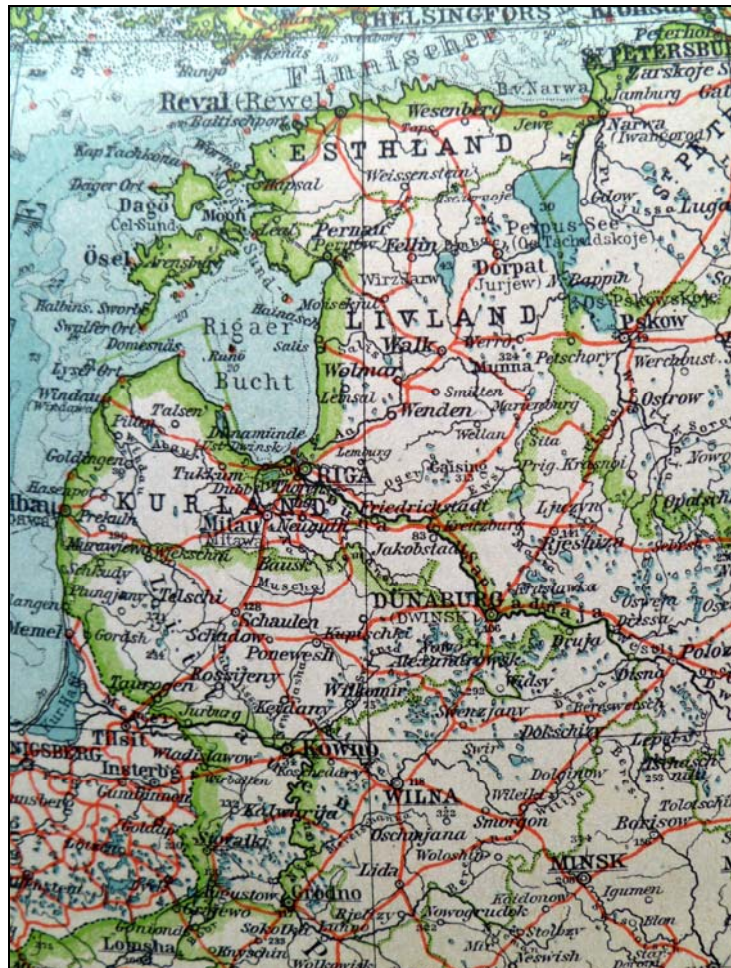


**The 1918-20 international intervention in the Baltic Region.  
Revisited through the prism of recent experience.  
Early notes on a research and book project.<sup>1</sup>**

*“The frozen plains of Eastern Europe are not worth the bones of a single British grenadier”.*  
Daily Express: 3.1.1919<sup>2</sup>

*“Our troops are all out of Russia Frankly, I am glad. Russia is a quicksand. Victories are usually won in Russia but you sink in victories: and great armies and great empires in the past have been overwhelmed in the sands of barren victories ...”*  
Prime Minister David Lloyd George: 8. 11. 1919<sup>3</sup>



The Baltic Region.  
(Part of map from Goltz: Meine Sendung ...)

## **The character of the intervention – and recent operations**

The mission was to build new, stable states in an area that was partly devastated by earlier fighting, where the population was decimated and deeply hurt by the warfare of the previous years. *Like Ex –Yugoslavia and Afghanistan.*

The state building and the supporting stabilization and counter-insurgency operation had to take place in a confused civil war with both ethnic and social struggle features. *Like Afghanistan today.*

The intervening group of states could not act in a coordinated way and some were driven by an unfocused combination of nativity and ideology. *Like Afghanistan today.*

Not only one, but three different states had to be built, and fundamentally different situations and territorial disputes had to be addressed. *Like Ex-Yugoslavia.*

Armed elements from three competing regional powers were struggling not only to keep influence, but to block the mission or part of it. *One* regional power had started the crisis by intervening to prevent the state-building all-together. It was quickly becoming better organized. *Another* regional power conducted a campaign directly directed against main outside interventionist to undermine the result of the recent major defeat. *A third* – closely allied to one of the outside intervening powers – disputed the creation of one of the three states to be built. *Nearly like the Pakistani activities in Afghanistan and the Iranian i Iraq today.*

The people and government of the main outside intervening country were extremely war weary and impatient, willing to give up at any of the many recurring crises during the mission. There was even a perceived risk that the conflict could spread to the home country. The intervention was therefore limited to using sea power and its naval aviation, arms supply and economic aid to local forces and voluntary contract units from neutral states, instructors and finally - if necessary - leadership cadre for a specific situation for local proxies. *This was similar to several operations in Africa in the Post Cold War era.*

Critics of the outside intervention argued that the main effect of the intervention was to reinforce the case of the opponent. *Similar to Iraq and Afghanistan.*

In the main outside intervening state somebody always suggests mediation and good offices to further a *political solution*: a face-saving compromise to get out. *Similar to practically every intervention after the Cold War.*

