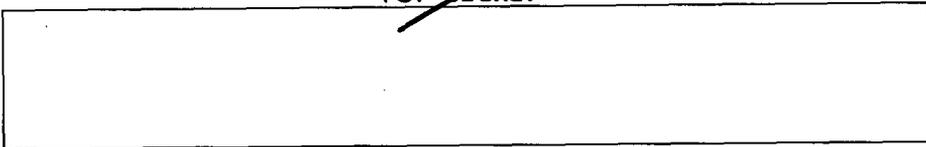


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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

9 July 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director of Central Intelligence

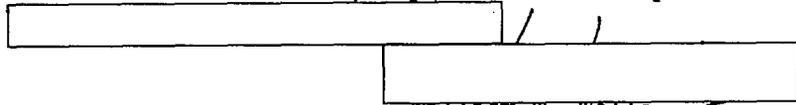
FROM : William W. Wells  
Deputy Director for Operations

SUBJECT : MILITARY THOUGHT (USSR): The Brusilov  
Case -- How an Historical Error Was Corrected

1. The enclosed Intelligence Information Special Report is part of a series now in preparation based on the SECRET USSR Ministry of Defense publication Collection of Articles of the Journal 'Military Thought'. This article summarizes the Brusilov case, which began with an erroneous conclusion that an anti-Soviet manuscript entitled My Memoirs found in Germany in 1948 was written by the former World War I general himself. More recent analysis by handwriting and linguistic experts revealed that the book was written by a number of others, chiefly Brusilov's wife. Brusilov's life history is recounted, with emphasis on his exploits as commander of the Southwestern Front, his leadership abilities, and his loyalty to his country despite his criticism of conditions there. The endeavors of White emigres to win Brusilov over to their cause, and German attempts to use Brusilov to sabotage Anglo-Soviet trade negotiations, are described. This article appeared in Issue No. 6 (67) for 1962.



2. Because the source of this report is extremely sensitive, this document should be handled on a strict need-to-know basis within recipient agencies. For ease of reference, reports from this publication have been assigned



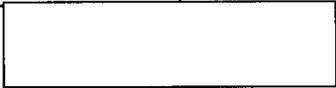
William W. Wells



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DATE: DEC 2004

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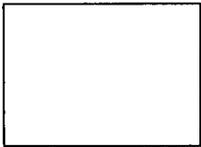
Deputy Director for Intelligence

Deputy Director for Science and Technology

Deputy to the Director of Central Intelligence  
for National Intelligence Officers

Director of Strategic Research

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# Intelligence Information Special Report

Page 3 of 18 Pages

COUNTRY USSR

[Redacted]

DATE OF INFO. Late 1962

DATE 9 July 1976

SUBJECT

MILITARY THOUGHT (USSR): How an Historical Error Was Corrected

SOURCE Documentary

Summary:

The following report is a translation from Russian of an article which appeared in Issue No. 6 (67) for 1962 of the SECRET USSR Ministry of Defense publication Collection of Articles of the Journal 'Military Thought'. The authors of this article are General-Mayor A. Guskov and Colonel V. Severin. This article summarizes the Brusilov case, which began with an erroneous conclusion that an anti-Soviet manuscript entitled My Memoirs found in Germany in 1948 was written by the former World War I general himself. More recent analysis by handwriting and linguistic experts revealed that the book was written by a number of others, chiefly Brusilov's wife, who is characterized as an unbalanced woman who was permitted to emigrate to Czechoslovakia in 1930. Brusilov's life history is recounted, with emphasis on his exploits as commander of the Southwestern Front, his leadership abilities, and his loyalty to his country despite his criticism of conditions there. The endeavors of White emigres to win Brusilov over to their cause, and German attempts to use Brusilov to sabotage Anglo-Soviet trade negotiations, are described.

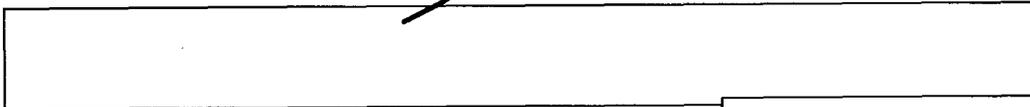
End of Summary

[Redacted] Comment:

General-Mayor Anatoliy Mikhaylovich Guskov has been identified as Chief of the KGB Special Section of the Moscow Military District. After 1962 the SECRET version of Military Thought was published three times annually and was distributed down to the level of division commander. It reportedly ceased publication at the end of 1970.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]



How an Historical Error Was Corrected

by

General-Mayor A. Guskov  
Colonel V. Severin

Soviet military historians before 1948 regarded A. A. Brusilov as an outstanding military leader of World War I and a Russian patriot who loyally embraced the Great October Socialist Revolution. The activities of A. A. Brusilov also were positively depicted in belles-lettres and in periodical literature.

