

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

K. CHOIBALSAN

**A SHORT OUTLINE OF
THE HISTORY OF THE
MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S
REVOLUTION**

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Publisher's Note¹

This work by the late Marshal Choibalsan is a brief outline of the history of the Mongolian People's Revolution, as a result of which the Mongolian people, led by the People's Revolutionary Party, overthrew the rule of feudal lords and foreign colonizers and embarked on the path of building a people's democratic state.

Fighting for the freedom and independence of the Mongolian people, Marshal Choibalsan and his elder friend, the hero of the Mongolian people Sukhbaatar, with the support and assistance of Soviet Russia, organized and raised the masses of the people in the struggle that ended in victory over the foreign enslavers and Mongolian secular and spiritual feudal lords.

In his book Marshal Choibalsan shows how the great friendship of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples was forged during the Mongolian People's Revolution as a lasting guarantee of the freedom and independence of the Mongolian People's Republic.

¹ Foreign Literature Publishing House, from the Russian ed.

The author dedicates his modest work to the unforgettable founder of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the leader of the people's revolution, the hero of the Mongolian people, Comrade Sukhbaatar, as well as to the servicemen, commanders and political commissars who fell in the battle for the liberation of the working people of Mongolia.

Introduction

“The world significance of the October Revolution lies not only in the fact that it is the great initiative of one country in breaking through the system of imperialism and the first hotbed of socialism in an ocean of imperialist countries, but also in the fact that it constitutes the first stage of the world revolution and the mighty base for its further development.”

J.V. STALIN

The Mongolian people, brutally oppressed for centuries by the spiritual and secular nobility of their country, as well as by foreign capitalists, raised the banner of the revolutionary liberation struggle under the influence of the Great October Revolution in Russia. The Great Proletarian Revolution not only freed the peoples of Tsarist Russia from the oppression of the capitalists and landlords, but also gave rise to a powerful upsurge of the revolutionary movement all over the world. The victory of the proletariat in Russia inspired the Mongolian people, who had more than once risen up against their oppressors, and showed them the way to liberation. From the spark of the revolutionary struggle smouldering in Mongolia, the flame of the people's revolution was kindled.

After the fall of the Daising (Manchu) dynasty in China in 1911, the spiritual and secular

feudal lords of Mongolia began a struggle to consolidate and expand their feudal rights under the banner of establishing independence, using the national liberation movement of the Mongol people for this purpose. In 1911 the feudal lords sent a deputation of Mongol princes to Russia with a request to assist in the establishment of Mongolia's independence.

Thanks to Russia's support, on the 9th day of the first winter month (December 16, 1911) Mongolia was proclaimed an independent state, and the head of the Lamaist church, Bogd Khan, was proclaimed an unlimited monarch.¹

Bogd Khan, seeking to create a vast Mongol state, appealed to all Mongol tribes for unification.

But this unification was not in the calculations of Tsarist Russia and the Chinese militarists. After long negotiations, in May 1915 a Russian-Chinese-Mongolian triple agreement was concluded, by which the autonomy of Outer Mongolia (comprising Khalkha and Dyurbetia) was recognized. The Chinese militarists did not cease their encroachment on Mongolia's independence even after that, but, bound by the terms of the triple agreement, refrained from taking de-

¹ Bogd Khan became the Khan of Outer Mongolia and assumed the title "erected by many." In this regard, since 1911, a new chronology has been established in Mongolia, according to which the years of the reign of Bogd Khan began to be called the years "erected by many." — *Ed.*

cisive action. The October Revolution put an end to the colonial policy of the Tsarist government and annulled all unequal treaties. But the Chinese militarists, instigated by the Japanese and other imperialists, taking advantage of the fact that the attention of the government of the young Soviet Republic had been absorbed by the civil war raging in Russia, again extended their paws into Mongolia.

The Internal Situation of Mongolia During the Period of Autonomy

Although Mongolia achieved state autonomy, it nevertheless remained economically dependent on foreign capital.

All Mongolian trade was in the hands of Chinese and Russian merchants. The exploitation of the rich gold deposits was concessioned to foreign capitalists. To cover domestic expenses and the maintenance of the army, the Mongolian government had to seek help from Tsarist Russia, and take high-interest loans from Russian banks and trading firms. By 1917 Mongolia's debt to Tsarist Russia had reached 5 million rubles.

During autonomy Mongolia was divided into 7 administrative units: 4 Khalkha aimags, 2 Durbet aimags and the Shabin (monastic) department. The population of the Shabin department were those Arats of the Khalkhak aimags who had been handed over to Bogd Khan and were his serfs. The Shabin people enjoyed special rights and privileges: they were exempted from military, urton,¹ cartage and other state burdens, the whole of which fell on the population of the Khalkha aimags. During the period of autonomy, the special rights and privileges of spiritual

¹ Postal and courier service, one of the most difficult duties in pre-revolutionary Mongolia. — *Ed.*

feudal lords and the Shabin department were considerably expanded. The population of the aimags was forcibly transferred to the Shabin office in order to increase the income of the monasteries and the higher lamas.

On this ground a sharp conflict arose between the Khalkha aimags and the Shabin administration. The feud broke out not only between the secular and clerical feudal lords, but also between the aimag Arats and the Shabin. This discord within the country contributed to the subsequent dissolution of Mongolia's national autonomy.

The secular and spiritual ruler of Mongolia was Bogd Khan. It was a time when the entire population of Mongolia, except for a small group of freethinkers, had a deep and unaccountable faith in Bogd and the high lamas.

Bogd Khan, that drunkard and profligate who spent hundreds of thousands of *lan*¹ of the people's money, an obedient plaything in the hands of the higher lamas, and later the Chinese militarists and the White Guard Ungern — the lamas revered him as a "lama-saviour" and the Arats idolized him as a living god.

Religious intoxication dried up the mind and suppressed the natural war-like spirit of the once courageous and brave Mongols.

The period of autonomy saw an increase in

¹ A monetary unit approximately equal to 2 rubles —
Ed.

the rights of Bogd's close circle — the Hutukht, the Khubil-Gan, the Hambo-Lam, the Tsorji¹ and other representatives of the theocratic power. All of them brutally oppressed and exploited the masses of Arats, forking out money to fill the state treasury and their own pockets.

To give an idea of the degree of exploitation of the peasants by spiritual feudals, we shall cite the largest taxes levied from the population of aimags and the Shabin department to the treasury of Bogd Khan.

1. 36 thousand lan was annually allocated for the upkeep of Bogd Khan and his wife.

2. Every year in the summer Bogd, as a “spiritual teacher”, was presented with a danshig² of ten thousand lan collected from the population of the Khalkha aimags and the Shabin people.

3. The aimags and Shabin people took turns in presenting a mandal³ of 100 lan to Bogd Khan every year. In addition, for the needs of the treasury, for sacrifices, for the salaries of Hambo, Tsorji, Shanzotba and other high lamas, for the grazing of their herds, for the maintenance of their yards, for the religious needs of the central temples of the Urga monastery, for the maintenance of its lamps, hundreds of thousands lan

¹ The various ministries of major spiritual feudal lords. — *Ed.*

² Annual offerings to Bogd Khan and major church feudal lords. — *Ed.*

³ Gift. — *Ed.*

were collected from the people of the aimags and the Shabin department.

Bogd and his retinue each had several hundred personal servants at their disposal. The aimags and the Shabin department had to supply hundreds of horses to serve them.

The personal budget of Bogd was more than 900,000 lan. But his exorbitant expenditures were not limited to this sum. Bogd resorted to loans. His debt to Russian and Chinese trading companies reached tens of thousands of rubles. Arats had to pay for these debts.

Seven big khutukhts and high lamas of aimags stood below Bogd Khan on the social ladder. They were followed by thousands of small hutukhts and hubilgans. Large khutukhts had personal possessions, the population of which was in serfdom and was obliged to contribute a certain amount of money and supply their master with everything necessary for his personal needs and religious rites. Each hutukhta, on average, collected 7 to 13 thousand lan by money alone annually. The higher lamas also received considerable income from the population's donations for the performance of religious rites.

The population of aimags was in an even more difficult situation than the Shabin people, since in addition to the clergy they had to support princes and other secular feudal lords. Each of the four aimags had its own khan, chairman of

the aimag seim (diet), khoshun tsazaks¹ and other feudal lords. Each feudal lord had an appanage and serfs.

The feudal lord was the lord of his own aimag or khoshun, and extorted huge funds from the community for his personal needs. The amount of tribute levied by the feudal lords was not restricted by any law. Tribute was used for the feudal lord's personal maintenance (food, clothes, jewellery, expensive horses, carriages and palanquins), for the organization of feasts, nadoms² and divine services, for the upkeep of court servants, for the offering of gifts to Bogd, etc. During the period of autonomy, the sums of taxes for gifts to Bogd increased, as titles and privileges were granted to one or another feudal lord depending on the value of the gift he presented.

Feudal lords widely used the free labour of peasants: some peasants served the lord and his wife as personal servants, others grazed the lord's flocks, and others had to serve as urtons.

The wealth of the feudal lords grew at the expense of the ravages of the Arat community. The herds of the feudal lords grew to many tens of thousands of heads. These herds were grazed on the best pastures. The feudal lords were not subject to any government tax or duty.

The ruling princes and large taizhis³ took

¹ Ruling prince. — *Ed.*

² A holiday. — *Ed.*

³ Nobles, non-owning feudal lords. — *Ed.*

loans from Chinese and other trading firms and shifted their burden on the shoulders of the serf Arats. A number of khoshuns¹ were in bondage to foreign merchants and moneylenders until the people's power was established. The national wealth plundered by Mongol feudal lords was siphoned into the pockets of foreign capitalists. Only after the establishment of the people's power by a special state act, were all debts to foreign capitalists cancelled, the property of feudal lords confiscated and the goods stolen from him returned to the people.

In addition to the large feudal lords, the peasants were exploited by officials and taiga. They were not only exempted from taxes, national taxes and food supplies for the army, but under various pretexts they exploited the free labour of the peasants.

The Mongol people, crushed by the most brutal exploitation, were reduced to a half-starved existence, doomed to extinction.

By the end of 1919 the situation of the Arat people had further worsened under the brutal occupation regime.

¹ An administrative unit, a county. — *Ed.*

The Liquidation of the Autonomy of Mongolia

In early 1919, the Chinese militarists, through their dignitary in Urga, Chen Yi, began secret negotiations with the princes and high lamas, offering for them to give up autonomy and join the Middle Republic.¹ These proposals were ultimative in nature. Their rejection could have led to war between Mongolia and China.

Chen Yi's proposal was to conclude an agreement which preserved all the rights and privileges of Bogd Khan, as well as an increase in ranks, titles and even an increase in the salary of the feudal-theocratic nobility.

Japan was also not averse to grabbing such a tidbit as Mongolia with its huge natural riches. In order to achieve their aggressive goals, the Japanese invaders resorted to deceiving the Arat masses, who more than once had risen to fight for national independence during the Manchurian domination. The Japanese imperialists came up with the slogan of creating a "Greater Mongolia," which was to unite all the Mongol tribes under the auspices of imperial Japan.

As the organizer of the Pan-Mongolian adventure the Japanese military put forward the

¹ The Middle Republic was the name given to China after its overthrow in 1911 — the Daising (Manchu) dynasty and the proclamation of the republic. — *Ed.*

White Guard Ataman Semenov, who had fled from the Russian revolution and around whom the White Guard gangs and Buryat nationalists clustered.

At the Dauria station of the Transbaikalian Railway a so-called Daurian government was formed by these dregs of humanity. This government sent a delegation to Mongolia with a proposal to join the Pan-Mongolian movement.

The matter was put to the upper and lower houses.¹ The majority of both houses opposed the proposal of the Daurian government.

The large feudal lords of Outer Mongolia, who held state power, feared the infringement of their feudal rights and privileges, and were in favour of a Chinese orientation.

Some of the petty feudal lords and officials in the government insisted on a series of measures to strengthen the country's defence. They proposed to mobilize the khoshuns and Shabin Arats, to collect funds from the whole population for the defence of the country and to rise unanimously to defend the national independence of Mongolia. But the large feudal lords could not agree to this. This proposal was strongly opposed by high lamas especially, who were ready to surrender their homeland to anyone in order to save their monastic purse. The high lamas were sup-

¹ A semblance of a parliament under the Bogd Khan government, comprising princes and feudal officials; both chambers were deliberative in nature. — *Ed.*

ported by Bogd. Moreover, he exempted the Shabin office from taxes to maintain the army. The khoshun princes and officials, considering this decision of Bogd unjust, refused to mobilize servicemen in their khoshuns and aimags and pay military taxes.

The high lamas and major princes, led by the Shanzotba¹ Badma-darja,² accepted the proposal of the Chinese militarist protégé Chen Yi without the knowledge of the upper and lower houses, and the ever-drinking Bogd, indifferent to the fate of his country, agreed to enslave the Mongol people to anyone in order to preserve his privileged position.