It was only one of several likewise domestically unpopular operations conducted at the same time, putting extreme pressure on the limited available forces. The deployment of own land forces was completely ruled out. Therefore it had to seek co-operation with a regional power that actually operated to undermine its effort. *Like the campaign in Afghanistan today depending on destructive Pakistani support.*

The struggle took place across open and undefined borders in an area with limited economic development and infrastructure outside the cities. *Like Afghanistan today.*

All commanders at different levels came to the operation directly from having led combat forces in a 'real' war. *Like the post-1989 cadres.*

The outside intervention was marred by lack of trust and effective co-operation between all formally allied states, outside and local, from political to tactical level. The efforts of the main outside intervening state was hampered by competition as well as lack of a common objective and coordination between the different involved state agencies and personalities. *Like in Iraq and Afghanistan.*

*In spite of all these obstacles and complications, this intervention succeeded in one year.*

## **The project sketch and invitation to co-operation**

It is the similarities in characteristics and the fundamentally different outcome that motivates and drives this project which is only at its start. To limit the work of this strategic historian to a manageable level, he will focus on the intervention of the main outside intervening state, Great Britain. It will eventually result in an English language monograph.

The main foundation of the work is the relevant primary source files of the key British actors, groups and authorities in The National Archives in Kew.<sup>4</sup> So far they have only been screened for substance in the process of selection for copying and in the picture enhancement process.

I present the initial outline sketch here to start networking with interested historians - from the three Baltic States and elsewhere - who could later add their national comments to the draft manuscript.

## **The actors and their situation and means**

### ***Regional actors***

The Bolsheviks under the political direction of Leonid Trotsky and the supreme direction of Jukums Vācietis intervened to regain control over the former areas of the Russian Empire for the new revolutionary government: in the north with Red Russian forces supported by Red Estonians, in the centre between the Peipus Lake and northern Lithuania with the Red Latvians and in the south also with Russians, countering the national Polish forces.<sup>5</sup>

The new German intervention had been prepared in Germany in January 1919, where an extensive recruiting campaign was started that lasted all year.



German recruiting poster for service in “The frozen plains of Eastern Europe”.  
 (From: F. W. v. Oertzen: Die deutschen Freikorps).

Offensive operation started only a couple of weeks after the arrival of Major-General Rüdiger Count von der Goltz in Liepāja (Libau) 1 February. The harbour was the only place in Latvia not under Red Latvian control. His official mission as commander of the VI Reserve Corps that was manned by volunteers from Germany was to develop a buffer between the Bolshevik threat and East Prussia, thereby also making it easier to manage and destroy the revolutionary forces in Germany. However, according to his notes from the following year von der Goltz’s ambitions were to develop the Baltic region to as a German bridge to a future pro-German White Russia, allied in enmity towards Great Britain, preparing for a revanchist war or using the region as the base for a rightist coup in Berlin.<sup>6</sup>



The dynamic and creative leader of the German intervention: Major-General Rüdiger Count von der Glotz.  
(From his: *Meine Sendung ...*)

Due to conflicting nationalist history writing, the Poles did not accept the legitimacy of an independent state. However, because of the need for support from the Victorians in its conflict with the Russians, it had to limit its aims a reducing the size of the coming Lithuania to the clear Lithuanian majority areas. Their effort in support of the Baltic wars of independence against the Reds was therefore directed to co-operation with the Latvians in late 1919 in their future border areas east of Daugavpils. The Polish effort was influenced by a total lack of trust in White Russian forces that were consider hostile to an independent Poland as well as by the threat from Germany in the west. The lack of Polish coordination and support to the White Russian effort made it possible for Trotsky to deal with the threats in sequence making Red success possible. New research into Polish decisions about if and when to be active or passive in the conflict against the Bolsheviks would be welcome.

The involved White Russian forces, both those armed and controlled by the British and other western powers and those armed employed by the Germans in Latvia, were fighting against the Bolsheviks and for the reestablishment of the Russian Empire.<sup>7</sup>

### ***Local actors at the start of the interventions***<sup>8</sup>

On 11 November 1918 Estonia as the rest of the region was occupied by the German army. However three days later the Germans officially handed over power to the nearly nine months old Estonian Provisional Government that immediately started organizing a national army. The project benefited from the fact that the protestant Estonians had been considered suitable regular officers for the Imperial Russian Army.

