsheviks had to develop as a counter measure?

The military operation during 1918 that constituted America's intervention into Russia was composed of two expeditionary forces. The Army Expeditionary Force North Russia (AEFNR) was sent to Archangel, while the Army Expeditionary Force Siberia (AEFS) traveled to Vladivostok in the Russian Far East. As Robert L. Willet explains, "the identities of the two basic forces involved in the Russian Civil War were the Reds, or Bolsheviks versus the Whites or anti-Bolsheviks. The Whites were aided by the allies, that were made up of the British, French, Americans, Canadians, and other smaller national groups."<sup>1</sup>

Lieutenant Colonel George Evans Stewart commanded the 339th Infantry Regiment. Unfortunately, when the regiment landed in North Russia, command and control transferred to the British. This caused massive communication problems and even with the Aide Memoire in place, Americans were inadvertently drawn into battle fighting the Bolsheviks. Ambassador Francis's communication to Washington, D.C. stated that the British had already sent two battalions into action. At the same time as the AEFNR was fighting in North Russia, in Siberia, General William S. Graves and the AEFS was landing in Vladivostok with seven thousand troops prepared to guard the Trans-Siberian Railroad and help the Czech Legions escape. Once again, confusion reigned in Vladivostok, which mirrored the disastrous experiences in North Russia, where American soldiers were placed under foreign command and sent to fight the Bolsheviks.

Analysts have attempted to give a clearer description of this obscure, but important, episode in American history, the American expedition to North Russia of 1918-1919. Although downplayed by the Siberian intervention because of upcoming interaction with the Japanese, the

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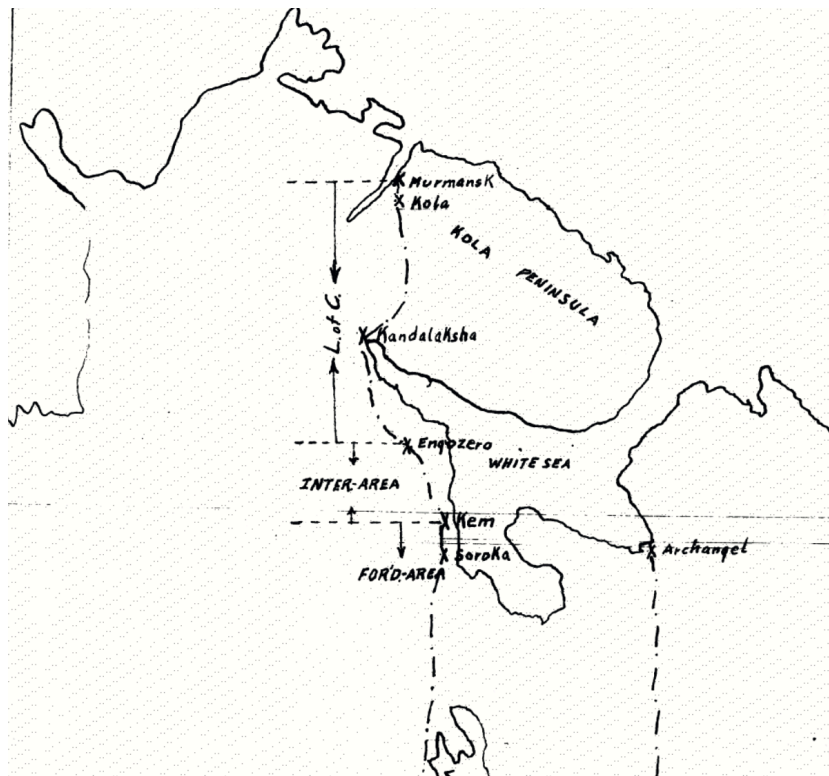
<sup>1</sup> Willett, Robert L., *Russian Sideshow: America's Undeclared War 1918-1920* (Washington D.C., Potomac Books Inc., 2003), xi.

expedition in northern Russia still looms large in the minds of Russia. The expedition to North Russia did not have its aim to overthrow the Bolsheviks. George F. Kennan stated that no American soldiers in North Russia took part in any actions other than ones of a defensive nature. Sir Winston Churchill saw it differently, recounts E. M. Halliday, who stated, “The day will come when it will be recognized that the strangling of Bolshevism at birth would have been a blessing.”<sup>2</sup> Wilson’s complex reasoning surrounding the Siberian intervention caused him to generate the instructions in the form of the Aide-memoire. The Aide-memoire was the authorization document for the United States intervention into the Russian Civil War.

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<sup>2</sup> E.M. Halliday, *The Ignorant Armies* (New York: Harper Brothers Publishers, 1958), 98.

## Archangel/ Murmansk Area



Map 1. Archangel/ Murmansk Area

Map provided by (National Archives Microfilm Publication M917, roll 1) Record Group 528; National Archives at College Park, College Park, M.D.

Vladivostok Area



Map 2. Vladivostok Area

Map provided by (National Archives Microfilm Publication M917, roll 1) Record Group 528; National Archives at College Park, College Park, M.D.



It was the directive issued both deploying expeditionary forces their exceedingly restrictive instructions for how they would be able to conduct their operations. They were given orders not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Russian government, or encroach on their territory. Any action considered outside the scope of this document required communication with higher headquarters for a decision. The indisputable fact was that United States soldiers were in Russia without the invitation of any de facto Russian government. The real dilemma, Major Jeff Stamp states, was that, in fact, “General Graves was given the mission of implementing essentially unworkable orders, to sum them up his interpretation was go to Siberia and be neutral.”<sup>3</sup>

In March 1918, the great German offensive broke out on the Western Front, following the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. It revived the question of intervention within the Supreme War Council. The military representatives, without General Tasker Bliss, decided on March 23 to support action in north Russia at Murmansk and Arkhangelsk and soon began to query the American government on this issue. According to *Report of Military and Naval Representatives, March 23, 1918, WDR, NA*, a small contingent of British troops had actually landed at Murmansk in early March with the agreement of the Murmansk Soviet, in fact on its invitation, to help protect the city from an expected German attack. Trotsky also seemingly gave his approval. The German threat never materialized, and by May, Allied plans for the occupation of Murmansk and Arkhangelsk were as much anti-Bolshevik as they were anti-German.

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<sup>3</sup> Jeff, Stamp, “Lost in the Snow: The US Intervention in Siberia During the Russian Civil War, in *Armed Diplomacy: Two Centuries of American Campaigning* (Fort Leavenworth, Ks: Combat Studies Institute, 1958), 218.

Political, economic, and social attitudes, which came about during the initial phases of revolution, were deeply established in Russian society. Historically, the peasants quest for land, desires for constitutional reforms, and the demands for the industrialization of the proletariat spawned the numerous revolutionary movements. The Bolshevik Red Army that demanded world revolution and death to the bourgeois nations drove the true threat in Russia. According to George Stewart, “the war weary West was laden with contradiction of their policies, although the need to establish military missions to aid the Volunteer White Army was a true logistic coordination nightmare. Large numbers of the North Russian White contingents, along with the population were thought to be loyal to the Allied cause and thus deserving of support.”<sup>4</sup>

Wilson only agreed to provide a limited force to guard supplies in north Russia and to assemble 7,000 American troops at Vladivostok, along with 7,000 Japanese troops, to guard military stores and help the Czechs embark for their voyage to France. An aide-memoire of July 17, 1918 spelled out his position: that victory would be won or lost on the Western Front.

Why did Americans remain in Siberia? The armistice had been signed in November 1918. President Wilson decided to have United States soldiers remain and provide aid to the White forces. They also remained to assure that the Japanese did gain dominance in eastern Siberia and Northern Manchuria. President Wilson wanted to keep American forces in place until he spoke with other allied leaders, in case peace negotiations went awry. “After the events of the

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<sup>4</sup> George Stewart, *The White Armies of Russia: A Chronicle of Counter-Revolution and Allied Intervention* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933), 82.

Red Terror, Secretary Lansing and President Wilson discussed the Bolshevik problem and how they were a threat to postwar plans.”<sup>5</sup>

The United States would encounter great difficulties in overthrowing the Bolsheviks. The allies believed that there should be an American intervention with enough manpower to do the job. On the contrary, how would President Wilson convince the American people this was a wise move? President Wilson and Secretary of State Lansing had formed their attitudes about the perceived dangers of Bolshevism. General Grave’s failed operations in Siberia and Colonel Stewart’s unsuccessful missions in the North illuminate the character of U. S. military counterinsurgency operations in Russia, but it was believed they were not given clear orders, nor were they afforded proper logistic support. Due to the appearance of aggression on foreign soil, it was exceedingly difficult to establish rules of engagement that did not tie the hands of American soldiers.

When World War I ended with the Armistice on 11 November 1918, there would be no great immediate change for the 339<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment (Polar Bears). President Wilson ordered them to remain in place awaiting the disposition of the Paris peace conference. General Graves and Colonel Stewart, along with American soldiers would continue to be subjected to the severe unforgiving conditions and active combat operations against Bolshevik forces. Once the Armistice was signed, the Wilson administration began receiving letters and petitions to bring the soldiers home from North Russia and Siberia. With White Russian forces on the run and Lenin’s Red army able to mass and consolidate their armies, the United States finally recognized the need to withdraw from this conflict in Russia. After American forces were evacuated from

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<sup>5</sup> Carl Richard, *When the United States Invaded Russia: Woodrow Wilson’s Siberian Disaster* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013), 193.

Archangel in 1919 and Vladivostok in 1920, the intervention had cost one hundred seventy-four American lives and four hundred twenty-four total casualties.

the need to withdraw from this conflict in Russia. After American forces were evacuated from Archangel in 1919 and Vladivostok in 1920, the intervention had cost one hundred seventy-four American lives and four hundred twenty-four total casualties. By July 1919, American forces boarded ships for the journey home, ending the North Russia intervention, and by January 1920 the remaining forces departed Vladivostok.

*U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine 1860-1941* details America's entrance into the world of unconventional politico-military operations that they would be exposed to when they were called upon to intervene on missions in Russia during the Russian Civil War. American troops were instructed to remain neutral in Russia's internal conflicts and only perform duties referenced in the Aide Memoire. These missions were not situationally suited to extreme resupply distances and a weak communications network with the limited technology of that time made it very difficult to get clarification on rules of engagement in case of emergency and caused severe logistics hardships. Substantial textual evidence illustrated the failure of the interventions and the unwillingness of war-weary America to commit enough resources to have any real effect on the situation.