Fearing popular unrest, Chen Yi and the feudal government of Mongolia decided to act cunningly. Under the pretext of protecting Mongolia from Russian revolutionary influence and ostensibly to protect Mongolia from the encroachments of the Daurian government, Chinese militarist troops were introduced into Urga, Kyakhta and other cities in the country. Thus Mongolia's fate was effectively placed in the hands of foreign invaders.

At the end of 1919 General Xu Shu-jen (one of the leaders of the pro-Japanese Anhuist Chi-

¹ A spiritual administrative position under Bogd Khan and major ecclesiastical feudal lords. — *Ed.*

² A major theocrat and an ardent reactionary. Served as prime minister in 1919. Active supporter of the dissolution of Mongolian autonomy. — *Ed.*

nese militarist clique) arrived in Urga, accompanied by troops. Xu Shu-jen told the Mongolian government that he, as the head of the northwestern outskirts of the Middle State, was authorized to resolve the issue of Mongolia's autonomy. Threatening with military force, Xu Shu-jen demanded that they submit to him a petition for an unconditional and "voluntary" renunciation of autonomy. In doing so, he himself proposed the conditions for the liquidation of autonomy.

These conditions were completely hypocritical. They included: "prosperity of the yellow religion," "increase in population," "development of trade," "development of cattle breeding," "exploitation of mineral resources" and so on. At the same time, he stated that these conditions would underlie his activities as the head of the northwestern outskirts, and that he was henceforth the supreme ruler of Mongolia.

Mongolia's autonomy was abolished within one day. The country was declared part of the Middle Republic, and all power in the country passed into the hands of the Chief of the General Directorate of the North-Western Province of the Republic of China.

The abolition of autonomy caused discontent among the Mongolian people and army. At the time, Mongolia had a small but brave and resilient army. The army could be replenished by mobilizing the youth of the aimags. The cowardly princes and lamas who had sold the country to foreign invaders, and who had failed and did not

even try to defend the country's independence, had every opportunity to wage a successful defensive war and to preserve Mongolia's autonomy. The low-ranking commanders in the army and the rank-and-file servicemen were ready for decisive action. But the feudal-theocratic nobility, fearful of losing their rights and privileges, and seduced by the promises of the invaders, unconditionally and shamefully transferred power over the Mongolian people into the hands of the Chinese militarists.

Having become masters of the country, the invaders established a regime of violence and terror in Mongolia, shamelessly robbing the population and raping women and girls.

The secular and spiritual feudal lords (with the exception of those who contributed to the liquidation of Mongolia's autonomy and were rewarded for this by the Chinese reactionaries), seeing that the country was once again enslaved by foreign invaders, began to seek ways to restore autonomy and decided to seek help from other states. Two factions were formed that resolved the issue in different ways.

One group of major feudal lords decided to go to America for help. They sent a petition to the American government through Larsen, an American firm that was residing in Urga at the time, asking for help in restoring Mongolian autonomy. Another part of the feudal lords decided to turn for help to Japan and the White Guard gangs who were operating jointly with the Japa-

nese. Prince Ragcha-gun was sent to Japan with a letter signed by Bogd. But there was no reply.

On the 2nd of the mid-winter moon (January 1920), a ceremony regarding the abolition of Mongolian autonomy was held.

On the morning of the appointed day, from the Green Palace¹ to the khurda² standing in front of the Ikh-Khure,³ Mongol servicemen were lined up, and in a southeasterly direction to the very central gate of Bogd's palace stood Chinese soldiers in full armour in two lines.

After a triple gun salute, Bogd Khan, with his retinue and court guards, set out from the palace and moved between the lines of Mongolian servicemen. On reaching the line of Chinese soldiers, he did not go as usual in the direction of the central gate, but turned left and passed through the line of Chinese soldiers to enter the palace through the side gate. Afterwards, Xu Shu-jen drove by in a car decorated with colourful banners and flags, and music playing. When he reached the central gate of the Yellow Palace,⁴ he got out of the car and, having ordered the portrait of the Chinese president to be carried on palanquins, entered the palace through the main gate.

¹ The palace of Bogd Khan, 3 km south of Urga. — *Ed.*

² A vertically mounted drum with prayer texts folded in it. Every Mongolian worshipper, approaching the monastery, turned this drum. — *Ed.*

³ The main monastery in Urga. — *Ed.*

⁴ The palace of Bogd Khan in the centre of Urga. — *Ed.*

The five-coloured Chinese flags, arranged cross-on-cross, fluttered over the southern gate of the palace.

Even Bogd Khan himself felt uneasy, especially because the Mongol servicemen had been left outside the city limits, and Chinese soldiers stood up to the palace gates.

Xu Shu-jen, entering the central palace, ordered the portrait of the President of the Middle Republic to be placed on the central throne and himself stood beside it. Then, directing the ceremony, he invited Bogd Khan to bow to the portrait three times and only then handed him the seal and other trappings of power sent by the president. This was followed by a ceremony of the Mongol princes and officials bowing to the president's portrait.

The whole humiliating ceremony, which stressed that the Mongolian people had become slaves to the Chinese military, deeply offended the national and religious feelings of the people. Hatred for the enslavers grew in the soul of every Mongol.

The next day the buildings of the ministries were sealed off and armed guards of Chinese soldiers were posted at the door of each of them. All power in the country had passed into the hands of the mercenary of Japanese imperialism, General Xu Shu-jen. An order was given to disband and demobilize all Mongol military units. About 60 servicemen in total were left, all under Bogd Khan as his bodyguards.

The Birth of Revolutionary Circles

Outrage and indignation swept the whole nation. But there was no unity of political opinion among the various strata of Mongolian society. Some sought national liberation of the country and the elevation of Bogd to the throne of the monarch of autonomous Outer Mongolia. Others (the more conscious part of the Arats) dreamed not only of national but also the social liberation of the people. The first revolutionary circles that initiated the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party were formed amidst the general discontent of the masses and the rampant terror of the Chinese military. The leader of the Mongolian People's Revolution, Sukhbaatar, organized one of the circles in Urga. Another circle, also established in Urga, was led by Choibalsan. Inspired by the great example of the October Revolution, which showed the world the way to liberation from the power of exploiters, the members of these circles launched their revolutionary activities. Seeking the national and social liberation of the masses of the Mongolian people, they decided to turn for help to their neighbour to the north, the great Soviet country. They were convinced that it was Soviet Russia, the country of workers, that would help the Mongolian people to liberate themselves from colonial oppression. And they were not mistaken. In the face of the

Soviet Republic they found a sincere friend who provided them with the necessary help.

The most ardent revolutionary and energetic organizer of the revolutionary circles was Sukhbaatar. The son of a poor peasant, he worked as a hired labourer from a young age, and when he grew up he was in the urton service. He was an inquisitive and intelligent man who taught himself to read and write. During his service Sukhbaatar mastered military skills. He was nicknamed “goymin” (agile) for his marksmanship, strength and dexterity. For his heroism and bravery in Tamsak-Bulak fighting during the autonomous period, Sukhbaatar was nicknamed bogatyr (hero) and after that he was nicknamed “goymin-bogatyr”. During the Chinese occupation he worked as a typesetter in a Sino-Mongolian printing house. Seeing the invaders ravaging his homeland, Sukhbaatar looked for a way out of the situation. Having made sure that he was not alone, that there were masses, too, yearning for the release of the country from colonial slavery, Sukhbaatar organized them into the first circle of freethinkers. At the meetings of the circle they discussed ways to restore autonomy and liberate the people. At one of the meetings it was decided to write a leaflet urging the Mongolian people to fight the Chinese militarists. The leaflet was written in several copies and posted on the gates of the former Ministry of Internal Affairs, on the fence of the headquarters of the commander of the Chinese troops in Mongolia, on the khurda,

as well as in public places of the city.

The appearance of these proclamations caused alarm among the occupiers. Detectives and spies were sent everywhere to catch those responsible for the distribution of these proclamations. In such an atmosphere the revolutionaries had to observe strict secrecy.

On behalf of his circle, Sukhbaatar travelled to Kyakhta to find out about the situation in Russia and to begin negotiations with representatives of the Soviet authorities for assistance. However, he failed to cross the border.

Sukhbaatar's circle twice submitted a petition to Bogd, insisting on the need to ask for help from Soviet Russia, but each time they received the answer: "For the time being, refrain from doing so."

Having learned of the existence of Sukhbaatar's circle, Choibalsan and his comrades decided to establish contact with him and continue to work together.

These first revolutionary circles were connected with the Russian revolutionaries living in Urga — Kucherenko, Gembarzhevsky and others. Kucherenko worked as a mechanic in a Russian-Mongolian printing house. He told the members of the circles much about the Great October Revolution, that the Soviet power brought full freedom to the formerly oppressed small peoples of Tsarist Russia, that the Russian proletariat, taking power into its own hands, annulled all the Tsarist unequal treaties with small peoples

and is ready to help them in their struggle for freedom. Thanks to Kucherenko and Gembarzhevsky the members of the revolutionary circles were well informed about the situation in Russia.

So from the first days of its birth the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party was closely connected to Russian revolutionaries, who helped it in its work every day and who gave their life for the cause of Mongolian people.

At one of the joint meetings of both circles, Sukhbaatar proposed to try again in establishing links with Soviet Russia. At the same meeting, Sukhbaatar called on the audience to start work on collecting weapons necessary for organizing an armed uprising. It was decided to seize weapons from the Mongol arsenal before it was surrendered to Xu Shu-jen's troops. Taking this decision, Sukhbaatar and his comrades counted on the help of the Mongol army, which hated the occupiers. But this plan could not be carried out. The next day numerous guards were posted outside the arms depots. It was necessary to look for other ways to acquire weapons. Soon another way was found. Just at that time, a large influx of Russian White Guards began to enter Mongolia. By order of the Chinese authorities, the weapons the White Guards had were to be taken away, so they willingly sold them. Members of the revolutionary circles used this to purchase weapons. Of course, all these arms purchases were made with the necessary precautions. Soon the members of

the revolutionary circles already had hand grenades and several revolvers. At the same time, members of the circles agitated among the people, and also tried to win some of the princes who desired the national independence of Mongolia to their side.

After the abolition of autonomy, the arbitrariness and terror of the Chinese militarists became even more rampant. To strengthen the military regime in Mongolia, Xu Shu-jen replenished the army by mobilizing Chinese artisans and farmers living in Mongolia. Xu Shu-jen's army, numbering several thousand men, was stationed in all the most important settlements of Mongolia.

Along with increasing terror, Xu Shu-jen, following the principle of "divide and rule," tried to create support for himself among the top of the feudal-theocratic nobility, generously distributing ranks, titles and privileges. And at the same time, Xu Shu-jen, trying to ease the discontent of the Arat community, issued many appeals to the people in the Mongol language, in which he promised to "develop the yellow religion," "increase the Mongolian population," etc.

The members of the revolutionary circles faced important tasks. It was no longer possible to continue the work in separate groups, as the dispersion of forces and lack of unity could lead to serious mistakes and even derail all revolutionary work. It was necessary to strengthen discipline among the members of the revolutionary circles and strictly observe secrecy.

Selfless devotion to the cause of the revolution was required of all members. At a meeting of the circles it was decided to create a united party organization and to take the Party Oath, which was the constitution and program of the party at the time, and which is described below.

OATH

Article 1: Objectives of the People's Party¹ of Outer Mongolia: To purge the country of vicious enemies detrimental to the cause of the nation and religion. To restore Mongolia's lost rights, strengthen the state and religion, steadfastly defend the Mongolian nation, revise and change the internal policy of the country, care fully for the interests of the Arat masses, protect their rights and put an end to the suffering of the working masses and the oppression of man by man.

Article 2: Every member of the People's Party shall fight for the Party cause without sparing his life and property. In the event of the loss of personal property, it will be reimbursed.

Article 3: Party members must be steadfast and honestly carry out the Party's instructions. They shall not neglect the cause of the Party for the sake of their personal interests, nor cheat the Party, allow lies and falsification.

Article 4: Party members shall not divulge Party secrets or disclose the names of Party com-

¹ Prior to 1922, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party was called the Mongolian People's Party. — *Ed.*

rades to enemies and thereby harm the Party and undermine its strength. If a Party member who commits such an offence admits guilt, he shall commit suicide. If he does not confess and tries to defend himself, the rest of the Party shall kill him and so preserve their loyalty to the oath and their discipline.

Article 5: If any member of the Party is caught by the enemy, he shall not betray his comrades, shall not say anything about Party affairs and shall rather die than become a traitor. On the other hand, members who are free must not spare their lives to save their arrested comrades.

Article 6: Those who have joined the People's Party must act in unity and unanimity and fight to the end for the interests of the Arat masses; they must strive to improve their difficult situation and by all means stop the actions of the authorities aimed at harming the people.

