Introduction

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Renchin Minjuur (1914-2007)

Unlike the other Mongolians whose interviews have been translated into English in the two volumes that the National Ethnology Museum of Japan has published, Renchin Minjuur did not have a similarly sophisticated education. The other five interviewees may have begun their formal educations somewhat later than in the West, but they all completed secondary schools and pursued university-level training. They studied abroad, primarily in the USSR, and knew foreign languages. Their educations in the USSR, Mongolia's most important patron after its socialist revolution in 1921, provided opportunities for leading positions in government, the economy, and the professions.[1)] Minjuur did not become literate until the age of twenty-one, obtained a minimal education in a military school, never went to college, and did not study in the USSR or anywhere outside of Mongolia. He did not have exposure to and knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and, in his interview, does not refer to the theoretical issues relating to this philosophy. Also unlike the other interviewees, he did not secure an important government position, nor was he elected to the Khural, or Parliament, as all except one other did.

Minjuur also derived from the humblest circumstances of any of the six interviewees. He endured great poverty as a child. He never knew his father, and his mother died when he was six years old. He was adopted by a poor relative and assumed the life of a herder as a child. It was a simple life with simple pleasures, but much was grim. He observes that the lack of agriculture meant no flour or grain and an unhealthy diet for the poor. Tea was expensive for the children who could drink only boiled water. Medical care was based on traditional Tibetan Buddhist treatments that did not always work. The poor did not have the funds to buy the silk or cotton clothing that the rich could afford. They led a monotonous and demanding life.

Minjuur repeatedly inveighs against the rich and the Buddhist lamas who had a better diet, a less harsh workday, and better clothing, which, for the lamas, consisted of beautiful yellow or red garments. He portrays the Buddhist monks as avaricious parasites who would not read proper services for the ailing or deceased poor because they would not be paid. He says they cared

only for the wealthy.[2] His descriptions of the disparities in lifestyle and diet between the wealthy and the poor, even in the decade following the 1921 socialist revolution, offer valuable data for historians and students of Mongolian culture. Socialism did not initially translate into significant improvements in the herders' lives.

As a compensation for this difficult life, Minjuur became extremely knowledgeable about herding. He learned about the different animals and their specific dietary needs. Because the country lacked veterinarians, he had to develop skills in caring for ailing or diseased animals.[3] Although he notes that herders did not know how to produce cashmere goats and did not comb goats and the did not gather yak hair, he depicts a generally idyllic portrait of the pastoral economy and lifestyle. Herders reputedly cooperated in tending the herds, and the theft of animals scarcely intruded. The government allotted winter quarters and devised migration patterns for herders. Precipitation was plentiful, and the current droughts that have occasionally plagued the country since the 1990s were rare. *Zuds* or harsh snowy and icy winters during which many animals perished were not as prevalent and did not devastate the herds. Minjuur asserts that the post-1990 dismemberment of the *negdels*, or collectives, that had been established in the socialist period had led to the vulnerability of the herding economy and the loss of many more animals at present. Alcoholism, another present-day problem was not as pervasive in his youth, although Minjuur acknowledges that, as a young man, he did enjoy spirits.

Minjuur might have remained a regular herder had he not recognized the importance of literacy, an insight that shaped the rest of his life and career. At the age of twenty-one, he joined the military, in large part to learn to read and write and to perform simple mathematical functions. Because much of the Mongolian rural population was illiterate as late as 1937, or sixteen years after the socialist revolution, he created more options for himself as he improved his writing and mathematical skills.

His first opportunities were in the postal relay system and in the Ministry of the Interior. The postal relay system had been a burdensome feature of corvée labor during the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) when China ruled the Mongolians.[4] The Qing compelled Mongolian households to maintain and staff the postal stations, a great investment in labor and money. In the socialist period, the State often funded the postal stations, which served as vehicles to deliver mail twice a day seven days a week, mail that included newspapers and information about weather and climatic conditions, to the herders. Minjuur describes the drudgery and demands imposed on him as a rider, but he also expresses pride for his role in this important service. He appears less proud of

his decade-long service in the Ministry of the Interior, a secret police agency. He does not identify the tasks he undertook at the Ministry, and he also barely mentions his position as a cook for Marshal Choibalsan (1895-1952), the country's ruler and often referred to as Mongolia's Stalin until his death in 1952.[5] Too close an association with Choibalsan after the government's denunciations of the Marshal just a few years after his death would not have been an asset.[6]

Having climbed up the social ladder and having moved, via his military service, to Ulaan Baatar, Minjuur sought to marry, a process that bolstered his negative attitude towards the wealthy. He wanted to wed a woman of a higher social status, but her parents opposed the marriage for social and economic reasons, preventing the performance of the proper wedding festivities. Moreover, the young couple would have lived in penury had not his uncle provided them with a comfortable and suitable *ger* or Mongolian-style tent. His in-laws' social prejudices perhaps contributed to his perception that the rich had little compassion for the poor. He repeatedly lambastes the wealthy for their lack of social concern, and his confrontations with his in-laws no doubt colored his perceptions about the more prosperous Mongolians. It should be noted that he and his in-laws eventually reconciled, and they accepted him as a member of the family.

Minjuur reveals little about his attitudes toward politics and foreign relations. He acknowledges that the government executed innocent people during the height of the 1936 to 1939 purges. Yet he does not elaborate on this chaotic era that led to the deaths of at least twenty-five thousand lamas, officials, and soldiers.[7] Moreover, he blames Joseph Stalin for the concerted campaign against Buddhism and the destruction of Buddhist monasteries. He scarcely condemns the Mongolians, including Marshal Choibalsan, who instigated and carried out the purges. They appear to be absolved of major wrongdoing. Unlike Baldandorjiin Nyambuu, a member of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [the socialist and only legal political party] who was relieved of his position and exiled from Ulaan Baatar in 1964, he generally praised the USSR and believed that it had made a significant contribution to Mongolia.[8] However, he barely refers to politics or ideology except in the most general terms. This is all understandable because he had scant involvement in politics and was not well trained in Marxist ideology. He was a practical man of affairs, and his principal objective was to help the poor. If a different ideology such as Marxism could be effective in reducing or eliminating poverty, then he would embrace it. He did join the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and became a leader in one of the Party cells, but he did not appear to emphasize its ideology in his work

life and scarcely had any relationships with such political leaders as Choibalsan and Tsedenbal who dominated the era during which he was active.