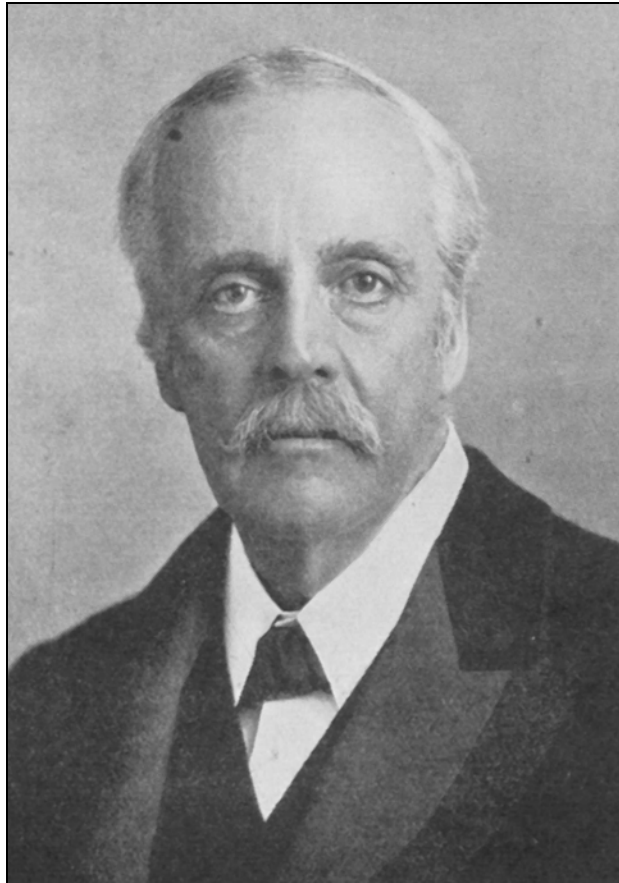
Finland was the only smaller regional state that was willing to assist in the western intervention, as it could be considered a continuation of its own successful War of Independence. I seek research into the Finnish-British cooperation from November 1918 until February beyond what has been supplied by Michael Kettle in his books.<sup>9</sup>

Latvia was declared independent 18. November 1918, but during the next two months it was nearly completely overrun by Red Latvian forces, based on the elite Latvian rifle regiments of the Imperial Russian Army now turned Bolshevik as a natural consequence of the industrialization of the country. The Latvian government had to seek the protection and support in the weak German and German Baltic manned bridgehead in Liepāja, and its leader Kārlis Ulmanis was manipulated by the German envoy to obtain British blessing for seeking to defeat the Reds by German volunteer forces recruited by the promise of land in Latvia. Thus initially the main opponents were the Germans and the Red Latvians. However beyond the political conflicts remained fundamental issues - national, ethnic and social in character - about the future international position and internal distribution of power between Latvians, Germans and White Russians. I am looking for new research into Latvian interaction with both Germans and British in 1919.

In Lithuania the initial situation was somewhat similar to that of Latvia in the sense that the Lithuanian army developing after 23. November 1918 was totally dependent on German support in its development, and a key role carried by German volunteer free corps. It was recruited in Germany and deployed with the mission to protect the railway lines of communication back home. Lithuania and its leadership had been totally dependent on Germany ever since its liberation by German forces late spring 1915. Even if invading Bolshevik forces penetrated deep into the country, the south-western third of the country remained in German-Lithuanian hands end January 1919. In Lithuania the conflict waiting around the corner was about the Polish-Lithuanian relations generated and aggravated by anachronistic and confrontational writings of the national histories in the previous decades. I would be grateful for insight into Lithuanian decision-making in 1919.

### ***Western Interventionists***<sup>10</sup>

From the start in the weeks after the Armistice, Great Britain was the main – but constantly deeply divided and hesitant - intervening power in the Baltic area. One aim – developed and supported by the Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour - was to help develop new independent states along the Baltic Sea, probably related to the naval strategy objective to regain freedom of action. Using the region for another front against the Bolsheviks to supplement those of the far North and South Russia was driven by the new Secretary of State for War and Air, the always manipulating activist Winston Churchill. Neither was given any real support by the prime minister who was unwilling to take risk and wanted to evacuate Russia as soon as the melting ice in Archangels made this possible.



Arthur Balfour the elderly British statesman who thought that the three Baltic Nations deserved the option to choose not to become Bolsheviks. As the Jews they should have a secure home. His constant support became crucial. He was the real architect and godfather behind the creation of the three states.  
(<http://en.wikipedia.org>)

