

## In Government Office

After helping to fulfill the duties of Minister of Education, rector of the state university, and chairman of the Friendship Committee, I became second-in-charge of cultural and educational matters under the Council of Ministers. This followed a decree of the Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers on January 31-February 2, 1953. Having become Deputy Minister of Education in 1953, I was relieved of my post as rector of the state university. In addition to acting as chairman of the Mongolian Peace Committee from 1949 to 1959, from 1947 to 1957 I also fulfilled the duties of chairman of the Society for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union. I was elected chairman of this society on May 22, 1947 and continued to work in this position when it became the Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Society.

During this time, the Soviet Union was fulfilling the two five-year plans following the Second World War, and was successfully reviving its national economy, industry, agriculture, culture, and areas of science. Our society widely advertised the successes and gains of the Soviet Union and its people, and we worked to establish close links with foreign cultural associations.

I worked with V. Sergeev for over thirty years in the field of friendly relations. He was the director of the Palace of Soviet Science and Culture in Ulaanbaatar. Sergeev recalled, "I first arrived in 1951 as a member of the Soviet delegation to the First Conference of the Mongolian Society for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union. I presented your society with white Italian marble busts of Lenin and Stalin carved by the famous Soviet sculptor S. Merkulev. Those statues are valuable works of art." I do not know where Lenin's bust is located. Stalin's is preserved in the European book collection at the State Library.

I was then elected a regular member of the Politburo of the MPRP Central Committee at a plenum meeting of the MPRP Central Committee on March 2-5, 1954. Prior to this I had been working as a secretary in charge of the propaganda section of the MPRP Central Committee. Having acquired a grasp of the practical activities of the cultural, arts, and health organizations, I worked for over nine years as rector of the university. Since I had also worked for several years as Minister of Education, I may have understood and was able to do all aspects of cultural work. That being the case, as I was simultaneously responsible for several areas across a wide range of subordinate activities, I came across a number of problems.

For a long time, I did not have a clear idea of the work of health organizations, and I considered that, above all, it was right to pay attention to this work. I selected a group of people to find out about the medical treatment centers in the countryside and in Ulaanbaatar. I personally observed the work carried out in several treatment centers, and after drawing my conclusions from the gathered material, I exchanged ideas with Health Minister G. Tuvaan, senior directors of the clinics, doctors, and Soviet specialists in order

to improve medical services for all the people. The proposals arising from these meetings were carried out.

In accordance with the wishes of the Ministry of Health, the money which was required for some buildings and building work, the equipping of hospitals and the supply of medicines was treated as if these were tasks and directives assigned by the Council of Ministers. At the same time, meetings and seminars in the towns and countryside were conducted through the channels of the Ministry of Health to improve the knowledge and performance of the doctors.

The faculties of medicine in the university and the technical colleges increased their student intake, and staff received training in basic hygiene and in the treatment of venereal and skin diseases. During those years the development of medical sciences was carried out by doctors such as B. Gongorjav, G. Tuvaan, A. Dagzmaa, G. Gipilmaa, T. Shagdarsüren, B. Ragchaa, G. Lodon, D. Densmaa, R. Nyamaa and others. In carrying out this work they used their knowledge and practical skills which were acquired in both the Soviet Union and their own country.

On July 26, 1953, the Presidium of the Ikh Khural issued a decree providing state assistance to help with the raising of large families. The purpose of this was to provide the necessary resources and conditions for socially useful activities, the education of families with many children, and to provide incentives to have large families. Following a two-year study of health care organizations, issues were raised which led to an important resolution being passed by the Mongolian Council of Ministers entitled "Measures to be Taken to Improve the Health Care of the People." This resolution included the following points:

- The work of the hospital organizations to be streamlined in order to improve basic hospital services for the people.
- Patients to be treated compassionately by hospital staff, who are to provide a quality standard of service.
- Several clear steps are to be taken to improve hospital services for children.
- Highly-qualified doctors are to take responsibility for factory and district clinics which are to receive assistance with their working methods.
- Annual meetings of the leading health workers are to be held in Ulaanbaatar and in the aimags to allow them to discuss their experiences.
- With the aim of combating tuberculosis and venereal diseases, there will be an increase in the number of health workers, new hospitals will be established in some places and personnel will be trained.
- Courses for intermediate-grade midwives will be established.
- Clinic-based hygiene work will be actively carried out among the ordinary population.
- Several grades of awards to be introduced in order to encourage leading workers in hospital organizations.
- More attention will have to be paid to the work of the hospitals by the leading establishments in the aimags and ministries.