Nonetheless, his Party membership offered him the opportunity to become a leader in the collectivization movement that started in 1954. With Party and government approval, he returned to his native region in Mörön, the capital of Khövsgöl *aimag*, or province, one of the northernmost regions in Mongolia, and was appointed the leader of its *negdel* or collective. It is in this section of his interview that he becomes most animated and provides the greatest detail. This economic transformation in the countryside was clearly his proudest achievement.

He started his discussion of the *negdels* with an explanation of the speed with which collectives sprang up throughout Mongolia. Well aware that foreigners would attribute the origins of the collectives to government and Party pressure on the herders, he observed that the *negdel* movement was voluntary, a somewhat disingenuous claim. He said that herders were not compelled to join the *negdels*. Local officials and the *negdel* leaders merely tried to prove that collectives would be advantageous for poor and average herders. The rich would not initially profit, but even they would eventually be better off because of the superior health, educational, and cultural opportunities available in the *negdels*.[9] The wealthy would be limited in the number of animals they could own because the State would need to provide flocks to the poor. However, all herders in the *negdels* would also have some animals of their own that they could tend. Minjuur tried to confirm that herders, even the rich, were not forced into the *negdels* by describing the formal and intricate procedures in applying for admission. Herders would have truly been eager to join if they attempted to overcome the hurdles to admission. Minjuur asserts that no Party representative or government leader mandated that anyone, rich or poor, become a member. The Party and the government were separate from the *negdels*. However, there were disincentives for not joining. The State imposed heavy taxes on meat, wool, and milk marketed by private herders. It would literally pay to join the *negdels*.

The *negdels* would turn over animals, especially to the poor, but it demanded specific tasks in return. Herders needed to build *khashaas*, or enclosures for the protection of the animals in winter, and wells, and the cooperation of whole teams would facilitate and accelerate the construction of these structures. Each herder had to make provisions to feed and water the animals and to migrate in order to find sufficient plants and water for the herds.

Minjuur reveals that considerable opposition toward the *negdels* persisted even some years after their establishment. He tells us that the rich repeatedly

disparaged the new collectives, frequently co-opted the best lands and water supplies, turned over their worst animals to the *negdels*, and often hid, traded, or sold some of their herds rather than turn them over to the *negdels*. Yet he also acknowledges that the rich were not the only group that created problems for the *negdels*. Some herders concentrated on their privately-owned animals and paid little attention to the collective herds, leading to less food and water for these animals and, on occasion, to lack of detection of disease among the *negdels*' flocks. Many herders remained illiterate as of 1955, denying them access to books and articles that could inform them about more efficient techniques of animal husbandry. Conflicts among Party leaders, local officials, and *negdel* directors sometimes hampered *negdel* operations. The vast liquor consumption or virtual alcoholism of some herders also harmed efforts to create an effective and productive system.

Minjuur writes that his most important task was to persuade herders of the advantages of *negdels* and to have them join the collectives.[10] He told herders that they would receive a regular salary even if a disastrous winter led to the deaths of numerous animals. When they could no longer undertake the difficult chores of the herding lifestyle and retired, they would receive pensions and would not have to rely on family support. They would also receive protective clothing and would always be in groups, a great advantage in a society and landscape where isolation could be fatal. Because of the advantages of scale in collectives, *negdels* would produce more meat, milk, and other animal goods than any other organizational form. The same advantages would permit collectives to experiment with production of vegetables and potatoes, ensuring a better diet for its members. Perhaps as significant, the *negdels* would train and recruit veterinarians and herding specialists who would improve the quality of the herds.

Minjuur then proceeds to describe *negdel* innovations and his role in proposing and implementing them. For example, the *negdels* not only established schools but also built dormitories for children whose herder families needed periodically to move their herds to new quarters to find food and water for their animals. Children could not move from one location to another and still attend school. Thus Minjuur, as the *negdel* director, became responsible for the children's education and their needs, including food, fuel, books, and school supplies. He was determined to increase the rate of literacy among the herders, and the schools and dormitories were vital elements of his plan. To raise the revenues for this and other projects, he first conceived of and actually constructed a hotel and restaurant for traveling officials or economic or technical advisers. The hotel offered reasonably priced and well-tended accommodations, a well-received innovation, especially in areas where

such comforts were rare. Other of his money-making ventures included encouragement to carpenters and smiths to fashion bowls, chests, tent frames, and chairs, the last of which gained his *negdel* some renown. He sent men to Ulaan Baatar to scour the garbage for discarded metal, which could then be used to produce keys, knives, and other items. Encouraging the planting of potatoes and bread for sale, he overcame the resistance of many Mongolian consumers and eventually made substantial profits from these foods. Perhaps somewhat ruefully, he mentions his encouragement of *airagh*, or liquor made of fermented mare's milk, production. Later he admits that alcohol abuse was a terrible affliction for Mongolians and perhaps felt guilty for contributing to the problem.

Minjuur says that his forceful support for electrification and mechanization turned out to be beneficial for the *negdel*. He introduced tractors to promote agriculture, set up diesel and electric stations to provide light, and developed a corps of mechanics to ensure proper operation of this new machinery. Shortly thereafter, the dairy industry was mechanized, and later the *negdel* added chicken, pig, hare, and geese production.

In addition to increased production, Minjuur focused on welfare and cultural opportunities for *negdel* members. His *negdel* had its own clinic and the center of his district had a hospital, with ten doctors, a remarkable achievement in a country that had no Western medical facilities thirty years earlier. Also at the district center were maternity rest houses where mothers-to-be spent the last week or so before birth. Nurses, midwives, and doctors monitored them during that time, leading to a reduction in infant and maternal mortality, and trained personnel offered lessons on the care, feeding, and cleaning of babies.[11] When mothers returned to the *negdel*, they could send their children to crèches, nursery schools, and kindergartens and could then rejoin the work force. Minjuur invited Russian doctors to give lessons in sanitation, resulting in a significant advance in public health. To pursue the life cycle, the *negdels* organized wedding palaces for marriages and celebrations. Minjuur appears proudest of the construction of a Cultural Palace, which housed a library, a theater, and a museum with artifacts illustrating local history. To encourage an esprit de corps among members, he sponsored entertainments, especially dancing. He recognized that *negdel* members needed such recreational activities to balance the demands of the tough herding life.