American Intervention (North and Siberian Expeditions) evidenced in John Silverlight's book, *The Victors' Dilemma: Allied Intervention in the Russian Civil War 1917-1920*, discusses the conflicting viewpoints between British, French, and United States allies, when each are working through the complicated process of establishing a policy towards the possible intervention in Bolshevik Russia. John Silverlight is an author and Assistant Editor of the London Observer, which gave him the insight to effectively evaluate the decisions made by

politicians, the generals who directed the operations, and the impact it had on the people caught in the Russian Civil War. He further offers his impressions of how the United States debated intervention versus self-determination for Russia. This book is full of detailed reports, eyewitness accounts, and his unbiased retrospective analysis that is user friendly to most audiences. This book's contribution to the historiography cites a perspective from the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, much of which is drawn from British Cabinet papers not released until 1966. George Stewart's book, *The White Armies of Russia: A Chronicle of Counter-revolution and Allied Intervention*, submits an inclusive impeccably researched account of how the White Army mounted a counter-revolutionary devised to overthrow Lenin and the Bolshevik government. This is a viable addition to the historiography whose narrative illustrates the Russian Civil War from the historical perspective of the White Army. Stewart's investigation provides solid evidence that proves that the White Army, even with extensive aid from the allies, they were disunited politically and in many cases there was much in-fighting in the ranks due to previously existing rivalries. In retrospect, the White Army possessed a military culture that lacked strong higher echelon leadership. Consequentially, they were never truly able to muster much of a quantifiable threat against the Red Army due to their ineffective command and control. This was coupled with poor logistics management.

The big picture comparison became the perfect analogy for Professor David S., Fogelson's book, *America's Secret War Against Bolshevism: U.S. Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1917-1920*, which demonstrated the usefulness of his research interests that include United States Foreign policy and American-Russian relations. Fogelson's work provides an excellently researched account of the dilemma Woodrow Wilson faced in establishing United States policy toward the Bolshevik government. He details events leading up to U.S. intervention

in the Russian Civil War. Woodrow Wilson was working for a stable global order as the United States sought to restore democracy and, at the same time, support anti-Bolshevik policies.

Through covert methods that avoided public attention, the United States did not want to interfere openly in Russian internal affairs, but essentially fought a sort of noncommittal undeclared war against Bolshevism. It is agreed that much of the information in this book, and conclusions, are based on what was gained from Foglesong's writing.

Besides conventional diplomacy and military action, there was another dimension of subversion and political warfare from the beginning of Soviet-American relations that audiences of that arena will be satisfied with for research. Foglesong shows how Americans pioneered secretive interventions and validated previously unmentioned suspicions about clandestine operations in Russia during the Russian Civil War.

Another purpose he noted for Wilson continuing the intervention was a proposed overthrow of the Bolsheviks and the prevention of the Japanese from taking over eastern Siberia. This was seen as evidence of one of the earliest United States counterinsurgency campaigns outside the western hemisphere and examines American political maneuvering at the end of World War I. Carl Richard's book, *When the United States Invaded Russia: Woodrow Wilson's Siberian Disaster*, describes an obscure action that was not publicized during World War I, when President Woodrow Wilson deployed an expeditionary force of American soldiers to Siberia. According to Richard, Wilson's reasoning behind the intervention was intended to enable the Czechs and anti-Bolshevik Russians to rebuild the Eastern front against the Central Powers. It predicted how many of these precursor events would affect Soviet-American relations for years to come.

Along the same direction of interpretation as Carl Richard's argument stands Robert L. Willett's book, *Russian Sideshow: American's Undeclared War, 1918-1920*, that presents a comprehensive argument of how our country's military and diplomatic policies developed as President Wilson teetered on the fence of whether to deploy American soldiers to Russian soil. Willett's expertly researched writing includes classified official records and the letters and diaries of Americans who served there. He presents a realistic portrayal of the experiences of American soldiers who participated in what was characterized as a misguided military action, as United States troops were sent to remote regions of Russian wilderness from the port city of Archangel to Vladivostok. It provides an interesting examination of the beginnings of how United States participation in "small wars" began.

### **Chapter 3 Connections and Conclusions**

President Woodrow Wilson's decision to intervene into the Russian Civil War had a variety of results that support the argument of this study by demonstrating the necessity of President Wilson's efforts to support anti-Bolshevik movements that escalated from financial assistance to limited military operations. In conjunction with how it helped illuminate another covert interpretation impressions of how the United States debated intervention versus self-determination for Russia that researchers additionally discovered concerning behind the scenes foreign relations backgrounds made a big difference.



## Chapter 4: Lenin's Changing Perspectives on World Revolution

"We summon you to this struggle, workers of all countries! There is no other way. The crimes of the ruling, exploiting classes in this war have been countless. These crimes cry out for revolutionary revenge."<sup>1</sup>

V. L. Lenin

The November Revolution of 1917 swept Vladimir Lenin to supreme power.

"Intolerance, combat and collectivism, the anthem of Bolshevism in its revolutionary era, as both historical document and political statement. Its importance is amplified in the way that Lenin wrote of it in *The State and Revolution*, as the task of achieving socialism in modern industrial society. For him, history was largely a record of class struggle and that the state in every society pursues the interests of the ruling class at the expense of society."<sup>2</sup> This book offers both the rationale for the new regime and a wealth of insights into Leninist politics. Here Lenin justified his personal interpretation of Marxism, downplayed his opponents, and outlined his views on class conflict, which were the lessons of earlier revolutions, the dismantling of the bourgeois state, and the replacement of capitalism by the dictatorship of the proletariat. The state for Lenin was a vehicle of exploiting the oppressed. No ruling class allows its rule to be abolished without armed struggle; therefore, revolutions should be expected to be violent. He professed the working class would have to engage in such struggle if it ever was going to gain power. The objective for this struggle would be for the eradication of all class based discrimination. Contrary to the beliefs of Karl Marx that socialists may be able to gain power peacefully, Lenin professed that the bourgeoisie state machine must consequently be smashed. This would be achieved with

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<sup>1</sup> Melvyn P. Leffler, *The Specter of Communism: The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1917-1953* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994), 3.

<sup>2</sup> V. L. Lenin, *The State and Revolution* (New York: International Publishing, 1932), 5-103.

the removal of the standing army, the police, the civil service, the judiciary, and the clergy. He believed that the freedom established in the free capitalistic democracies was fully enjoyable only by the rich, who were not exhausted by the material and spiritual grind of poverty. Lenin contended that the economies of capitalism prevented most people from influencing the politics of any capitalistic society. Under socialism with the inception of dictatorship of the proletariat, the majority of the population would at least gain as distinct from purely formal enfranchisement. For him, it would end in a campaign of repression.

Ever since November 1917, when the Bolsheviks came to power, Lenin was also convinced that the very existence of the Soviet regime in Russia was of incalculable assistance in promoting the world revolution. He saw Soviet Russia as a model and inspiration to the workers of the world. It provided tangible proof that the proletariat, directed by its vanguard, the party, could seize and hold power. On one occasion, Lenin referred to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia as a torch scattering sparks to add to the growing flames of socialist revolution, and in early 1918 he declared: "A living example . . . in some single country is more effective than manifestoes and conferences; this is what inflames the masses of the toilers in all countries."<sup>3</sup> This chapter is designed to take an abbreviated look into the post-Brest-Litovsk period when Russia had left the war and signed the treaty with Germany, as Lenin's attitude began to change.

How would this affect Lenin's commitment to World Revolution? As America was on the verge of intervention, Lenin and the Bolsheviks held out a pragmatic view of how to deal with American foreign policy and felt they could work to impact the situation through economic and diplomatic strategies. Lenin's policy toward the United States was his strong belief that the

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<sup>3</sup> John M. Thompson, "Lenin's Analysis of Intervention," *American Slavic and East European Review*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (April 1958), 156-58.

Bolshevik government was a force to be reckoned with; yet, once they realized this was not going to happen, the Russians believed they should at least establish a working relationship with the United States.

To understand the actions of the Soviet leadership, it is imperative to evaluate Lenin's views on how the political situation could be affected. Lenin's preoccupation with foreign policy began even before the revolution. The extreme instability of the international situation of the Soviet Republic, surrounded by imperialistic powers could be blamed on both external and internal factors. Since the Treaty of Brest/Litovsk, counter-revolutionary forces had escalated direct attacks against the Bolsheviks. Soviet foreign policies prescribed that military preparations must continue the strategy of maneuver, withdraw, delay, and maintain readiness for war. Russia was not yet ready for a suspected major offensive by Germany or Japan. Lenin believed that the utmost caution, discretion, and restraint must be observed to maintain the upper hand. Peace with Russia allowed Germany to reallocate forces to the Western front. As America was on the verge of intervention, Lenin and the Bolsheviks held out a pragmatic view of how to deal with American foreign policy and felt they could work to impact the situation through economic and diplomatic strategies.

In the fall of 1918, Lenin was particularly anxious to avoid further armed conflict with the capitalist world. The Soviet regime was in a difficult position, struggling with serious internal problems of famine, economic collapse, and counterrevolution, while simultaneously fighting off external attacks from separatists, White Russians, and Allied forces already in Russia.

Lenin's true perspective was stated,

A respite in terms of even a temporary cessation of civil war and intervention was desperately needed. Such a "breathing spell" promised a number of advantages, from the Soviet point of view. Not only would a final, and undoubtedly successful, Allied attack be forestalled, but Soviet Russia would gain an opportunity to regroup its forces and to consolidate its internal position.<sup>4</sup>

Simultaneously, Britain and France began a series of complicated negotiations directed at mounting a joint Allied intervention into the chaos of revolution and civil war in Russia. The result was a series of counter-revolutionary diplomatic maneuvers to deter the Russians from joining the Germans. Lenin stated to the Congress of Soviets: "World-wide imperialism and the triumphal march of social revolution cannot live side by side."<sup>5</sup> Lenin believed that the international revolution must take precedent over that of the national cause at all costs. Trotsky believed that revolutionary Russia could not stand in the face of conservative Europe. The Soviet Republic as it was, was destined for destruction.

Lenin spoke to the Central Executive Committee April 29 and stated,

respecting present aims of Soviet government, Lenin said in substance among other things: Present political currents in Russia fall into three groups: (1) that of the bourgeoisie and its allies presenting single "democratic" front from Milyukov to Martov; (2) the Bolshevik Party; and (3) left Social Revolutionaries representing small bourgeoisie. Present peace very fragile, may be broken at any moment. But world-wide revolution is ripening, more slowly it is true than we wished and expected. Our purpose is to hold on until the imperialists destroy each other still more. For this end there is but one policy to take: to draw back to wait. Plainly this is not a popular motto, but the Soviet power is sustained only because in the west the fight continues, and in the Orient

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<sup>4</sup> William Henry Chamberlin, "Allied Intervention," in *The Russian Revolution, Volume II: 1918-1921: From the Civil War to the Consolidation of Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1935), ix-454.

<sup>5</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Theses on the Present Political Situation." *Lenin's Collected Works*, Lenin Internet Archive, Accessed 10 April 2017, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/>.

imperialistic competition vivifies more and more. State capitalism is not the enemy of socialism, but of the small proprietor.<sup>6</sup>

The Russian Revolution should be seen during world history as an integral part of the rise of world-wide Bolshevism and how it would play in its definite opposition to British, French, and American imperialism. The general sociological definition of bourgeois revolution does not by any means solve these politico-tactical problems, contradictions, and difficulties, which will be put forward by the mechanics of the given bourgeois revolution.