The country paid much attention to the theater, cinema, circus, descriptive arts and other arts organizations. Great steps were taken to improve the political education of the workers in these organizations, the standard of creative work, the help and support offered to the local education and art organizations, and the artistic and ideological standard of literary achievements.



While this work was being carried out, I was directed to assume the duties of First Deputy Prime Minister by the first session of the Council of Ministers. While in this post, as well as contributing to the implementation of these measures, I was also directly responsible for the work of the Ministry of Education and the state university. I also strove to fulfill my assignments in public organizations such as the peace and friendship organizations.

Meanwhile, the Politburo of the Party Central Committee had appointed me First Deputy Prime Minister on April 7, 1954 and relieved me of my post as Minister of Education. My new post was confirmed by the first session of the second Ikh Khural. I had never previously been elected to this post, which was a brand-new experience for me.

For example, the work involved leading the government administration and local organizations, and managing agricultural problems. I submitted my own ideas to the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, formulating and planning decisions and resolutions, examining the results of the decisions taken, and other wide-ranging duties. As usual, I continued to carry out my duties as chairman of the Peace Committee and chairman of the Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Society.

My work in leading the local aimag administrative organizations in agriculture and the state inspectorate organizations already required me to travel to the snow-stricken aimags and sums in winter and spring to find out, among other things, how the livestock in private hands, and those held by collectives and state farms were being kept alive and well through the winter, about the spring lambing period, and the early spring pasturing. I also needed to find out about other leading areas of expertise.

For these reasons I would go out into the countryside accompanied by one of the assistants from a state farm or from the headquarters of the Ministry of Agriculture, or else with a zootechnician or veterinarian. I would obtain professional advice from them, become familiar with the good and bad aspects of livestock herding and provide answers to their questions on the spot. Where there were large demands for capital investment, I would have discussions with the aimag party committee and administration. On my arrival back in the capital, I would exchange opinions with the relevant ministries and apply to the Party Central Committee and the government for a decision. Due to the predominance of private herdsmen in the livestock economy at that time, the negdels, of course, faced the greatest difficulties across the nation since their successful inception. These included problems in fattening the livestock to help to increase their numbers, maintaining their health, ensuring their survival over the winter, raising the young in spring, making hay in the autumn with horse-drawn hay-making machines, and building winter enclosures.

In spite of this, in order to resolve the above-mentioned problems, the Party and government organizations and agricultural workers organized teams of leading workers and experienced herdsmen to do work in the localities. At that time, livestock disease was still a considerable problem, and groups of veterinary workers were urgently sent to combat occasional outbreaks of contagious diseases.

The digging of wells became a national priority, and these were made the responsibility of the sums and local districts. When carrying out work such as autumn hay making, large amounts of cash, transport, and organization were required. Most of this was financed from the state budget or by other ad hoc methods, but the required organizational work was carried out through the agricultural organizations. Attention was paid

to developing agricultural collectives and state farms, and support for their organization and their material base was provided. In particular, leading and experienced Party members, zootechnicians, agronomists, veterinary surgeons, and economists were appointed to work in these organizations.

At the beginning I had no knowledge at all of farming or vegetable growing, and so I had to learn about these matters quickly. I began to visit the Jargalant, Boroo, Tsagaan Tolgoi, Tüvshrüülekh, and Inget Tolgoi state farms [northwest of Ulaanbaatar] during their spring sowing and autumn harvesting campaigns.

When doing that I used to take along the leading state farm and agricultural specialists so as to learn from them about many aspects of the work, including plowing methods, fertilizers, planting, plant growth, measurement prior to harvesting, classification of seed quality, proper harvesting techniques for grain and vegetables, the advance preparation of tractors and combine harvesters, the training of mechanics and other skilled workers, the transportation of harvested grain to storage facilities, and other matters.

In addition, I studied the basic books, newspapers, journals, and instructional literature on farming, vegetables, soil, and agricultural techniques. In order to verify the things I had learned, I went onto the farmland with such people as the Mongolian agronomist Kh. Banzragch and other agricultural specialists to have things explained to me.

At that time there was a movement in our country to grow maize for livestock fodder. One spring, the government organized training in maize-planting techniques. This was conducted by L. Rinchin (later to become Minister of Agriculture), Kh. Banzragch (later to become Minister of State Farms) and was observed by leading members of the Central Committee and government ministers such as myself. This experiment taught us all a good lesson. The maize crops did not ripen. Soviet specialists immediately advised us to turn them into silage for the livestock.