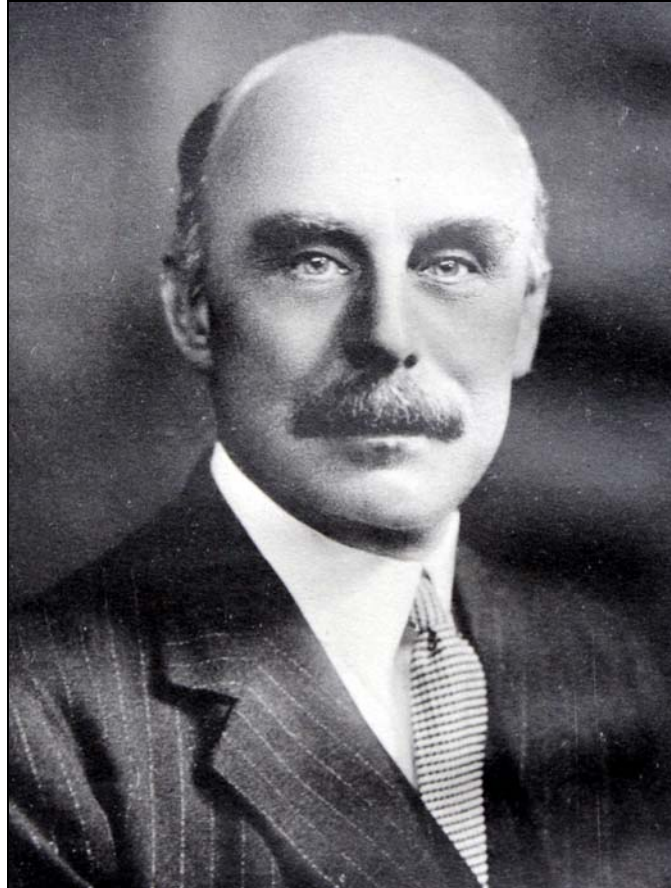
In the periods where support to Baltic States was given some green light – November-December 1918 and again from March to autumn 1919 - the available tools were limited to naval and limited air operations, materiel, equipment, food and money, training – and on a limited scale – advisors and command cadre support. Deployment of British Army units were ruled-out, leading to a need to accept continued German military assistance against the Bolsheviks until they could be replaced by Scandinavians and as soon as possible by local forces from Estonia and Latvia.

Initially the execution of the intervention was delegated to the practical implementation detached Royal Naval commander, in 1918 the level-headed Rear-Admiral Sir Edwyn Sinclair Alexander-Sinclair, and in 1919 the small feisty terrier Sir Walter Henry Cowan. From spring 1919, however, the management of the effort in reality moved to the Peace Conference in Paris under, where the daily leader of the British mission was Arthur Balfour, something that has not been realised by Michael Kettle in his work.

The de facto leader of the total British effort became the 35 years old Colonel Stephen Tallents of the Irish Guards, who had been retired for active service after having been wounded on the Western Front, thereafter to work as a civil servant first in Ministry of Munitions and thereafter in the Ministry of Food.



After the Armistice he had been sent to Poland to organise assistance, but in February 1919 he was ordered by the British Mission in Paris to go to the Baltic States to clarify requirements for support. He arrived in Liepāja (Libau) later that month and his report meant that he became the highest representative of British Government in the region. He service lasted 18 months, and until the end of the fighting in winter 1919-20 he did his extremely proactive and independent work in uniform to enhance his authority with the parties.<sup>11</sup>



A later portrait of the dynamic Sir Stephen George Tallents that drove Balfour's idea to reality from late February 1919.

(From his: Man and Boy)

In the Baltic region France was initially the junior partner and only supported the British naval effort. The main French project was to facilitate the creation of a strong Poland east of Germany. This, however, led to a clearer support of the Poles in the Lithuanian-Polish dispute than both Britain and especially the U.S. wanted to give. To the extent that the United States got involved, the main aim was to create an effective front against the Bolsheviks in this region as well. As the Germans were clearly more effective than the forces of the Latvian provisional government, this made them far more willing than all British except Churchill to support von der Goltz. Michael Kettle follows the development of French and U.S. policies until July 1919, but I am still looking for dedicated studies of the U.S. decision-making.



## The phases of the interventions

The following gives an outline of events as seen now.

### *Estonian Bridgehead phase against the Reds from late November 1918 to end February 1919*

The phase started with a serious crisis, because the Estonian armed forces had to organize and expand beyond the infantry division established in December 1917 in combat (also because the Germans had prevented an earlier building-up), and because of the highly qualified Red Latvian invasion in the South. It ended in with Estonia being liberated, because of the immediate German hand-over, quick British and effective Finnish assistance, the example of the Finnish liberation war and the relative homogeneous character of Estonian society.

Russian and Latvian Bolshevik forces crossed the border north and south of Lake Peipus and end November supported by Estonian Bolsheviks who objected to the creation of a bourgeois Estonia independent of the new revolutionary Russia. The Red Latvian forces attacked via Valga and took Tartu. The badly equipped and still disorganized Estonian forces had to withdraw north and west towards Tallinn, and late December the combined Red forces had taken Tartu and reached within 35 km of the capital. In Estonia the Baltic Germans fought as a loyal part of the national forces, reducing the character of the war to a political civil war and an independence struggle against forces of the former imperial power.

Even before the Bolshevik invasion, the British War Cabinet had decided to give some support to Baltic Independence, and Sinclair's light cruiser squadron was sent with equipment for assistance. In Riga the situation proved too volatile to do anything effective, but in Tallinn (Reval) the situation was stable enough to land some of the weapons brought by the force. The Royal Navy defeated a sally of the Bolshevik navy from Kronstadt and captured two destroyers that were given to the Estonians.