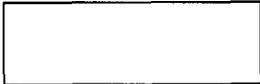
In 1948, a change occurred in the evaluation of the activities of A. A. Brusilov. The basis for this change was the manuscript My Memoirs, which is the second part of his repeatedly published book My Memoirs, supposedly written by A. A. Brusilov in 1925 during his sojourn with members of his family in Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia, to take the waters. The manuscript was found in the archives of Hitler's Germany.

In addition to the manuscript there was a German translation of individual parts of it done by the Second Department of the Ministry of Affairs for the Occupied Eastern Areas of Hilter's Germany. In the translation there is a postscript by Bettikher, the department's reviewer: "I hope that with these brief excerpts from General Brusilov's memoirs, I will arouse interest in this important manuscript."

The Main Archives Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR, on the basis of this specialist's opinion alone, without conducting other research, drew the conclusion that "the manuscript was written by A. A. Brusilov personally and that he used his stay in Karlovy Vary expressly in order to write this part of his Memoirs, which he had designated be published abroad after his death.

"The Memoirs reflect his sharply anti-Soviet views and are an attempt to rehabilitate himself in the eyes of White emigres who had accused him of collaborating with the Soviet government.

"He took his appointment to serve in the Red Army (1920-1924) specifically in order to demoralize the army from within. By exploiting his official position, he hoped to cultivate officers in the Red Army in



order to indoctrinate it along the lines of fighting against the Soviet regime. Brusilov's Memoirs contain slanderous attacks against the Bolshevik Party, V. I. Lenin, the Soviet regime and the Soviet people."

In this evaluation the only thing that is indisputable is that the manuscript My Memoirs is actually anti-Soviet and slanderous. But, at the same time, there has not been convincing evidence attesting that this manuscript was written by the pen of A. A. Brusilov.

Consequently, the main problem which must be solved is to obtain sufficiently weighty evidence attesting to A. A. Brusilov's relation to the manuscript My Memoirs.

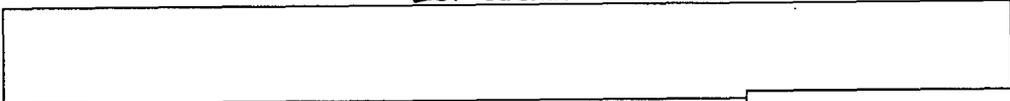
#### Research Connected with the Manuscript My Memoirs

Upon attentive study of the manuscript My Memoirs in juxtaposition with A. A. Brusilov's book My Memoirs, which had been repeatedly published by the Military Publishing House and in which the author describes events prior to 1918, it comes to our attention that there are many places in the manuscript written from the viewpoint of the man in the street, rather than that of a prominent military leader, as A. A. Brusilov was. In addition to this, in the manuscript there are allusions that it supposedly was written by N. V. Brusilova, as dictated by A. A. Brusilov.

In connection with this, it was decided to check the correctness of the conclusion of handwriting analysis, on the basis of which in 1948 the conclusion was drawn that the manuscript was written by A. A. Brusilov.

Measures were taken to find handwriting samples unquestionably belonging to A. A. Brusilov in order to check the analysis. The samples used were: letters of A. A. Brusilov to his wife, N. V. Brusilova, which were found in the archives; his petition to the Chairman of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage about the return of his diamond-studded saber which had been confiscated; as well as handwriting samples of his wife N. V. Brusilova.

The following questions were posed for the analysis. Was the manuscript My Memoirs written by Brusilov? In the text of the manuscript there are many corrections. Among these, are there corrections made by A. A. Brusilov? In the forward to the manuscript My Memoirs, it is stated that A. A. Brusilov dictated his memoirs to his wife N. V. Brusilova. Did his wife write the Memoirs?



A three-man commission of experts concluded that the manuscript was written by N. V. Brusilova and not A. A. Brusilov. Also, there are no corrections, insertions or additions in the manuscript made by A. A. Brusilov himself.