His innovations and contributions led to considerable recognition, though an undercurrent of criticism about the *negdels* persisted. He won numerous awards and medals, and even Yumjaagiin Tsedenbal (1916-1991), the leader of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, and the government, praised him

as a Labor Hero. Minjuur was a problem solver. He valued effective policies and programs and was not bound by ideology, Marxist or otherwise. His and the *negdels*' successes generated calls for larger collectives in order to capitalize on the efficiencies of scale, and some collectives did indeed combine. Yet Minjuur reveals that he made mistakes as a *negdel* director but does not provide specifics.

The rosy picture that Minjuur paints was indeed challenged by Party and government reports and observations. In 1977, the Party newspaper decried the "irresponsible, undisciplined, careless, and deceitful" officials and herders in some areas and blamed the country-wide decline in the number of animals[12] on "lack of care." A few years later,Yu. Tsedenbal described an unfavorable situation in livestock production and castigated "irresponsible" herders and officials and improper work by Party, State, and collective bodies.[13] Others, on occasion, blamed shortfalls in the animal quotas prescribed by the State on lazy officials and herders.

Both *negdels* and the State farms were the subjects of such critiques. Tsogt-Ochiriin Lookhuuz, another pragmatist and problem solver who was the Director of the State Farms, and Minjuur, the leader of the Mörön *negdel,* praised the respective organizations they managed.[14] However, Minjuur mentions that the two agencies differed. *Negdel* members joined voluntarily, and rewards were based on their own labor and were shared by them. The State managed the State Farms, whose profits accrued to the government, but the *negdels* were free of State control. The *negdel* economy was centered on livestock, with some agriculture, while the State Farms principally produced wheat and vegetables. Substantial capital from the government permitted the State Farms to be more mechanized than the *negdels*.

When Minjuur turns to a discussion of the collapse of socialism in 1990, he is distressed by the resulting system. He witheringly criticizes the privatization that was supposed to lead to a market economy and democracy, which were often conflated. Again he blames what he terms the unscrupulous rich. He accuses them of stealing *negdel* property, including machines, cars, and animals after the dismemberment of the collectives. "Shock therapy" and immediate and rapid privatization dictated a lack of supervision and regulation to prevent such injustices. A few herders and officials profited enormously from the division of *negdel* property, but the majority did not gain and often remained in a precarious position in the countryside. Everyone was on his or her own, resulting, according to Minjuur, in disastrous consequences. Because former *negdel* enterprises were unable to obtain the credit they used to secure from the State, many folded. Lacking credit and means to transport their goods to market on their own, *negdel* milk factories declined or disappeared, and the

cities were compelled to depend upon imports of dairy products, in a country with an animal to human ratio of at least 10 to 1. The Mongolian State scarcely acted to prevent Chinese merchants from purchasing raw materials from herders, and Mongolian processing factories, which could not afford to compete with the Chinese, remained idle.[15)]

Minjuur lamented the impact of the rapid privatization on the *negdel's* vulnerable members. The social and economic benefits that accompanied the collectives had been reduced or eliminated, impinging in particular on the poor. The elderly could not count on pensions; the government's reduction of expenditures on education, dormitories, and school supplies and clothing, among other factors, increased the rate of school dropouts; and women, who often had the principal responsibility for family welfare, began to lose government benefits, including child allowances and free or low-cost crèches and kindergartens, which made for a harder life.

Particularly galling to him was the growth in corruption after 1990, with the collapse of socialism. Corruption existed under the socialist system, but penalties were so harsh that they served as deterrents. Displays of wealth would also arouse suspicions about graft, another limitation on corruption.[16)] Minjuur observes that a baker caught selling bread of less weight than stated would receive a prison sentence. He says that corruption among top officials, who can build expensive houses or receive elaborate gifts from foreigners, had become a serious problem after the introduction of a market economy after 1990.[17)] Considering what he perceives to be the after effects of the end of socialism, he concluded that "democracy has become a disaster."

Although Minjuur died in 2007, he saw some limited improvement in conditions. According to government statistics, the number of school dropouts has been reduced and the gross domestic product increased dramatically. However, the poverty rate has remained steady at 35 to 40% of the population, a statistic that must have alarmed Minjuur, a staunch advocate for the poor.

Minjuur's interview yields a portrait of a man whose life reflects the changes in twentieth-century Mongolia. Born into abject poverty, he became a herder, the typical employment of Mongolians up until recent times. An opportunity to become literate at the age of twenty-one altered his career. Like most of the leadership of twentieth-century socialist Mongolia, education proved to be the key to a change in his life. He was not an ideologue but simply believed that socialism offered a better life for Mongolians. Marxism scarcely intrudes in his interview. He joined the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party but had little training in ideology. Neither did he become involved in politics, as judged by his limited descriptions of the purges of the late 1930s and his laconic observations of Choibalsan, the dominant political

figure from the 1930s until his death in 1952, and Tsedenbal, the generally pro-Soviet head of the State and the Party from 1952 to 1984. Truly dedicated to forging a better life for the poor, he concentrated on moving toward a more productive economy and the enhancement of their lives through education and exposure to new social and cultural developments.

His appraisal of Mongolia's post-1990 embrace of the market economy and so-called democracy echoes the negative views of many Mongolians, including Paavangiin Damdin, among the founders of the first Ministry of Industry in the 1960s, and even Tsogt-Ochiriin Lookhuuz, the Director of the State Farms, who had been purged by the socialist government in 1964.[18] No doubt Minjuur and others idealized the socialist past. Nonetheless disconsolate about the breakup of the *negdels* to which he had devoted much of his life and the undermining of what he believed to be the selflessness and cooperative spirit of his era, he worried about the poor.[19] He lambasted the new political leadership whom he did not trust and who, he asserted, did not have the people's interests at heart. This was certainly not the way this ardent supporter of the socialist collectives wanted to leave this world, which he did in 2007.