The impact of Bolshevik propaganda rejected allied intervention and allowed their agitators to project the message that Russia had been invaded. They called for the need to adopt the attitude that the Bolsheviks were the true defenders of Russia. How does Lenin's attitude connect to the thesis argument? Russia at war with the allies would have a devastating effect on the advancement of communism. There is an ever-present indication that Lenin's attitude was changing, indicating that he is beginning to come to a realization. Lenin wrote to the American workers: "We are in a besieged fortress until other armies of the international socialist revolution come to our aid."<sup>7</sup>

Lenin proved to be very wise when dealing with the masses. The Bolsheviks had great successes mobilizing the people's dire distrust of the White Army. The Red Army recruited two million

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<sup>6</sup> Foreign Relations of the United States, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919, Russia*, University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries, <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/FRUS/FRUS-idx?type=turn&entity=FRUS.FRUS1918v1.p0568&id=FRUS.FRUS1918v1&isize=M&q1=Allied%20Intervention>, Accessed 12 April 2017.

<sup>7</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Theses on the Present Political Situation." *Lenin's Collected Works*, Lenin Internet Archive, Accessed 10 April 2017, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/>.

peasants from the regions surrounding Moscow, where land use had increased by between twenty-five and thirty-five percent. White attempts to control the peasantry had led to a crucial loss of support. “Lenin argued for the recognition of the importance of winning over the peasants, considering that they controlled ninety percent of agriculture. Bolshevik leadership was able to gain the support of the peasants by enacting the Land Decree of October 1917, which was a shrewd political move by the Bolsheviks which enabled them to retain the cooperation of the rural community.”<sup>8</sup> Vladimir Illich Lenin’s, “The Agrarian Question in Russia,” and “The Proletariat and the Peasantry,” yielded crucial information from *Lenin’s Collected Works*, from the Lenin Internet Archive. These transcribed writings of Lenin’s writings help clarify his position on attempting to lead the Russian people through the communist world revolution.

The Prinkipo Conference Plan was an attempt to arrange a meeting between delegates of the allies and all Russian factions. Discouragingly, there was no chance of cooperation even before they started. The more conservative factions were offended by the thought of negotiation with the Bolsheviks. Ultimately the peace plan would only bring one result. Only one side could prevail.

The Bolsheviks were able to win the civil war because they were more politically flexible and skillful. The Red’s relationship with the peasantry demonstrated a greater degree of power and authority. Additionally, the Whites failed to reach an understanding with the national groups and denied them the necessary support to succeed. John Thompson’s article claims, “As a corollary to his thesis concerning the international and anti-revolutionary nature of capitalism,

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<sup>8</sup> Chandra, Nirmal Kumar, “The Peasant Question from Marx to Lenin: The Russian Experience,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 37, No. 20 (May 2002), 1932, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4412133>, Accessed: 18 May 2017.

Lenin maintained that the counter-revolutionary forces in Russia were closely tied to the foreign interventionists.”<sup>9</sup> Class interests bound the two groups, and therefore it should be no surprise that the Russian bourgeoisie cooperated with, and were aided by, the imperialist invaders. Lenin's interpretation of intervention laid the groundwork in the face of evidence that acknowledged the failure of the world revolution, but worked to camouflage his intentions concerning the international revolutionary movement. The Bolsheviks' continued retention of power in Russia was based on Lenin's basic theories of historical development and social change, to reaffirm the interdependence and solidarity of the international socialist movement, and to maintain his doctrinal appearance as a believer in world revolution.

In Lenin's view, exceptional efforts must be made to protect and defend Soviet Russia, to use this revolutionary example as a guide and to spur on the world proletariat. Lenin alleged, “that the Bolsheviks must somehow hold power in Russia until the outbreak of proletarian revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries, which would save the Soviet state by eradicating the danger of imperialist attack. The Bolsheviks could also then draw upon economic assistance from industrial Europe, without which socialist construction in Russia could not be completed.”<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> John M. Thompson, "Lenin's Analysis of Intervention," *American Slavic and East European Review*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (April 1958), 151- 160, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3004163>, Accessed: 23 May 2017.

<sup>10</sup> John M. Thompson, "Lenin's Analysis of Intervention," *American Slavic and East European Review*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (April 1958), 156-58.

Lenin made every effort to halt or to mitigate the imperialist attack with offers of compromise and negotiation. It was Lenin's adoption of the NEP or New Economic Policy that meant he finally recognized the need for reconstruction. It was also necessary to appease the peasants and avert Kronstadt incident. And, since the world revolution never did take place, he banked on procuring the resources from the capitalist west that were badly needed to assist Russian reconstruction. Lenin even secured the services of American efficiency experts in order to speed up the development of Russian capitalism. He also admitted that it would probably take two or three decades for the peasants to be convinced that cooperative agriculture would be more efficient. Over the course of five years, NEP allowed industrial and agricultural output to rise to pre-war levels and achieved a successful economic recovery.

Reasons why President Wilson intervened in Siberia 1918-1920 are amply supportive the argument portrayed in Leo J. Bacino's book, *Reconstructing Russia: U.S. Policy in Revolutionary Russia, 1917-1922*. It describes a quite different perspective and examines Wilsonian Foreign policy, while looking to establish connections to Russia, in that the United States was providing economic assistance to counter any German influence. President Wilson felt that he could not leave the Russian Empire to be divided as the spoils of war between Germany, Japan, Britain, France, and the United States. The United States believed it entirely necessary to step up and get involved in Siberia to preclude this action and leave the possibility in place to establish the Open Door to Russia. American corporate groups saw a sterling opportunity for American investment in Russia. Bacino's argument states, "the crux of this research examines the United States efforts to promote social and economic reconstruction in Siberia 1917 through 1922, and was rooted in the fundamental secular trend that the



development of American capitalism could be beneficial to both countries.”<sup>1</sup> It would be the first step in obtaining Russian participation on the international economy with equal trade and investment powers.

Analysis of the thought, psychology, and social background that was the underpinning concept of the emergence of revolutionary Marxism are demonstrated in Leopold H. Haimson’s book, *Russian Marxists and the Origins of Bolshevism*. Haimson’s revisionist work studies Marxist ideology, discussion of the politics of Lenin, and presentations of the opposing interpretations of Bolshevism versus Menshevism lend credence to the direction of this part of the ideological argument that drives this thesis. Haimson’s evaluations of relationships between history and politics significantly impacted the historiography by introducing what was called the Haimson School. This was developed as an interdisciplinary collaboration where Leopold Haimson joined social history with the history of politics. Similarly, William Henry Chamberlin’s, “Allied Intervention,” in *The Russian Revolution, Volume II: 1918-1921: From the Civil War to the Consolidation of Power*, has given this research valuable evidence that supported the crucial argument that Wilson’s limited intervention provided enough of a diversion that it stalled the communist world revolution and kept it from taking hold elsewhere in Europe. Much of what Chamberlin had written passes the common-sense test, although without other research from other historians would not have held the same credibility.

Allied objectives that consisted of attracting Russia to accept peace in lieu of a Russo-German alliance was highlighted as one of John M. Thompson’s main conclusions included in his book, “The Prinkipo Proposal,” *Russia, Bolshevism, and the Versailles Peace*. He also

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<sup>1</sup> Leo J. Bacino’s book, *Reconstructing Russia: U.S. Policy in Revolutionary Russia, 1917-1921* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1999), 1-215.

illustrated how Wilson had trouble deciding what his foreign policy should be toward Russia. Thompson presents a clear account of the diplomatic foreign relations involved in this situation. At the time of “The Prinkipo Proposal”, it references Soviet efforts to convince the West to terminate the intervention. Lenin was attempting to stave off an allied armed attack by using negotiation and compromise, which was the predominant concern of Soviet foreign policy. The result of his manipulation was to protect and defend the revolution as a guide to saving the world proletariat. Other key points that Thompson’s different perspective looked at include the Bullitt mission, which tried to determine if relations between the Allies and the Bolsheviks were possible, and the Hoover-Nansen plan that was designed to send food to peoples of Russia.

Providing an evaluation of the experiences of the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917 from Lenin’s perspective as he discussed the ramifications of how World War I was a catalyst that had profound effects on the development of the international proletarian revolution. V.I. Lenin’s *State and Revolution* exhibits a theoretical analysis of the theory of the state by Marx and Engels. The level of upheaval across Europe made the socio-economic and political climate ripe for revolution. In Lenin’s words, he states “the question of the relation of proletarian revolution to the state acquires, therefore, not only a practical political importance, but the importance of an urgent problem of the day, the problem of elucidating to the masses what they will have to do for their liberation from the yoke of capitalism in the very near future.”<sup>2</sup> It would seem to be a bit of a paradox considering Lenin’s requirement for American capital to assist in building up his industrial capabilities. Was democracy just for a select capitalist group?

Communism has the conceptual framework, through the dictatorship of the proletariat, to resist

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<sup>2</sup> Lenin, V.I., *The State and Revolution* (New York: International Publishing, 1932), 6.

the capitalist oppressors and deliver a transitional capability that allows communist methodology to dictate the need to suppress the powers of the state.

These same sentiments are echoed in another of Lenin's work, *Essential Works of Lenin: "What Is to Be Done?" and Other Writings*, which consisted of an outstanding collection of Lenin's work edited by Henry M. Christman, comprised of four of Lenin's major works that represent his goals for the progression of Communism. This combined work introduces a balanced cross-section of Lenin's most prolific revolutionary theories of history, politics, and economics, tactics for securing and maintaining power, and his vision of a new social order. It also includes his first major study, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, which argued that Marxist theory needed to be applied immediately to the problems of Russia. He further went on to indicate the significant differences between how the peasantry relates to the industrial proletariat as the revolutionary base.