One day, some of us in charge of agricultural problems went to watch the training being given for silage production at the Jargalant state farm. This was mainly being carried out by Soviet specialists. We learned about how the maize was chopped up and stored in deep, specially dug silage pits. When we went to see it, the fodder turned out to have a pleasant aroma, smelling good enough to be eaten by people let alone by livestock. The maize had obviously become a good quality vegetable-based feed. Though, the Mongolian livestock initially refused to eat it, eventually they became accustomed to it.

When I was touring the negdels I brought along some Mongolian agricultural experts who taught me about their work and gave me advice. They, for their part, concentrated on their own specialties and voiced their opinions on plans which would assist agriculture. Among my friends who taught me about the work of state farms and collectives was Soviet Ambassador V. I. Pisarev, who was an agricultural specialist. Pisarev was a leading expert on farming who had worked on the Baltic Sea coast and in Kazakhstan. While in Kazakhstan he personally took part in establishing new breeds of cattle there.

D. Damba, the First Secretary of the Central Committee, was himself in charge of agriculture. I used to accompany him on visits to state farms, collectives, and to certain aimags. Sometimes, J. Sambuu, the chairman of the Presidium of the Ikh Khural, would make repeated visits to state farms, in particular those at Bayanchandman' in Töv aimag, the Jargalant state farm, and the Bor Nuur agricultural and livestock farm.



The MPRP Central Committee and the Mongolian government wished to make a study of the further development of the nation's agriculture. To investigate how the Soviet Union could help in this matter, G. Voronov, former party chairman of Chita region [in Siberia] and deputy minister and director of the office in charge of sheep farming within the Soviet Ministry of Agriculture, was sent to our country.

Voronov came with a plan to survey many aimags and localities in the west and northwest of our country, including soil and water [resources] and state farms and collectives. This plan was highly acclaimed and a group of us, including myself as first deputy prime minister, D. Baljinnyam the agriculture minister, and D. Damba accompanied him to the western aimags. A group of experts including Soviet ambassador Pisarev accompanied Voronov.

Voronov and the rest of us left Ulaanbaatar to spend several days visiting several sums and collectives in Bulgan aimag, the Inget Tolgoi state farm, some negdels [sum collectives] in Khövsgöl, Zavkhan, Gobi-altai (Zakhui sum in particular), Bayankhongor, and Arkhangai aimags, and Tüvshrüülek State Farm. All aspects of our agriculture were studied and the local people and ourselves were given valuable advice on the spot.

Eventually, before Voronov returned to Moscow, a Soviet aid plan was formulated for us. This turned out to be a valuable lesson for us and our Mongolian friends. The plan was drawn up by the appropriate Soviet organization under Voronov's professional supervision, following a directive issued by the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet government. It was well known that the Soviet aid plan became a very important resource for our agriculture.

According to the official regulations in the above-mentioned 1941 resolution, wool, hair, meat, and milk were bought up at low prices. This resulted in a new law on taxation being passed by the Presidium of the Ikh Khural on May 8, 1954, which considerably reduced the tax burden on private herdsman. For example, the new taxation law of June 1954 which was concerned with livestock, granted the lowest level of taxation for those owning twenty-one to fifty head of livestock. Those herding [families] with up to 20 head of livestock were completely exempt from taxation.

In March 1953, the plenum of the MPRP Central Committee discussed the question entitled "The Organization of the Herding Collectives and the Strengthening of the Economy." The plenum also drew conclusions on the successes and failures of the local manufacturing cooperatives and gave clear instructions on the achievement of working aims for the future. Further important steps were taken in the process of collectivization. This was the basic resolution of this plenum which was connected with the important measures being carried out by the MPRP Central Committee and Council of Ministers.

On February 13, 1954, the Council of Ministers passed a resolution entitled "The Organization of Labor in Local Manufacturing Cooperatives and Ways of Financing the Cost of Labor." The Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers put a great deal of work into increasing the loans taken out by collectives, and to reduce the cost of livestock products procured by the state. Plans were drawn up for agricultural buildings and establishments and expert help was provided for them.

Appeals were made to people in positions of responsibility in the aimag organizations and aimag centers to go and take up positions as leaders of the agricultural collectives. Short training courses were organized for the volunteers on how to run a collec-

tive. Participants included Dorjpalam and Minjuur of Arkhangai, Oidov of Bulgan, Lodoikhüü of Gobi-Altai and many others who had become heroes of labor. Zootechnicians and economists were also sent to these collectives.