Article 7: To fight against those who cause suffering to the people, who harm the policies of the People's Party as a whole and also to its individual members.

Article 8: Every person who has joined the Party is obliged to recruit at least 10 members and, having formed a Party cell from them, to lead it. In doing so, the Party's policies and guidelines must be carried out in the same way everywhere, without any deviation.

Article 9: In the event of foreign elements infiltrating the Party for provocative purposes or to undermine the Party from within, they shall be

expelled from the Party and their names shall be communicated to all Party members so that they may be vigilant and take measures to neutralize the foreign elements.

At the same meeting it was decided to select a delegate to go to Soviet Russia. The lot fell on Choibalsan. A few days later another meeting was held in the Consular Settlement¹ at which the party seal proposed by Sukhbaatar was approved. In addition, a telegraph cipher was drawn up and approved for secret communications with the delegate going to Soviet Russia. Due to the fact that it was dangerous to hold clandestine Party meetings in the city, which was crowded with occupiers, spies and feudal lords, it was decided to hold meetings away from the city, in a yurt on the banks of the Tolya River, meeting under the guise of people grazing horses or taking walks.

¹ Settlement located 2 km from Urga, where the Russian consulate was located. — *Ed.*

The Visit of the Delegation to Soviet Russia

Before leaving for Moscow, Choibalsan received the following instructions from Sukhbaatar: to keep his departure from Urga strictly secret; to exercise caution while travelling; to sneak across the border near Mongolian Kyakhta; upon arrival in Verkhneudinsk, to immediately inform Urga of the border crossing; to communicate with Urga using coded telegrams.

In the evening of the 13th day of the middle summer moon (June 1920), Choibalsan left Urga. To avoid being followed and to confuse matters, he took a long detour around the town, and only after some time, having crossed the pass, set out on the Urga-Kyakhta route. Five days' journey passed safely. On the sixth day Choibalsan was at the border. Climbing the slope of the mountain he saw a Chinese frontier post. Knowing that this encounter did not bode well for him, Choibalsan turned west and went deeper into the forest. Soon, his swiftly galloping horse took him to the other side of the border. The first obstacle was overcome.

At that time Verkhneudinsk (now Ulan-Ude) was in the Far Eastern Republic (FER). The city was crammed with foreign spies and White Guards. The FER government, to which Choibalsan addressed, did not treat him with complete trust. Seeing this, Choibalsan sent the following

telegram to Sukhbaatar: "The trade affairs are going well. Why is the departure of the others delayed? I remind you that it is necessary to bring a gift from Bogd." The words "trade affairs are going well" meant that all was going well so far, while "gift from Bogd" meant a letter to the Soviet government with Bogd Khan's seal.

However, getting the letter stamped by Bogd was not easy. It was necessary to find among Bogd's cronies someone sympathetic to the party's cause who would report the letter to Bogd and be able to persuade him to affix the seal. All this had to be done very discreetly, lest the dignitaries and lamas who supported the foreign invaders should learn of it. In the end the party decided to act through Duinhurin da lama Puncukdorji. The party chose him because he was one of those who had been overtaken in rank and pay by the new authorities, and was therefore extremely dissatisfied with the regime imposed. Puncuk-doji agreed to report the letter to Bogd. And soon the letter with Bogd's seal was received.

The complete unscrupulousness of the "erected by many" Bogd Khan is particularly evident by the fact that he simultaneously signed letters of assistance to three different countries — Japan, America and Soviet Russia.

In order to prevent the letter from falling into the hands of the invaders in the event of a failed border crossing, it was concealed in a bamboo whip handle and covered with a white bone ornament. This letter was delivered to Verkhneudinsk

by a small group of party members led by Sukhbaatar who managed to sneak across the border with great difficulty.

A few days later, Sukhbaatar and his comrades met the head of the FER government. Having listened to the delegation, he suggested that they seek help from the RSFSR government.

In a letter to the Soviet government, Sukhbaatar and his comrades set out their request as follows:

“We, members of the People’s Party, on behalf of our Party, appeal to the great Russia for help. We, in alliance with the military elements (Mongolian servicemen) of our country, on whose military strength we rely, seek to restore the autonomy of Mongolia and to proclaim Hutukhta Bogd a limited monarch. We then want to carry out appropriate measures to limit the hereditary rights of the princes. Having achieved the independence of the country, we will start a struggle for the rights and interests of our own people, using the experience of other countries. The growth of national consciousness will enable us, in a year or two, to push the revolution forward and finally abolish the rights of the ruling princes. Therefore we ask:

“1. Provide the necessary assistance to the People’s Party of Mongolia and contribute to the restoration of Mongolia’s autonomy.

“2. Appoint a Soviet representative to Kyakhta, who would serve as a link between the Soviet government and the People’s Party.

“For our part we consider it necessary to:

“1. Send commissioners of our Party to Ulyasutai and Van Khure, where they are to begin work on recruiting new members into the Party and organize Party cells from them. Then send commissioners to the Kobdo, Monde, Dzain monasteries and Dalai-Wan and Achitu-Wan of the Sain-Noinkhan aimag for the same purpose.

“2. Organize a Central Party Committee in Urga and elect the leaders of the committee. The elected Central Committee will have to, firstly, issue an appeal to the population, secondly, create an army capable of defending the Party cause, and thirdly, send Party members to Irkutsk to train them in military affairs and receive political education. In addition, the Central Committee should take the lead in the work of Party organizations throughout the country. Simultaneously with the election of the Central Committee, it is necessary to allocate people who will control the Central Committee and check the correctness and clarity of its work.

“3. Organize the Mongolian People’s Co-operation and establish links with the co-operation established in Russia, so that Mongolia’s livestock and raw materials are exported to Russia, and manufactured goods are imported in return. In addition, it would be desirable for Russian co-operatives to establish industrial enterprises to process local raw material on the territory of Mongolia. For this purpose we consider it necessary to send Mongolian People’s Party commis-

sioners to Van Hure, Kyakhta and to the Khabtagai border guard area.

*“The Year of the White Monkey
on the 29th of the 8th moon
(August 28, 1920), Irkutsk”*

In Irkutsk the delegation divided into several groups. Part of the delegates left for Moscow, one member was sent to Urga to lead the Party work in Mongolia, Sukhbaatar and Choibalsan remained in Irkutsk to study military affairs.

After seeing their comrades off, Sukhbaatar and Choibalsan started to study at the school of the command staff.

Sukhbaatar, as he had earlier military training and had participated in battles more than once, was sent to the third group. Choibalsan, on the other hand, as a complete stranger to military service, was assigned to the junior group.

Every morning Sukhbaatar and Choibalsan, along with other cadets, would attend the drill on the bank of the Angara River, after which theoretical classes would be held until late at night. Sukhbaatar had early knowledge of military techniques and combat tactics, especially cavalry drill and gunnery, so a few days later he was already in command. Although Choibalsan and Sukhbaatar studied in different groups, they attended theoretical classes together. Sukhbaatar knew little Russian, and Choibalsan translated the contents of the lectures for him.

Soon Sukhbaatar fell seriously ill and could

not attend school. Choibalsan also stopped classes as he was caring for the ill Sukhbaatar. A few days later classes resumed, which were no longer held at the school, but at the patient's flat.

Sukhbaatar and Choibalsan were very concerned about events in their home country. The news from Urga was most disturbing. Comrades reported the arrest of party members, as well as lamas and princes who had expressed dissatisfaction with the abolition of autonomy. A member of the People's Party, Zhamyantsetseg, was soon arrested. Under torture, he revealed the work of the party and gave up the names of members to the enemies. Many were arrested. They were accused of fighting for the restoration of autonomy.

The delegation, which went to Soviet Russia, was told about Urga by Chinese newspapers. The Beijing newspapers wrote that the Mongolian Arats were preparing a revolutionary uprising, that 7 "conspirators" sneaked across the border and asked for help from the Soviets. The enraged militarists brutally cracked down on anyone suspected of being part of a revolutionary organization.

Special advertisements were put up in Urga promising a reward of 10,000 Mexican dollars for the head of each delegate who went to Russia.

Urga was declared under martial law. Chinese militarists prowled the country. Party work under such conditions was extremely difficult. But the Party members who remained at liberty, hiding in the mountains or wandering far away

from Urga, nevertheless did not cease their agitation work among the Arats.

The help sought by Sukhbaatar and his comrades, fighting for the liberation of the oppressed Arats, could only come from the country of the Soviets. Every day of waiting felt like a year. Sukhbaatar — a man of iron will and shrewd intellect, active and energetic, who believed that the revolution would certainly triumph, who was convinced that the Soviet country would come to the aid of Mongolia — was anxiously awaiting word from Moscow and suffering from inaction.

The situation in the country became increasingly tense. The remnants of the Semenov gang, defeated by the Red Army and led by Baron Ungern von Sternberg, fled to Mongolia and engaged in combat with the Chinese militarist forces. The situation of the Mongolian population became even more difficult as they were plundered by both.

Finally the long-awaited telegram was received from Moscow: "The negotiations were successful." A few days later the delegates returned, elated at their success.

The young Soviet Republic, which had endured the harsh years of the civil war, devastation and famine, extended a hand of brotherly help to the tormented Mongolian people, showed exceptional care and concern for their fate.

The support of the Soviet people was an enormous moral force that inspired the revolutionaries to fight the enemy and strengthened confi-

dence in victory.

The Russian friends advised us to carry out propaganda among the population of the frontier regions to enlarge the party ranks and to organize armed partisan detachments, as the Mongolian people could expel the foreign invaders from their country and with their own forces. As for the White Guards, the Soviet friends promised to send units of the Red Army to fight against them.

Receipt of the reply from Moscow coincided with Ungern's attack on Urga.

Baron Ungern's Offensive. Ungern's Rule in Urga

The so-called Daurian government, defeated by the Red Army, ceased to exist. One of Semenov's close associates, Baron Ungern, was forced to retreat to Mongolia under the onslaught of FER troops. He knew that Mongols were dissatisfied with the Chinese militarists. Therefore Ungern deployed military actions against them, hoping that by abolishing Chinese militarist rule, he would be able to get a firmer foothold in Mongolia and the necessary reserves which he could mobilize to continue to fight against the Soviet Republic.

Ungern invaded Mongolia via its north-eastern border. Advancing along the Ulza River, he reached the Onon River without encountering any resistance. To conceal the advance of his troops towards the capital, Ungern led them through the mountains stretching along both banks of the Onon. Ungern posed as a relative of the Russian Tsar and covered up his invasion of Mongolia with demagogic declarations of his desire to free it from the oppression of the Chinese militarists.

Mereng Dugarjab, Taizhi Lubasan-Tseven from the Tushetukhanov aimag, Buryats Zhambalon, Barkut Lubasan and other loyal lackeys of the baron prowled the khoshuns, recruiting Mongols and Buryat refugees into his detachments.

Russian White Guards, who had fled to Mongolia, also joined him. Ungern's army was growing. On September 19, 1920, Ungern's detachments suddenly approached Urga and engaged the Chinese militarist troops. The latter, suspecting treason on the part of Bogd and his dignitaries, ordered the arrest of Bogd Khan. His arrest greatly agitated both the secular population and the clergy of Urga and its surroundings. The news of Bogd's arrest spread throughout the country with lightning speed. The authority of Bogd among the Mongolian population was then very great. The invaders had caused all Mongolians to feel indignant when they arrested him.

Baron Ungern launched an attack on Urga from the north-east. There was indiscriminate firing on both sides of the Selba River and in the Consular Settlement. By the end of the second day of fighting some of the Manchu soldiers who had previously been in Semenov's detachment had defected to Ungern's side. The position of the Chinese militia seemed hopeless, but the White Guards suddenly withdrew to the east. (It turned out that they had run out of ammunition and were forced to retreat while waiting for supplies to arrive.)

At that time a Chinese official, Chen Yi, who had played a major role in the liquidation of Mongolian autonomy, arrived in Urga at the head of a punitive expedition. In preparation for the defeat of Ungern's army, Chen Yi embarked on a series of military measures. Hundreds of

thousands of horses and camels as well as yurts, cattle and fodder were requisitioned from the Arats through officials of the 4 aimags and zai-sans¹ of the Shabin department.

The soldiers of the Chinese militarists in the Urga district requisitioned foodstuffs, took away horses from the Arats, stole sheep and cattle in packs right from the pastures. Residents of Urga were forbidden to leave the city. Passers-by were searched in the streets and money and valuables were taken away.

In the Damba-Darja monastery north of Urga, Chen Yi's soldiers gathered all lamas of the monastery and surrounding Arats and, accusing them of supporting Ungern's troops, opened fire on them and then looted the monastery. The Shadoblin monastery was also looted, the head lama killed and the monastery building destroyed.

