

## The Nation's Capital

We left Tsetserleg and followed the bank of the Urd [South] Tamir river to a crossing point on Ögii lake, where we spent the night. The following day we had a tire puncture and we continued to be delayed by one breakdown after another until we arrived at the aimag center of Bogd Khan Uul aimag, now Lün sum of Töv aimag. This aimag center had a considerable number of newly constructed log buildings. Hospitals, schools, and leading aimag administrative organizations were being established. Many enclosures for gers had been built, section after section.

After stopping in a ger hotel for the night, we set off early in the morning for Ulaanbaatar. By constantly repairing the truck and pumping up the tires we reached Ulaanbaatar shortly before sunset. The Shar Khöv Pass was the last of several hills to the west of Ulaanbaatar and when we crossed it we could see the smoke rising from the mountain valleys of Ulaanbaatar.

Suddenly, I remembered something my mother had once told me. When she was small, she had traveled with her mother and her brothers on foot with a camel caravan to kow-tow to the Bogd at Bogd Khüree. On their return they crossed the Shar Khöv pass where she said there was a beautiful view of Bogd Khüree.

We continued skirting along the edge of Ulaanbaatar's Baruun Selbe. Javzan and I got off the truck and followed a lane full of garbage and bones past a tall pile of refuse to a tiny north-facing gate where Sanjaajav's relatives lived. We spent a few nights there. My cousin Sanjaajav was working as an official in the city. Since there were still a few days to go before the Party school was to start, I went along with Sanjaajav, his wife and their relatives to get acquainted with the layout of the city. The Tuul river flowed south of Ulaanbaatar and there were several ravines and a forested mountain called Bogd Uul on its south bank. Right in the middle of one of the north-facing slopes of this mountain were the words "Um Maa Khum" in Tibetan. To the north of the city there were many ravines on different levels. These slopes were known as the Dalan Davkhar [Seventy Layers].

According to my understanding at the time, Ulaanbaatar was divided into the following districts: The Gandan was the area from Dasgan Ovoo westward to the slopes of the mountain; the Züün Khüree district stretched [from the Gandan] towards the east and north, including the western part of the Züün Selbe; Ulaanbaatar city proper lay between the Züün Selbe and Baruun Selbe rivers and further to the east and west. East of the city was the Maakhuur hill, not very far from the Ushaan Den where three radio towers had been erected during the Gamin (Chinese) period. The valley east of here was called Naimaa Khot or Amgalanbaatar. The Bogd's old palaces were on the north bank of the Tuul, south of the city, and a branch of the Party School was located there.

While walking through the center of the city itself, I saw a large wooden building called the "Recreation Ground" and an old two-story wooden building which was the

Defense Ministry. To the right of this was a two-story Chinese building. Further to the west and in front of the Recreation Ground was a wide square beyond which were several groups of log cabins with small stockades.

The largest building in the city was on the east bank of the Baruun Selbe. It was a two-story brick construction called the Öndör Cooperative where a lot of activity and commotion took place. Next door to it there was an attractive building where things were traded. To the west of these two buildings was a street where there were a considerable number of cooperative stores. To the south of the Öndör Cooperative, on the east side of the Baruun Selbe, was a large two-story building. This was the Department of Internal Security.

Basically, the administration structures for the city proper and the city ger enclosures [stockades] were situated between the two Selbe rivers and to the south of Züün Khüree. Reaching the edge of Züün Khüree and following the Baruun Selbe was an area of Chinese streets known as Baruun Damnuurgachin and the Tövd (Tibetan) district. When walking along the Chinese streets, the shops of Sodnomdarjaa, Beejin Tsagaan and others were prominent with their tall gates and high blue colored Chinese-style brick walls. There were travelers and caravan drivers along this street. On the streets to the southeast and southwest of the Recreation Ground were several large mounds consisting of refuse heaped up from earlier times.