In 1955 a resolution was passed to strengthen the economic basis of the state farms. This included clear instructions to state farms on the production of grain, milk, vegetables, cattle, and sheep. Now that the work brigade had become the basic unit of production on the state farms, the main agricultural tasks became mechanized and a system of payment had to be devised to reward people for the jobs they had done. There needed to be improvements made in planning, statistics, and accounting, and the proper experts had to be provided for this. Measures were also taken to improve the living standards and cultural facilities of the workers and officials.

In order to further strengthen the organization and financing of the rural collectives, the first Congress of Outstanding Workers of Manufacturing Cooperatives was convened in March 1955. A total of 521 outstanding workers were selected to take part in this conference. In addition, some of the leading herdsman (each in charge of over 1000 head of livestock), and representatives of the aimag and district Party and government organizations took part in it. The first Congress of Collective Farm Workers confirmed the exemplary new regulations of the general code relating to the collectives.

It was then decided to recruit wealthy and upper-middle-ranking private herding families into the collectives. The proportion of the country's herdsman in the collectives ranged from 10.9% to 34.3%. The process of integrating these [private] herdsman was not identical in all the aimags and sums. By 1957 a large proportion of the private herdsman had been collectivized in Bayankhongor, Bulgan, Khovd, andUvs aimags. From 1953 to 1957 the capital invested in the national economy was 2.7 times as great as it was in the first five-year plan.

In January 1957 the Presidium of the Ikh Khural issued a decree awarding leading people in agriculture Hero of Labor of the MPR awards and medals. Those agricultural experts who had successfully improved working methods in veterinary services and zootechnical services were awarded titles such as Merited Veterinary Surgeon of the MPR and Merited Zootechnician of the MPR. When the socialist branches of agriculture and agricultural organizations were strengthened, the results gained by these and other related methods stimulated the cooperative movement.

On October 20, 1956 a resolution was passed to organize a permanent course for technical specialists in agriculture. The preparatory course for technical specialists in agriculture was started in Arkhust in 1956 and a decision was made to increase the number of students thereafter. By 1957, 35% of the private herdsman holding 25% of all livestock had been included in agricultural collectives and 78.6% of all farmland had been collectivized.

The plenum of the MPRP Central Committee held in April 1954 discussed the measures to be taken to further develop the livestock economy and improve the quality of its output. The plenum acknowledged that the basic reason for the unsatisfactory state of the livestock economy was the lack of enthusiasm which could stimulate interest among the herders to increase livestock numbers. As an incentive to the herdsman and workers, prices were raised for wool, milk, and other livestock products and for raw materials which were procured by the state. Steps were also taken to reduce official taxes in the livestock economy.

This decision resulted in some disagreement. Some people said that support for



the negdels was a priority. Somewhere along the way I said that there was actually only a small number of working people supporting us and the entire nation. What I said was then distorted and made to look as if I was a defender of private herdsmen and petty capitalists.

However, such talk soon died down.

The first congress of leading collective farm workers discussed the "textbook" model for future collectives and in March 1955 the Council of Ministers and the MPRP Central Committee confirmed the regulations concerning the aims and objectives of the membership, manufacturing requirements, the land, the agricultural collectives and their principal activities, the capital of agricultural collectives, the organization of labor, wages and work obligations, the management of agricultural collectives, and the organization and establishment of agricultural collectives.

Around that time, advances were being made in industry, construction, transport, communications, health care, and culture. The 790 km rail link between Ulaanbaatar and Zamyn Üüd was completed in 1956. This meant that the length of railway lines had increased 3.4 fold in five years. New automotive transport depots were established in twelve aimags with a considerable increase in the number of trucks.

In 1954 the Soviet Union paid for the construction and equipment of airports under its own jurisdiction at Ulaanbaatar and Sainshand. Also included in this were five Ilyushin-14 aircraft which helped us to develop our first civil airline.

In 1956 about 3000 young people were assigned to work on the railways, 2000 in mining industries, and three hundred in the construction and petroleum industries. There was a rapid increase in the number of young workers. In 1956 seventy per cent of the workers in labor units were young people, which was a new and welcome development.

On October 17, 1955 I received the delegations which were participating in a conference on the Soviet-Mongolian-Chinese railway, and learned about the railway from them. The Soviet delegation was led by T. G. Yermakov, the Chinese were led by Mi Yun, and the Mongols were headed by A. Tsogtsaikhan. The construction of the railway carried on towards Zamyn Üüd. As soon as it had reached Ereen [called Erlien on the Chinese side of the border], a reception was held for the three national delegations.

Our side was represented by Tsedenbal, Damba, and myself. The Soviet Minister of Railways Beshchev and the Chinese Minister of Railways Tian Duyang, the leader of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region Ulaankhüü and the deputy leaders, Wang Tse-tien and Damdinsüren, attended a ceremony held in Ulaanbaatar. We traveled on a special train to Ereen before returning home.