Murder, violence and looting took place throughout the country. Mongolia groaned under the oppression of the Chinese militarists. Resentment against the invaders grew among the people. Taking advantage of this for his own purposes, Ungern, positioned in the Kerulen area, was gathering his forces together in preparation for a new offensive. He was supported by Dugarjab, nicknamed "the tall one," and Lubsan-Tseven. Baron Ungern was the commander-in-chief of all the forces, Lubsan-Tseven was the

¹ Officials of the Shabin department. — *Ed.*

commander of the Mongol forces and Jigmit Jambalon was his deputy. A Mongol government (ministry) was organized under the commander of the Mongol troops.

Mongol volunteers, dissatisfied with the terror of the Chinese militarists, also flocked to Ungern. The population supplied him with everything he needed: cattle, yurts, etc. But Ungern was not satisfied with this; his underlings plundered Chinese and Russian merchants and the peaceful Mongolian population. Terrible threats loomed over the Arat population and there was nowhere to hide from it: in the south and west of Urga the Chinese militarists plundered and destroyed the Arat cattle, in the east of the country Ungern's White bandits ruled the country.

With the help of a demagogic promise to restore Mongolian autonomy, Ungern succeeded in greatly increasing the number of his troops. At the end of the last winter moon (January 1921), he launched a new attack on Urga. A regiment under the command of Bargut Lubsan and the Tibetan Saji Lama¹ was tasked to infiltrate the Green Palace, capture Bogd and deliver him to the Manchushiri monastery. By "liberating" Bogd, Baron Ungern hoped to strengthen his authority among the Mongolian population, become close to Bogd, seize power and turn Mon-

¹ A close associate of Bogd Khan, shot in 1922 for organizing a counter-revolutionary plot against the people's revolutionary power. — *Ed.*

golia into a springboard for military adventures against Soviet Russia.

On the morning of January 24, 1921, a White Guard detachment under the command of Lub-san infiltrated the palace, seized Bogd and his wife, Ihe-Dagini,¹ and took them to the Manchushiri monastery outside Urga.

At that time Baron Ungern was advancing on Urga from the east. On Ungern's orders, poorly armed Mongol servicemen marched ahead, followed by White Guards in the form of a supporting force. Deceived by Baron Ungern, burning with hatred for the Chinese militarists, the Mongol servicemen boldly went on the attack. The militarist troops who had taken refuge in the mountains to the north and east of Gandan, unable to withstand the onslaught, fled northwards. Thus, on February 3, 1921, the city was completely cleared of Chinese reactionary troops.

Chen Yi and the higher ranks of the militarist army fled by car to Kyakhta. The Chinese militarist troops retreating north destroyed everything in their path, burned down the urton stations along with the Arats who were performing the urton duty.

Urga was occupied by the Ungern gangs. They unceremoniously robbed the population of the town, robbed the Chinese bank, Chinese trading firms, killed the owners of those firms, burned

¹ The name of Bogd Khan's wife: Ihe meaning mother, Dagini meaning goddess. — *Ed.*

down their houses. There was quite a considerable amount of gold in the Urga bank; the panicked Chinese militia members who retreated did not have time to remove it and the gold fell into the hands of Ungern. They brutally massacred Chinese and Russian traders, the remaining Chinese soldiers and the peaceful Mongolian population. On the poles, on company gates, on moorings — everywhere hung the corpses of the hung Chinese, Russians and Mongols. The bandits spared no one, hanging men and women, old men and even children. Ungern dealt with the Russian revolutionaries Kucherenko, Gembarzhevskih and Dr. Tsibektarov with special cruelty — they were hacked to pieces. Ungern brutally persecuted the Jews, killing them all — men, women, young and old. When Ungern's men approached a Chinese hospital, wounded soldiers from the militarist forces met them with gunfire. Ungern's forces responded by bombing the hospital. The resulting fire destroyed not only the hospital, but also some of the city's finest buildings.

On the 27th of the last winter moon (January 1921), dukes and lamas who saw Ungern as their liberator sent him a delegation from Urga to discuss the issue of the statehood of Mongolia.

“My aim,” Baron Ungern told them, “is to restore the three monarchies: the Russian, the Mongolian and the Manchurian. So far I have expelled the Chinese, who have lawlessly seized Urga. The autonomous Mongolian government must now be restored... It is necessary to choose

a happy day for ascension to the throne, to invite Bogd Khan with his wife to Urga and re-organize five ministries.”

On the same day, the major princes and lamas went to the Manchushiri monastery to congratulate Bogd on the restoration of autonomy and to welcome the Mongol commander, Lubsan-Tseven, who guarded him. Bogd was soon transported to Urga, and on the 15th of the first spring month of the 11th year “erected by many” (February 21, 1921), he was again enthroned as Khan. Baron Ungern received the title of Khan and the title of Chin-Wan. The so-called Mongol commander Lubsan-Tseven was given the title of Chin-Wan. General Rezukhin was also granted the title of Chin-Wan.

Besides the above-mentioned persons, many Russian White Guards and Mongol officials in Ungern’s army were granted titles and positions. Higher lamas and princes were lavishly showered with Bogd’s favours.

The newly established “autonomous” government was Mongol in name only, the de facto ruler of Mongolia was Baron Ungern. Bogd’s decrees were replaced by Ungern’s orders. Ungern himself acted at the behest of the Japanese military. Allegedly on behalf of the “Mongolian government,” Ungern sent declarations on the restoration of Mongolian autonomy to the President of the Republic of China, the People’s Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of Soviet Russia and

the military governor of the eastern provinces of China, Zhang Zou-lin, who was a Japanese agent. At the same time, another message, this one secret, was sent to Zhang Zuo-lin, promising to hand Mongolia over to his troops.

All the activities of Baron Ungern in Mongolia were aimed at strengthening the White Guard gangs, concentrated in Ulyasutai, Kobdo, Ulankom and other points in Mongolia, to increase the size of the army, intending for a future offensive against Soviet Russia. The Velogvardeys were forcibly mobilizing the youth of the Khalkha aimags into their ranks, taking livestock from the population. The White Guards summarily shot and hanged Mongols who appeared suspicious to them, seeking to suppress the desire of the people to resistance in the bud by means of terror.

The country groaned under the oppression of the White Guards. Mongolia, rich in livestock, was devastated in a short period of time. The Mongolian people were threatened with starvation.

Sukhbaatar's Organization of the First Units of the Revolutionary Army

Having received Soviet Russia's reply, Sukhbaatar and his comrades decided to leave Irkutsk for Kyakhta and, having started propaganda work among the population of the nearest frontier sentries of Mongolia, start organizing partisan detachments.

On November 18, 1920, Sukhbaatar and Choibalsan, disguised in Chinese garb, left for Kyakhta. But when they reached Troitsk-Kosavsk Choibalsan and Sukhbaatar changed their plan of action. The fact is that in Kyakhta and in the eastern sentries of Mongolia there were a large number of Chinese militarist troops, and a lot of Japanese spies were sneaking around on the territory of the Far Eastern Republic (FER). It was extremely difficult and dangerous to carry out revolutionary work under such circumstances. Therefore the decision was made to work in the frontier guards of Mongolia, which were situated to the West from Kyakhta, bordering with Soviet Russia.

Sukhbaatar and some other members of the People's Party stayed on the border of the Soviet Russia in the locality of Sartul-Bait.

Communication with the Party members in Urga was carried out through Sukhbaatar's wife

Yanjima. She also provided information on the situation in the capital. During the days of bloody terror of the White Guards, when it was dangerous for a Mongolian woman to appear in the street, Yanjima kept the party members, who were in the rear of the Whites, and Sukhbaatar, in touch.

Choibalsan was sent deep into Mongolia to carry out propaganda work among the Arat community. Knowing that many Mongolian princes and lamas, dissatisfied with the order imposed by the invaders, were hostile to both Chinese militarists and Ungern's bandits, party members decided to bring this part of princes and lamas to their side. Choibalsan was instructed to establish contact with Soumya Beise, the prince of one of the border khoshuns. Sumya Beise agreed to assist in the restoration of Mongolian autonomy and, in particular, promised to organize a unit of the People's Army from the Arats of his khoshun.

A group of revolutionary party members, led by Sukhbaatar, established close links with Red Army units. At that time in Irkutsk, proclamations, leaflets demanding the establishment of people's power, sharp, denunciatory posters against the Chinese occupants and White bandits were printed in Mongolian. A newspaper was also published, agitating for the establishment of people's power in Mongolia. A proclamation to the Mongolian people was issued on behalf of the representatives of the People's Party. The procla-

mation stated:

“We, the representatives of the Party, have risen to fight because the Mongol princes and lamas, in whose hands the power was held, are incapable of such a step, they can only oppress the Mongolian people. They weakened the might of the state power and in the end betrayed the country, selling out the Mongols into slavery to the Chinese militarists. Our Party rose up against the Gamins¹ and sent its representatives to the Soviet country with the request to help the oppressed Arats, to help restore the autonomy and independence of the country and to achieve freedom for the Arat masses. As is already known, Soviet Russia promised its help.

“Some short-sighted Mongol princes and lamas are siding with the White Guard Ungern, who was expelled from his country and could not find a shelter, mobilizing the peaceful Arats in his gangs, while this executioner does not think at all about the restoration of an independent Mongolian state. Our Party cannot tolerate this situation. It announces the creation of the People’s Army to fight against Baron Ungern and the Gamins. We want to liberate Mongolia and establish people’s power.

“Mongols, don’t be deceived!

“Join our People’s Army!

“We call upon you for a great cause!

¹ Mongolian term for the Chinese militarist occupation forces — *Ed.*

“May the time of peaceful labour come!”

This proclamation was sent out to officials and the population of the sentries to the west and east of Kyakhta.

Many times Sukhbaatar and his comrades crossed the border illegally to agitate among the Mongolian population. A fiery agitator and an excellent organizer, Sukhbaatar quickly succeeded in creating partisan detachments out of the Arats. From the population of three eastern sentries of Mongolia he organized a volunteer detachment of 50 men. This detachment, for the first time in the history of the People's Army of Mongolia, engaged in battle with the Chinese militarists and emerged victorious. One Buryat rode to the sentry in Kiran, where the brigade was posted. With tears in his eyes he told them that about 50 Gamins came to his yurt, plundered the property and beat up his wife and children. The guerrillas decided to eliminate the invaders and moved towards the sentry, where the Gamins were rampaging. A fight ensued. The brigade, although poorly armed, emerged victorious. Having learned about the event Sukhbaatar ordered the brigade to mercilessly fight against Chinese militarist troops who were robbing civilians.

One day a Mongolian came to Troitskosavsk and told Sukhbaatar that he had organized a detachment of partisans numbering about 30 persons in the Erdeni-van khoshun. It was Comrade Buma-Tsende. At that time the People's Army

had a small number of fighters, and a detachment of 30 men was a considerable reinforcement for it. Sukhbaatar soon appointed Buma-Tsende as commander of the detachment. A skilful commander and a brave fighter, Buma-Tsende had repeatedly clashed with detachments of Gamins who were robbing local Arats. During preparations for the decisive attack on Kyakhta, Sukhbaatar appointed him a regimental commander.

The first month of the 11th year was coming to an end (February 1921). One day a report was received that more than a hundred armed Gamins had arrived in the Shamor area for hay. Having learned about it, Sukhbaatar ordered the servicemen of the Erdeni-van and Sumya Beise khoshuns to be ready for battle, and himself at the head of a tsokhor¹ of servicemen went to the Gamins' location. Having set up the encirclement, Sukhbaatar drove straight up to the officer with three servicemen.

Seeing the People's Army soldiers, the officer shouted frightenedly:

"Whose soldiers are you?" and pulled his mauser from its holster.

To this Sukhbaatar replied:

"We are servicemen, defending the interests of the Mongolian people, and we have no grievances whatsoever against the Chinese people.

¹ Literally, "motley." Name given to military units of servicemen drawn from different aimags. — *Ed.*

You soldiers of the Chinese militarists are taking away the hay harvested by our people. We consider this to be illegal and offer you to surrender your weapons.”

The officer refused to surrender his weapons. Sukhbaatar approved of his action, saying that every military man should value his weapon as much as his life. Then he told them that the servicemen of the revolutionary army would not take up arms against the Gamins if they immediately left the territory of Mongolia; but in case of disobedience, they would be shot. A fight broke out between Sukhbaatar's partisans and the Gamins. The Chinese soldiers fought hard, but were defeated. Thus the still scattered, sparse and poorly armed units of the Mongolian People's Army gained victory after victory over the enemies of the Mongolian people.