Yumjaagiin Ayush (1926-)

Like Minjuur, Yumjaagiin Ayush was interested in results rather than ideology throughout his career. Unlike Minjuur, he did not appear to have a visceral empathy with the poor. Born in 1926, he would probably have remained a herder except for events outside his control. However, again because of these events beyond his control, his career could have been thwarted in socialist Mongolia. During the late 1920s and early 1930s, a group later discredited as Leftist Deviationists initiated an attempt, rapidly and with scant preparation, to collectivize the herds. Chaos ensued, and Ayush's mother's brother was one of the victims in this radical time. He was executed as a "class enemy" because he owned too many animals and was designated as a feudal oppressor. The radical control of government ended in 1932 when a more moderate group replaced the so-called Leftist Deviationists.[20] Yet Ayush's uncle had been purged and killed, possibility a stain on his entire family. Fortunately for Ayush and his relatives, they did not suffer as a result of a family member's execution. Still a child during the most heinous purges from 1936 to 1939, Ayush scarcely mentions this frightening period. The most significant event for him during this time was the opening of a school in his area in 1938-1939 when he was twelve years old. Attendance at the school led to literacy, which afforded him opportunities other than a herding career. As he observed, literacy would qualify him to have a supervisory position in the

countryside. For example, he noted that he could become a census taker because he was able to read and write.

If literacy expanded his opportunities in his own land, it was his brother's status in the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the government that altered his career. His brother Yumjaagiin Tsedenbal, who was ten years older than he, had been chosen to attend school as a nine-year old. As a thirteen-year old, having reached the limits of education in the town of Ulaangom in his native northwestern Mongolian *aimag*, or province, of Uvs, he earned the chance to study in Russia in Irkutsk and in Buryatia in Ulan Ude. At the age of twenty-two, he received a degree from the Finance and Economics Institute in Siberia. One of the few such trained Mongolians (especially after the purges of 1936 to 1939 had eliminated some well-educated leaders), he quickly reached the top of the hierarchy when he returned to Mongolia in 1939. He became Director of the Mongol Bank, then Deputy Minister of Finance, and subsequently Minister of Finance, all within a year. Ayush reports that his brother was entrusted with the task of supplying food for the soldiers in the 1939 Russo-Mongolian victory at the battle of Khalkhyn Gol (or Nomonhan, in Japanese) that prevented Japanese encroachment on Mongolia and persuaded the Japanese to focus more on expansion in China and Southeast Asia than on Northeast Asia. His successes led to his promotion to the position of General Secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in 1940.

Ayush's career intersected with Tsedenbal's at that point. Ayush first truly met his brother when Tsedenbal, accompanied by Choibalsan, the Head of State, arrived at his birthplace. Shortly thereafter, Tsedenbal summoned Ayush to Ulaan Baatar where he lived in the Mongol Bank quarters. For a while, Ayush disappointed his renowned brother. Tensions around the world that would soon give rise to World War Two lent prestige to the military. Thus Ayush, probably at his brother's urging, sought admission to military school but was not accepted because he was too short. He also decided not to attend the Finance Technicum in Ulaan Baatar because it was too far from his residence at the Mongol Bank. He apparently was not as ambitious as his brother. Even with a car at his disposal, he concluded that the Finance Technicum was too distant for him to start his studies. His more relaxed attitude was revealed when he said that his brother worked very hard, read all the time, and often stayed up until 3 or 4 in the morning. Ayush was more of a free spirit and somewhat less conscientious than his brother.

Again, his brother seems to have interceded to give him another chance at a higher education. After World War Two, Tsedenbal had him sent to Moscow to study at the Commercial Technicum. Ayush passed the admissions test because of information from Soviet bloc friends about the specific contents

and questions. Once admitted, he performed adequately, learning about both socialism and the market economy. However, he complained about living conditions in Moscow, especially the lack of food and his meager stipend for expenses. His living conditions were no doubt difficult, but his brother, fearful of accusations of nepotism, could not act to help him. Eventually, he studied at the Institute of Foreign Trade and became knowledgeable about the intricacies of foreign trade, especially commerce with the Soviet bloc.

On his return to Mongolia, he was, surprisingly, assigned to the Co-operative Union, which had little to do with his education in the USSR, for ten years before a mysterious ailment gave him the chance to make use of his training. He contracted an unspecified sickness that led him to a five year residence in Hungary and three years in Czechoslovakia, seeking to improve his health by imbibing the mineral waters. Many in the Soviet bloc believed in the salubriousness of hot springs, which encouraged lengthy stays in such spas. Ayush tells us that he gradually recovered after eight years of recuperation. Such a prolonged residence abroad made him comfortable in negotiations with foreigners. He made a deal in Hungary to sell the distinctive and colorful Mongolian stamps.[21)] Perhaps as critical for Mongolia, he had the authority to trade with the capitalist countries, and he helped to export wool to the outside world. He also sold animal intestines to Switzerland to be used as sutures in surgery, and he traded for medical equipment from Finland. His main concern was that imports, especially fuel, would be delayed because of the long distances and poor transport from Russia and Europe. However, for the most part, goods arrived, and traders overcame the obstacles of rudimentary connections to foreign lands, though transport remained a problem. A revealing comment he makes is that the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party needed to provide clearance on any foreign trade negotiated by the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Its approval was essential, an indication of the Party's power in the country.

Ayush's interview also disclosed some personal touches. His education in Mongolian history was limited. For example, he asserted that a Mongolian built the great Taj Mahal, quite an exaggeration. The Mughals, descendants of Temür (or Tamerlane), constructed that tomb. His observations about Chinggis Khan and Batu, Chinggis' grandson and the founder of the Golden Horde in Russia, are not well-informed, and he himself observes that foreigners know more about them than he and most Mongolians do. Until 1990, negative Soviet views about Chinggis and his descendants dominated in Mongolia, and Mongolian children were hardly taught about their history. After the decline of Soviet influence in the 1990s, Chinggis was virtually deified amid growing Mongolian nationalism.[22)] As fascinating was Ayush's mention of the purges

that afflicted the Mongolian socialist era in the 1930s. He noted that the government accused his father-in-law of Leftist Deviationism and, in 1938, had him executed and his property confiscated. Ayush was twelve years old at the time, but his father-in-law's alleged criminal behavior did not stain his in-law's family or his own career after his marriage. Naturally he had a protector in his brother who eventually became Head of State. Yet anecdotal impressions regarding family members of purged individuals seem to affirm that they were not stigmatized, and a few had outstanding political or economic careers.[23)]