Massacre of civilians, a regular event in any civil war. Here hostages killed by Red Latvians in Jelgava (Mitau) found during the German spring 1919 offensive. A similar sight met the Estonians when they recaptured Tartu.

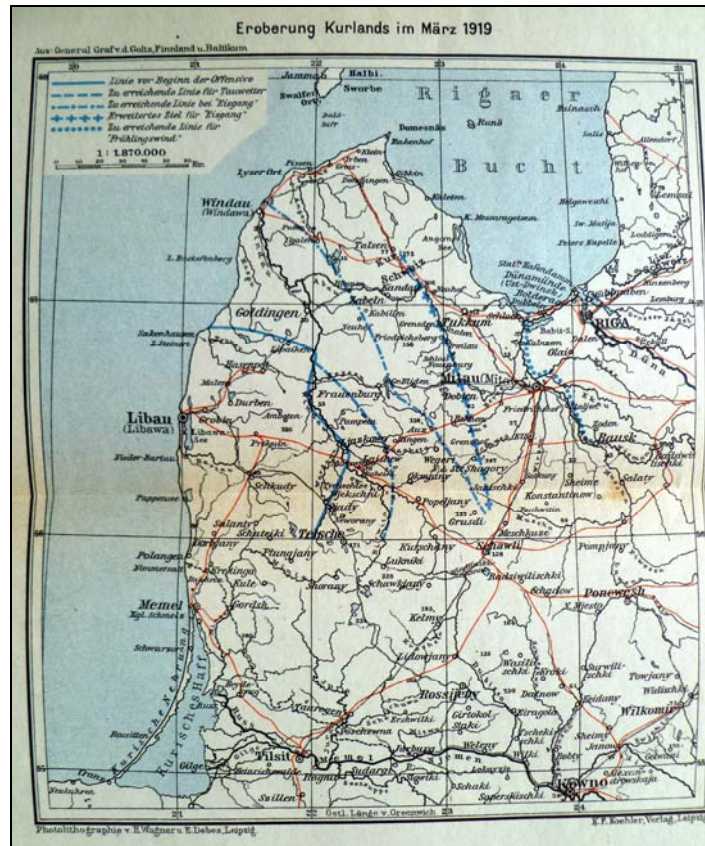
(From: Edgar Schmidt-Pauli: Geschichte der Freikorps)

The only other support given came from Finland, first in the form of light weapon supplies, and early January 2.000 Finnish volunteers joined the struggle of their Finno-Ugrian neighbours. The Estonians had maintained a bridgehead covering Tallinn and north-western Estonia, and here they organised their forces for a counter-offensive that cleared the country of Red forces during the first couple of months in the 1919. The counter-offensive stalled when met by strongly reinforced Red forces: Russians and Estonians in the east, Latvians in the south. By their operations the Estonians had impressed the British by their military effectiveness and thereby made it possible to gain political support in London for continued involvement. Estonia hereafter became the base for the formation of White Russian and Latvian forces. In the southeast the North Latvian Brigade was formed from Latvian refugees to fight for independent Latvia on the Estonian southern front. Along the Finnish Gulf past Narva the northeast White Russian Northern Corps could prepare for an operation towards St. Petersburg that could join the other White Russian forces the Churchill expected could destroy the Bolshevik state.

### ***German offensive in western Latvia against the Reds from February to April 1919, the period of de facto – British and German co-operation***

*“Kill the Bolshie, Kiss the Hun”.*  
Winston Churchill in April 1919.<sup>12</sup>

When von der Goltz arrived as commander of VI Reserve Corps, the situation in Liepāja was chaotic with a heterogeneous mixture of German soldiers from the dissolving units of the 8<sup>th</sup> Army under control of Soldiers’ soviets, volunteers in the emerging Free Korps Units of the Iron and 1. Guard Reserve Divisions and Baltic German, Latvian and Russian parts of the Baltische Landwehr and the weak units of Latvian Provisional Government that had been evacuated with Ulmanis to the town. The Landwehr was formally subordinate to Ulmanis’ government, but with its officers recruited in Germany, the force was fully subordinated to Goltz’ command.



The initial German offensive in spring 1919.  
 (From Goltz: Meine Sendung ...)

The overland lines of communication became protected by the German volunteers of Brigade Shaulen and the German developed Lithuanian army. As the node for all railways south of Latvia, control of Siauliai (Schaulen) was essential to von der Goltz as the British controlled the Baltic Sea. In Latvia the railway node was Jelgava (Mitau) just west of Riga (see map above).



German officers from the Iron and 1 Guard Reserve Divisions receiving orders during the late spring 1919 offensives.  
(From: F. W. v. Oertzen: Die deutschen Freikorps)

Starting mid-February, the Red Latvians are defeated in a series of offensives that gradually expanded to bridgehead around the town to cover all Courland. The decisive factors were the quality of German tactical leadership and the motivation of the troops. 22. May the offensive culminated in the liberation of Riga from the Reds.