The troops of the Chinese militarists, defeated in the battles with the Ungerns, flocked to Kyakhta from all sides. The retreat of the Gamins resembled a violent torrent, destroying everything in its path. The corpses of tortured people, burnt-out fires, looted yurts testified to the fact that the Gamins had passed through. The influx of Gamins to Kyakhta caused a shortage of food and fodder. The invaders took away cattle and property from the local population, looted monasteries. The country suffered incalculable misery. The population fled to the forests and mountains, abandoning their property and livestock. No wonder that the news about Sukhbaatar and

his comrades, who hoisted the banner of struggle for the liberation of Mongolia, spread among the Arat community with lightning speed. On foot and on horseback, elderly and young, lamas and secular, Khalkhas, Durbets, Buryats and Chahars¹ were drawn to Sukhbaatar from all sides. They marched day and night, hiding in the forests and mountains, alone and in groups, secretly crossing the border. Arats supplied the People's Army with horses, weapons, tents and yurts. The military strength of the People's Army grew and strengthened rapidly. The sincere sympathy and love of the population raised the morale of the fighters of the People's Army. Hunger, cold and other hardships could not break their will to victory.

Thus, under the leadership of the leader of the Mongolian revolution, Sukhbaatar, a glorious People's Army was established, united by a single will to fight for the freedom and independence of the Mongolian people.

In addition to Soumya Beise, several other khoshun princes joined the People's Army. Belik Saihan, an official of the Erdeni-van khoshun, received Sukhbaatar's letter and came to Troitskosavsk personally, agreeing to fight for the liberation of the country. He organized in his khoshun a detachment of 70 servicemen and sent them to join Sukhbaatar's detachment.

¹ One of the tribes of the Mongolian people. — *Ed.*

1st Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

The great cause of the people's revolutionary struggle of Mongolia, initiated by Sukhbaatar and other revolutionaries, became a national cause. To work out a plan of further action and a program of the Party, a meeting of Party members was convened in Troitskosavsk on February 28, 1921. The meeting was attended by Party members who were in Troitskosavsk and delegates from khoshuns, 17 people in all.

The following questions were discussed at the meeting:

1. On the tasks of the Party for the immediate future.
2. On the establishment of a body for the management of military affairs.
3. Approval of the provision on the army staff.
4. On the work of the Party among the masses.

The assembly unanimously voted to immediately begin an armed struggle for the liberation of the fatherland, to expel the Gamins and White Guards from Mongolian lands. It was decided to establish a governing military body, an army staff of five men. The Commander-in-Chief Sukhbaatar was put in charge of the headquarters.

On March 1, 1921, the second conference of party members went down in history as the first

congress of Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. The congress was attended by 21 people and chaired by Sukhbaatar. The congress approved the platform of the People's Party, which outlined its program and constitutional provisions.

“In the history of the Mongolian people there have been occasions,” the document said, “when they fell under the power of other states and experienced severe suffering. But every time, the Mongolian people threw off the yoke of the enslavers, restored their state independence, again became the masters of their country and defended their national culture. We remember the events of the recent past of our homeland when the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia, unwilling to put up with the oppression of despotic officials of the Daising dynasty, more than once rose up in arms against the Manchu invaders.”

At a time when all the peoples of the world were striving to win freedom and the right to develop their culture and customs, the working Arats and intellectuals of Mongolia, sparing neither their strength nor their property, rose up to fight for the return of the Mongolian people's authority over their ancestral lands. To achieve this goal they organized the Mongolian People's Party, which had the following tasks:

“1. The Party seeks to take power into its own hands in order to eliminate the bitter suffering of the masses of Mongolia, and thereby contribute to their achievement of equality and universal

happiness along with other peoples, as well as to promote the revival of the power of their homeland and the development of their national culture.

“2. Because the peaceful co-existence of the Mongolian people and its exposure to culture and enlightenment is impossible until Mongolia gains independence, the People’s Party’s ultimate goal is to establish an independent state of the Mongolian people; the Party’s immediate goal is to free the Mongolians from the Chinese militarists and Russian White Guards, and to restore the recently destroyed autonomy of Outer Mongolia.

“3. With the establishment of the people’s power and the restoration of the country’s independence, the People’s Party will have to be guided in its policies by the firm principles of a revolutionary party.

“4. If parties of a different direction arise in Mongolia which will contribute to the achievement of our main objectives, the People’s Party will enter into temporary agreement with them; if these parties hinder the struggle of our Party, they will be recognized as enemies of the Mongolian people. Traitors and conniving hypocrites who betray the great cause of the Mongolian people to the Chinese militarists will be declared enemies of the people.

“5. Our Party will resolve issues of foreign and domestic policy, as well as religious life, issues of changing long-established customs, tradi-

tions and everyday life, according to the spirit of the times experienced by the peoples of the world, and in accordance with the nature of future changes in world events, in the interests of the welfare and progress of the Mongolian people. But those customs which are useless or harmful, which do not correspond to the spirit of the age, or which are outmoded, will be eliminated as far as necessary as outdated and destructive, as softly as possible, but in extreme cases by drastic measures.

“6. The Party seeks to establish friendly relations and contacts with revolutionary organizations in Russia, China and other countries which are striving, like our Party, for the destruction of despotism, for progress and establishment of the power of the people.

“7. Taking into account that the interests and goals of small peoples, groaning like Mongolia under the heel of strong states, are united, the Party welcomes the realization of their common and just tasks.

“8. As for the tasks of nation-building mentioned in paragraph 5, namely central government, local government, courts, education, national economy, public health and fair tax distribution (on which the welfare of the people depends), the Party will publish its demands in the near future. Believing that the masses of the people have the right to freedom, the Party seeks to remove obstacles to the exercise of that right and only opposes actions which are contrary to the

interests of the people and the policies of the state.

“9. All Mongolians, regardless of gender, who wish to devote themselves to the great cause of liberating the Mongolian people, who recognize our Party program and obey its statutes, are accepted into the ranks of our Party.”

The Central Committee of the Party was elected at this congress.

Formation of a Provisional Revolutionary Government. Preparation of the Attack on Kyakhta

Commander-in-Chief Sukhbaatar, together with other representatives of the People's Party, devised a plan for the capture of Kyakhta. According to this plan the fighters of the People's Army were divided into 4 regiments. The 1st regiment was formed from the partisans, who came from different khoshuns of Mongolia. The 2nd regiment was formed from the servicemen of the khoshuns of Sumya Beise. The 3rd regiment consisted of the servicemen of the eastern khoshuns. Servicemen of the Erdeni-van khoshun made up the 4th regiment, commanded by Buma-Tsende. Intensified combat training was conducted in the regiments. Along with grenade throwing and firearms training, the servicemen had to perform patrols and take part in reconnaissance operations. There were frequent skirmishes between servicemen and detachments of Gamins, who plundered the population of the border khoshuns.

In order to mobilize the Arats of the surrounding sentries and replenish the ranks of the People's Army, the Party Central Committee issued an address which said:

“Dear Dzangis and Tsagdis!¹ The Party plenipotentiaries last year addressed a letter to Soviet Russia, on which Bogd Khan put his seal. In that letter we asked the Soviet country to help us get rid of the foreign invaders, help us establish an independent state and win freedom for the Arat masses. The Soviet country promised us its help.

“Our arrival in Troitskosavsk coincided with the capture of Urga by the beleaguered Ungern, who, having fraudulently mobilized the Mongolian servicemen

into his troops, expelled Gamins with their help.

“We, Mongols of the eastern and western sentries, for the salvation of our people and our religion and to take revenge the invaders for all their atrocities, should unanimously rise up to fight and mobilize the servicemen. We should make use of this favourable moment, when both our enemies are exterminating each other, and immediately occupy Kyakhta. But to achieve this aim we must have a military force at our disposal. The foundation of our army has already been laid — we have about 400 fighters.

“To you, dear Dzangis and Tsagdis, we ask you to delve deeply into the meaning of this appeal and urgently report it to the Arats of the sentries.

“We are confident in your firm determination

¹ Dzangis are border guard officers, Tsagdis are border guard soldiers. — *Ed.*

to support the just cause, and hope that you will mobilise at least 100 men from each sentry and send them to the Altai area by the 25th, where the men will be given weapons that we have prepared.

“Support the great cause! Cast aside unnecessary doubts!”

By mentioning in that address that Bogd Khan had stamped his seal on the letter sent to Russia, the People’s Party was taking into account the enormous authority of Bogd among the population — the mere mention of his name convinced many of the justness of the cause that had been initiated.

By that time, many in Mongolia were already aware of the activities of the People’s Party and were sympathetic to it. The time came to establish a people’s revolutionary government.

On Sukhbaatar’s initiative, on the third day of the first decade of the middle spring moon (March 13, 1921), a meeting was convened in Troitskosavsk, where CC members of the MPRP, army staff, representatives of partisan detachments, khoshuns and guards were present. This meeting elected a Provisional People’s Government of 7 members, which included Sukhbaatar and Choibalsan.

The decision adopted at the meeting stated:

“The aim of the armed uprising of the people is, firstly, to liberate the motherland from the yoke of the Chinese militarists and purge it of

other invaders who have invaded its territory, and secondly, to establish a government capable of protecting the interests and developing the culture of the Mongolian people.

“To achieve these aims we consider it necessary to elect a plenipotentiary provisional People’s Government of Mongolia, which should establish friendly relations with neighbouring states that respect the rights of the Mongolian people, liberate the Mongolian people from the power of foreign invaders and establish a government free from foreign dependence, capable of ensuring the freedom of the Arat masses.”

Taking Kyahta

It was time for a decisive battle with the Chinese militarist forces. Commander-in-Chief Sukhbaatar was preparing an attack on Kyakhta. Political workers were assigned to all regiments, who carried out propaganda work among the fighters, preparing them for the upcoming battles. They told the servicemen about the aims for which the Party and the Provisional People's Government were fighting, told them about Soviet Russia, whose example inspired the oppressed parochialists in the revolutionary struggle.

With great enthusiasm the servicemen prepared for the battles to come. They waited impatiently for the beginning of the performance.

On the 7th of the 2nd moon (March 15, 1921), Commander-in-Chief Sukhbaatar sent the following ultimatum to the commander of the Chinese militarist detachment located in Kyakhta:

“Our Mongolian People's Army is ready for the immediate occupation of Kyakhta. But being guided by humane sentiments and wishing to avoid needless bloodshed and conflicts which may arise in connection with the conduct of military operations in the frontier region, I propose to you, on receipt of this letter, to disarm your soldiers and surrender. Should you voluntarily accept our offer, I guarantee the complete safety

of all your soldiers and assistance in their return to their homeland.

“A reply shall be delivered to the submitter of this letter.

“In the event of no reply or if our offer is rejected, the Mongol army will immediately commence hostilities and all responsibility for possible losses will fall on you.

“Regards,

“*Commander-in-Chief of the Mongolian Army Sukhbaatar on the 7th day of the 2nd lunar of the 11th year ‘erected by many’ (March 1921)*”

At the same time, the Commander-in-Chief, together with representatives of the army staff, devised a plan for the capture of Kyakhta, which consisted of the following: The fighters, subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief personally would launch an offensive from the west to the northwest towards Erenhamar and the sand dunes at the headwaters of Teguskhe-Bulak. The 2nd Regiment’s servicemen would start their offensive from the west of Teguskhe-Bulak at Cape Oros-Bulak, east of Noyan-Obo. A 40-man ambush would be set up in the Baga Hailastai locality west of Orget-Khutug and in the western hollow of Noyan-Obo to cover the rear of the army from a possible Gamin offensive from Tuji-Naras and Sogo-Bulak. A group of 50 servicemen of the Erdeni-van khoshun under the command of an

experienced commander went to the area of Multu-Gou, east of Sogo-Bulak, to strike at the detachments of Chinese militarists from the rear. The remaining 100 servicemen of the Erdeni-van khoshun under the command of Buma-Tsende would launch an offensive west of Ulan-Burgas, joining the right flank of the 2nd Regiment.

There was no reply from the Chinese command.

The decisive day was upon us.

It was cold and snowing wet. About 10 o'clock in the evening, having sent forward the reconnaissance, the People's Army moved from Altan in the direction of Kyakhta. We drove in absolute silence. Smoking, lighting matches and talking were strictly forbidden.

By sunrise the snow had stopped. Ahead appeared Kyakhta.

Commander-in-Chief Sukhbaatar gave an order for all units of the army to take positions according to the plan. The main forces of the People's Army reached Shire-Burkhan. A Chinese post appeared ahead. On Sukhbaatar's command the head unit opened fire. Two Gamins were killed, the others, having abandoned the post, fled to Kyakhta. The news of the approaching units of the People's Army caused panic among the Chinese militarist soldiers.

From the mountain, the frightened Gamins could be seen fleeing the town. Their commanders abandoned their army and fled to the Russian border.

Grenades exploded here and there in the town, accurately thrown by the men of the People's Army. A disguised machine gun on the bank of the Basatu River opened fire on Kyakhta.

But soon the first confusion in the camp of the enemy, caused by the sudden attack of the People's Army, passed. The Gamins, who had come to their senses, opened frequent gunfire, showering a hail of bullets on the fighters of the People's Army. The servicemen fearlessly engaged the ten-thousand-strong army of Chinese militarists. After crossing the ridge, the servicemen descended to the Basatu River, which flows between the mountain range and the city. The left wing launched an offensive from the northwest. The army's head unit proceeded towards the centre of the city, while the right wing led the offensive from the south. The Gamins, who had escaped from the city gates, lay in a chain around the city. A fierce battle ensued. Suddenly the Chinese cavalry appeared.