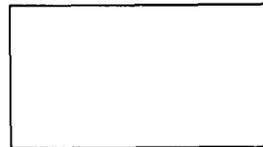
Inasmuch as this conclusion of the experts contradicted the one made earlier, two more analyses, monitored by the commission, were performed by other criminal institutions. These analyses also produced conclusions affirming that the manuscript My Memoirs was not written by Brusilov, but by his wife. The corrections in the text were not made by Brusilov, either.

Besides handwriting analysis of the text of the manuscript My Memoirs, the signatures of A. A. Brusilov appearing at the end of the forward and on the last page were also analyzed. The experts again came to the conclusion that these signatures were not written by A. A. Brusilov. Thus, the data of the handwriting analysis provide the basis to conclude that the manuscript My Memoirs was written by N. V. Brusilova and not A. A. Brusilov.

It would seem now that we should examine the reasons for the errors made by the expert in 1948 and let the matter end here. But, such an investigation would also be insufficient. In the forward to the manuscript it is stated that A. A. Brusilov dictated the memoirs to his wife, and further that the manuscript was left abroad for safekeeping when they were in Czechoslovakia to take the waters. At that time, beginning in 1923, the so-called "Russian Historical Overseas Archive", established by White emigres with money from the bourgeois government of Czechoslovakia, was operating in Prague. It was assumed that if the manuscript was written abroad, then it might have been left in this archive for safekeeping. That this supposition was correct was reinforced still further by the fact that the archive even accepted papers for storage that were sealed.

A check showed that the inventory of material received by the archive mentions that materials of N. V. Brusilova, nee Zhelikhovskaya, were first received by the archive only on 25 October 1932.\* Materials of A. A. Brusilov were never received by the archive. Consequently, in 1925 neither A. A. Brusilov nor his wife gave materials to the archive.

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\* N. V. Brusilova, nee Zhelikhovskaya, daughter of the children's writer Zhelikhovskaya. N. V. Brusilova wrote her own Memoirs. Many of her personal materials are preserved in the archive.



Then, the following version was checked. Was the manuscript My Memoirs written by N. V. Brusilova as dictated by A. A. Brusilov? To check this supposition a linguistic analysis was conducted by specialists from the Russian-Language Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

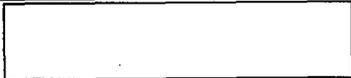
The task set before the experts was, on the basis of a linguistic and stylistic analysis of the manuscript My Memoirs, to draw a conclusion as to who is the author -- A. A. Brusilov, his wife, or other persons.

On the basis of a study of the printed works and manuscripts of A. A. Brusilov, as well as the manuscripts of his wife, a commission of experts headed by the well-known linguist and doctor of philological sciences S. I. Ozhegov came to the conclusion that "separate drafts written down as dictated by A. A. Brusilov were used in preparing the manuscript My Memoirs. The stylistic similarity between the manuscript and the book is especially noticeable in those parts of the manuscript where facts about his personal life are set forth, or where socio-political events are described objectively (without any anti-Soviet bias).

"However, in many parts of the manuscript there appear places, descriptions of people, assessments of events and so forth, which are not characteristic of A. A. Brusilov. A comparison of these places with the manuscript of N. V. Brusilova's Memoirs shows that they are very similar in language and style, to the point that certain expressions and evaluations coincide. This allows us to maintain that N. V. Brusilova, while compiling the manuscript, inserted her own socio-political assessments and a considerable portion of her own work, thus having violated and distorted the characteristic 'hand' of A. A. Brusilov."

Thus, the linguistic specialists also concluded that the drafts and individual fragments of the Memoirs which A. A. Brusilov had written were "reworked" in an anti-Soviet vein. Somewhat later this conclusion found confirmation in materials of the KGB held by the Council of Ministers of the USSR, which related to 1927.

It is obvious from these materials that, after A. A. Brusilov's death, only incomplete notes for the Memoirs remained, and that his wife actively undertook measures to edit these materials. In one of the documents it states: "...The late Brusilov left these manuscripts in a very rudimentary state, in the form of individual sentences, notes, and summaries. After Brusilov's death his widow gave this material to three people for editing..."