There have been a number of productive interpretations of how the Polish-Soviet War had an effect on events surrounding the Russian Civil War. The Socialist movement rooted in Western Europe created a climate of instability in Germany, England, Italy, and France, while at the same time, it was also true that the Polish Communists were ever so close to a proletarian revolution due to the awakening of the agricultural worker population. The flame of revolution was poised to put its brand on the back of all of capitalist Europe. It makes a wonderful point, which undoubtedly supports the claim of this research, that actions were caused by the events that worked in conjunction with President Wilson's American intervention into Russia. It manipulated the chain of events and slowed down Soviet response times and changed assigned missions. As evidenced in the writings of Red Army General Tukhachevski, he stated, "The

Soviet failure to push into Poland dashed the Bolshevik's hopes of turning the Russian Revolution into a European one."<sup>3</sup>

How does this account compare to that of James's McCann? James McCann's article, "Beyond the Bug: Soviet Historiography of the Soviet-Polish War of 1920," explores how the positive meaning of history reflects in Soviet historiography, scientifically and objectively. From the Marxist-Leninist view, it is explained as the historian sees the unity of a process, but constantly evolving. McCann posits an interesting view that "Western analysts believe that Marxist-Leninist historians have experienced a challenging balancing act when it comes to the empirical data surrounding the Polish-Soviet War of 1920."<sup>4</sup> Ultimately, one of the key factors that affect the argument of this paper is applied to the following evidence. McCann states, "There can be no doubt that the major conflict of the Polish-Bolshevik War began with General Pilsudski's decision to march beyond the borderlands into the Ukraine in April 1920, while the bulk of the Red Army was still engaged in the civil war."<sup>5</sup> He took a risk that actually paid dividends as its end result and created a strategic nightmare for the Russians. Poland was a mix of nationalism and revolutionary ideology, but was seen as a stepping-stone to advancing Lenin's world revolution into Germany as well. The Bolsheviks used this war in Poland as a propaganda tool to incite Polish workers, peasants, and soldiers.

V. I. Lenin's breakdown during the war itself was articulated as, "Poland backed by the Entente had launched an act of aggression, and we have no doubt. The Polish government

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<sup>3</sup> General Mikhail Tukhachevski, "The Polish-Soviet War," in Jonathan Daly, and Leonid Trofimov, *Russia in War and Revolution, 1914-1922: A Documentary History* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2009), 60-63.

<sup>4</sup> James M. McCann, "Beyond the Bug: Soviet Historiography of the Soviet-Polish War of 1920," *Soviet Studies* 36, No. 4 (Oct., 1984), 475-493, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/151929>, Accessed 20 December 2016.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, McCann, 478.

began this offensive war against the will of its workers. He went on to say that this war was just one link in a chain of national events.”<sup>6</sup> Lenin did not consider himself a historian, although at times he was hesitant to admit negative consequences and his own errors. However, in this instance, he realized that Soviet Russia was recognized on the world stage as a global power; yet, he changed his view regarding the failure of the Bolshevik world revolution.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid, McCann, 479.

## **Chapter 4 Connections and Conclusions**

The connections provided by Leo Bacino's work help highlight Lenin's desire to obtain American recognition to open the possibility of trade and the investment of American business to assist Russia in building their level of industrialization and manufacturing. Without this financial assistance, the capital problem would certainly slow the development to the higher levels of communism. V. I. Lenin's actions supported his admission of the collapse of the world revolution throughout Europe, but realized the necessity to assure the survival of the Bolshevik communist state. He was able to eventually consolidate his forces and prevail against a counter-revolutionary White Army that did not have a chance even with assistance from the allies.

## Conclusion

Historians are constantly reviewing scholarly material to reflect on the many works that have influenced their research and, in this case, become the foundation for the development of this thesis. In this research, it is apparent that key events had impacted the thought processes involved in Allied interventions into the Russian Revolution. It all began with the differences in ideology, as seen through the eyes of Lenin and Trotsky and their beliefs on World Socialist Revolution. There have been numerous policies developed in diplomatic foreign relations, while coordinating military operations that would present new ways to accomplish the intended missions. Additionally, the important reason behind this research hinges on the seamless coordination that became necessary between all agencies to ease many of the tense situations.

How would President Wilson assist in bringing stability to Russia without embroiling the forces of the United States into partisan political and military struggles that truly interfered with internal government operations? This investigation provides new ways to consider how this military intervention impacted United States-Soviet foreign relations and United States global policies. The situation in Eastern Europe radically changed with the elimination of Germany as a combatant force and interventionist fronts in Russia could no longer be regarded as part of the general front against the Central Powers. This intervention dramatically affected how the Bolsheviks were able to conduct military strategies during the Russian Civil War.

Much of this research was heavily influenced by the traditional views of Richard Pipes, as he journeyed through the Russian Revolutions, the Russian Civil War, and the impact of World War I, with some of this discussed in his book, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime*. Looking at the social aspects of the Russian Revolutions, and subsequently, the Russian Civil

War portrayed by Orlando Figes's revisionist views, was another perspective also important to this research.

The beginnings of these discussions of how Woodrow Wilson's reasoning changed and how he finally approved the American interventions was discussed in Robert H. Zieger's book, *America's Great War: World War I and the American Experience*. From there, it was decided to look into a War College Thesis entitled "Operations Other Than War" by Ross L. Wilson, Andrew J. Birtle's *The U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Doctrine, 1860-1941*, David S. Foglesong's book, *America's Secret War Against Bolshevism: U.S. Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1917-1920*, and *America's Siberian Adventure 1918-1920*, authored by Major General William S. Graves. George Creel's book, *How We Advertised America*, highlights how the interactions by the Committee on Public Information attempted to win over the hearts and minds of the Russian people by distributing 500,000 copies of President Wilson's Fourteen Points of Light Speech.

Foglesong's book presents thorough arguments of why Wilson and Lansing had formed their attitudes toward Russia the way they did and of what the perceived dangers of Bolshevism consisted. Conversely, the way Birtle describes General Grave's failed operations in Siberia and Colonel Stewart's unsuccessful missions in the North illuminate the character of U. S. military counterinsurgency operations in Russia, but it is believed they were not given clear orders, nor were they afforded proper logistic support. Due to the appearance of aggression on foreign soil, it is exceedingly difficult to establish rules of engagement that do not tie the hands of your soldiers.



Evaluating the gaps in the historiography of the arguments presented in these works advance three main directives, which proves the effects of military intervention on U.S.-Soviet foreign relations and United States global propaganda operations. Evidence shows how the exposure of Creel's Committee on Public Information in its Russian Campaign, as described in George Creel's book, *How We Advertised America*, provided behind the scenes circulation of information regarding American policy, like Arthur Bullard's pamphlet, "Letters to a Russian Friend." This was designed to correct many false impressions developed in the Russian minds.

The Diplomatic/Foreign Relations mission did everything possible to assist the anti-Bolshevik forces and bolster the benefactors of democratic government in the region. Counterinsurgency operations in this theater worked in support of the foreign relations outreach to White forces with monetary support, as well as weapons.

By examining the overall historiography through the numerous theories being advanced, this investigation proves that through overt and sometimes unrestricted diplomatic foreign relations actions, a covert propaganda campaign, and military intervention with economic aid to perform prescribed missions, in conjunction with counterinsurgency operations, this information validates this argument. To reiterate once again that besides conventional diplomacy and military action, there was another dimension of subversion and political warfare from the beginning of Soviet-American relations that audiences of that arena will be satisfied with for research. Foglesong shows how Americans pioneered secretive interventions and validated previously unmentioned suspicions about clandestine operations in Russia during the Russian Civil War. The standard interpretations of the Russian Civil War have truly presented a well-reported examination, but investigating these perspectives from the foreign relations/military lens exposes

new ideas based on the study of the strategic effects on global politics and diplomatic relations. For Wilson, any overt action was a true political nightmare, but he did allow George Creel's Committee on Public Information to sow anti-Bolshevik propaganda among the Russian people. Historians have determined that there are six theories explaining the reasoning as to why the United States' intervention was necessary.

Carl Richard's dominant theory that he supports is debated as, "Wilson sent American forces to Siberia to help the Czechs and Russian anti-Bolsheviks overthrow the Soviet government as the first step in recreating the Eastern front against the Central Powers with Russian troops."<sup>7</sup> The historiography advances one theory, supported by Christopher Lasch, which stated that President Wilson intervened in Siberia to head off the problem of the eight hundred thousand Austro-Hungarian and German prisoners of war. It was rumored through erroneous intelligence information that the Bolsheviks were arming the prisoners of war. Second, was the intervention theory, posited first by John Albert White, and later supported by Betty M. Unterberger. They maintained that Wilson's plan for intervention was based on stopping the Japanese from invading Siberia and taking control of that area. The third theory, developed by Eugene P. Trani, was the allied pressure theory, which was the result of Britain and France strong-arming, or pressuring, President Wilson into the intervention in Siberia with the idea of convincing Japan to committing the manpower for a new Eastern front. The fourth theory, advanced by William Appleman Williams, maintained that Wilson's intervention plan was based on overthrowing the Bolshevik government through committing aid to anti-Bolshevik forces.

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<sup>7</sup> Carl Richard, *When the United States Invaded Russia: Woodrow Wilson's Siberian Disaster* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC., 2013), 76.

The fifth theory, advanced by George F. Kennan, stated that Wilson decided to intervene in Siberia and rescue the Czech Corps in order to transport them to the Western front.

Another similar theory, the sixth theory, discussed by Robert J. Maddox, noted that Wilson's decision to intervene was designed to help the Czechs and anti-Bolsheviks overthrow the Soviet government, as the first step in re-establishing the Eastern front. Many theories have been suggested as to why President Wilson made the decision to intervene in North Russia and Siberia. President Wilson was apprehensive about committing the millions of soldiers needed to re-establish the Eastern front, but he felt that the interventions into Russia were an equitable trade off, rather than entering into another major mobilization. Additionally, Eugene P. Trani's article discussed the five different ways American intervention had been explained by historians, to include, Japanese expansionism, rescue Czech legions, anti-Bolshevik move, and the two ways to treat the Siberian intervention as part of allied strategy of the First World War. Leo Bacino provided another perspective as he examined how Wilsonian foreign policy demonstrated the United States efforts to promote social and economic reconstruction in Siberia from 1917 through 1922. This unique viewpoint was rooted in the fundamental secular trend that the development of American capitalism could be beneficial to both the United States and Russia.

Carl Richard's book, *When the United States Invaded Russia: Woodrow Wilson's Siberian Disaster*, discussed and analyzed six different theories, which had been proposed as to why Wilson decided to send United States troops to Russia. What was Wilson ultimately trying to accomplish? It made clear how foreign intervention and interference in the affairs of another nation inherently are a complicated diplomatic process. This action had been identified as one of the earliest United States counterinsurgency campaigns outside the Western Hemisphere. The

Siberian intervention was a predictor of future United States policies to come. This began the education process about the extreme difficulties involved in interventions and the absolute requirement to secure widespread support on the ground if such campaigns are to achieve success. Regrettably, this was a hard lesson that United States policymakers tragically ignored in Vietnam and had later struggled to implement in Iraq and Afghanistan.

George F. Kennan's article, "Soviet Historiography and America's Role in the Intervention," discusses the substantial body of material written from the Soviet perspective and is exceedingly necessary to investigate. Kennan's goal in this article was to develop a body of factual material that either directly or indirectly impacts Soviet-American relations. Kennan presents relevant examples of how Soviet historiography had been affected by an attitude of negativity when referencing historical evidence concerning Allied intervention in the Russian Civil War. When dealing with the Soviet versions of these events, historians should be wary of their preconceived ideological interpretation depending on the date of publication, considering Soviet Archives and historians were able to produce much more fruitfully after 1989. The importance of Kennan's work to this research was the chance to explore perspectives outside our own and determine its impact on the historical evidence as a comparison between each lens.