From 1950 onwards, we established diplomatic relations with the majority of the new democratic nations. In addition in 1954, diplomatic relations were established with Vietnam, in 1955 with India, and in 1956 with Burma and Indonesia. During this period, leading Party and government figures from various foreign countries made visits to our country. In October 1954 Boleslaw Bierut, the First Secretary of the United Democratic Party of Poland, visited Ulaanbaatar, and on September 21, 1956 the Indonesian President Akhmed Sukarno paid us a visit. I took part in the receptions held for them, together with J. Sambuu, chairman of the Presidium of the Ikh Khural.

A delegation of Politburo members of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers visited our country on April 8-10, 1956. I took part in a reception for them together with Tsedenbal, who was chairman of the Council of

Ministers, and J. Sambuu, chairman of the Presidium of the Ikh Khural. Around the time A. I. Mikoyan was arriving, an official announcement was made that 40,000 square meters of housing were to be provided by the Soviet Union between 1956 and 1960. In addition, all the property of the Choibalsan-Tamsagbulag railway line was handed over to a joint Mongolian-Soviet shareholding company called the Ulaanbaatar Company.

Agreement was also reached on establishing a milk processing plant in Ulaanbaatar, four grain mills in the countryside, and six mechanized livestock stations. Mikoyan learned about the building work being provided by the Soviet Union to Mongolia and he met with his embassy staff to give them advice and instructions. During his speeches Mikoyan produced clear proposals for the strengthening of friendship and wider cooperation between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples. Mikoyan was a jovial, witty man. While he was staying at the Ikh Tenger guest house, I was directed to spend some time there by the Central Committee and government. When we went out together for some fresh air he said that the Bogd Uul and the area around Ulaanbaatar was just like the northern Caucasus mountains—both were clean and beautiful places.

In 1955, at the tenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, a majority (fifty-two) of its members voted to accept Mongolia into its membership. However, this was again obstructed by the United States and Chiang Kai-shek's delegation. In 1956 the Council of Arab Nations passed a resolution supporting our country's efforts to take up its rightful place in the United Nations. Following a decree by the Council of Friendship between African and Asian nations, the progressive forces of all African and Asian countries made an appeal on every July 11 as a demonstration of international support for the entry of Mongolia into the United Nations.

Around that time, an event of international importance occurred at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. The Central Committee, after discussing the new five-year plan, began to criticize the distorted worship of Stalin. A decision was taken to strengthen the collective leadership of the Party. The conference resolution was approved by the majority of international communist and workers' parties which drew appropriate conclusions for use in their own activities.

The fourth plenum of the MPRP Central Committee in 1956 discussed the outcome of the Twentieth Congress and criticized the problems associated with the worship of Choibalsan. The Politburo was given the task of investigating this question. Accordingly, in order to examine the mistakes and distortions committed by the Ministry of the Interior during 1937-1940, the Politburo appointed a twenty-six-member commission which was headed by myself. For six months we were relieved of our other duties in order to examine the work of this ministry.

From the time of Stalin's death in the spring of 1953 until 1957 there were continual changes in the Soviet leadership. N. S. Khrushchev, who was First Secretary of the Moscow Party committee, became the second most senior person in the Secretariat of the Central Committee. The press reported that G. M. Malenkov, who was a secretary of the Central Committee in Stalinist times, became chairman of the Council of Ministers and leader of the Presidium of the Central Committee. While Stalin was being criticized, Malenkov was replaced, and N. A. Bulganin, who had been Defense Minister, was appointed chairman of the Council of Ministers. Following N. S. Khrushchev's appointment as First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, it appeared that some people who had been purged during the Stalinist period had begun to be rehabilitated.

When I began working as a member of this commission to investigate the activities



of the Ministry of the Interior, everything was new to me, and I encountered considerable difficulties due to lack of experience. In order to complete this work, it was important that the MPRP Ikh Khural, its plenum and the Presidium of the Central Committee allow us access to the documents of the Interior Ministry and Foreign Ministry covering the 1937-1940 period. The members of the commission were divided into four groups. It seemed that even with a good knowledge of those documents, some matters concerned with the activities of the Interior Ministry could not be clarified without access to Choibalsan's secret papers, which were kept by Tsedenbal, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

First Secretary D. Damba supported the request of the commission to see the secret papers, but Tsedenbal refused on the grounds that they were state secrets. The commission had to draw its conclusions based on the available evidence. It offered the following suggestions to the Politburo of the Central Committee.