The director of this group was N. V. Brusilova herself who, in the words of one who participated in preparing the materials, was "not a woman, but a veritable devil in skirts." Everything had to be edited for foreign countries in the spirit of English "diehards" and German monarchists. Upon the successful conclusion of the entire matter Brusilova promised to pay the participants a certain percentage of the assumed high profits. This enticed all the partners. N. V. Brusilova bluntly told the persons who had edited the material: "Without you idiots, I could have 'recollected' everything which Aleksey Alekseyevich wanted to express; but I need you, whose names are still somewhat familiar to the foreign military, to attest that these are actually the memoirs of Aleksey Alekseyevich Brusilov..."

Thus, the data of the handwriting and linguistic analyses, and also the available materials, attest to the fact that My Memoirs are not a manuscript by A. A. Brusilov.

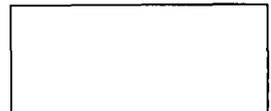
In addition to the research connected with the manuscript My Memoirs, work was conducted to study the official activities of A. A. Brusilov and the attitude toward him of enemies of the Soviet regime. Special attention was devoted to the study of his activities after the Great October Socialist Revolution.

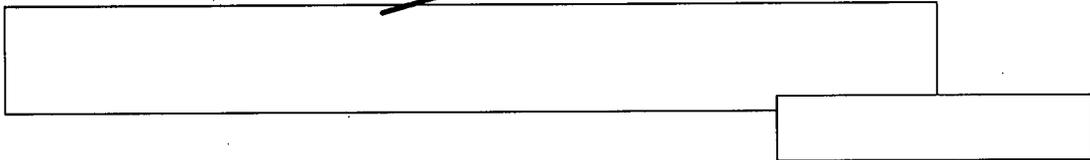
In the socio-political sense, A. A. Brusilov had a complex and contradictory personality. This was determined by the environment in which he lived and by his position within the ruling circles of Russia.

He was born on 19 August 1853, into a family of the nobility. In 1872 he finished the Corps of Pages. In May 1900 A. A. Brusilov was promoted to the rank of general-mayor. Before World War I A. A. Brusilov, holding the rank of general-leytenant, successively held the posts of Commander of the 14th Army Corps, Assistant Commander of the Warsaw District, and Commander of the 12th Army Corps.

As we see from the documents, at this time Brusilov devoted considerable attention to the combat training of units of the Russian army. As a supporter of decisive offensive actions, he regarded defense as a type of actions he was compelled to use and recognized only aggressive defense. Thus, not long before the war, Brusilov categorically required of the officers of the 12th Army Corps: "Once and for all I forbid you not only to conduct, but even to think of passive defense."\*

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\* Central State Archives of Military History, archive 2206, inventory list 1, file 180, sheets 172-180.





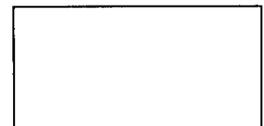
In World War I A. A. Brusilov manifested the qualities of a military leader at his best. The most outstanding operation during the course of the war was the famous offensive of troops of the Southwestern Front. After successful battles in Galicia at the end of 1914 and the beginning of 1915, the Russian Army, for a number of reasons, began to withdraw. On 17 March 1916 A. A. Brusilov was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Southwestern Front. Shortly thereafter, under his leadership a plan for an offensive was worked out and implemented. The plan was distinguished by originality and boldness; the offensive was well prepared organizationally. The novelty of the plan was that fortified positions were to be breached in several sectors of the front simultaneously, in order to to disperse the attention and forces of the enemy, put him in a difficult situation, confuse him in determining the axis of the main strike, and prevent him from transferring reserves to the threatened sector. The breakthrough of the enemy's front, which in literature received the name "Brusilov's breakthrough", had considerable impact on the entire subsequent course of events in World War I.

A. A. Brusilov constantly devoted attention to the combat training and indoctrination of personnel of the Russian Army. He required that officers constantly increase their military knowledge even under the difficult conditions of a combat situation.

For evaluating the opinions of A. A. Brusilov on the training and indoctrination of soldiers, his order No. 579 of 5 August 1915 is characteristic. The order forbade reinforcing field units with persons who "have not acquired at least the most elementary knowledge of military science."\* Brusilov was an opponent of excessive forced drilling and a supporter of intelligent discipline. He required that his chiefs recommend the lower ranks for decorations in a timely and just manner, "while negligent officers should by no means be recommended for any decorations and should be assigned positions with a lower rate of pay and without the right of promotion."\*\*

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\* Central State Archives of Military History, archive 2134, inventory list 1, file 1087, sheets 47-48, collotype facsimile of Brusilov.