There were many soldiers within the city who could sometimes be seen parading en-masse or riding on horseback. There were also horse carts and beautiful slender-wheeled horse-drawn carriages with seats having backrests and bells. Many people were wandering about on bicycles. A large number of dogs roamed the doorways and lanes of the city ger enclosures, and along the banks of the Selbe and on the mounds of garbage. There was talk of building a large factory called a Kombinat ["industrial combine"] in a valley next to the Bogd's palace to the south of the river. Below a terraced enclosure on the southern edge of the city, there was a small building made of red brick. This was the Electric Light Station.

Having gained quite a good idea of the layout of the city, I went for a walk in the central square. Suddenly it seemed that someone had started talking away in a loud voice. I stopped and looked around but could not see anyone near me. Amazed, I continued to listen and when I came across someone I asked him, "Who is that person talking?" "It is the radio talking" he replied. "Where is it then?" I asked. "It's a long way from here. It is located in a special building called Ushaan Den where there are three tall iron poles from where it comes this way along many branching wires. A person talking over there can be heard from a cable speaker hung on a wooden post" he said and pointed out a stubby speaker on the top of a post not far from us. I would have liked to have seen those three tall things called Ushaan Den and, if possible, the place where the transmissions were made.

I had two days to spend before classes started at school. I left the household where I was staying and crossed the Bogd's narrow red wooden bridge spanning the Dund river which flowed south of Ulaanbaatar. I passed by the Bogd Khan's Winter Palace and went to the left of a cluster of temples to get to the white building with its group of gers which comprised the Party School.

The Party School had been established on the site of one of the Bogd's several palaces. Quite a few trees had been planted there and wooden pavilions were provided for people to stop and rest in. There was also a large, artistically shaped wooden clock



which was broken. People said that this was one of the things which had remained from the Bogd Khan's era. The pupils at the school were taught their lessons in these buildings, and some of them lived there as well. There was a wooden building and a group of gers to the right of the school where the teachers lived.

Before long, classes began. The first-year pupils were taught in the third room in the second building. We were given lessons in mathematics, geography, biology, international and national politics, Mongolian affairs, and history. The teachers used meaningful teaching methods, especially in the biology and geography lessons which were very interesting.

Nearly every evening, the Party, Youth League, workers' and MOPR (an international organization to assist revolutionaries) mass organizations held meetings. People from the Party Central Committee and the City committee came to organize meetings where ideas and criticisms were voiced openly. During such meetings, it was mainly the third-year students and in particular a sallow-faced green-eyed final year student called Naidan who harshly criticized the rightists.

Sometimes harsh struggles took place with wealthy people over the rapid establishment of communes and cooperatives. Loud and vivid speeches were made calling for the immediate establishment of socialism. In addition, so that the Party members could become pure, the Youth League members invited us to sit and watch while they criticized the teachers and workers.

Spring arrived, and around the time classes were drawing to a close, a new course to reinforce our frontier troops was being organized by a special committee in the Department of Internal Security. I took part in this along with the first year pupils of the Party School who had gone through their winter term graduation in 1930. After this came the spring and summer terms, along with some not very interesting instruction in parading and shooting which took place in an enclosure on the Chinese Avenue.

However, a group of students had been sent to the main Military Academy and when the remaining half of them were sent back to the Party School, I accompanied them. Before classes re-started, while I was staying with my relatives in their ger, a man named Jügdernamjil, who had been doing aimag judicial work when I was at school in Tsetserleg, turned up and asked me to come and stay with his family. I followed him quite a long way south along the street from Öndör Khoshuu to an enclosure on the south side of the club of the Tenth District.

There were two gers inside that stockade, the one on the right being where Jügdernamjil and his wife lived. As they were both employed doing official work, their wages were good, food and drink were plentiful and their ger was comfortable. I did no work for them other than chopping firewood and making the fire. However, they gave me an old deel, a Russian-style shirt and trousers. As well as looking after me, they took me to see things at the district club.

I visited the Revolutionary Museum located in a separate building where the pre-revolutionary situation in Mongolia was portrayed in photographs, charts, and statistics. Some items which once belonged to the feudalists were on display. There were pictures of D. Sükhbaatar, who led the revolution, a photograph of the Partisans, and material which showed the workings of the Ikh Khural in detail. There was a map of Mongolia and things illustrating native objects which were interesting to look at. I used to go there again and again.