In light of recent writings, "Megan Trudell wrote that after the collapse of Stalinism and the opening of Soviet Archives, the historiography on the subject of the Russian Civil War are divided."<sup>8</sup> Megan Trudell and Richard Pipes's theory submits that if the allies had not supported White anti-Bolshevik forces with aid, the Red Army would have ended the Russian Civil War

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<sup>8</sup> Megan Trudell, "The Russian Civil War: A Marxist Analysis," *International Socialism* 86. No. 2 (Spring 2000), 115, Accessed 27 March 2017, <https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/isj2/2000/isj2-086/trudell.htm>.

sooner. Orlando Figes maintained that the outcome of the revolution was inevitable and Lenin and the Bolsheviks successes were attributed to naiveté of the Russian population. It enabled the Bolsheviks to accomplish their goal of establishing a classless, socialist society that was felt to be the beginning of the international revolution.

The chances that the communist revolution would spread throughout Europe depended on the initial example of the Bolsheviks. Whether the majority of the countries in 1918-1919 were plagued with extreme social upheaval caused by volatile economic, social, and political conditions related to the revolutionary climate was ripe for expansion across Europe, but lacked competent leadership. The Bolshevik state in Russia was effectively restricted due to the allied intervention. “The dominant impact of the American intervention that William Henry Chamberlin suggests, that had there been no intervention nor Allied aid to the White Army the Russian Civil War quite possibly would have ended sooner.”<sup>9</sup>

George Creel and Committee on Public Information (CPI) World-wide’s development of the Russian Campaign helped pioneer other more secretive means of intervention, including propaganda, financing of counter-revolutionary forces, covert action, and chronicles the work of the Creel Committee from beginning to end. The intensive program, led by Arthur Bullard and undertaken by the Committee of Public Information, helped to indoctrinate the masses of people in the countries and regions where information dissemination was taking place. In the countries of France, England, Italy, Mexico, Switzerland, Holland, Spain, Scandinavia, the Orient, South America, and Russia, the mission was designed to impress upon the populations of each area a

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<sup>9</sup> William Henry Chamberlin, “Allied Intervention,” in *The Russian Revolution, Volume II: 1918-1921: From the Civil War to the Consolidation of Power*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1935), ix-454.

far more graphic and comprehensive idea of the power and position of the United States. In lieu of the Bolshevik Revolution and interconnected civil war, the Russian Campaign found it necessary to change their information delivery system. For contact work, they were forced to depend on and utilize the activities and influences of such American organizations as the Red Cross, Young Men's Christian Association, and other volunteer groups formed by the American colonies in Petrograd and Moscow for the specific purpose of making Russia understand America. Much of this relationship building, as it was called, laid the groundwork for the success of the Committee for Public Information's propaganda program in Russia. It changed the tone of editorials that relayed the speeches and communiqués of President Wilson. It made for interesting reading in the Russian Daily News. To further extend the reach of the American publicity, Mr. Bullard and his crew were transferred lock, stock, and barrel to Siberia. A power factor in the United States influence was a film campaign that reached every theater, school, church, and home in Siberia. According to Bullard, "Circulating this information regarding the American policy concerning Russia served to create confidence in America as a country not seeking for internal control of Russia and Siberia and truly interested in letting the Russians settle their own affairs."<sup>10</sup> "John Miller's discussions illuminates how the stresses of the war and German defeat contributed to the already growing radicalism among Germans in general and German socialists especially. This radicalism and anger came to fruition in the form of the Revolution of 1918-19 that attempted to overthrow the government of Germany and replace it

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<sup>10</sup> George Creel, *How We Advertised America: The First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public Information that Carried the Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the Globe* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishing, 1920), 397-398.

with something akin to the Soviet government in Russia.”<sup>11</sup> This section describes the details of an example that supports why the revolution failed and what the legacy of this failed revolution, the war, and the split in the German Socialist Democratic Party meant for the immediate post-war years.

Clausewitz described warfighting as a mixture of moral and physical forces through the medium of the latter and an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will. “Ross L. Wilson’s National War College thesis, *Operations Other Than War*, states that not all military activity is fighting and military forces are not always employed in armed combat poorly designed strategy without a clear end-point.”<sup>12</sup> With this purpose in mind, this research evaluated the facts surrounding the American intervention into Russia.

It had been discovered that soldiers assigned in country had poor comprehension of the mission and the expectations for the United States’s deployment. Additionally, inadequate knowledge of the local intelligence situation and ineffective command and control coordination between the State and War/Defense Departments in Washington and overseas led to a tedious, confusing operation.

Investigating the realities of why the Siberian intervention even occurred was determined by researching the insights of Robert Lansing on the diplomatic scene in his accounts of what happened, contained in *War Memoirs of Robert Lansing, Secretary of State*. Another secondary source examined, *The Decision to Intervene: Soviet-American Relations 1917-1920*, was written by historian and future Ambassador to the Soviet Union, and Secretary of State, George F.

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<sup>11</sup> John Miller, “World War I and the SPD,” Research Proposal, Southern New Hampshire University, 2017, 8.

<sup>12</sup> Ross L. Wilson, *Operations Other than War: U.S. Intervention in Russia 1918-20* (Washington D.C., National War College, 1994), 1-11.

Kennan. Was the United States following War Department policy not to intercede into internal Russian conflicts? It was reported that the Allies had attempted to overthrow the Soviet Republic through these actions. Did this include State Department action of sending munitions, supplies, and food to the Admiral Kolchak regime? What were the long-term effects on Soviet-U.S. relations because of the Allied incursion on Russian soil?

Invariably, Wilson's unwilling attitude to commit and Lansing's lack of clarity when issuing directives became the problem, not the solution. In John M. Thompson's book, *Russia, Bolshevism, and the Versailles Peace*, it was discussed in a chapter, "The Prinkipo Proposal", which gave Lenin's perspective of the need to hurry to sue for peace and to gain some form of agreement with the imperialist Allies before they opted for an escalation. It was necessary to put policies in place to control unrest and prevent a Socialist world revolution.

By examining as much of the big picture that could be clarified, this investigation proves that through overt diplomatic foreign relations actions, a covert propaganda campaign, and military intervention to perform prescribed missions to support counterinsurgency operations, this information has proven that the argument of this research exposes and fills gaps in the existing historiography and further, that these actions did serve a viable purpose that worked against the success of the Bolshevik regime.

The American military intervention, Allied aid to the Whites, an aggressive propaganda campaign, along with innovative foreign relations strategies designed as a delaying action without a full-on commitment, the Russian Civil War would almost certainly have ended much more quickly in a decisive victory of the Soviets. The inability of the Allies, either to make war effectively on Soviet Russia or to come to an amicable agreement with it, can only be understood



if one considers the political and social conditions, which prevailed in Europe immediately after the end of the War.

However, examining the most decisive factor in bringing about a continuation of the policy of limited intervention was the fear, by no means unreasonable or ungrounded in 1919, that Bolshevism, in one form or another, might spread to other European countries. As stated by John M. Thompson, *“It is my belief that with the state of Europe at this time caused the Bolsheviks to target the possibility that they could light the fire of a global socialist revolution. The conditions were certainly ripe for change to the social and economic structure.”*<sup>13</sup>

This research effectively traced the historiography of the Russian Civil War and verified that it conclusively was a phenomenon that was considered the most extensive conflict the world had experienced to that point in history. In Peter Kenez’s survey section, “Western Historiography of the Russian Civil War,” he, as one of the pioneer Western historians of the subject, had asserted that, “the civil war was not merely an appendage of the revolution, but on the contrary, it was its most significant and decisive component.”<sup>14</sup> Of course, the revolution propelled V.I. Lenin’s Bolshevik party to the forefront of control. This really was only one integral part of the contiguous ten-year saga that led to the metamorphosis of the Russian Empire.

The way the various schools of thought breakout in the historiography consist of varying attempts to explain the reasoning behind President Wilson’s intervention into Soviet Russia.

Drawn from a primary source, Secretary of War Newton Baker’s foreword in Major General

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<sup>13</sup> John M. Thompson, “The Prinkipo Proposal”, in *Russia, Bolshevism, and the Versailles Peace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 85.

<sup>14</sup> Peter Kenez, “Western Historiography of the Russian Civil War,” in Leo Schelbert and Nick Ceh (eds), *Essays in Russian and East European History: Festschrift in Honor of Edward C. Theden*, Boulder: East European Monographs, 1995, 198.

William S. Graves, *America's Siberian Adventure 1918-1920*, he spoke on the reputation and actions of Major General Graves. The reason Major General Grave's mission was called into question by President Wilson rested on the immediate assumption that there were no quantifiable results attributed to the Siberian expedition. Baker stated that, "the United States took no unwarranted military action against Russian interests, restrained other countries illegal advances, and concurrently covered their own withdrawal."<sup>15</sup> In all reality, America's intervention made it impossible for any other countries' unauthorized conquests in Russian territory.

In conclusion, it has been the intent of this investigation to prove these arguments by developing, constructing, and presenting meaningful evidence supporting the idea that a delaying action resulted from Woodrow Wilson's military intervention and foreign relations actions concerning Russia. To recap the main points of discussion, Wilson's actions were somewhat haphazard when deciding on the best course of action in dealing with the question of American policy toward the Bolsheviks. The Wilson administration's ideas differed radically from that of Lenin. American policy was set in the midst of a society struggling between the fear of Bolshevism and an attraction to the Russian revolution.

Woodrow Wilson was working for a stable global order as the United States sought to restore democracy and, at the same time, support anti-Bolshevik policies. Through covert methods that avoided public attention, the United States did not want to interfere openly in Russian internal affairs, but essentially fought a sort of noncommittal, undeclared war against Bolshevism. The fact that Lenin's forces were preoccupied on multiple fronts limited their movement to the West and would later have an impact during the Polish-Soviet War. Wilson's

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<sup>15</sup> Major General William S. Graves, *America's Siberian Adventure, 1918-1920* (New York: Peter Smith, 1931), xi-xii.

intervention had a far greater bearing on the continuation of the Russian Civil War. It affected how the Bolsheviks responded to outside pressures considering the ramifications of the hardships they endured economically, politically, and militarily due to the isolation caused by the intervention. It ultimately accomplished the goal of quarantining the spread of the communist world revolution, which shielded them from the revolutionary upheaval elsewhere.