Halfway through the phase the German Balts felt strong enough seek political control of Latvia. They made a coup against the Provisional Government. However, they failed to capture Ulmanis, who sought and got the protection of the Royal Navy in Liepāja. This mid-April event that probably took place with the knowledge and support of Goltz, who installed a replacement proxy government under the clergyman Andrievs Niedra. From the start both the Royal Navy and the Foreign Office followed the situation closely from ships in ports and civilian observers with knowledge about the region. Key diplomats from the Nordic States such as the envoy to Stockholm and military attaché from Copenhagen were given key roles as local representatives and policy advisors. To the aristocratic Goltz' disgust the British military representative in Liepāja was a general staff officer with a pre-war background as linen merchant in Pärnu. The Royal Navy was given advice by the former British consul. The coup made the British realise that they had to seek to control of German activities. However the effectiveness of the Germans against the Reds meant that no immediate steps were taken. Instead efforts were taken to increase control by employing Tallents as High Commissioner in the region with representatives in the three capitals and later establish a British Military Mission under General Sir Hugh Gough to assist in the building-up of the local Baltic forces.

### ***Entente-German confrontation and the strength and limits of sea power - May to August***

After the German occupation of Riga the situation quickly worsened, partly because the capture had taken place without prior consultation with the Entente and for the reason that it was followed by mass and systematic executions of political opponents.

The crisis came when Goltz overplayed his hand and advanced northeast into Livonia with a force weakened by the detachment of one of the three divisions. Under a pretext that he had information the the Latvian forces with the Estonians supported the Bolsheviks he broke the cease-fire brokered by the Entente representatives, and three weeks into June the VI. Reserve Corps of the Landwehr and Iron division offensive was defeated by a Latvian-supported Estonian force in the battle or Cēsis (Wenden)-Limbaži (Lemsal). The outcome of Goltz' failed intelligence on the Estonian army was most likely built on a racist view of the local population. However, both this offensive and the previous one towards Riga must also been seen as his attempt to influence the terms or block the German signing of the humiliating peace treaty presented on 7 May. To his disgust it is signed on a couple of days after his defeat.

His defeat was followed by an Estonian pursuit to the outskirts of Riga where the Entente representatives led by Tallens convinced the opponents to accept a cease fire on 3 July, after an Estonian attack was stopped by an effective defence of Iron Division on the Gauja (Aa) River. Now followed the reinstatement of a Latvian government under Ulmanis as well as the transfer of the Baltic Landwehr to Latvian command. Another suitable the aristocratic British Irish Guard officer from Tallents' team, Lieutenant-Colonel Harold Alexander, was made Landwehr commander. Gough could support the quick expansion of the rest of the Latvian Army to prepare it for taking over from the Germans.



Landwehr Cavalry in Latgale fighting the Russian Red forces under Harold Alexander's command as part of the Latvian Army.

The defeat of Goltz with the Riga offensive was the second part of the summer culmination of the Estonian war that also included the capture of Pskov on 25 May and the liberation of North Latvia from Red Latvians up to the crossing of Daugava (Dvina, Düna) at Jekabpils on 5 June. Thereafter the Estonians were limited to defensive operations in the southeast against an ever intensifying Red Russian offensive.

Cowan's aggressive naval operations started at the same time and led to the sinking of the OLEG by Agar's Coastal Motor Boat's torpedo mid-June and to the raid into Kronstadt harbour in mid-August.

The limitations of British power on land was demonstrated even before the Battle of Cēsis by the failed attempt to mediate and in Goltz' arrogant rejection of first Cowan and then General Gough attempts to negotiate him to withdraw.

### ***Goltz last bid September to October - using an incompetent proxy***

The German general's final attempt to promote his idea for a pro-German White Russian region was the creation of the West Russian Volunteer Army under the Georgian born, White Russian major-general, Pavel Bermond-Avalov. Goltz' previous commander of the Landwehr Russians, Prince Lieven, had left him in June-July, when he rejected fighting against Estonians and White Latvians. The force which was created around Jelgava in September-October after the mutiny of the Iron Division against the order to return to Germany, was composed of the Free Corps soldiers still hoping supplemented by newly recruited German volunteers, all hoping to get the promised plot of Latvian land for their service or at least some loot and adventure.

Goltz led a key part of the offensive conducted on 8-10. October up to Daugava from Riga to the mouth of the river, meant to secure Bermond's and thus German control of Kurland and indirectly Lithuania.