What Sukhbaatar feared happened: the enemy launched an attack on the right wing of the People's Army. The ambush of 40 men could not block the way to the many times superior enemy forces.

They were running out of ammunition. This time the People's Army retreated without taking the town.

But an hour later, having replenished their ammunition supply, the servicemen launched a new attack. The Gamins could not withstand the

onslaught of the fighters of the People's Army. Like black streams they rushed away from the city. Shells and bullets flew in their wake. Hundreds of brave soldiers of the People's Army showed wonders of courage in this battle.

On March 18, 1921 at 12 o'clock at night, the People's Army occupied Kyakhta. In order to prevent a counteroffensive from the retreating enemy, as well as to prevent mutiny and disorder from the Gamins hiding in the town, sentries were posted all over. Sukhbaatar urgently called a meeting of commanders, congratulating them on their first victory, warning of the need to establish complete order and strict discipline in the city, not to allow the killing and plundering of either Mongolian and Chinese people. In the same spirit an appeal to the population of Kyakhta was drawn up. The commanders themselves posted this proclamation all over the town at night.

At about 8 o'clock in the morning, the members of the Provisional People's Government and the Central Committee of the Party arrived in Kyakhta from Troitskosavsk. They were greeted solemnly, with red banners, by the People's Army and the population of Kyakhta. The Provisional Government and the Central Committee of the Party were housed in the dzarguchi yamyn building.¹ An emergency meeting of the Party Central

¹ The office building of a former Manchurian border guard official in Kyakhta. — *Ed.*

Committee and Government was convened at which Sukhbaatar reported:

1. On the measures taken to protect the city and the safety of the lives and property of the civilian population of Kyakhta, both Mongols and Chinese.

2. About the establishment of friendly relations with foreign countries.

3. On the organization of ministries.

The government approved all the proposals of Sukhbaatar and formed three ministries: military, finance and foreign affairs.

The next day, on the 11th day of the 2nd moon (March 19, 1921), fires broke out in various parts of the city. The Gamins who had taken refuge in the city set fire to it, hoping that this would force the People's Army to leave Kyakhta. The guards of the town fished out many of the Gamins who had set fire to houses.

All fighters of the People's Army were mobilized to fight the fire, and they were assisted by the population. Fire brigades were called from Troitskosavsk as there were no fire brigades of their own in Kyakhta. However, it was very difficult to put it out. The whole town was engulfed in flames. The government suggested that the urgent removal of goods and valuables should be initiated.

At the meeting of the members of the government Sukhbaatar made the following suggestion: as the aim of the People's Government is to fight against the invaders and oppressors and does not

intend to harm the workers, whatever nationality they belong to, it is necessary to return the property to the Chinese population who had fled from Kyakhta during the advance of the People's Army. To this end, a representative of the People's Government should be sent to Troitskosavsk to negotiate with the Chinese dignitary Chen Yi and other members of the Chinese mission there on the procedure for returning property to the Chinese workers. In addition, Sukhbaatar made a proposal to issue an appeal to Mongols who had fled their homeland during the invasion of the Chinese militarist troops, with an offer to return to Mongolia and engage in peaceful labour. Sukhbaatar's proposals were accepted. An appeal was sent to all the districts of Soviet Russia and the FER adjacent to Mongolia, stating:

“The People's Party, the Government and the Mongolian People's Army have set themselves the task of freeing our country from the cruel and seditious Gamins and White bandits and their henchmen who have brought untold suffering to the Mongolian people.

“As for the peaceful traders, we will do them no harm. Nothing will threaten their lives or property. On the contrary, the People's Army will protect them with all its might.

“Brother Mongols who fled from Kyakhta and its environs from the horrors of war and the oppression of the invaders, return to your homeland! The People's Army has occupied Kyakhta

and expelled the invaders, established order and tranquillity in the city. You can safely engage in peaceful labour.”

Sukhbaatar went to Troitskosavsk on behalf of the government to negotiate with the Chinese representatives. But the Chinese dignitaries, seeing evil intent in the proposal of the People's Government, fled Troitskosavsk at night without giving any answer.

The First Activities of the People's Government

A fire raged for several days in Kyakhta, destroying many houses. The government was forced to move to Altan Bulak.

After the occupation of Kyakhta by the troops of the People's Army, the enemy made no counter-attacks, but there were also many enemies inside the town. To combat them a military reconnaissance unit was established under the military ministry, the leadership of which was entrusted to Choibalsan.

The reconnaissance units shrewdly guarded all the mountain passages in the area of Kyakhta, monitored the actions of the fleeing Gamins, detected the hiding enemies and closely watched the manoeuvres of the White Guard units.

The territory of the revolutionary state included: to the west of Kiakhta — 5 sentries, from Bur Jirgitai to Khabtagai; to the east — 4 sentries, from Kerani to Kudara; to the south — the territory up to Ibitsik and Tsagan-Daban ridge; to the southwest — the territory from Shamor to Budun.

The population of those areas trusted in the People's Government and the People's Revolutionary Party, and were ready to give their lives for the liberation of their homeland. In these territories the laws of the Provisional People's Government were in force, and beyond its borders be-

gan the lands to which the power of the “autonomous” Mongolian government, “restored” by Baron Ungern, extended.

The population of the “autonomous” Mongolian territory did not dare openly recognize the authority of the People’s Government, but sympathized with it and was familiar with all its activities. The influence of the People’s Government extended as far as Iro and Erdeni-van monastery, where the most accurate information was always available. The people of the “autonomous” Mongolian territory were at one with the People’s Party and ready to fight with it against the White Guard gangs.

The People’s Revolutionary Party and the government took advantage of the respite to strengthen the state apparatus. A number of state institutions were set up: an administrative department, departments of justice, foreign affairs and communications. All these departments were part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The people’s government took every care to strengthen and replenish the army. Mobilization of horses, collection of transportation means, food and fodder for the army, were carried out. A military school was established in Altan Bulak to train the command staff.

A militia and a military court were organized under the War Ministry to strengthen revolutionary discipline and order. Measures were taken to strengthen military discipline. In the decision of the Government on this matter, drafted by Su-

khbaatar, it was stated:

“The Mongols, who for many centuries were under the oppression of foreign invaders, have now thrown off this oppression and established the People’s Government. The laws and decrees of the People’s Government must be respected and strictly enforced within the country and the borders of the state must be firmly protected from encroachment by foreign enemies. To this end it is necessary, in accordance with the principles of an independent state, on the one hand, and the laws and customs of Mongolia on the other, to establish a strong army.

“The Mongolian army must place the defence of the interests of our long-suffering people above everything else, and must remember and keep pure the great ideas of a better life for the workers, for which all the peoples of the world are fighting. For this purpose it is necessary to:

“1. Establish, on the basis of an enclosed draft, a Central Office of the People’s Army.

“2. Instruct the Chief of the Army Staff to devise measures for the protection of the frontiers.

“3. Instruct the Minister of Defence to survey all existing military organizations in aimags and khoshuns and establish new directorates as necessary.

“At the same time, it is necessary to:

“(a) Conduct a register of persons capable of serving military service, indicating their age, position, etc.;

“(b) Conscript all men, with the exception of

lamas assigned to monasteries;

“(c) To prepare for the mobilization of servicemen and horses;

“(d) The conscription of young men from the age of 19, with each conscript bringing two horses with one saddle;

“(e) Conscript the command staff first, as well as those who have undergone military training.

“4. First create one full cavalry brigade of 2 regiments of 2 squadrons each. In addition, create 2 squadrons and add them to the existing regiment. Later on, form another brigade in order to form a division out of 2 brigades. Organize one reserve regiment and one command staff training regiment, according to the attached draft.

“5. In those units where there are trained Mongolian commanders, do not appoint instructors. Commanders should be trained in a training regiment. Inspect all available command staff and dismiss those who do not meet their assignment.

“6. Instruct Commander-in-Chief Sukhbaatar to strictly enforce military customs and laws.

“7. In order to successfully defend the Mongolian People’s State from foreign and domestic enemies, it is necessary to organize the army according to the European model. We shall instruct the Ministry of War to raise awareness of this matter among the servicemen.”

Under the Commander-in-Chief Sukhbaatar’s proposal, Party representatives were sent to

Western Altai, to the Uryanghi khoshuns, Kobdo and Ulan-Kom, to durbets and olets. Their task was to spread the ideas of the People's Party and to organize guerilla groups to fight against White Guard groups located in those areas. In order to find out whether there are persons sympathetic to the cause of the People's Party among the leaders of the Urga government, a letter was sent to the "autonomous" government, ending with the following words:

"The suffering of the days to come, when compared with the suffering inflicted on the Mongolian people by the Gamins, will seem insignificant. The time for the final choice between suffering and happiness will come in fifteen days. If you agree to negotiate, send your representative to Kyakhta in advance, specifying the place, day and hour of the meeting. Our troops will guarantee your complete safety."

But there was no answer to this letter.

In the middle spring month (March 1921), the provisional government issued the following appeal to the population:

"To the Arats, lamas and princes of all Mongolia!

"Let us free our country from the yoke of foreign invaders!

"Let us drive out the armed bandits prowling our land, plundering our people and spreading unrest!

"Let us establish order and tranquillity in our land!

“...We, seven men, on the advice of the honourable and wise men of our country, have been elected members of the provisional government of Mongolia. We are charged with summoning representatives of the whole country and opening the Great Khural, which should discuss and decide all state affairs, elect a permanent government of an independent Mongolian state and promulgate the necessary laws.

“Henceforth all power belongs to the Mongolian people and the orders of foreign invaders have no power whatsoever.

“The Provisional People’s Government will make every effort for the liberation of the Arat masses. We believe and will continue to believe in heaven’s predestination and in the great and wonderful future of the Mongolian people. You all, without exception, see what boundless suffering the Mongolian state has to endure. You, wise men and intellectuals, fair-minded men and brave heroes, should understand the importance of the moment and help make a happy future for our country.

“The Russian White Guards, led by Baron Ungern, who had attempted to establish ruthless exploitative rule in their homeland, Russia, were driven from its borders by their own people. Taking advantage of the Mongolian population’s intense discontent with the brutality of the Chinese militarists, the White bandits promoted the slogan of freeing Mongolia from the oppression of the Gamins and establishing an independent

Mongolian state. Under the cover of this slogan they invaded our land, occupied Urga, seized power and terrorized the whole population.

“Proceeding from this, the Provisional People’s Government, following the principles of justice, calls on you to expel the White bandits from our country with impunity and to clear our homeland of them.

“The Provisional Government aims at liberating the fatherland from the oppression of the Chinese militarists, destroying the armed bands of White Guards which are operating in our country, and, in so doing, ensuring tranquillity in the country. Our Government guarantees complete safety of life and property to the peaceful foreign citizens: Russians and Chinese. Let everyone go freely about their business. Representatives of the people of the whole of Mongolia will convene the Great Khural, which will discuss the most important state affairs and elect the permanent government of the independent Mongolian People’s State.

*“The second moon of the 11th
year ‘erected by many’
(March 1921).”*

The Provisional Government adopted a regulation on the procedure for granting foreigners the right to erect buildings on Mongolian territory, on the procedure for obtaining the right to trade, engage in crafts, farming, horticulture, haymaking, fishing and logging, etc. These

measures were the first step in regulating the use of the country's national resources.

Simultaneously with these measures the People's Government was preparing for the decisive battles against Baron Ungern. The People's Government was aware of the Soviet Government's note to the "autonomous" government in Urga regarding the establishment of friendly relations.

The content of the note of the Soviet government was the following: If the "autonomous" government of Mongolia really wants to establish friendly relations with Soviet Russia, it must expel the White Guards led by Ungern, a descendant of the White bandit army of Semenov. In its note, the Soviet government warned that it would not tolerate the concentration of White Guard troops in areas bordering Soviet Russian territory, and if the Mongols themselves would not destroy the White Guard units, the Soviet government would help to liquidate these units.

On March 28, 1921, the People's Government received a message that to the west of Kyakhta a gang of the White bandit Sukharev appeared in the area of the Ahai-guna, Sumya Beise and Khanda-wan khoshuns and in the sentries nearest to them. Together with the zahirakchi¹ of the Sumya Beise khoshun, they robbed the local population and prepared an attack on the troops of the People's Government.

¹ An official who manages the affairs of the khoshun.
— *Ed.*

Deputy Commander-in-Chief Sumya Beise was immediately sent to the area of the White bandits with the task to mobilize the necessary number of servicemen in these khoshuns and destroy the bandits. He was accompanied by 45 servicemen, and in addition, the commissar of the partisan detachment Ivanov was sent to help him.

However, Commissar Ivanov soon returned to Sukhbaatar and told him that Mr. Sumya Beise was searching for his personal belongings, while the servicemen groups that he had organized were left on their own and were deprived of main things: food, tents and fodder.