The point of this research is further validated according to David S. Foglesong, when he wrote, “Wilson’s decisions showed a recurring pattern, as he repeatedly approved efforts to support anti-Bolshevik movements, escalating from financial assistance to small military expeditions, but halting short of out-right war.”<sup>16</sup> Of course, as discussed previously, these actions determined the direction of future United States foreign policy and military doctrine. Among the important legacies of Wilson’s administration are operations run by the Central Intelligence Agency and State Department during the Cold War. As further confirmation, President Wilson’s letter to Secretary of State Robert Lansing discussed how Ambassador Francis had organized an opposition force called the American Slav Legion in Archangel, but the United States was unable to fund that or any other army because the allocated monies were running out.<sup>17</sup>

Communist policy was driven by numerous dichotomous theories concerning political, economic, and social attitudes, which came about during the initial phases of revolution. There

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<sup>16</sup> David S. Foglesong, *America’s Secret War Against Bolshevism: U.S. Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1917-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 221.

<sup>17</sup> Woodrow Wilson Papers Collection, Letter from Woodrow Wilson to Robert Lansing, 2 Oct. 1918, Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library and Museum Digital Archives, Accessed 31 May 2017, <http://www.woodrowwilson.org/digital-library/view.php?did=3104>.

were many ideas deeply established in Russian society. Historically, the peasants' need for their own land, desires for constitutional reforms, and the demands for the industrialization of the proletariat spawned the numerous revolutionary movements. Lenin, on the other hand also held out hopes for a working relationship with the United States, pursued through economic and diplomatic means. It was Wilson's foreign policies in conjunction with what was finally caused by a combination of overt and covert military perspectives that produced these results. The world was being transformed by war, revolution, and nationalism. Wilson could manage all his foreign relations assets and coordinate them with military operations essentially better than his predecessors. His ideology in this arena would be the jumping off point for the changes that would be necessary, in the future, for the United States to compete diplomatically, militarily, and economically on the global stage. It created some tense times of indecision for President Wilson, as Carl Richard stated, "Two days after he made his decision on July 8, 1918, he characterized it like this, I have been sweating blood over the question what is right and feasible to do in Russia. It goes to pieces under my touch."<sup>18</sup>

Although at times Wilson's demeanor indicated indecision, he always had contingency plans working. According to Whittle Johnston, quoted in Arthur Link's book, Johnston stated, "Wilson's patient, persistent pursuit of peaceful paths for the resolution of disputes was an indelible mark of his statesmanship, in his persistent effort to find peaceful resolution of the conflicts in Russia. He resisted Allied pressure for intervention and he made the scale small, the goal limited, the constraints strict, and the termination swift."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Carl Richard, *When the United States Invaded Russia: Woodrow Wilson's Siberian Disaster* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC., 2013), 76.

<sup>19</sup> Arthur Link, *Woodrow Wilson & A Revolutionary World, 1913-1921* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 193.

This investigation has provided new ways to consider looking at how this military intervention impacted U.S. Soviet foreign relations and U.S. Global policies. The relevant argument of this study followed the evidence as seen through the lens that Woodrow Wilson's diplomatic foreign policies agenda and strategic military interventions were directed toward the Bolsheviks during the Russian Civil War 1918-1920, and helped delay the spread of the Bolshevik world revolution in Europe. This project lends itself to inclusion in further scholarship that will be an addition to the existing historiography contributions of diplomatic, military, and social factors of 1918-1920, fundamentally shaping future United States foreign policy toward Russia for the next seventy-five years.

## Appendix: A: Aide Memoire

*The Secretary of State to the Allied Ambassadors:*

### Aide Memoire

The whole heart of the people of the United States is in the winning of this war. The controlling purpose of the Government of the United States is to do everything that is necessary and effective to win it. It wishes to cooperate in every practicable way with the allied governments, and to cooperate ungrudgingly; for it has no ends of its own to serve and believes that the war can be won only by common council and intimate concert of action. It has sought to study every proposed policy or action in which its cooperation has been asked in this spirit, and states the following conclusions in the confidence, that if it finds itself obliged to decline participation in any undertaking or course of action, it will be understood that it does so only because it deems itself precluded from participating by imperative considerations either of policy or fact.

In full agreement with the allied governments and upon unanimous advice of the Supreme War Council, the Government of the United States adopted, upon its entrance into the war, a plan for taking part in the fighting on the western front into which all its resources of men and material were to be put, and put as rapidly as possible, and it has carried out this plan with energy and success, pressing its execution more and more rapidly forward and literally putting into it the entire energy and executive force of the nation. This was its response, its very willing and hearty response, to what was the unhesitating judgment alike of its own military advisers and of the advisers of the allied governments. It is now considering, at the suggestion of the Supreme War Council, the possibility of making very considerable additions even to this immense program, which, if they should prove feasible at all, will tax the industrial processes of the United States and the shipping facilities of the whole group of associated nations to the utmost. It has thus concentrated all its plans and all its resources upon this single absolutely necessary object.

In such circumstances it feels it to be its duty to say that it cannot, so long as the military situation on the western front remains critical, consent to break or slacken the force of its present effort by diverting part of its military force to other points or objectives. The United States is at a great distance from the field of action on the western front; it is at a much greater distance from any other field of action. The instrumentalities by which it is to handle its armies and its stores have at great cost and with great difficulty been created in France. They do not exist elsewhere. It is practicable for her to do a great deal in France; it is not practicable for her to do anything of importance or on a large scale upon any other field. The American Government, therefore, very respectfully requested its Associates to accept its deliberate judgment that it should not dissipate its force by attempting important operations elsewhere.

It regards the Italian front as closely coordinated with the western front, however, and is willing to divert a portion of its military forces from France to Italy if it is the judgment and wish of the Supreme War Council that it should do so. It wishes to defer to the decision of the Commander-in-Chief in this matter, as it could wish to defer in all others, particularly because it considers these two fronts so related as to be practically but separate parts of a single line and because it would be necessary that any American troops sent to Italy should be subtracted from the number used in France and be actually transported across French territory from the ports now used by armies of the United States.

It is the clear and fixed judgment of the Government of the United States, arrived at after repeated and very searching reconsiderations of the whole situation in Russia, that military intervention there would add to the present sad confusion in Russia rather than cure it, injure her rather than help her, and that it would be of no advantage in the prosecution of our main design, to

win the war against Germany. It cannot, therefore, take part in such intervention or sanction it in principle. Military intervention would, in its judgment, even supposing it to be efficacious in its immediate avowed object of delivering an attack upon Germany from the east, be merely a method of making use of Russia, not a method of serving her. Her people could not profit by it, if they profited by it at all, in time to save them from their present distresses, and their substance would be used to maintain foreign armies, not to reconstitute their own. Military action is admissible in Russia, as the Government of the United States sees the circumstances, only to help the Czecho-Slovaks consolidate their forces and get into successful cooperation with their Slavic kinsmen and to steady any efforts at self government or self defense in which the Russians themselves may be willing to accept assistance. Whether from Vladivostok or from Murmansk and Archangel, the only legitimate object for which American or allied troops can be employed, it submits, is to guard military stores which may subsequently be needed by Russian forces and to render such aid as may be acceptable to the Russians in the organization of their own self-defense. For helping the Czecho-Slovaks there is immediate necessity and sufficient justification. Recent developments have made it evident that that it is in the interest of what the Russian people themselves desire, and the Government of the United States is glad to contribute the small force at its disposal for that purpose. It yields, also, to the judgment of the Supreme Command in the matter of establishing a small force at Murmansk, to guard the military stores at Kola and to make it safe for Russian forces to come together in organized bodies in the north. But it owes it to frank counsel to say that it can go no further than these modest and experimental plans. It is not in a position and has no expectation of being in a position, to take part in organized intervention in adequate force from either Vladivostok or Murmansk and Archangel. It feels that it ought to add, also, that it will feel at liberty to use the few troops it can spare only for the purposes here stated and shall feel obliged to withdraw these forces, in order to add them to the forces at the western front, if the plans in whose execution it is now intended that they should develop into others inconsistent with the policy to which the Government of the United States feels constrained to restrict itself.

At the same time the Government of the United States wishes to say with the utmost cordiality and good will that none of the conclusions here stated is meant to wear the least color of criticism of what other governments associated against Germany may think it wise to undertake. It wishes in no way to embarrass their choices of policy. All that is intended here is a perfectly frank and definite statement of the policy which the United States feels obliged to adopt for herself and in the use of her own military forces. The Government of the United States does not wish it to be understood that in so restricting its own activities it is seeking, even by implication, to set limits to the action or to define the policies of its Associates.

It hopes to carry out the plans for safeguarding the rear of the Czecho-Slovaks operating from Vladivostok in a way that will place it and keep it in close cooperation with a small military force like its own from Japan, and if necessary from the other Allies, and that it will assure it of the cordial accord of all the allied powers; and it proposes to ask all associated in this course of action to unite in assuring the people of Russia in the most public and solemn manner that none of the governments uniting in action either in Siberia or in northern Russia contemplates any interference of any kind with the political sovereignty of Russia, any intervention in her internal affairs, or any impairment of her territorial integrity either now or hereafter, but that each of the associated powers has the single object of affording such aid as shall be acceptable, and only such aid as shall be acceptable, to the Russian people in their endeavor to regain control their own affairs, their own territory and their own destiny.

It is the hope and purpose of the Government of the United States to take advantage of the earliest opportunity to send to Siberia a commission of merchants, agricultural experts, labor advisers, Red Cross Representatives, and agents of the Young Men's Christian Association accustomed to organizing the best methods of spreading useful information and rendering educational help of a modest sort, in order in some systematic manner to relieve the immediate economic necessities of the people there in every way for which opportunity may open. The execution of this plan will follow and will not be permitted to embarrass the military assistance rendered in the rear of the westward-moving forces of the Czecho-Slovaks.<sup>1</sup>

*Department of State Washington, July 17, 1918.*

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<sup>1</sup> Major General William S. Graves, *America's Siberian Adventure, 1918-1920* (New York: Peter Smith, 1931), vii-363.

## Appendix: B: Foreign Relations, Russia 1918

520 FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1918, RUSSIA, VOLUME I 1 Vol. ii, chap. I; see also No. 451, May 1, from the Consul General at Moscow, aate, p. 512.

Do not understand me as [complaining] or criticizing Department action in military or railroad matters.

(6) Have actively encouraged international commercial shipments between merchants

with proper safeguards. During nine days from April 19 to 28 had serious illness, possibly from ptomaine poisoning, by which greatly weakened but never ceased work nor lost spirit although confined to bed, fully recovered

now.

(7) Unofficially informed Soviet government of Department action concerning

Chinese embargo while ignoring offensive prohibition of Consul, Irkutsk, sending cipher messages and inconsiderate demand for recall American Consul,

Vladivostok, on statement of the facts, not incriminating if true. I also ignored emphatic demand of Soviet government to define our attitude on landing

Japanese, British marines Vladivostok while giving two carefully worded interviews

on the subject.

This is partial résumé of my policy since quitting Petrograd.

I am unadvised concerning your position on Allied intervention while knowing

your opposition to exclusive Japanese intervention which I earnestly approve.

My last information was from American Ambassador, Tokyo, to effect that Japan

would not intervene against our wishes but since then Motono has resigned and if Japanese policy or our eastern policy altered I am unadvised.