\*\* Ibid.





In May 1917, the Provisional Government appointed Brusilov Supreme Commander-in-Chief. The Provisional Government needed a supreme commander-in-chief who would fulfil unquestioningly all orders connected with suppressing the revolutionary movement and who would not criticize the state of affairs in the country. A. A. Brusilov was not such a man. He saw the flaws of both the Provisional Government and of the autocracy. He wrote about this in particular in letters to his wife. "The disorder is really awful; there is no coal; the locomotives are poor and there are not enough of them, the same goes for the cars; in general, the railroad system in is total disarray. This is no wonder with the frequent changes of ministers... Here there is general disorder of state control in all ministries, not only in the railroad system."\*

In July 1917, he was removed from the post of supreme commander-in-chief and replaced by the double-dyed reactionary Kornilov. After his removal Brusilov published a letter in the newspaper Birzhevyye Vedomosti, in which he wrote: "For myself, I am seeking and asking absolutely nothing. I require only one recompense -- the truth; I think that I have the right to wish that Russia know that I never resigned, I did not abandon my post in a difficult moment, and up until the last minute of my life I would not quit the army and the Russian soldier. I am not a deserter."\*\*

After the Great October Socialist Revolution Brusilov did not desert to the enemy, but remained a loyal citizen of the Soviet Republic.

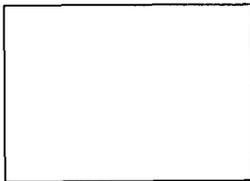
In 1918 on the instructions of the Soviet Government he conducted the disbanding of the Czarist army. In 1920 he was appointed Chairman of the Special Commission under the Commander-in-Chief of All Armed Forces of the Republic. In 1922 he was appointed chief inspector of the cavalry and representative for horsebreeding and stud farming under the People's Commission of Agriculture of the RSFSR.

On 30 May 1920, in connection with the war of the White Poles against Soviet Russia, members of the Special Commission headed by Brusilov published the "Appeal to All Former Officers Wherever They Might Be". In order to strengthen the effectiveness of this appeal, the Soviet government published a special Decree on 2 June 1920 concerning former officers who were still on the side of the Whites. It was stated in this Decree: "All those former officers who in one form or another help to eliminate as quickly as possible the White Guard detachments still remaining in the

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\* Central State Archives of Military History, archive 162, file 17, sheet 189.

\*\* Ibid., file 4, inventory list 16.



Crimea, the Caucasus and Siberia, and who thus facilitate and hasten the victory of worker-peasant Russia over the Polish gentry, will be freed of responsibility for those acts which they carried out when they were in the White Guard armies of Vrangal, Denikin, Kolchak, Semenov, etc."\*

This appeal played an important role in mobilizing the patriotic forces to fight against the interventionists.

Following this appeal and Decree an address was published -- "Officers of the Armies of Baron Vrangal". This address stated: "Whatever your initial intentions may have been, you are now nothing other than mercenary troops in the service of market capital and an auxiliary detachment of the bloodthirsty and plundering Polish gentry, which despises the laboring Russian people."\*\* This address was signed by the Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee M. I. Kalinin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars V. I. Lenin, and Chairman of the Special Commission under the Commander-in-Chief A. A. Brusilov.

Brusilov retired due to old age in 1924, but he remained in the Revolutionary Military Council of the USSR for special assignments.

Brusilov strove to serve the Soviet regime. Even before his appointment as Chairman of the Special Commission under the Commander-in-Chief of All Armed Forces of the Republic, he addressed an appeal to the Chairman of the Military History Committee about enlisting him in the staff of co-workers who were involved in researching and exploiting the experience of the war of 1914-1918. His request was granted.

Brusilov was accused of "hoping, by using his position, to cultivate officers in the Red Army in order to indoctrinate it along the lines of fighting against the Soviet regime..." But, the archive materials do not show that Brusilov strove to hold a leading position in the Armed Forces of Soviet Russia. The documents show otherwise.

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\* Central State Archives of Military History, archive 198, inventory list 2, file 193, sheets 19 and 19 (verso).

\*\* Ibid., sheet 43.