### ***French led coercion and German climb-down in November-December 1919***<sup>13</sup>

However, now time is fast running out. It was clear to the Entente leadership in Paris that Germany should be exposed to direct and effective coercion to make them give-up the remaining fruits of their victory over Russia in 1917-18. The Entente increased pressure against Berlin in early October, even before the Bermond's advance to Riga was started. If the Germans did not withdraw, France would occupy Rhineland and Ruhr. On 4 October declared that it did intend to withdraw its soldiers, and on the 10<sup>th</sup>, the day the Russo-German offensive reached Riga, a French-led Allied Military mission was established. On 22 October Gustav Noske, the German Defence Minister, admitted that the number of German soldiers in Latvia was around 40.000, 15.000 under Goltz in Jelgava (Mitau) and 25.000 under Bermond. He also made clear that they refused to withdraw.





The final and successful spokesman of the Entente intervention to give the Baltic States their independence, Henri-Albert Niessel.  
(<http://en.wikipedia.org>)

Thereafter the terms of reference of the Commission were clarified and led by General Henri-Albert Niessel sought information from the Baltic States' representatives about the situation. The Latvian representative underlined that the German recruiting of volunteers for service in his country was continuing. On 7 November the Commission arrived in Berlin where rumours about the French threat to invade had reached the press. The designated German liaison officer, Vice-Admiral Albert Hopman, tried to explain that Berlin's orders were ignored, but Niessel made crystal clear that the Commission expected that orders would be obeyed and instructions followed.

Thereafter the Commission departed for East Prussian to negotiate the practical details of the evacuation, and here it demanded an immediate end to operations against Riga and Liepāja. In November meetings in Lithuania made clear that the Lithuanians wanted to put pressure on the Germans controlling the railways, but the lacked ammunitions and wanted the Allies to make certain that the Poles would not exploit the situation.

In the meantime Bermond-Avalov's forces were defeated. A Latvian counterattack supported by Estonian and the allied navies had started at Riga on 3 November. On 11 November the Russo-German forces were defeated here and 22 November the remnants were overwhelmed by the Lithuanians near Radvilėškis. On

13 December Goltz' project ended, when the last German volunteers had crossed the border into East Prussia. The French pressure had proved effective.



The text to this photographic evidence of the Niessel mission's success reads:

*'Members of the Entente Commission, some French, finalises their criminal work against Russia, the registration of aircraft being removed from the Anti-Bolshevik front, and later handed over to the Lithuanians'.*

(From Awaloff: In Kampf gegen den Bolschewismus)

The last parts of the wars of independence against the Reds take place on the eastern borders of Estonia and Latvia. The only important British contribution to regional stabilisation after autumn 1919 were Stephen Tallents' mediation in the Estonian-Latvian territorial dispute over the border town Walk (Valga/Valka) and Alexander's command of the Baltic Landwehr's operations in eastern Latvia.

## **Final comments**

The support to Baltic Independence was inspired by Arthur Balfour for the start, and later largely managed from the British Peace Conference delegation, where he was well-placed to influence the French. Until summer 1919 it was driven in the region by Stephen Tallents, who succeeded because of a combination of energy and flexibility, luck, supported in execution by the professionalism of Laidoner and Cowan – as well as initially by that of his primary opponent von der Goltz.

Where it was the French threat that finally undermined the Goltz-developed German project, it was the decision of the Russian Soviet military leadership to concentrate against Poland after the successful operations against other White Armies that led to the end of the Red Russian campaigns to regain the Baltic region for the empire. In January 1920, the Red Army began concentrating a 700,000-strong force against Poland, a cease-fire was signed with Latvia on 1 February followed by the Tartu Peace treaty the next day. Peace with Lithuania followed in July that year. This was logical as the Russians could consider the Lithuanians semi-allies against Poland. Latvia had operated closely with Poland making it logical that the peace treaty with that country was the last signed.

However the end of the Russian 1918-20 efforts to regain the empire's north-west was only a postponement due to other and more urgent priorities. This was made clear by the military preparations five years later to follow-up the coup attempt in Tallinn on 1 December 1924.

It must be noted the key role a credible and significant threat had in ending the destructive regional intervention, without which any success would have been either unrealistic or much delayed. In Afghanistan the equivalent of the November 1919 French threat to occupy Ruhr would have been an early tough and credible message to Pakistan in winter 2001-2002 or no later than 2005 either to play ball or face that she would be totally dropped as regional partner in favour of the alliance with an Indian-Russian combination. Intervention without a combination of will and realistic strategy is likely to bring defeat to the interveners and tragedy to the supporting locals. Today the Baltic nations are enjoying the delayed benefits of the efforts of Balfour, Tallents, von der Goltz and Niessel more than ninety years ago.

Riga from the western bank of Daugavas at Pardaugava during the fighting in October-November 1919.  
(From: Latvijas Republika desmit pastāvēšanas gados)

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<sup>1</sup> Developed as an article for the 'Baltic Security and Defence Review' from the paper for the 2011 ISMS Conference: 'Combined counter-insurgency, stability operations and states building: Initial notes on a mission successfully concluded in 1½ years.'