1. The Party and government figures of that early time, B. Baasanjav, J. Lkhümbe, Yu. Magsarjav, S. Yandag, T. Balganjav, B. Banzragch, E. Jamsran, Ts. Nasanbaljir, and L. Dendev, the military figures Sh. Damba, D. Luvsandonoi, L. Dar'jav, and T. Dashzeveg, the journalists Övgöödei, Ts. Damdinsüren and others, twenty-six in total, were judged to have been innocent.

2. As questions relating to P. Genden, G. Demid, Sh. Luvsanvandan, D. Losol, D. Dogsom, and others had been resolved in the Soviet Union, a request was made to the Soviet Communist Party for an immediate decision on their rehabilitation. When this question was originally put to the Soviet leadership by a delegation of our Party and government in Moscow in 1957, they said it would be quite appropriate for us to write to them about these people.

Accordingly, Secretary Damba wrote in his letter of reply, "We have no evidence that the above-mentioned people were Japanese spies nor that they were working against the Soviet Union." Incidentally, the Soviet scholar of philosophy, Dr. V. Burov, writing in the first issue of *Argumenty i Fakty* of 1991, stated, "The Soviet Interior Ministry and some people in the diplomatic service had taken part in the false accusation of some Mongols." This is likely to be a reference to the fact that, above all, Stalin and his henchmen N. Yezhov and L. Beria, who carried out his vile accusatory work, assigned advisers and instructors to collaborate with Choibalsan in the Interior Ministry to carry out purges of many people.

Among them was I. Ivanov, to whom evidence of participation in such purges has now been linked. Ivanov had been a senior official in the Soviet Interior Ministry. He arrived [in Mongolia] in mid-1939 to take up the post of ambassador. On July 10, 1938 the secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, Sh. Luvsansharav and the chairman of the State Baga Khural, D. Dogsom, and others were arrested and brought to Choibalsan's office. Furthermore, the above-mentioned Ivanov was present when they were sent to the Soviet Union, a fact mentioned by our deputy Interior Minister, B. Jambaldorj, on more than one occasion. It was clear that when Ivanov was ambassador to our country he received the titles Leading Soviet Chekist and was awarded the rank of Major-General of Public Security.

3. A permanent commission to be established to work alongside the Ikh Khural to investigate all the people who had been falsely accused through the channels of the Ministry of the Interior.

4. While correcting the mistakes and corruption of this period, those honest and

educated members of the ministry in question should be promoted.

While these matters were being discussed, serious disagreements developed between Tsedenbal and Damba. Damba wanted to intensify the investigations, but Tsedenbal wanted to delay them, saying that they needed a proper occasion to view the evidence in detail, and he wanted to proceed with caution.

As head of the commission I wanted to carry out the above proposals, and so I supported the views of Damba and some others. Tsedenbal disliked what was happening and quietly tested my opinions in secret.

Once, I happened to be celebrating my son's birthday and invited some friends to my home. Among them was D. Tsedev, with whom I had studied in the Soviet Union (He was a former Minister of the Interior and later moved to work in the Ikh Khural). He repeatedly asked me what I now thought about Tsedenbal. I asked him, "Did Tsedenbal want you to ask me this?" adding that this was not something he should ask me. At that point Tsedev snatched up his hat and left. He then went to see Damba and said, "Following an order from Deputy Interior Minister D. Bataa, what would happen if I discussed some nonsense with Shirendev?"

Damba raised the original question and, in order to prove that he disagreed with Tsedenbal over this matter, he spoke with some conviction at one of the Politburo meetings saying, "Comrade Tsedenbal has refused to reveal Choibalsan's secret documents to the commission and has backed off from this investigation into the purges. He has also been spying on the work of Politburo member Shirendev."

While the two leaders argued ferociously at the meeting, I stood up and said, "Tsedenbal, I am glad that at least you sent a decent man to check me out." The members of the Politburo broke into laughter and the argument died down. Later on, in fact, Tsedev told some people about this matter. In addition, it was demanded that D. Damba was to have N. Lkhamsüren and me arrested as "imperialist spies." Lkhamsüren wrote an article about this which was published in the newspaper *Khödölmör* in early 1990. This event felt like another encounter with an ocean wave.

Our commission proposed the establishment of a rehabilitation commission under the control of the Ikh Khural, which did operate for a while and then ceased to exist in 1960. As the Party members demanded that the investigation should continue, the investigating commission headed by T. Genden continued operating until 1961-62, although towards the end everyone knew that it was, of course, defunct.