Thus, during the offensive of the White Poles against the young Soviet Republic, A. A. Brusilov wrote, regarding the role of the Special Commission, on 1 May 1920 about the need "to form the commission from people with the military and life experience to discuss in detail the present situation of Russia and the most advisable measures for delivering us from foreign invasion."\*

He did not look for ways to interfere in the operational affairs of the troops. Specifically, in the letter mentioned he wrote: "As it seems to me, this commission must exist under the Commander-in-Chief in order to discuss supplying the troops with provisions, ammunition and uniforms. Regarding operational instructions and the plan of war, in particular, the Commission cannot under any circumstances interfere in this area."\*\* Thus, not aspiring to high posts or participation in operational activities, he strove to assist the Soviet regime with his knowledge and experience.

Upon study of the available materials, no compromising data relating to A. A. Brusilov have been found.

There also are no data regarding A. A. Brusilov in the materials of the personal archive of Nikolai Valter, the former Chief of Intelligence of the General Staff of the German Army.

In the course of work on the material, an investigation of persons who knew the family of A. A. Brusilov was carried out. Olga Ivanovna Bessonova, who was a close friend of Brusilov's family from 1918 to 1930, said that he was loyal to the Soviet regime. To substantiate this statement she cited a number of his views on various matters, after pointing out that, regardless of definite material hardships during that period, he never expressed the intention to emigrate abroad and reacted negatively to conversations of his wife or her sister about this. On these occasions A. A. Brusilov said that it was difficult now not only for them but for the entire Russian people, and that he, as a Russian patriot, could not desert his Motherland no matter how hard his life may be.

\* Central State Archives of the Soviet Army, archive 33988, inventory list 1, file 267, sheet 1 (verso).

\*\* Ibid.

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O. I. Bessonova characterized N. V. Brusilova and her sister Ye. V. Zhelikhovskaya as unbalanced women who repeatedly expressed dissatisfaction with the material conditions of their life and the yearning to go abroad. After A. A. Brusilov's death they were granted permission to emigrate.

In 1930 N. V. Brusilova and her sister Ye. V. Zhelikhovskaya were allowed to go to Czechoslovakia, where they lived out their lives. The Czechoslovak government paid them a pension, and N. V. Brusilova was also given a pension by the Soviet government. Until the last days of their lives the sisters corresponded with O. I. Bessonova.

Thus, the study of archive materials and the story of O. I. Bessonova, who personally knew A. A. Brusilov well, do not give any grounds to conclude that he was disloyal to the Soviet state. Concerning the conduct of his wife and her sister, that does not warrant comment.

Further, we should examine the question of the attitude of the enemies of the Soviet regime towards A. A. Brusilov.

White emigres and other enemies of our Motherland tried to win A. A. Brusilov over to their side, and when this failed, they came to hate him with a black hatred for serving the Soviet regime and took vengeance on him. His only son was shot by the Whites.

The newspaper Boyevaya Pravda, an organ of the political department of the 7th Army, wrote on 20 December 1919: "In Kiev, according to the sentence of the field court martial, Cornet Brusilov, son of the famous Czarist general, was shot by the Whites. He commanded Red Cavalry and was captured by the Whites in fighting near Orel."

In 1931 in Paris the White emigre Nesterovich-Berg, a bitter enemy of the Soviet state, published her memoirs Struggle Against the Bolsheviks. In this libel against the Great October Socialist Revolution she wrote in regard to A. A. Brusilov: "...At a meeting (of the counterrevolutionary committee Union of Escaped Prisoners -- author's note) it was decided to join with officers located at that time in Moscow, carry out a military coup, seize power and declare General Kornilov dictator.

"But who would lead our soldiers? And mainly, who would lead this entire coup? They decided to appeal to General Brusilov, who was then in Moscow. No one suspected what Brusilov would turn out to be subsequently: a traitor... Brusilov's close acquaintance Captain Bernasovskiy, Chairman of the Union Krylov, and two officers set off with me. We sat for about

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half an hour in the living room with Mrs. Brusilova... Then he entered, dressed in a black Circassian coat, and invited us into his office. To the explanation of the purpose of our visit he replied: 'You are not the first to come to me with such a proposition, but I must tell you, as I have told all your predecessors, that I consider this entire venture shady, and I, General Brusilov, do not intend to head it.'\*

Nesterovich-Berg visited A. A. Brusilov a second time, when he was in the hospital after being wounded by a shell fragment which had accidentally struck his home during the October armed uprisings in Moscow. At that time Nesterovich-Berg was fulfilling a messenger role. She traveled to Dutov, Kaledin, and Alekseyev, and from them to Moscow.