Possibly

Japan may refuse to intervene without compensation but unless territorial compensation demanded in my opinion her demands if reasonable should be met.

This recommendation, the gravity of which I fully realize, is precipitated

because of following conditions:

(1) Mirbach is dominating Soviet government and is practically dictator in Moscow to whom all differences even between Russians are referred;

(2) April 27 [26], see Summers's cable 439 of April 29, 1 note was sent by Soviet government to Berlin appealing and protesting concerning violation of Brest treaty by Germany to which Mirbach replied April 30 that German advance would cease if Allies evacuated Murman and Archangel—such information

imparted to French military mission Moscow through Lockhart. I think such evacuation would be exceedingly unwise.

Riggs arrived from Moscow and thinks local Soviet will not oppose Germany without Allied encouragement and seems confident that Soviet government will



approve Allied intervention if sees same inevitable and if military missions given information of proposed intervention prior to its actual occurrence, that missions

THE SOVIET REPUBLIC 521 FRANCIS

can probably influence Soviet government to that end. Whether Soviet government would under such circumstances inform Germany of proposed intervention and cooperate with Germany to resist such intervention is a risk we must take. Riggs advocates Embassy's removing from Vologda to Moscow or certainly diplomatic representative at Moscow in which I can not concur as believe it would result either in recognizing Soviet government or emphasizing non-recognition: if former should be result we would be interfering in internal affairs by strengthening Soviet government; if latter should be result would only increase existing tension. Russia is passing through dream or orgy from which awakening is possible any day but the longer we wait therefor henceforth the stronger foothold Germany will secure. Robins and probably Lockhart also have favored recognition of Soviet government but you and all Allies have always opposed recognition and I have consistently refused to recommend it, nor do I feel that I have erred therein.

I have deferred this recommendation of the Allied intervention not only in the hope that the Soviet government would request it but with expectation that she would approve requests for purchasing supplies to prevent same falling into enemy hands and with the hope that Russian people would by general expression request Allied intervention in default of Soviet government's doing so. Various organizations throughout Russia have informed colleagues and myself that Russian people would earnestly desire Allied intervention but whether such feeling could assume physical form I doubt, as Bolsheviki treat with severity every such movement terming it counter-revolutionary. Lenin is dominating Bolshevik spirit and in every speech justifies Brest treaty by calling it breathing spell in world-wide social revolution which he affirms is sure to succeed as proletariat in warring imperialistic countries will soon assert itself as in Russia. In speech of the 28th he apparently justified slaughter at western front as weakening imperialistic governments engaged in struggle for territorial supremacy and thereby brought nearer the dictatorship of proletariat throughout the world. Lenin's last written and spoken expressions are devoted to what he calls the danger from the small

boi~rgetsie which he thinks greatest menace to proletariat as rich bourgeoisie are somewhat doubtful. He is able, farseeing and anticipates revulsion against Bolshevik principles from desire of peasants to own and cultivate small tracts of land.

Finally I greatly doubt whether Allies can longer afford to overlook principles which Lenin is aggressively championing.

Shall patiently await instructions or information.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Foreign Relations of the United States, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919, Russia*, University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries, Accessed 13 May 2017, <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/FRUS/FRUS-idx?type=turn&id=FRUS.FRUS1918v1&entity=FRUS.FRUS1918v1.p0594&isize=text&q1=Allied%20Intervention>

Appendix: C: The Seattle Star March 16, 1918

**WHY NOT DIVIDE?**  
 Duplicates blank of the German lines are without end.  
 Round clothing. Tissues are wrapped in rags. The Red  
 Cross is collecting clothing. Take contributions to any  
 Red station or to St. University st.

**The Seattle Star** NIGHT EDITION  
 Weather Forecast—Tonight and Sunday rain.  
 Moderate southeasterly winds.

THE GREATEST DAILY CIRCULATION OF ANY PAPER IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

VOLUME 20 FULL LEASING WIRE SERVICE  
 UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATION

SEATTLE, WASH., SATURDAY, MARCH 16, 1918. PRICE ONE CENT

# RUSS ASK WORLD REVOLT

**Idah M'Glone Gibson Returns From War "Believing in Hell"**

The Soldiers in Trenches Often Are Vehement in Language, Spiritual Peace Guides Them.

**EDITOR'S NOTE.**—Mrs. Idah McGlone Gibson, author of "Confessions of a Wife," has just returned from the war, where she went on a special mission for the American Red Cross and The Star. She is writing her experiences and observations "over there" in a special and exclusive series of articles for The Star, of which this is the first. Others will follow at frequent intervals.

BY IDAH M'GLONE GIBSON

SPRINGFIELD, 1918

I have just returned from France, where I have been "Everywhere with the American Red Cross"—and to inspect the activities of the Red Cross "over there," means seeing war in all its impressive horror, for just now the American Red Cross is binding up the crimson wound of the whole warring world.

My first vivid impression of war I received just before I left America. I met one afternoon Capt. Latham of the Connaught Rangers, which was one of the little army of "contemptibles" sent by England to France 11 days after war was declared between England and Germany. These

**When March is Seventeen**  
 By Edmund Vance Cooke

Now, Mir March is an Irish maid,  
 And faith! but she's contrary!  
 A bit flirtatious, I'm afraid,  
 For oh! her manners vary.

From Winter she is born to us,  
 And brings a sunny morn to us,  
 And then again laughs scorn to us,  
 For oh! but she is aisy!

Almost she brings a thorn to us,  
 For faith! she is contrary!

But when Mir March is seventeen,  
 She's sweet as all creation,  
 So we put on the Irish green  
 And make a celebration.

For when she's seventeen to us,  
 She's sweet as all creation,  
 So we put on the Irish green  
 And make a celebration.

**EXPECT WILSON TO TALK AGAIN ON WAR PLANS**

President Will Soon State Attitude of United States on Siberian Intervention

**PEACE TALK IS IDLE**

WASHINGTON, March 14.—A forceful war message to the world is expected from President Wilson soon.

It was officially indicated today that he has determined to end his silence in regard to America's position toward the proposed Japanese expedition into Siberia.

At the same time it was plainly stated that all talk of peace now is idle, in view of Germany's activities in the Near East and her ruthless invasion of France.

In light of the news that the president will clarify the confusion about the Japanese question, coupled with the fact that he has definitely set his feet down on peace talk officials and diplomats here inclined to the belief that the president will declare that peace now must come by the sword.

**Oppose Intervention**

The United States and Japan are continuing to exchange views over Japanese intervention in Siberia, but the American position of opposition

**Masses to Kill Capitalism, Is Reply to Wilson**

**Soviet Congress Delegates Murmur of Japanese When President's Friendly Note Is Read**

BY JOSEPH SHAPLEN  
 (United Press Correspondent)

PETROGRAD, March 16.—President Wilson's message of sympathy to the Russian people was read to the pan-soviet congress at Moscow, amid a silence interrupted by murmurs regarding the Japanese situation.

The congress, which met yesterday to vote on ratification of the German-Bolshevik peace terms, today adopted a resolution in reply to President Wilson's message.

The message read:

"The congress of soviet expresses its appreciation to the American people, particularly the toilers and those who are being exploited, for their sympathy toward the Russian people at a time when the Russian socialist republic is experiencing

of President Wilson's message to express to all people partaking and suffering as a result of the imperialist war, its warm sympathy and confidence that the time is not far distant when the masses will overthrow capitalism and establish a socialist society, which alone is capable of giving a lasting and just peace

<sup>3</sup> The Seattle star. (Seattle, Wash.), 16 March 1918. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87093407/1918-03-16/ed-1/seq-1/>>

## Appendix: D: Foreign Relations Documents 1918\*

Foreign Relations of the United States, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919, Russia*, University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries, Accessed 13 May 2017, <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/FRUS/FRUS-idx?type=turn&id=FRUS.FRUS1918v1&entity=FRUS.FRUS1918v1.p0594&isize=text&q1=Allied%20Intervention>

582 FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1918, RUSSIA, VOLUME I depending upon the accuracy of any statement of the Commissar for Foreign Affairs and the absence of any assurance that a promise once given would be fulfilled undermined the structure of even our informal relations and foredoomed to failure all attempts at practical cooperation. I would also invite the Department's attention to the paragraph dealing with Ukrainian relations, which discloses the extent of the German territorial aspirations in south Russia and the Caucasus. The following passage is so important that I quote it in the body of the dispatch: It must be added that our attitude is entirely different with regard to the American citizens, to whom these measures did not extend, because, although the United States Government was compelled by its Allies to agree to participate in intervention, so far only formally, its decision is not regarded by us as irrevocable. It must also be noted that the policy of Japan is not noted for its solidarity with the other Allied powers, which could be seen from the statements of the Japanese representatives in Russia. The attempt to separate the United States and Japan from the other Allies and to embroil these two with each other has been a leitmotiv of Bolshevik foreign policy as has been frequently remarked from this office. I trust that I have only been fulfilling the desire of the Department in pursuing the policy laid down by Mr. Summers of counteracting in every way possible the impression of divergence in the councils of the Allies which the Bolsheviki have aimed to give to the Russian public. I have [etc.] DEWITT C. POOLE, Jr. [Enclosure—Translatjon—Extract] Report of the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs (Chicherin) as published in "Izvestia," September 3, 1918 The moment when the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs made its report to the Fifth Congress of the Soviets coincided with the tragic death of Count Mirbach. The fact that this action did not call forth any complications in the relations between Germany and Russia and did not even lead to the breaking off of negotiations of a political and financial nature shows that not only we, but also the Germans, wish most seriously to maintain friendly relations. This tendency of the German policy, combined with the firm decision of the majority of the Russian laborers to maintain peace, assisted us to overcome the numerous difficulties in the relations between the two parties. After the murder of Mirbach the German Government wished to introduce a battalion of German soldiers into Moscow to guard the German Embassy. When we refused the Germans were content to introduce 300 German soldiers into the building of the Embassy without uniform. They also demanded that several houses in the vicinity

should be evacuated and occupied by guard of Russian soldiers, numbering 1,000 men. This proved of the greatest difficulty as it was impossible to find suitable accommodation for the people who were

## Appendix: E: President Wilson's July 4, 1918 Address

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## *Text of President's Address*