I read some poetry written by Buyannemekh, a Mongolian translation of *French*

and *European History*, and the journal *Socialist Road*. One day, Jügdernamjil and his wife took me along to watch the Tsam dancing at the monastery. The Tsam was performed on the middle day of the last month of summer or at the beginning of August while the annual district Naadam was being held. The many faces of the Choijin deity were portrayed here. The Tsam would appear through the door of a large temple hall. This Tsam dance would have been practiced for perhaps 30 or 45 days beforehand under the leadership of professional dance experts called chambon.

The Tsam started from around ten o'clock in the morning at the door of the main monastery temple and lasted until seven or eight o'clock in the evening. When the lamas assembled, many worshippers arrived dressed in beautiful clothes. The lamas were seated in front of them in order of seniority. The khamba and tsorj lamas sat at the top along with the unzad who was sitting clashing a pair of cymbals. Below them there was noise coming from large and small drums, trumpets, and thigh-bone trumpets.

An old man called Khashin Khaan appeared leading eight children, and presented the children with gifts. He was the "master of the gifts." Next, two skeletons appeared which performed a special dance. The skeletons represented the bones of dead people. A choijin called pojid appeared with eight ferocious looking masks. Two does named Shavaa and Makhi Buga appeared with many-branching antlers and leaped and pranced fiercely but beautifully.

Afterwards, Gongor and Namsrai, the lords of treasures and wealth, walked on slowly and performed in a dignified manner. Sendem and Zunkharsum also appeared. Sendem, who was the buddha protecting people from curses, appeared as a spirit with the head of a lion and performed a gentle dance. One after another, the red guardian spirits called Jamsran, each being larger than the previous one, came to worship all the holy celestials. Eight children appeared wearing jagged red masks with white teeth. They ran, jumped, and danced energetically.

Afterwards, Jamsran's elder brother Erevgii Laikhan and his wife Erevgii Lkham also gave a fierce performance wearing jagged red masks. Jamsran then stuck out his tongue and appeared in a mask with grinning teeth. He first performed alone, then appeared in a dance with his children, younger brother, and sister-in-law. One so-called Nojin Shi, companion of the protector of the temporary after-life Choijin-Gombo, Makhgal and his wife Baldan Lkham performed together as four characters wearing multi-colored masks. After this, Baldan Lkham performed alone and then her husband Gombo appeared and performed by himself. The previous four leading companions and the two spouses performed together as six. Dressed as four bearded Indian characters in Jagar-like white clothing, four old men with white hair appeared holding sticks. They performed and clowning about, making the audience laugh.

Then, there was an interval in the Tsam. The twenty one Dar-Ekh appeared wearing a headdress called shanag which portrayed a female figure. They were arranged in identical pairs, clothed in red, green, white, and blue. After that, the master of the Tsam, the chambon, appeared and danced the Tsam, first on his own, then with the twenty one Dar-Ekh. He was dressed just like his Dar-Ekh dancers. Based on their good deeds in the after-life, people were sent off either to heaven or hell as decided by the so-called Erleg Nomon Khan. Zamandi, the wife of Damdin Choijoo, appeared with a severe, fearsome, dark face and performed in a formal, haughty manner.

Then, while we were waiting, Damdin Choijoo made a tremendous, ferocious entry wearing a cow's head with flames blazing from the ends of the horns. He was



greeted by the whole Tsam, drums and cymbals tunefully ringing out. Damdin Chojjoo was, on his own, much more haughty than his wife. As soon as he had performed in his slow, stiff manner, the whole Tsam followed him and danced to the tune of the drums and cymbals. This completed the Tsam dancing.

Afterwards, many people carried the sor (tsakhar) towards the monastery boundary. When moving off in a direction determined by the throw of dice, the whole Tsam and all the other people followed, blowing trumpets. When they reached the place where the sor ritual was performed, they did some Tsam dancing for a while, and Damdin Chojjoo returned, followed by the lamas and the Tsam participants blowing trumpets. Those remaining followed behind, still dancing in pairs. Last of all came the chambon, which completed the Tsam ceremony.