Ayush's revelations about his brother and his family were among the most valuable parts of his interviews. He portrayed Tsedenbal as extremely hard-working and dedicated to the Mongolian people. There was no mention of Tsedenbal's role in purging D. Tömör Ochir and L. Tsend, two important members of the Politburo, in 1962-1963, and T. Lookhuuz , former Director of the State Farms, and B. Nyambuu, former First Secretary of Ömnögov *aimag*, in 1964 from their high positions in the government and in the Party.[24)] Ayush was similarly silent about Tsedenbal's Russian wife Anastasia Ivanovna Filatova (1920-2001). He mentioned only that a Russian introduced Tsedenbal to his future wife, that she arrived in Ulaan Baatar in 1947, and that she occasionally invited him and his wife to showings of movies. Many in the Mongolian leadership vilified Filatova for allegedly persuading her husband to adopt pro-Russian policies that did not benefit or, in some cases, actually harmed Mongolia. Ayush's peremptory discussion of his sister-in-law in a section of his interview hardly provided insights about their relationship, and he did not weigh in on the controversy surrounding her influence on Tsedenbal.

Ayush then waded into the controversy about his brother's dismissal in 1984. Tsedenbal had traveled to the USSR in that year and was then hospitalized, with Soviet doctors announcing that he was quite ill. His associates in the Mongolian government and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party then stripped him of his positions. Years later Zorig Tsedenbaliin (1957-), Tsedenbal's son, wrote that a group of conspirators in the USSR and Mongolia had plotted to remove his father from office, offering the excuse that he was discombobulated.[25)] The USSR had been moving toward a rapprochement with China after a quarter of a century of hostility between the two countries, a policy that Tsedenbal appeared to oppose. Tsedenbal did not fit in with the reform movements sweeping across the Soviet bloc. Did the Soviet leaders, with the connivance of Tsedenbal's Mongolian opponents, concoct a plot to remove him from office?[26)] Ayush appeared reluctant to express his opinion. He mentioned that his brother had suffered from an unspecified liver disease and that hospitalization seemed proper. Yet a hospital employee administered an injection, after which Tsedenbal became

disoriented, which served as a justification for his dismissal from his offices. Did Ayush believe that the doctors deliberately debilitated his brother? He did not make a definitive judgment, but on another matter he lamented the disappearance of Tsedenbal's awards and medals, as well as his numerous books. Who purloined these mementoes and personal effects? Could government officials have been responsible? Again Ayush did not make a pronouncement or accusation.

Sanpilin Jalan-Aajav (1923-2007)

Like Minjuur and Ayush, Sanpilin Jalan-Aajav was born into a herding family in 1923, two years after the socialist revolution in Mongolia, and, like all six men whose interviews have been translated into English in these two volumes, education proved to be key for his career and success. Without access to education, he would probably have remained a herder, a lifestyle he actually cherished. Yet he made repeated and concentrated efforts to attend ever more prestigious schools and universities, a quest that offered new vistas and significant opportunities.

His description of his early life initially yields an idyllic countryside existence. His mother gave birth to him in a *ger* because no hospitals or modern medical facilities were available in his *aimag* in Zavkhan in northwestern Mongolia. His grandfather, an excellent herder with a substantial number of animals, ensured the family's prosperity. Jalan Aajav assured the reader that his region was not plagued by robbery, drunkenness, cheating, or bribery and stated that herders helped each other, somewhat of an idealized image and an obvious effort to contrast those times with the post-1990 society. His only complaints centered around the numerous lamaseries and monks, whom he considered to be exploitative. He also might have been distressed by the lack of schools in his area, but his mother was literate and taught him to read and write and to perform simple computations. By the early 1930s, he saw the first evidence of modern medicine with the appearance of a Russian doctor. This observation belied the statement of B. Nyambuu, an official labeled as part of an "anti-Party" group in 1964 and dismissed and exiled to Dornod *aimag*, that he could think of nothing that the USSR advisers had done for Mongolia.[27)] Nyambuu's assertion was hyperbolic. The other five men whose interviews have been translated into English repeatedly acknowledged the Soviet contributions to the State Farms, education, culture, and, in Jalan-Aajav's observation, medicine. Later Jalan-Aajav would also mention the negative Soviet influences in the forms of fear, repression, purges, and killings of innocents, but he also accentuated the positive.

Jalan-Aajav's idyllic life came to an end at the age of ten when his grandfather died. Without his grandfather's expertise and skilled handling of the herds, their animals died, and in one bad winter, most of the family's livestock did not survive. In this situation, herdsmen often turned to and received help from relatives, but his grandfather's wealthy brother did not assist Jalan-Aajav's mother and Jalan-Aajav himself and indeed frequently used them as laborers. Despite his description of the incessant drudgery of herding, his narrative still revealed a love of Nature, as well as his skill in tending animals. However, seeking to break away from his grandfather's brother's family, he began to work with wood and became a passable carpenter. He subsequently secured a position in the lime industry in Uliastai, where he remained for two years. Proud of his ability to make money, he took his first pay check and bought a *deel* and some sugar but gave most of his wages to his beloved mother, who continued to emphasize education and wanted him to enhance his skills and learning through additional schooling.

Her influence and Jalan-Aajav's eagerness to please her prompted him to take every opportunity to attend an astonishing array of institutes. First, he talked his way into permission to take the entrance examinations for the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party's school, an important institute for future leaders. Although he was a good student, he still cheated on the test and managed to pass. He studied at the school until 1942 when he became one of the first students at the newly-founded National Mongolian University. Later he spent seven years at the New Generation University, which would, in 1958, become the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party College. While at this university, he had a fateful encounter. Yu. Tsedenbal taught him in a course on Marxism, and Jalan-Aajav was impressed with his instructor's knowledge and dedication.

During his studies at the university, Jalan-Aajav also was given the responsibility of heading the Propaganda Brigade in his native *aimag* of Zavkhan. He gave lectures on the history of the Communist Party of the USSR, became a teacher, and scheduled concerts and films, and provided books to citizens. His lectures apparently did not touch upon contemporary issues. In his descriptions, he virtually ignored the 1936 to 1939 purges in Mongolia. He noted in his interview that "mistakes" were made and people were arrested and executed, but he seemed to brush aside these untoward and unpleasant events. Similarly, he said little about World War Two. Instead he observed that the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party was a strong advocate of education and culture and he focused more on his own achievements and advancement. As a by-product of his years in the Propaganda Brigade, he wrote up his lectures (known as the "Jalan-Aajav Lectures") in a pamphlet that

became widely used in schools and institutes throughout Mongolia on the history of the USSR.