The government decided to remove Sumya Beise from Deputy Commander-in-Chief and appointed Choibalsan in his place. Choibalsan was given a combat party assignment to bring the People's Army units located in the western khoshuns and sentries into proper condition and raise their combat efficiency. At the same time the headquarters of the troops of the western direction was established, with Choibalsan and the old Siberian partisan Shchetinkin at its head. At that time a report was received from the military units based in Ibitsik and Shamora that Baron Ungern's troops had left Urga and were heading north.

Baron Ungern's Attack on Kyakhta

In Urga, Ungern behaved like a dictator. The “autonomous” government he established had virtually no authority. Preparing hard for the northern campaign, Ungern forcibly mobilized the Mongolian population into his units, confiscated property, united the disparate groups of White Guards, rampaging in various parts of the country. He aimed to destroy the people’s power in Mongolia and then launch an offensive against the RSFSR.

Bogd, the ministers of the “autonomous” government, the lamas and princes obeyed Ungern’s orders without question, just as a man caught in a storm in the steppe becomes a plaything of the elements. All his orders about the mobilization of servicemen, about deployments and taxes were obeyed without any conditions. Especially large levies were collected from the eastern aimags and from the Shabin department — thousands of servicemen, herds of horses and large quantities of provisions were delivered to Ungern’s army.

Having learned about the occupation of Kyakhta by the troops of the People’s government, Baron Ungern, who hated everything revolutionary and who dreamed about the restoration of monarchies, proceeded to mobilize all the forces to destroy the Mongolian People’s Army.

On the 15th day of the 4th moon of the 11th year (April 20, 1921), Baron Ungern and his army marched north, leaving only a small number of policemen in Urga to protect the city. All rifles and guns of any use were taken from the weapons depots of the War Ministry.

The White bandit Ungern in 1921, before the start of the campaign to the north, had the following forces: 11,000 cavalry and sabres, 37 machine guns, 21 cannons. The main force was a division, which was under his personal command, consisting of 2 regiments of infantry and 4,800 troops, 20 machine guns and 12 cannons. The second division, which had up to 2,000 bayonets, was commanded by General Rezhukhin. In addition, there were detachments of White Guards and their mobilized Mongols to the north. Two special brigades under the command of Colonel Kazagrundi with 600 bayonets, 9 machine guns and 1 cannon moved to the south from the Khuvsgula Lake. Three detachments of Kazantsev with 700 cavalymen and 1 gun were advancing from the Uryanghai region. Four detachments of 700 cavalymen, with 3 machine guns and 1 cannon, moved along the Kerulen and the Onon. They were joined by gangs of Russian and Buryat White Guards concentrated in the area. The plan of the campaign to the north was as follows: all the above-mentioned units were divided into 4 columns and were to move simultaneously by different roads to the Russian-Mongolian border. The task of the campaign was to destroy the

Mongolian People's Army and the People's Government, and then, having advanced to the Siberian railway, to take over the FER and cut it off from the RSFSR. Going on this adventure, Baron Ungern hoped for help from Transbaikal Cossacks and Ataman Semenov, who was in Manchuria. But his calculations were not met and he was forced to lead the offensive alone.

According to Ungern's plan, the main forces of his army, under his personal command, were headed for Kyakhta, Altan-Bulak and Troitskosavsk. The second division, commanded by Rezukhin, marched at a distance of three Urtons¹ west of the Urga-Kyakhta route. Rezukhin directed the left wing of his detachment to the Zheltur sentry.

As the plan envisaged, all these units could join together to strike Troitskosavsk in a combined force if needed.

Before launching an attack on Troitskosavsk, a detachment under the command of Chahar Bayar-gun, marching in the vanguard of Ungern's brigade, was to destroy the outpost of the People's Army at Ibitsik with a sudden blow. A combined detachment of White Guards — Russians and Buryats — attacked the Mendzi sentry, keeping in the direction of the upper Onon, east of Troitskosavsk.

Ungern expected that the detachment of Bayar-gun would occupy Kyakhta, and the main

¹ Postal stations, 30-40 km apart. — *Ed.*

forces, passing east of Altan-Bulak, would hit Troitskosavsk and then begin an offensive at Verkhne-Udinsk.

Kazagrandi's cavalry brigade, which constituted the western wing of Ungern's army and consisted of Russian and Buryat White Guard units, was to advance on Soviet Russia through the sentry of Moden Kul to divert the attention of the Soviet 5th Army and thereby open the way to Troitskosavsk for Ungern's main forces.

The Defeat of Baron Ungern at Altan-Bulak

The headquarters of the Mongolian People's Army, together with units of the army of the Far Eastern Republic, were actively preparing for battles with Ungern's troops.

The plan for defeating Ungern was as follows:

1. One of the units of the People's Army, stationed in Ibitsik, was to meet the detachment of Bayar-gun, coming in advance of Ungern's troops. The Commander-in-Chief Sukhbaatar himself was to lead the operation.

2. Troops of the Far Eastern Republic (2nd Sretensky Brigade and Chita Battery) were to oppose Unger's detachment advancing east of Troitskosavsk.

3. Kazagrandi's cavalry brigade and Rezu-
khin's division, advancing on the Modon Kul
and Zheltur sentries, were to be met by troops of
the western direction under Choibalsan and a de-
tachment of Red partisans led by the experienced
commander Shchetinkin.

4. The members of the People's Government, specially sent to these regions, were to liquidate the White Guard detachments which were operating in the Altai and Kobdo regions. They were to organize voluntary partisan detachments from the local population and defeat the scattered White Guard bands. In addition, at the request

of the People's Government, units of the Red Army were sent to eliminate the remnants of the White Guards.

At the end of May 1921, the vanguard of the main forces of Ungern under the command of Bayar-gun suddenly attacked the detachment of the People's Army in Ibitsik and, having destroyed it, moved through the forest to Altan-Bulak.

Having learned of about the incident, Commander-in-Chief Sukhbaatar and a detachment of servicemen marched towards the bandits. At the same time from the south-east one of the detachments of the FER launched an offensive.

The cavalry of the Mongolian People's Army commanded by the Commander-in-Chief Sukhbaatar completely defeated Bayar-gun's detachment. His soldiers fled in panic. Sukhbaatar's cavalry pursued the retreating men, destroying them. Servicemen of the People's Army were given the task to capture Bayar-gun alive. Wounded, he surrendered on the north bank of the Gilan-nur River, near the White Suburgan. The pursuit of the Pakhar detachment continued as far as the Iro River, where the remnants of the gang were dispersed.

Soon after the elimination of Bayar-gun's detachment, on June 5, 1921 the main forces of Baron Ungern launched an offensive at Altan-Bulak and Troitskosavsk. The advancing force amounted to about 3,500 sabres with 7 cannons. A part of Ungern's troops started shelling Altan-

Bulak and Troitskosavsk.

The position of the People's Army was critical. There were hardly 700 men in Kyakhta under the command of Sukhbaatar. Troitskosavsk had the 2nd Sretensky brigade with 500 sabres and infantry battalion with 250 bayonets and 1 battery. The advantage was clearly on the side of Ungern, whose forces more than twice exceeded the combined forces of the People's Army and detachments of the FER.

Stubborn fierce battles broke out. Many brave Mongolian servicemen and fighters from the detachments of the FER were lost in these unequal fights.

Soviet Russia sent the 103rd brigade of the Red Army to the aid of the People's Army, which hit the left wing of Unger's forces, and as a result the Baron was forced to retreat. The cloud that seemed so formidable was dispelled.

In the final battles with the Red Army, Ungern was wounded. The mood of Ungern's men had fallen. Lama Dara-Ehe, who commanded the Mongolian units, which consisted mainly of the Arats forcibly mobilized by Ungern, faced the units of the People's Army, but fled in fear, leaving his soldiers behind.

The faith of the Mongol servicemen, who had fought on Ungern's side in the name of justice was greatly shaken. These units began to defect to the side of the People's Army.

Baron Ungern's main forces were defeated. The remnants of the scattered units of the White

Guards fled west, across the Iro River, seeking to join up with General Rezukhin's division.

Operations by Choibalsan and Shchetinkin

In accordance with the plan for the defeat of the White Guards adopted by the People's Government, Choibalsan concentrated his forces at the Zheltur sentry, where units of Red partisans under the command of Shchetinkin also approached.

The old partisan Shchetinkin, who commanded partisan units during the Siberian Civil War, was a brave and energetic revolutionary commander.

As an experienced military expert, he was commissioned, along with Choibalsan, to command a special western army. For his merits the People's Government of Mongolia awarded him the title "Temur Bator Jan-Jun" (iron commander hero).

The battle with Rezukhin's division lasted for two days. People's Army and Red Army fighters fought bravely against the enemy's considerably superior forces. The White Guards had suffered significant losses. The Rezukhin's White Guard division retreated under the cover of night. It was obvious that the White bandits gave up their attempts to cross the Soviet-Mongolian border through the territory of the Zheltur sentry.

Shchetinkin and Choibalsan moved their troops westward, expecting to find the enemy in that direction.

Intelligence soon reported that a White Guard unit was moving from the south in the direction of Moden Kul.

Soviet-Mongolian troops set out to meet the White bandits. The meeting took place on a mountain south of Olon-Nur. It turned out to be a cavalry brigade of Kazagranti, made up of Russian and Buryat White Guard units, with the task of launching an attack on the RSFSR through the Moden Kul guard territory.

A battle ensued. Having accepted the battle, the White Guard rearguard detachment retreated after some time. The Soviet-Mongolian units continued to pursue the retreating men.

Later it turned out that Kazagranti's brigade, having no permanent base in the rear, was forced to send a convoy with the vanguard of its troops, guarded from the rear by cavalry. Upon encountering Mongolian and Soviet units, Kazagranti's cavalry engaged in combat to enable the convoy to retreat into the interior of Mongolia, afterwards retreating on its own.

The pursuit of Kazagranti's unit lasted for several days, with the servicemen reaching the Mergen-gun khoshun of the Sain-Noinkhan aimag.

Choibalsan and Shchetinkin along with a group of mounted servicemen continued to pursue the enemy, which was retreating in the direction of Pandit Lama's monastery, having left their main forces in the Atsa area.

Suddenly, the reconnaissance team reported

that White Guards appeared on the opposite slope of the mountain. It turned out that General Kazagrandi, anxious to get rid of his pursuers, had laid an ambush. It was too late to retreat. The White Guard cavalry attacked from the west, aiming to cut off the Soviet-Mongolian detachment from the rear and surround them, while the infantry, which was in ambush, started an attack from the east.

The small Soviet-Mongolian unit, which was in an extremely unfavourable position, was forced to fight. The battle lasted the whole day with varying success.

As night fell, troops of both sides withdrew. Taking advantage of the respite, Choibalsan and Shchetinkin returned to the Atsa area for reinforcements. The next morning a reconnaissance team reported that Kazagrandi and his troops had retreated far to the south-west. The pursuit had to be abandoned.

Investigation of the battlefield showed that the White Guards handled the wounded civilians with unheard-of cruelty: they tied them to the trees and burned them. About 80 people were found dead.

The Special Western Army stopped in the Selenga area, conducting revolutionary propaganda among the population. The sympathies of the majority of the Arat community were on the side of the people's power. The Arats did all they could to help the cause of the liberation of the homeland. Almost every day Arats came to the

headquarters of the Western Army and reported where Kazagrandi's cattle was hidden and how many Unger soldiers were guarding it. As a result the People's Army managed to procure a significant number of horses and cattle.

At the beginning of June 1921, the 104th and 105th Brigades of the 35th division of the Red Army approached the Zheltur sentry.

Hostilities on the Russian-Mongolian border temporarily ceased. Baron Ungern, defeated at Altai-Bulak, retreated into the depths of western Mongolia, where he joined the heavily damaged units of Rezukhin, fighting at Zheltur.

The People's Army Marches to Urga

The combined military forces of the two friendly states began a march on Urga. Apart from the Mongolian units, the march included the 5th Cavalry Division, the 1st Sretenskaya Cavalry Brigade, the 103rd Brigade, the 35th Cavalry Regiment and Shchetinkin's detachment.

Just before the attack on Urga the Provisional Government addressed the following proclamation to the whole population of Mongolia:

“On the side of our People's Army are the Red Army soldiers of Soviet Russia. Do not be afraid of them, they are not the Gamins, or White bandits of Ungern, who were engaged in robbery and murder. The Red Army men have the great aim of helping the oppressed peoples of the world to their national liberation, without distinction of nationality or religion. Therefore they cannot be put on the same footing as the troops of the imperialist countries, which, like predators, seek only to seize other people's lands, wealth, men and cattle. The Red Army places the interests of the masses above all else, it is fighting to eliminate the gangs of robbers, and will never allow the population of our country to be robbed.