Now that the purges which had been carried out by the Interior Ministry were revealed by the investigation, some intellectuals in the Party Central Committee, the City Party committee, the Central Committee of the Youth League, the state university, and other organizations complained about the slow development of the country. Subsequently, important debates occurred and proposals were made to try to accelerate development. After this had begun, Tsedenbal secretly supported the direction taken by the leadership of the Central Committee, in particular Damba.

However, when criticism began to affect Tsedenbal directly, the Politburo, led by Tsedenbal and Damba decided to arrange a meeting between some of the politburo leaders and the intellectuals. J. Sambuu, Damdin (the city Party committee chairman), the Central Committee member D. Baljinnyam and I were sent to the above organizations to get them to talk openly and freely about their ideas and then report back. It was announced to the [rest of the] Politburo that these people had been sent. D. Baljinnyam, D. Samdan, and I went to the state university to listen to the ideas of the lecturers.



While we were sitting listening to several of the lecturers, Ts. Damdinsüren came up to us and said, "I assume that following this discussion no action will be taken against us." I believed that we had been sent to listen to them in confidence, and that no action would be taken. "No, no action will be taken," I said, raising my hand. We related the content of their discussions to the Central Committee.

Tsedenbal and D. Tömör-Ochir passed a resolution entitled "Some Ideas and Speeches Counter to our Party Policy," and listed the names of the people present at the meeting. Eventually, I too was forced to put my name to this resolution. Having read the original draft of the resolution, and after we had been told to tell them that they could speak in confidence, I disagreed, saying that it was wrong to mention only a few names in this resolution. Only two or three names from the state university were mentioned and the rest were omitted.

In fact, from this meeting, carried out on the orders of Damba and the others, N. Dangaasüren, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Youth League, J. Tömörbaatar and D. Lkhamjav of the Institute of Party History, and Z. Sodnomtseren, secretary of the Party committee of Choibalsan (Dornod) aimag, were included in the resolution. Because Tsedenbal had hand-written the final draft of the resolution, there was practically no way of altering it, and his was the leading signature. He had the others affix their signatures in support of the resolution, which was passed on December 5, 1956.

Damba talked about these events when he met with his friends from the Institute of Social Sciences prior to his death in 1989. Based on that resolution, the regular plenum of the Central Committee conducted detailed discussions about those "intellectuals who had strayed."

I stated at the plenum that it was wrong to include all intellectuals in this just because a few groups of intellectuals had been mistaken about things, and as they had their origins in nomadic herding families, they were fulfilling a major role in the establishment of socialism. The proper thing would be for us to educate them and instruct them in their work. However, in order to teach and educate those lost and misguided people it would be necessary to speak with them in confidence. Having found out about those errors, keeping silent and not doing anything about them, or trying to reconcile them would not in reality be a good, comradely thing to do for that intellectual. But someone who can talk for him in confidence must be considered a truly good friend of that person. We must educate our people to be loyal and honest in their work, discussions, and all other things. In fact, I said, this matter would be even more significant during the establishment of socialism. I believe that the manuscript of this speech of mine is kept in the archives of the Party Central Committee.

At the invitation of the government of the Soviet Union, a Party and government delegation set off from Ulaanbaatar on May 10, 1957, led by Tsedenbal, chairman of the Council of Ministers. The delegation included the Party First Secretary and member of the Presidium of the Ikh Khural D. Damba, First Deputy Prime Minister B. Shirendev, Deputy Prime Minister and chairman of the State Planning Commission L. Tsend, Foreign Minister D. Adilbish, Minister in charge of the Livestock Economy L. Baljinnyam, Finance Minister D. Molomjamts, and Minister of Industry O. Bat-Ochir.

When the delegation arrived in Moscow, they were greeted by the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union N. A. Bulganin, the First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party N. S. Khrushchev, A. I. Mikoyan, V. M. Molotov, G. M. Per-

vukhin, M. A. Suslov, the Prime Minister of the Russian Federation M. A. Yasnov, the minister B. N. Beshchev, A. A. Gromyko, V. V. Matskevich, A. G. Zverev, F. G. Kabanov, P. F. Lomanov, and other officials.

The talks between the government delegations of Mongolia and the Soviet Union began on May 10, 1957 in Moscow's Kremlin. Those who took part in the discussions included Bulganin, Khrushchev, Mikoyan, Tsedenbal, D. Damba and others. Ideas were exchanged on international problems of significant interest to Mongolia and the Soviet Union, and on the further development and strengthening of fraternal friendship and joint activities between the peoples of the two nations.