Such studies and lectures must have helped him to gain the opportunity to study in the USSR, a vital stepping stone for important positions in Mongolia. Of the six men whose interviews have been translated into English and who had distinguished careers in Mongolia, five had studied in the Soviet Union. From 1951 to 1956, Jalan-Aajav studied law at the university in Irkutsk. He must have performed well because he gained admission to the prestigious Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow to pursue a doctorate, which he completed with honors.

On his return to Mongolia in the late 1950s, he had the cachet of an education in the USSR, ensuring an important position and rapid promotions. He became Chief of the Department of Law at the New Generation University and seemed slated for an academic career. His major undertaking was a study of an eighteenth-century Mongolian law code, and he also wrote on the history and development of law both in Mongolia and in the USSR. In his interview, he expressed deep satisfaction in his life of scholarship.

The paucity of highly educated individuals, especially those trained in the USSR, prompted the government to recruit and to detach him from his academic pursuits. In 1959, he was named the State Procurator to investigate crimes and to ensure proper implementation of the law. His duties included bringing cases against transgressors of the law. Even while he pursued this assignment, he taught at the National Mongolian University. He filled two demanding positions, but he also had time to marry and to have a daughter. Like his fellow interviewees, he was reticent to talk about his family except insofar as his career affected his wife and daughter. Thus we learn little about them. Jalan-Aajav's performance as State Procurator caught the attention of Yu. Tsedenbal, the Head of the government. Through Tsedenbal's intercession, he became more embroiled in politics. Tsedenbal chose him to be the leader of the Council of Ministers' Legal Committee to devise plans for legal education and a national law. He and Tsedenbal subsequently isolated themselves for about five weeks to produce a national law. Jalan-Aajav provided an astonishingly positive portrait of Tsedenbal during these five weeks. He asserted that Tsedenbal single-handedly wrote the national law plan, and he praised him for his intelligence and conscientiousness. This depiction of Tsedenbal diverged considerably from the descriptions of Tsogt-Ochiriin Lookhuuz and especially Baldandorjiin Nyambuu, the so-called anti-party group dismissed from office in 1964, just four years after Jalan-Aajav and Tsedenbal created the national law plans. Nyambuu, in particular, had portrayed Tsedenbal as not too intelligent, surrounded by sycophants, manipulated by his

Russian wife, and concerned more about the interests of the USSR than of Mongolia. Jalan-Aajav asserted that Tsedenbal was highly educated and cultured and had introduced such important policies as the Virgin Lands program.[28] He also disparaged the view that Tsedenbal favored Soviet rather than Mongolian interests.

The two men's mutual respect led Tsedenbal to entrust Jalan-Aajav with ever greater responsibilities. In 1964, Jalan-Aajav became Director of the News and Radio Bureau, with the specific duty of bringing television to Mongolia. He rapidly recognized that Mongolia did not have the skills to set up the infrastructure for television. Thus he recruited Russians to advise and to assist in constructing, in particular, a television tower. Within three years of his appointment, Mongolian television was on the air.

Having succeeded in his role as an operations manager, Jalan-Aajav now was selected for policy roles. In 1971, he became a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Deputy Leader of the Khural, or Parliament, giving him positions both in the Party and in the government. At the same time, he was chosen as Director of Personnel for the Party and the State. In this part of his interview, he acknowledged that the Party dominated the government, which was common knowledge, but he offered additional confirmation. He served in these positions from 1971 to 1983, years that he described in somewhat apocryphal terms. He said that the government supported educational institutions, including not only the Mongolian National University but also the Academy of Sciences, the Agricultural School, and the Medical College, and patronized art, literature, and culture in general. Ordinary Mongolians, according to his testimony, had sufficient money to buy food and clothing and to enjoy cultural events. Jalan-Aajav acknowledged, however, that a few miscreants in the Party expropriated government property, swindled private citizens, and accepted bribes. Yet, according to his testimony, such criminality was relatively rare.

This idyllic reverie ended for him in 1983 when he was stripped of his positions. The events surrounding this incident were murky. In his interview, Jalan-Aajav said that in the late 1970s Tsedenbal was seriously ill and should have left office. Instead, in 1983 Tsedenbal met with him and told him to retire. Shortly thereafter, Bugayin Dejid, the Director of the Control Committee of the Party's Central Committee and Minister of Internal Security in the government whom Jalan-Aajav linked to Lavrenti Beria, the notorious head of the Soviet Union's NKVD (implying that Dejid was a spy),[29] falsely accused him of supporting the "anti-Party" group in 1964. Dejid appeared to be associated with Tsedenbal's wife Anastasia Ivanova Filatova. One of the charges leveled at Jalan-Aajav was that he attended a meeting in 1964 with B.

Nyambuu where a list of possible successors to Tsedenbal was discussed. This meeting was portrayed as tantamount to a secret plot against Tsedenbal. B. Nyambuu disputed this account and asserted that this meeting was a set-up to trap him. One of Tsedenbal's agents presented them with the list, and Jalan-Aajav responded that "it is impossible dismiss Secretary Yu. Tsedenbal and that the domestic situation would get serious if a man worse than Yu. Tsedenbal held state power." In 1983, Nyambuu was outraged by this attack and wrote to the Party Central Committee Board that "Jalan-Aajav has nothing to do with us."[30] Jalan-Aajav did not respond to the charges because he said that he did not wish to undermine Party unity. The Politburo and the government then exiled him and his wife, allowing him to take only 400 *tugriks*, to his native a*imag* of Zavkan. Most egregiously from his standpoint, his daughter, who had graduated first in her class in law school, was fired from her Professorship of Law at the National Mongolian University. She had nothing to do with his case and was merely punished as part of guilt by association.