About this visit she writes: "...We went to General Brusilov, lying in the hospital at Rudnev ...he was lying down but felt well. He said that he had not been wounded seriously, but that the wound was not allowed to heal on purpose so that Bolsheviki and non-Bolsheviki alike would leave him alone. I gave him a letter sent from Novocherkassk, which proposed that the general escape to the Don with the help of our committee.

"Brusilov read the letter through, put it under his pillow and said, distinctly uttering each word:

-- 'I will go nowhere. It is time for us all to forget about the tricolored banner and unite under the red one.'

This struck me like thunder.

-- 'What should I relay from you to the Don?'

-- 'Tell them what I have just told you.'

-- 'In that case, there is nothing more to be said,' I declared, and hastened to leave.

I was downcast. My God! There, on the Don, they had urged me so to bring Brusilov back!\*\*\*

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\* Nesterovich-Berg. Struggle Against the Bolsheviki, Paris, 1931, pp. 23-24.

\*\* Ibid., pp. 43-44.

The attempts of enemies of the Soviet regime to win A. A. Brusilov over to their camp were unsuccessful. However, they did not leave him alone. German intelligence with the assistance of White emigres decided to use the name of A. A. Brusilov for purposes of political sabotage against the young workers' state.

In 1920-1921 the Soviet government conducted trade negotiations with the British government. These negotiations were one of the most important stages in the struggle of the Soviet state for peace and the assurance of favorable conditions in order to successfully reconstruct the national economy, which had been exhausted by the wars, and prepare conditions for the building of socialism. The Soviet government strove to emerge from diplomatic isolation and the blockade organized by the Western powers during the years of civil war and foreign intervention, and to establish normal diplomatic and economic relations with the capitalist countries.

V. I. Lenin, addressing a faction of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Eighth Congress of Soviets on 21 December 1920 pointed out: "Our goal now is to obtain a trade agreement with England in order to begin trading more properly, so that we can buy as quickly as possible the machinery necessary for our extensive plan for reconstructing the national economy. The sooner we do this, the larger foundations we will have for economic independence from the capitalist countries." (Works, vol. 31, p. 442).

The negotiations progressed very slowly. England openly avoided ratifying the commitments agreed upon in June-July 1920. At the end of 1920 the Soviet government had to recall its delegation from London temporarily. But, not only Soviet Russia but also the industrial circles of England, which were in need of a market, were interested in the Anglo-Soviet trade agreement.

On 4 February 1921, the Soviet delegation returned to London and negotiations were resumed.

Germany also did not want to lose the Russian market or to have a major competitor such as England in it. On 28 January 1921, the Latvian General Consul in Berlin, Shvede, informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Latvia that on 26 January a meeting had been held in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany about developing trade relations between Germany and Latvia. He wrote that a desire for German trade and industrial relations with Latvia had been expressed at the meeting, since "Germany fears nothing so much as being left out, that is, being late in taking

positions from which it could begin the conquest of Russia by peaceful means.\*\* Not only political figures and diplomats, but also intelligence, were involved in fulfilling this task.

German intelligence with the assistance of leading figures from among the White emigres strove to exert its influence also on the course of Soviet-British negotiations. For this purpose they falsified a "Plan for Preparing for the March of Soviet Troops into India". The authorship of this "report", supposedly compiled at a meeting of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR, was attributed by intelligence to A. A. Brusilov. This plan was legitimized, apparently, through a Ukrainian bourgeois-nationalist newspaper.

On 1 July 1921 the Polish military attache in Paris in report No. 5091/731 informed the Second Department of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces: "...Brusilov's report, which was attached to my report No. 3535/542 of 14 May of this year, is a forgery. I discovered this with the help of two different persons. It was compiled in Berlin by a reactionary Russian (monarchist emigre) group working together with the Germans, and was disseminated as an intercepted Bolshevik radio broadcast. In Berlin members of the right wing gave this document to the Ukrainian Smeltotskiy for publication in the press, which, in all probability, was reported in the Ukrainian press."\*\*

When evaluating the Anglo-Soviet agreement, V. I. Lenin pointed out: "Only now have we concluded a trade agreement with England which has world-wide significance, only now has England been forced to enter into trade relations with us." (vol. 32, p. 267).