Khrushchev and Bulganin received the delegation led by Tsedenbal. The Mongolian delegation went to lay a wreath at the mausoleum of Lenin and Stalin. The Mongolian ambassador S. Bataa hosted a banquet on May 13, 1957. Representing the Soviet side were Bulganin, Kaganovich, Malenkov, Mikoyan, Molotov, Pervukhin, Saburov, Khrushchev, Shepilov and others. The Mongolian side included Tsedenbal, L. Tsend, B. Adilbish, D. Baljinnyam, D. Molomjamts, O. Bat-Ochir, and myself. Speeches were made by Tsedenbal, Damba, and Bulganin.

The joint Mongolian-Soviet statement and the report on the discussions between the MPRP and the Soviet Communist Party was signed on May 15, 1957 in the Kremlin Palace. This report was signed by Damba and Khrushchev. The discussions resulted in the permanent transfer of the Mongolneft (Mongol Petroleum) trust to Mongolia. An agreement was reached on May 15 in Moscow over the sale of the Soviet share in the joint Soviet-Mongolian company Sovmongol-metall. The Soviet Union also agreed to donate 2500 tractors, 550 combine harvesters, 200 small electricity-generating plants, about 3000 trucks, and 10,000 head of good breeding livestock.

In addition, there was to be a 200,000,000 ruble loan on easy repayment terms, and the commencement of the construction of apartment blocks in the Döchin Myangat district of Ulaanbaatar. A medical expedition was to be carried out to improve the health of the people, the Soviet Union being responsible for fifty per cent of the cost.

Another event in the history of Mongolian-Soviet friendship which took place around that time was the visit to Ulaanbaatar in May 1957 by the leader of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Marshal K. Ye. Voroshilov. The invitation was extended by the Ikh Khural and government. In accordance with Oriental tradition, two ceremonial gates were constructed for his visit. One was on the road between Buyant Ukhua Airport and Ulaanbaatar, and the other one was erected near the Industrial Combine.

Accompanying Voroshilov were Sh. Rashidov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek Republic, and the corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences V.P. Elyutin, a chemist, and N.T. Fedorenko, a Chinese language specialist. Fedorenko was for a time the Soviet representative at the United Nations before being transferred back to academic work.

V.P. Elyutin later visited our country several times and as chairman of the Association of Graduates of Soviet Colleges, I met with him in Moscow on several occasions to discuss official business. Sometimes I came across him at assemblies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and we sometimes corresponded by mail.

Fedorenko had from his early days been an outstanding student of the Chinese language and became highly qualified in this field. He worked for many years as a diplomat at the Soviet embassy in Beijing while becoming a scholar of Chinese studies. He was wounded while fighting in the Soviet army at the battle of Khalkhyn Gol and was



treated at the military hospital in Choibalsan. After we became acquainted in 1956-1957, we exchanged books and publications. He was appointed one of the secretaries of the Writers' Union of the USSR, and I met with him on several occasions to ask him about Chinese literature and art. He used to give me some interesting replies.

During a break from the speeches and meetings with Party Central Committee members and government leaders, I and a group of leading figures in the Party and government accompanied Voroshilov on a visit to the Bayanchandmani sum negdel and the Jargalant State Farm, where he learned about life in the countryside. Voroshilov paid a visit to a family in a Mongol ger where there were some photographs, mainly of Lenin and the current Soviet leadership.

He spotted his own photograph and asked in astonishment, "Was this photograph put here for my visit?" Voroshilov talked with the people in an amiable way and once remarked, "Your ger isn't that bad, it is quite pleasant here." Even though there was a cold blizzard blowing that spring day, many herdsmen, young and old, men and women alike, traveled from far away to see him.

A gathering was held in front of the negdel administration building where representatives of the herdsmen and the negdel leadership presented Voroshilov with a saddled horse and a baby camel. Voroshilov replied by saying a few words on behalf of Mongolian-Soviet friendship, offered his thanks and congratulated the assembled masses. At the end of his speech he said, "I am fond of horses and I would like to accept this horse which has been blessed by all of you. However, I will leave this poor baby camel in your care. If I were to take this baby camel to a far-off place I believe it would miss its parents and pine away."

The assembled herdsmen were moved at Voroshilov's speech and broke into applause, some of them wiping away their tears. Voroshilov was invited to a place which had been specially prepared for honored guests. Many gers and tents were erected on the northern side of a beautiful wooded hill south of the road to Ulaanbaatar about fifty-two kilometers from Bayan Chandaman' and Jargalant. The guests were entertained by displays of wrestling, horse racing, singing, and music.