Perhaps Jalan-Aajav's explanation for his downfall was likeliest. Tsedenbal's wife Anastasia Ivanova Filatova and he had had several confrontations. Jalan-Aajav had warned Filatova about Sononym Udval (1921-1991),[31] the most prominent woman writer in twentieth-century Mongolia, urging her to keep her distance from Udval.[32] The reasons for his opposition to Udval were not entirely clear. The plot thickened, however, with knowledge that Udval was the adopted daughter of J. Sambuu, the Chair of the Presidium of the Khural from 1952 until his death in 1972.[33] Probably a more significant rift between Jalan-Aajav and Filatova centered on the Children's Fund that she had championed and that had received government funding. Was Jalan-Aajav implying that the Fund was mismanaged or that corruption had infiltrated into the organization? Or did he disagree with the policies or programs that Filatova pursued?[34] His interview did not provide sufficient details to answer these questions. However, he believed that Filatova's hostility led to his exile. Because Tsedenbal was in poor health and was not taking care of himself, the Head of State was hardly involved in this affair. Jalan-Aajav told us that he had no further meetings with Tsedenbal after their discussion about retirement. Unlike Lookhuuz and Nyambuu, the so-called anti-Party group in 1964, Jalan-Aajav described almost nothing about his period of exile.

The Control Board of the Central Committee finally rehabilitated Jalan-Aajav in 1990 and dismissed all the charges that had been leveled against him. Unlike Lookhuuz, he played no further role in politics after his rehabilitation. Instead he returned to his original career of teaching law and was eventually named a "Mongol Lawyer of Honor" for his services to Mongolia.

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These three interviews, along with the earlier three that were translated into English[35] depict aspects of life in twentieth-century Mongolia from the pre-revolutionary society to the socialist era and to post-socialist times. To be sure, this microcosm represents the elite's perceptions, not those of the ordinary Mongolians. Each of the six reached a leadership position in the economy, the government, or the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. This work thus contains a somewhat skewed portrait, but the leaders' testimonies often provide insights about the rest of society.

The first and most natural insight concerns herding. All six of those interviewed derived from herder backgrounds—some having lived in great poverty and some in relatively better circumstances. In this particular volume, Minjuur offers more information than anyone else on herding, not particularly unexpected since he devoted most of his life to work in animal husbandry. The other five interviewees moved to towns or cities where they assumed administrative positions, with Lookhuuz as the only other one personally involved in the countryside. Nonetheless, all convey the remarkable expertise required in a herding economy and confirm the great Mongolist Owen Lattimore's contention that "pastoral steppe nomadism is…obviously a product of high specialization" and "in all probability it is also a later form of specialization than is agriculture. The relative lateness can be accounted for by the fact that it was first necessary to domesticate animals."[36] Pastoral nomadism is not, as some have suggested, a more primitive economic form than agriculture. The testimonies of these former herders offer convincing proof of the skills needed for animal husbandry.

Another pattern concerns education. The interviewees were born and lived in the countryside where there were no schools in the late 1930s, almost two decades after the socialist revolution. In one way or another—tutoring by a local literate individual, joining the military, moving to the city of Ulaan Baatar, or passing a test for admission to an institute such as a technicum, they each managed to attend school or university. Selection for study in the USSR offered the promise of leadership positions on return to Mongolia. Minjuur was the only one who did not spend time in the USSR, and he remained in the countryside for much of his life. The rest wound up working either in the capital or abroad and were entrusted with tasks of national responsibility.

Yu. Tsedenbal hovers above all these interviews. This is only natural as he was the Head of State and leader of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party for more than three decades. He loomed large in the lives of all six interviewees. Ayush owed his career to his brother Tsedenbal; Tsedenbal

appointed Lookhuuz to be the Director of the State Farms and then, after their falling out, had Lookhuuz and Nyambuu exiled; he repeatedly assisted Damdin in trying to develop cashmere and other industries; and he collaborated closely with Jalan-Aajav on a number of projects until the last few months of his positions as Head of State. Each of the interviewees had widely disparate perceptions of Tsedenbal. Lookhuuz and Nyambuu reviled him for his poor abilities, his lack of true involvement in government, his contribution to a lackluster economy, his close relations with the USSR, and his corrupting use of funds to reward acolytes and sycophants. Damdin and Jalan-Aajav lauded him as conscientious, hardworking, bright, and well educated. A comprehensive search of the Mongolian archives and additional interviews with Mongolians, Russians, and Chinese who dealt with Tsedenbal will be required to reconcile these differing images and to gain a clearer understanding of his role in twentieth-century Mongolia.[37)]

Notes

1) A few sources on the history of Mongolia since 1921 include Tsedendambyn Batbayar, *Modern Mongolia: A Concise History* (Ulaan Baatar: Mongolian Center for Scientific and Technological Information, 1996); Charles Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1968); Stephen Kotkin and Bruce Elleman, eds. *Mongolia in the Twentieth Century: Landlocked Cosmopolitan* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1999); and Robert Rupen, *Mongols of the Twentieth Century*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series 37, pt. 1, 1964). The official socialist interpretation is in William Brown and Urgunge Onon, trans. *History of the Mongolian People's Republic*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976).
2) His depictions of Buddhist monks echo the views of Jamsrangiin Sambuu, later the Chairman of the Presidium of the Great Khural or Parliament. See Mary Rossabi, trans. and Morris Rossabi, ed.., *Herdsman to Statesman: The Autobiography of Jamsrangiin Sambuu of Mongolia* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2010), pp. 5, 64, and 87-88.
3) The tremendous knowledge required for herding can be perceived in the precise guidebook written by an outstanding twentieth-century herder. See Ts. Namkhainyambuu, *Bounty from the Sheep: Autobiography of a Herdsman* (trans. by Mary Rossabi and intro. by Morris Rossabi; Cambridge: White Horse Press, 2000), pp. 103-150.
4) M. Sanjdorj, *Manchu Chinese Colonial Rule in Northern Mongolia* (trans. by Urgunge Onon; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), pp. 2 and 50-51.
5) On him, see the sources cited in Note One.
6) On the displacement of Choilbalsan's body from Sükhbaatar (or the central) Square in Ulaan Baatar, an indication of his lower stature, see Grégory Delaplace, "Marshall Choibalsan's Second Funeral" in Isabelle Charleux, Grégory Delaplace,

and Roberte Hamanyon, eds., *Representing Power in Modern Inner Asia: Conventions, Alternatives, and Oppositions* (Bellingham: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 2010), pp. 97-116.