We must assume that the imperialist circles of Germany, which attached great importance to measures for preventing an Anglo-Soviet trade agreement, strove to use the most reliable means to do this. And, they selected the name of A. A. Brusilov for this high-stakes game. Consequently, they could not but believe that he sincerely served the Soviet regime, and that the Soviet government trusted him.

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\* Historical-Diplomatic Archive, archive 38g, inventory list 2, file 12.  
\*\* Special Archive of the Main Archives Administration, archive of the Second Department of the General Staff of Poland.

This circumstance also is not without interest. When Brusilov was in Karlovy Vary with members of his family to take the waters, the President of bourgeois Czechoslovakia, Masaryk, offered him every courtesy, but at the same time appointed police agent Vimper to look after him.

Judging from the materials available in the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, A. A. Brusilov conducted himself with dignity and strove to be of benefit to the Soviet state when he was in Czechoslovakia. The plenipotentiary representative of the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia, Antonov-Ovseyenko, in his report of 9 July 1925, No. 213/s, to the People's Commissar of Military and Naval Affairs of the USSR and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs wrote: "According to our information, Brusilov made a very good impression on Masaryk and won the President over to us."\*

It is extremely interesting how representatives of the international workers' movement appraised the role of A. A. Brusilov in organizing forces for the struggle against Polish intervention. At that time in Moscow there was a delegation of Italian socialists. The Polish embassy in Switzerland wrote on 10 June 1920 in report No. 2285/20, to the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland, "On Italian Socialists and International Propaganda Against Poland": "...the Italians are propagandizing that one should not rejoice at the successes of the Poles. In Moscow, decisive measures are being taken to counteract these successes. Brusilov sincerely serves the Soviet government and now is conducting the preparation for all operations himself."\*\*

A. A. Brusilov died on 17 March 1926 in Moscow. He was buried in Novodevichiy Cemetery with full military honors.

On 18 March 1926 an obituary "In memory of A. A. Brusilov" was published in Pravda. In the obituary it said: "...After the October Revolution A. A. Brusilov remained a loyal citizen of the Soviet Republic. He did not go over to the side of the enemies of the worker-peasant regime. On the contrary, during the terrible time of the attack of the White Poles he raised his voice and addressed the people with a request and passionate appeal to help the Red Army repulse the enemy." The leadership of the armed forces of the country acknowledged the services of A. A. Brusilov and favorably evaluated his activities. All this taken together allows us to draw the following conclusions.

\* Foreign Policy Archives of the USSR, archive 1038a, shelf 105, file 167, sheet 1.

\*\* Special Archive of the Main Archives Administration, archive of the Second Department of the General Staff of Poland.

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Brusilov did not leave behind any kind of finished memoirs manuscript relating to the Soviet period. There were only separate rough drafts and incomplete notes, which did not have an anti-Soviet slant. Several years after his death, they were compiled into the manuscript My Memoirs by other persons, with the direct participation of his wife. It was these people who gave the anti-Soviet slant to the memoirs.

Brusilov was, undoubtedly, a progressive military figure and a Russian patriot. While belonging to the highest strata of the old social order and occupying high posts in the army, after the Great October Socialist Revolution he did not stay in the enemy's camp, but joined the side of the Soviet regime and participated in mobilizing the armed forces to fight against the forces of the interventionists and counterrevolution.

How can we explain the error made in 1948 regarding the assessment of the activity of A. A. Brusilov in the Soviet period?

First of all, it can be explained because the activity of A. A. Brusilov was assessed only on the basis of the manuscript My Memoirs, the origin of which has not been established with sufficient authenticity.

Handwriting analysis of the manuscript was performed without the necessary material for comparison. The entire manuscript was not presented for investigation, but only the first and last pages. The handwriting samples of A. A. Brusilov which were collected were limited to brief texts. Samples of N. V. Brusilova's handwriting were not provided at all. In addition to this, the possibilities of linguistic analysis, archive materials, and the testimony of people who had known A. A. Brusilov and his family, were not utilized.

All this led to the erroneous conclusion that the manuscript was written by A. A. Brusilov himself.

In the history of our Motherland, A. A. Brusilov should be given a place worthy of his service to the people.

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