“When the Red Army has finished with Ungern, it will return to Russia. We call upon the population to go about their work in peace.

There is no cause for worry or doubt. All those who sow panic, abandon their cattle or flee will be held strictly accountable.

*“On the 20th day of the 5th moon
and the 11th year ‘erected by
many’ (June 25, 1921)”*

The Provisional People’s Government of Mongolia, the People’s Army and the People’s Party distributed this proclamation to the population. The news of the People’s Army’s march quickly spread across the country. In the rear of the Whites, rebellions broke out everywhere. In the west, partisan units of the Arats formed in Kobdo and Ulyasutai, destroying the White Guards and openly assisting the People’s Army. Even large detachments of White bandits were powerless to resist the advancing units of the People’s Army and Red Army. The White Guard units that entered the battle were immediately destroyed. Small gangs were destroyed by the local population. Wherever the People’s Army troops appeared, order and revolutionary rule were established.

On the Iro River, in the Dzuldzaga area, Sukhbaatar’s detachment engaged in battle with the White Guard units of Nemchinov. The advancing People’s Army, together with the Soviet units, represented a huge force. Therefore many White bandits was soon defeated. Another group of White Guards was liquidated on the Khara River, in the Manhatay area.

Decomposition began in the White Guard units.

Bayar-gun's detachment, defeated near Altan-Bulak, having lost its chief, retreated, intending to join the detachment of Naidanjab-van, located on the south-eastern outskirts of Mongolia. This detachment included a unit of captured People's Army servicemen, Arats from the Erdenivan khoshun. This unit broke away from the White Guards and joined the People's Army in Urga.

The Arats, mobilized by the White Guards, defected in swathes to the side of the People's Army.

The "autonomous" government restored by Ungern, upon learning of the events, became terribly confused.

On the 27th of the middle summer moon of the 11th year (July 2, 1921), the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Unger government issued an address to the entire population with the following Bogd decree attached:

"Decree of the sunlight, ten-thousand-year-old Bogd Ezenkhan... In the year of the female white pig (that is, 1911 — K.C.) we, the Mongols, having separated from the Middle State, established autonomous government, concluded appropriate treaties, honoured our religion and the precepts of our fathers, and were filled with love and mercy for the people. There was prosperity in the country: every yurt had abundance, every person lived well, the rain was bountiful, the wind

was auspicious.

“But our country was attacked by greedy, brutal Gamins. They desecrated our religion, plundered our possessions and caused deep suffering to the people. Through various insidious techniques, as well as by force of arms, they sought to destroy our nation. The Gamins eliminated the autonomy of our country. Both I and my children, high and low, old and young, male and female, were endlessly dissatisfied with this and made complaints and appeals for help to the higher gods. Both with and without our permission groups were formed to fight the enemy.

“When we were expelling the Gamins, the troops of Soviet Russia were close to our border. The Gamins, hiding their anger, headed north of Urga, but when they met the mighty Red Army, retreated and fled to their homeland.

“Is this not proof of the true power of god and the power of the guardian spirits we worship?

“Now that we have regained our rights and continue to exercise authority, now that our domestic policy is conducted in accordance with the requirements of the time, and our foreign policy is conducted in a spirit of peace with other powers, the strengthening of our borders should be considered our primary concern. Generally speaking, there is no reason to claim that we are ‘pursuing the ideas of some while antagonizing others.’

“A part of the Mongols, because they have not yet heard that the central government has

been restored and that the White Guards and the Gamins have been expelled from our land, went to the north for help. Hating the Gamins, they formed the People's Party and are fighting, not knowing, as it seems, that everything is quiet in the centre.

“Hence they will err on the side of religious precepts as well.

“If my near and far disciples, who care about the affairs of our religion, state and people, understand me and help me in my endeavour to promote the prosperity of religion and the welfare of living beings, then we can avoid possible mistakes and overcome evil and destruction. I am striving for this in the name of love for all living beings. Only under this condition will I be able to lead and do good to the people.

“If you share my aspirations, then lay down your arms, return and render your assistance to the affairs of the state and religion. If you do not fully agree with me, then report to me your aims and intentions.

“By affixing my seal, I urge you to follow me.

“On the 27th day of the 5th moon of the 11th year ‘erected by many’”

This appeal was brought to the attention of the public and a copy was delivered by special courier to the Provisional People's Government and the People's Party when they were in Burgultai.

After reading this address, the leaders of the

Party and Government concluded that it was either written at the dictation of the bandit Ungern, or it had been compiled by the lamas and princes, who feared that the People's Government would restrict their feudal rights. Particularly repulsive were the words: "lay down your arms, return." It was decided to refrain from responding to Bogd and move forward.

The Arrival of the People's Government Into Urga

The proxies of the White bandits in Urga, the Buryat Jigmit-Jab Jambolop and the Bargut Lubsan, heard of the approach of the People's Army and Red Army, and fled by car from Urga to the south-east on the 27th (July 5).

Complete commotion reigned in the palace. Day and night there were meetings of ministers and lamas.

On the 1st of the 6th moon (July 6), the first detachment of the FER and People's Army entered the town. It was greeted flatteringly by the frightened members of the "government" set up by Ungern.

On the 3rd (July 8) about 9 a.m. the leaders of the People's Revolutionary Party, the Provisional Government and the People's Army entered the town.

The men of the People's Army marched solemnly into the town and stopped on the square in front of the monastery (now Sukhbaatar Square). Princes and lamas, gathered for the meeting, frightened by this solemn entry, crowded in disorder, having forgotten the words of prepared greetings.

Sukhbaatar, the Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by a few companions, rode to Bogd's palace.

Dalama Puncuk-dorji and Maksarjap-baisse

rode out to meet them. But the members of the party and the People's Government, led by Sukhbaatar, entered Bogd's palace without saying a word to them. Then Sukhbaatar appeared at the military ministry, where dukes, high lamas and ministers were assembled. Here he made a speech, the meaning of which was as follows:

“The representatives of the Arats, with the help of the great Soviet state, have defeated the foreign invaders and returned independence to their homeland.

“Baron Ungern, on the pretext of restoring Mongolia's autonomy, ruined our country. To liberate our country from foreign invaders and to win freedom and rights for the Mongolian people we elected a People's Government and decided to establish a state authority on entirely different principles.

“The People's Government which arrived in Urga could act as a revolutionary government. But taking into consideration that you, lamas and princes, did not resist, and considering the situation in the country, the government decided to establish a people's authority, proclaiming Bogd as a limited monarch. The erstwhile ministers are being removed from their posts and must surrender their affairs in full order.”

The reactionary lamas and princes, who hated the People's Revolutionary Party and its leader Sukhbaatar, who removed the ignorant princes from power in order to hand it over to the

working Arats, could not openly oppose the People's Government, as the people's yearning for a new, happy life had engulfed the whole country like a flame and any resistance to reaction would immediately be broken by the revolutionary Arats.

On the 5th day of the last moon of the 11th year (July 10, 1921), the Central Committee of the Party made a decision to proclaim Bogd the limited monarch of the Mongolian state and to organize the People's Revolutionary Government.

The People's Party assigned the following tasks to the newly formed government: first of all to ensure that Mongolians become the masters of their lands and waters; to show the Mongolian people the great way of development and prosperity; to limit the power of the monarch; to ensure rights and freedom for the Arats.

For the first time in Mongolia's history, it was ruled by a government chosen by representatives of the people. Sukhbaatar was confirmed as Minister of War and Commander-in-Chief, and Choibalsan as Deputy Commander-in-Chief.

On the 6th day of the last moon of the 11th year (July 11, 1921), a ceremony was held at the central palace of Bogd Khan to elevate him to the position of limited monarch of the country. A constitutional monarchy with a People's Revolutionary Government was proclaimed.

A rally was then held in the square, to which

the entire population of the town gathered. Sukhbaatar made a speech of great political significance. The Arats, attending the rally for the first time in their lives, enthusiastically welcomed the message that the new government was fighting for the rights and freedom of the Arat masses.

In the first days of the new power the party platform adopted back in Kyakhta was published, introducing the population to the policy of the new government.

The People's Party and the People's Government issued new laws and abolished the old ones, carrying out measures aimed at protecting the interests of the Arat masses, in particular the abolishment of the old debts to the Chinese usury firms.

The government had established a procedure for discussing state affairs, according to which internal reforms, relations with foreign countries, the establishment and training of the standing army, as well as economic and other matters were to be discussed first by the government and then submitted to Bogd Khan for approval and publication in the press. In fact, all matters of state importance were handled by the people's government without consulting Bogd. Many of the rights and privileges of the feudal lords were abolished. All these government measures were revolutionary in nature and in the interests of the people.

The Capture of Baron Ungern and the Liquidation of the White Guard Gangs in Western Mongolia

After the People's Government entered Urga, the Western Army under Choibalsan and Shchetinkin's detachment were sent westward to eliminate the remnants of the Ungern troops. The 104th and 10th Brigades of the 5th Kuban Division of the Red Army also took part in the operation.

The Soviet-Mongolian troops managed to catch united detachments of Ungern and Rezuikhin in the Ahai-gun khoshun, in the area of Dukh-Narsu, and surround them. The battle lasted several days. This time Ungern managed to escape. Taking advantage of bad weather and darkness, Ungern, through a small passage formed in the north-western wing of the Soviet-Mongolian troops, led his detachment into Soviet Russia.

Red Army units continued to pursue Ungern into Soviet territory, while Mongolian People's Army units engaged in the liquidation of scattered White Guard units in western Mongolia.

Like a hunted beast, Ungern ventured into Soviet territory and made his way along the valley of the Jida River to the Mysovaya railway station, smashing and burning villages in his path.

But he did not manage to reach Mysovaya. In the area of Gusinoe Lake he was overtaken by Shchetinkin's detachment and the 35th cavalry regiment of the Red Army. Seizing the moment, the Baron again fled to Mongolia, but there he was met by Mongolian partisans. Severely battered, tired from frequent skirmishes, defeats and retreats, Ungern's troops expressed dissatisfaction with their superiors. Realizing the futility of further struggle, the White Guards, one by one and in groups, fled from Ungern's detachment, creating small gangs of robbers. The soldiers, who hated General Rezukhin for his terrible cruelty, killed him.

Commanding the Mongol units of Ungern's army, Sundui-Gun, well aware of the hopelessness of further struggle and wishing to save his own skin, together with several messengers, surrendered Baron Ungern to Shchetinkin.

Ungern was tried by the RSFSR Extraordinary Court; by the verdict of the court, he was shot in Novonikolayevsk (Novosibirsk).

This is how the vile life of the Livonian baron, a White Guard whose cruelty and atrocities will be long remembered by the Mongolian people, ended.

Choibalsan's detachment successfully liquidated the remnants of White Guard gangs. In this he was actively assisted by the Arats. Arat partisan detachments were created in Tsetserlik, Taryaty and many other places to fight against White bandits. Units of the Ungern army, headed by the

Mongolian dukes and lamas, voluntarily defected to the side of the People's Army. So, the detachment of Choibalsan was joined by units of Jalkhanz Hutukhta, Khatan-Bator Maksarzhab and others.

Khatan-Bator's detachment, which stood in Ulyasutai, played a great role in the liquidation of the remnants of the White Guards on the side of the People's Government. It cut Ungern off from the White Guard units that were in Western Mongolia.

General Bakich's units were soon eliminated and the general himself taken prisoner. The Kazagranti units were defeated and fled to China.

People's power was established throughout western Mongolia.

* * *

The great storm of the October Revolution awakened the oppressed peoples of the whole world. It was a bright beacon lighting the way to a free and happy life for all the persecuted and exploited, it strengthened t

heir courage and readiness in combat, led them in the struggle for freedom and independence.

"It is precisely because," says Comrade Stalin, *"the national and colonial revolutions took place in our country under the leadership of the proletariat and under the banner of internationalism, that for the first time in human history the pariah peoples, slave peoples, rose to the position of*

peoples truly free and truly equal, infecting the oppressed peoples throughout the world by their example.”¹

The Mongolian people raised the banner of the liberation struggle, the banner of the people’s revolution and, with the fraternal help of Soviet Russia, won victory. In 1921 Russian proletarians, fighters of the mighty Red Army fought together with Mongolian servicemen for the liberation of the Mongolian Arats from foreign invaders, for their social and national independence.

The soldiers of the Mongolian People’s Army and the Red Army fought shoulder to shoulder to protect the inviolability of the borders of the Mongolian Republic from Japanese invaders at Khalkhin-gol in 1939.

For nineteen years, relying on the unselfish friendship of the Soviet Union, the Mongolian people have lived freely and happily.

Breaking the old feudal order, exposing all the enemies of the revolution, the Mongolian People’s Republic is steadily moving forward, bypassing the capitalist path of development, towards a bright future — to socialism. The guarantee of these victories is the unbreakable and blood-bound friendship of the Mongolian people with the peoples of the Soviet Union

¹ J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Russ. ed., vol. 10, p. 243.



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