7) Shagdariin Sandag and Harry Kendall, *Poisoned Arrows: The Stalin-Choibalsan Mongolian Massacres, 1921-1941*(Boulder: Westview Press, 2000), p. 173 gives a figure of 100,000 but it is probably an inflated number.
8) In his interview with Yuki Konagaya and I. Lkhagvasuren, he says that: "The Russian 'specialist advisors' were dispatched to all sectors of the Mongolian economy. It is difficult to answer the question of what they did. I cannot answer the question because they did nothing." See Yuki Konagaya and I. Lkhagvasuren, *Socialist Devotees and Dissenters: Three Twentieth-Century Mongolian Leaders* (trans. by Mary Rossabi and edited and compiled by Morris Rossabi: Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2011), p. 205.
9) An American was allowed to spend time in *negdels* during their height and wrote a similarly positive report. See Daniel Rosenberg, "Political Leadership in a Mongolian Nomadic Pastoralist Collective." Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1977.
10) He probably knew of the earlier and precipitous plan to collectivize the herds in the period from 1928 to 1932. That effort failed miserably, and the government abandoned the collectivization. See Bawden, *Modern History*, pp. 303-320.
11) On the maternal rest homes, see Yukiko Kojima, "Women in Development: Mongolia," Photocopy (Manila: Asian Development Bank, May, 1995), pp. 5-6. However, the government's pro-natal policy from the 1960s until 1990 "caused women to have children at too early or too late an age…and to have inadequate spacing between births…The high fertility levels, which failed to take into account the health of individual women, led to high rates of maternal mortality." See Morris Rossabi, *Modern Mongolia: From Khans to Commissars to Capitalists* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), p. 152.
12) Alan Sanders, "Mongolia 1977: Directive No. 14," *Asian Survey* 18 (1978), pp. 31-32.
13) William Heaton, "Mongolia in 1983: Mixed Signals," *Asian Survey* 24 (1984), p. 131.
14) On Lookhuuz, see Konagaya and Lkhagvasuren, *Socialist Devotees*, pp. 5-17 and 35-162.
15) I have presented my own interpretation of this privatization in my book *Modern Mongolia*. I stand by most of what I wrote there, with a few modifications based upon a few reviews of the book. However, I am heartened that Professor Jeffrey Sachs, the principal architect of "shock therapy," has had second thoughts about his prescriptions for Mongolia and the other socialist countries and has lamented the decline in government regulation, social welfare, education, and health and the rise in corruption that resulted from rapid privatization, minimalist government, and abandonment of State subsidies.
16) On this point, see Jon Quah. "National Anti-Corruption Plan for Mongolia. Ulaan Baatar: United Nations Development Programme, Mongolia, 1998 and David Sneath, "Reciprocity and Notions of Corruption in Contemporary Mongolia," *Mongolian Studies* 25 (2002), pp. 85-100.

17) In 2011, Transparency International ranked Mongolia 120th out of 183 countries, which indicated a high level of corruption. See cpi.transparency.org/cpi2011/results/ (Accessed April 15, 2012).
18) See Konagaya and Lkhagvasuren, *Socialist Devotees*, pp. 275-276 and 157-160.
19) A number of older herders share Minjuur's nostalgia for the *negdels*. See Morten Axel Pedersen, *Not Quite Shamans: Spirit Worlds and Political Lives in Northern Mongolia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp. 50-51.
20) On these events, see Bawden, *Modern Mongolia*, pp. 301-327.
21) One observer noted that "Mongolia is one of those countries that, in the past, released an endless supply of stamps aimed at collectors. It brought in some income to the government during the socialist era…" "Mongolia Monday—Mongolian Postage Stamps, Part I: Clothes and Culture," foxstudio.wordpress.com/mongolia—Monday-mongol-postage-stamps. (Accessed April 5, 2012).
22) Nomin Lkhagvasuren, "Today's Genghis Khan: From Hero to Outcast to Hero Again" in William Fitzhugh, Morris Rossabi, and William Honeychurch, eds. *Genghis Khan and the Mongol Empire* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, (2009), pp. 283-287.
23) See my Introduction in Konagaya and Lkhagvasuren, *Socialist Devotees* about Baldandorjiin Nyambuu, pp. 18-19.
24) On these events, see Konagaya and Lkhagvasuren, *Socialist Devotees*.
25) Zorig returned to Mongolia and has been attempting to rehabilitate his father's image. He was a candidate for the Khural in 2000 but was not elected.
26) Sh. G. Nadirov, *Tsedenbal and the Events of August, 1984* (trans by Baasan Ragchaa; Mongolia Society Occasional Paper 25, 2005)
27) See Konagaya and Lkhagvasuren, *Socialist Devotees*, p. 205.
28) On the other hand, Lookhuuz claimed credit for the Virgin Lands program. See Konagaya and Lkhagvasuren, *Socialist Devotees*, pp. 119-124.
29) Beria was in charge of this secret police organization, which implemented the Soviet purges of 1936 to 1939 and played an important role in displacing so-called subversive nationalities during World War Two, among other horrors, from 1938 until his own execution in December of 1953.
30) For these two quotes from Nyambuu, see Konagaya and Lkhagvasuren, *Socialist Devotees*, p. 224.
31) Udval had been a member of the Central Committee of the Mongolian Trade Unions from 1956 to 1958, a member of the Khural from 1951 to 1986, a member of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party from 1966 to 1990, and Chair of the Mongolian Writers' Union. However, she was renowned, in particular, for her short stories and novels.
32) Leonid Shinkarev, *Tsedenbal i Filatova: Liubov, Vlast, Tragedia* [Tsedenbal and Filatova—Love, Power, and Tragedy] (Moscow: Sapronov, 2004), p. 150 and 385-386 on these events.
33) For Sambuu, see Rossabi and Rossabi, trans. and ed., *Herdsman to Statesman*.
34) See his *Tuulsan zamd Törsön Bodol* [The Road That Leads to Understanding]. Ulaan Baatar: Sodpress, 2004, p. 112.
35) See Konagaya and Lkhagvasuren, *Socialist Devotees*.
36) Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962 pb.

ed.), p. 327.

37) For a preliminary sketch, see Sh. G. Nadirov, *Tsedenbal*.

Explanatory Note

[ ] are the translator's notes.