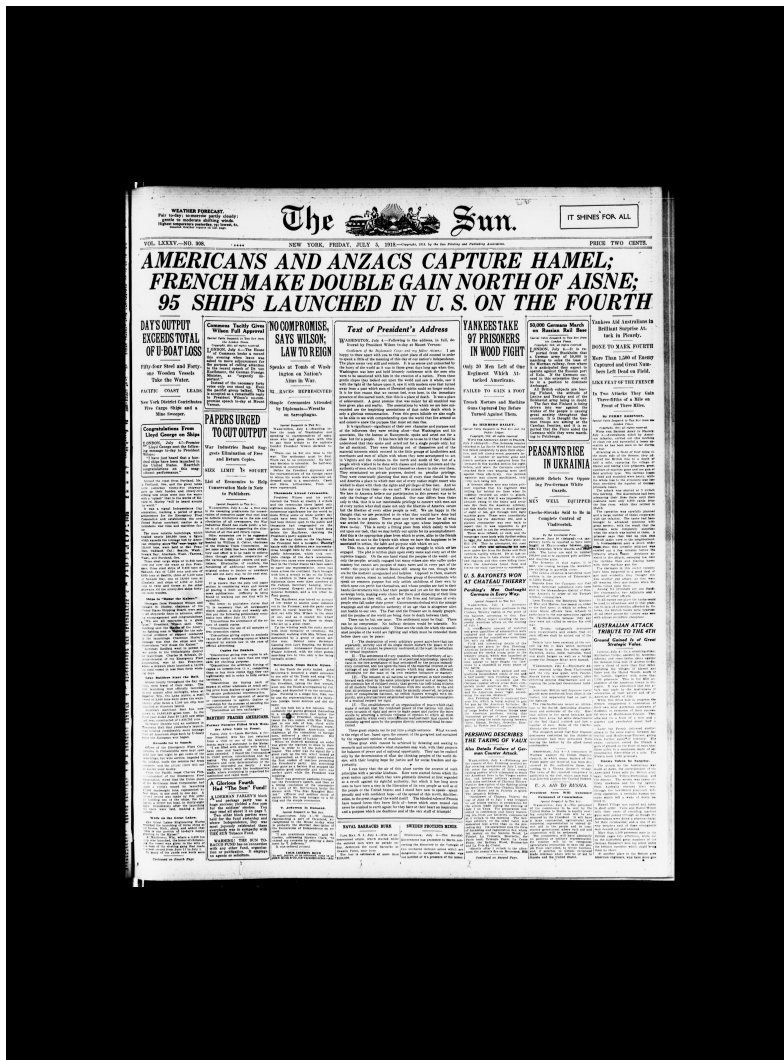
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**WASHINGTON, July 4.**—Following is the address, in full, delivered by President Wilson to-day at Mount Vernon:

*Gentlemen of the Diplomatic Corps and my fellow citizens:* I am happy to draw apart with you to this quiet place of old counsel in order to speak a little of the meaning of this day of our nation's independence.

*The sun.* (New York [N.Y.]), 05 July 1918. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.* Lib. of Congress.  
<<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030431/1918-07-05/ed-1/seq-1/>>

Appendix: F: *The New York Sun* 5, July 1918



*The sun.* (New York [N.Y.]), 05 July 1918. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.* Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030431/1918-07-05/ed-1/seq-1/>

Appendix: G: The New York Sun July 6, 1918

**WEATHER FORECAST.**  
Local showers today. Tomorrow probably fair; moderate winds, mostly wet. Highest temperature, 60. Lowest, 50. Details weather report on 2nd page.

IT SHINES FOR ALL

VOL. LXXXV.—NO. 309. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 6, 1918.—Copyright, 1918, by the Sun Printing and Publishing Association. PRICE TWO CENTS.

# U. S. TRANSPORT COVINGTON TORPEDOED; ONLY SIX MISSING; ALLIES URGE WILSON TO BACK INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA; AMERICAN AID GIVES FOCH POWER TO TAKE THE OFFENSIVE

## HOUSE VOTES WIRE CONTROL TO PRESIDENT

My Take Over Systems "If He Sees Necessity." Resolution Says.  
SENATE ACTION TO WAIT  
Answers Given That Upper House Will Not Consent Before August 12.

## Government Order to Newspapers

WASHINGTON, July 5.—The United States Government through the War Industries Board has issued the following:  
"It is necessary that all newspapers which publish a daily and weekly edition put the following preliminary committee into effect July 15, 1918:  
"Discontinue the acceptance of the return of small copies."  
"Discontinue the use of all samples or free promotion copies."  
"Discontinue giving copies to anybody except for other working copies or where required by statute law in the case of official advertising."  
"Discontinue giving free copies to advertisers except not more than one copy each for finishing purposes."  
"Discontinue the arbitrary forcing of copies on newsmen (1), if compelling them to buy more copies than they are legitimately entitled to buy (2), or to buy at a price in excess of the actual selling price from dealers or agents in order to secure preferential treatment."  
"Discontinue the payment of salaries or commissions to agents, dealers or newsmen for the purpose of securing the equivalent of regular privileges."  
"Discontinue all free exchanges."

## ALLIES ABLE TO HIT HARD BLOW AT ANY MOMENT

Harassing Attacks in Many Sections Show Passing From Defensive.  
ENEMY KEPT GUESSING POSSIBILITY THAT Counter Stroke Will Come When He Thought He Was Winning

## Vienna Paper Details Wholesale Desecration

Vienna, July 5.—(Special Telegrams.)—The wholesale desecration of the bodies of the fallen soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army, which has been reported by the Austrian army to have been carried out in a systematic and organized manner, is being investigated by the military authorities.

## ARMED FORCES NEEDED TO AID SLAV PATRIOTS

France Favors Troops for Siberia; British Urges Drive Via Archangel.  
FRANCE FAVORS TROOPS FOR SIBERIA; BRITISH URGES DRIVE VIA ARCHANGEL.  
FRANCE FAVORS TROOPS FOR SIBERIA; BRITISH URGES DRIVE VIA ARCHANGEL.

## Sultan's Death Laid to Ottoman Revolt

LONDON, July 5.—Reports have reached London from Constantinople that the death of Sultan Mehmed VI. was due to a natural cause, and was not the result of a revolution or a military movement in the Ottoman empire.

## U. S. TROOPS ACT LIKE VETERANS

AMERICANS WIN TWO AIR FIGHTS  
Outnumbered, U. S. Flyers Beat Back Enemy Near Chateau Thierry.  
TWO PLANES ARE DOWNED  
Combat Sways Back and Forth at Great Height Over Both Lines.

## U. S. TROOPS ACT LIKE VETERANS

Corporal in Helmet Killed in Seven Moments, Though Wounded.  
MEN ARE KEEN TO FIGHT  
Unit Serving With Australians Near Before Had Been Under Fire.

## ANZACS HOLDING FIRM AT HAMEL

Attempt of Germans to Regain Lost Positions Easily Repulsed.  
VICTORY GAINS IN SIZE  
Prisoners Mount to 1,500; Making Total of 6,000 Captured in a Week.

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Combat Sways Back and Forth at Great Height Over Both Lines.

## W. U. CHIEFS YIELD STRIKE PRIVILEGE

Agree to Union With Inclusion of Walkout Right.  
With long treatment and more advanced terms with management strike agreement reached by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

## INFLUENZA GAINS IN LONDON

Racial and Business Life is Recently Observed.  
London, July 5.—The epidemic of influenza which has been spreading since the middle of the year has now become more prevalent in London.

## STANLEY LUCRETTI'S DROWN

Body Found in Hudson River.  
New York, July 5.—Stanley Lucretti, a young man who was drowned in the Hudson river, was identified today.

## Find Real Smokes as They Leave Tranches

"I Am Writing to Let You Know I Have Found the Tranches."  
A soldier who has been in the trenches for some time has written to his family.

## IRISH FARM HOUSES RAIDED; ARMS SEIZED

Dramatic Move by Lord French Surprises People.  
London, July 5.—A dramatic move by Lord French, the British ambassador in Dublin, has surprised the Irish people.

## DANIELS ISSUES NEW BANS ON VESSEL NEWS

Would Permit U-Boats From Getting Wireless From  
Washington, July 5.—Secretary Daniels has issued new regulations regarding the use of wireless telegraphs on ships.



Appendix: H: The New York Sun July 8, 1918

WEATHER FORECAST. Partly cloudy today; to-morrow fair; moderate northwesterly to north winds. Highest temperature tomorrow, 71, lowest, 58. Detailed weather reports on the page.

The Sun

IT SHINES FOR ALL.

VOL. LXXXV.—NO. 311.

NEW YORK, MONDAY, JULY 8, 1918.—Copyright, 1918, by the Sun Printing and Publishing Association.

PRICE TWO CENTS.

RUSSIAN PEASANTS IN REVOLT AGAINST BOLSHEVIK RULE; KOLA PENINSULA TAKES LEAD, JOINING ENTENTE POWERS; AMERICAN AND ALLIED TROOPS TO BE SENT TO SIBERIA

MILITARY AND CIVIC TRIBUTE IN HONOR OF LATE MAJOR MITCHELL

Body Will Lie in State in City Hall Before Funeral on Thursday.

CITY, STATE AND U. S. JOIN Services in St. Francis Xavier's Church and Burial in Woodlawn Cemetery.

Resnati Tutor Killed by Fall

Olmo, Noted Alchemist, Crashes to Mosaic Floor After a Nose Dive.

Trained 40 U. S. Aviators

Italian Was Hated Among Experts as One of Greatest Pilots.

Wiresmen Halt Strike to Let Congress Act

Labor Secretary Wilson's Last Minute Plea Prevents Without Tossing.

Gomperz Sends Appeal

Telegraphers Told They Will Impose Own Cause by Taking Hasty Action.

Berlin Press Styles Wilson Speeches Vague

AMSTERDAM, July 7.—"Again the Berlin papers in comment upon Wilson's speech, which they call a masterpiece of vagueness, say that the speaker is not clear in his mind as to what he means."

Three Armies Planned for Intervention

President and Secretary Baker Said to Have Decided to Act With Power.

Bull to Be Japanese

British and American Contingents Will Carry Heavy Supplies to Russia.

Kerensky Says Mirbach's Assassination May Be Beginning of Russia's Renaissance

PETERSBURG, July 7.—Alexander F. Kerensky, former premier of Russia, when informed by the Associated Press of the assassination of Gen. von Mirbach, German ambassador at Moscow, declared that he could not "feel at all at the death of a human being" but could only say that it was a great blow for the world.

German Reprint on Russia Expected to Follow Envoys' Assassination.

LENIN'S REGIME SHAKEN

Slain Ambassador Ruled Bolsheviki and Kept the Country in Turmoil.

INTRIGUE AND ARMS LEAD

Kaiser's Troops Probably Will Be Sent to Petrograd and Moscow.

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SAYS U-BOATS ARE INCREASED

German Naval Minister Tells Reichstag Campaign Is Successful.

MORE MONEY IS WANTED

Plea Is Made in Asking for Appropriation for New Submarines.

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LENIN HUNTS ENVOY SLAYERS

Entire Population Breaks With Russia to Join With Entente.

PROMISE OF VENGEANCE

Killing of German Ambassador Called Political Act.

GUARD AT VLADIVOSTOK

English and Japanese Protect Consulates While Bolsheviki Are Beaten.

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LENIN'S REGIME SHAKEN

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