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Martin Gilbert in: Winston S. Churchill. Volume IV. 1917-1922, p. 231.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 356.

<sup>4</sup> ADM 137/1663-1669 covers the Royal Navy operations that created the framework and logistics for all local and Entente effort during the intervention. The other two are the relevant part of War Cabinet files in CAB 23 and CAB 24 and FO 608/182-203, the extensive files of the British delegation to the peace conference under the Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour. The latter are supported by the intelligence files of WO 157/1216 and the country related files of FO 419/1-2, FO 371/3361, 3610-11.

<sup>5</sup> As the purpose is to follow the perceptions of the British authorities, the main sources are their files as listed above. I invite ideas and contributions that can supplement from Russian Bolshevik and Red Latvian sources.

<sup>6</sup> The British archival sources are supplemented with Rüdiger von der Goltz: *Meine Sendung in Finnland und im Baltikum*. (Leipzig, 1920), Awaloff: *In Kampf gegen den Bolschewismus: Erinnerung von General Fürst Awaloff* (Glückstadt & Hamburg, 1925) and the operational history in *Kriegsgeschichtliche Forschungsanstalt des Heeres: Darstellungen aus den Nachkriegskämpfen Deutscher Truppen und Freikorps, Zweiter Band. Der Feldzug im Baltikum bis zur zweiten Einnahme von Riga. Januar bis Mai 1919*. (Berlin, 1937). *Darstellungen aus den Nachkriegskämpfen deutscher Truppen und Freikorps. Dritter Band. Die Kämpfe im Baltikum nach der zweiten Einnahme von Riga. Juni bis Dezember 1919*. (Berlin, 1938). F. W. v. Oertzen: *Die deutschen Freikorps 1918 – 1923* (München, 1936). Edgar Schmidt-Pauli: *Geschichte der Freikorps 1918-1924, Nach amtlichen Quellen, Zeitberichten, Tagebüchern und persönlichen Mitteilungen hervorragender Freikorpsführer*. (Stuttgart, 1936). The relevant chapter in Robert G. L. Waite: *Vanguard of Nazism. The Free Corps Movement in Postwar Germany 1918-1923*. (New York, 1952), gives a clear account of the continuing links between the German intervention in Baltikum and the developing political situation at home.

<sup>7</sup> Will be built on the British primary sources, supplemented with what may be triggered by this article.

<sup>8</sup> The British primary sources, supplemented with what may be triggered by this article.

<sup>9</sup> Lars Westerlund's article in the anthology edited by him: *Norden och krigen I Finland och Baltikum 1918-19*. (Helsinki, 2004) does not list any Nordic, German or English-language study.

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<sup>10</sup>The British primary sources, supplemented with: Martin Gilbert: Winston S. Churchill. Volume IV 1917-1922. (London, 1975) and Companion Volume IV, Part 1 January 1917-June 1919, and Part 2 July 1919-March 1921, (both London, 1977), and with: Michael Kettle: Road to Intervention: March to November, 1918 (Russia and the Allies 1917-1920, Vol 2). (London 1988) and: Churchill and the Archangel Fiasco (Russia and the Allies, 1917-1920). Kettle's comprehensive account may be unbalanced by not resting on a systematic use of the Peace Conference and Admiralty files. Its treatment of the Baltic States is hampered by a rather weak understanding of the region's geography and by the fact that the narrative ends summer 1919, before the final and decisive phases. Lionel Dawson: Sound of the Guns. The Story of Admiral Sir. Walter Cowan, Baronet of the Baltic, K.C.B., D.S.O., M.V.O. (Oxford, 1949) and Geoffrey Bennett: Cowan's War. (London, 1964) are of overstating the importance of the Royal Navy operations.

<sup>11</sup> His very well written auto-biography: Man and Boy (London, 1943), gives an entirely credible narrative of his service.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted by Martin Gilbert in: Winston S. Churchill. Volume IV. 1917-1922, p. 278.

<sup>13</sup> The British primary sources are insufficient to gain an understanding of the final phase due to the key role of the French. Therefore we are fortunate to have both the contemporary: René Vanlande: Avec le Général Niessel en Prusse et en Lithuanie. La Dernière Défaite Allemande. (Paris, 1921) and with A. Niessel: L'évacuation des pays baltiques par les allemands. Contribution à l'étude de la mentalité allemande. (Paris, 1934). The still limited modern research is represented by: Jean-David Avenel & Pierre Giudicelli: L'indépendance des pays de la Baltique 1918-1920. (Paris, 2004), and by the developing research into the Italian report about events by Ciro Paoletti with the first results in: Italian military personnel and the evacuation of German troops from Baltic countries in November 1919 – February in the documents of the Italian Army Archive. (2011). The Entente views can be supplemented by observations from the German side from the unpublished parts of Vice-Admiral Albert Hopman's diaries.