One day, I asked the school principal for some free time to go into the town. While I was walking away from the school, the young man with the swarthy face who taught arithmetic to our class rode up to me on his bicycle and asked, "Do you want to go into town?" I replied that I did. This teacher was called B. Battseren. "In that case, sit behind me on the bicycle and we'll go," he told me. I rode pillion behind him. This particular teacher lived in the town, and being a Buriat, he spoke a little Russian. From then onwards, I enjoyed following this teacher around to see different things. He even took me along when going on errands, and got me to stay and look after his bicycle. Occasionally, he gave me pastries and sweets. So, we became good friends.

I told him that I had put my name down to go to the KUTV school. When he heard this he said, "I will also be attending school in the Soviet Union this year, and then I will attend the Rabfak Middle School. Over five or six years, general subjects are taught there, including Math, Physics, Natural Sciences, Chemistry, and most important, Russian. However, the school you want to attend is only temporary and hardly offers any courses for a general education." "How can I get to attend the school you will be going to? Will you help me to get there?" I asked. "I will be going through the auspices of the Ministry of Education. The interviewer there is "lame" Natsag. Let's both go and talk to him about it." My teacher also promised to discuss my change of school with the administration of the Party School.

Two or three days later, my teacher Battseren came to see me, saying, "I have discussed the matter of sending you to a different school with the administration of the Party School. You need to talk to the Ministry of Education. If they agree, we won't refuse." So, Battseren and I both went to the Ministry of Education and enquired after this person Ch. Natsag. We were shown the door to his room. On entering, I saw a young man wearing a brown deel trimmed in black who seemed to recognize my teacher, Battseren, and immediately began to talk and joke with him. When I spoke about wanting to go to that school, he said it was all right, they would send me. "However, I don't suppose that when you get there you won't study and will have to come home?" he said. I told him that I would try as hard as I could and that I could study well. Despite the fact that Natsag did not know me, he had a very familiar manner. "Stop lying, you still look like a wretch who can't learn. We won't send you" he said, causing me great embarrassment. Then, Natsag continued, "Oh, I'm only joking. Go you little wretch."

As I had decided to go to school, I spent the summer with the family of Jügdernamjil and occasionally met with my teacher Battseren to go for walks together.

Jügdernamjil and his wife went for a long vacation in his native district in Zavkhan aimag. However, they did not dismantle their ger and said that I should look

after it. Since I was to leave for school shortly, with the help of an old man called Aranjin who lived in the enclosure (stockade) next door I dismantled the ger and dried out the felt covers before storing them with a family which Jügdernamjil knew. Aranjin had always been poor. He lived on his own, earning his living by delivering water by horse cart. Later on he got married. The old pock-marked man was an extremely sensible and pleasant character. People claimed that he was a brother of General Sükhbaatar. "Go and tell this fact to the city administration, and when you ask them for some fuel and money, we will raise a petition for you," we urged. But the old mild-mannered Aranjin totally refused.

Occasionally, we went to the district club where we watched performances of stage plays. When the tiny groups came to perform, the main actors appeared first, and announced their parts. Then the others came and explained their roles. The majority of the plays portrayed cruel feudalists, shrewd lamas, greedy Chinese traders, and foreign capitalists and generals. Although these plays were artistically and poetically feeble, they offered an additional contribution to raising the understanding of the masses at the time. The old people of the district and even some lamas came to watch these plays with great interest and found them most amusing.

"The Boy with the Ragged Deel" was one such play which was performed. The story went that two poor brothers who were hunters went hunting in some distant place. When the younger brother appeared from afar wearing a deel made out of the fleece of a wild sheep, his elder brother mistook him for a wild sheep and shot and killed him, a most sorrowful event. On the one hand, this act illustrated the suffering of the poor, but it was also a lesson which taught people to be careful and to pay attention to things. No one who came to see this play could stay silent, and some of them sat down and cried.

Around May or June 1932, there was some furtive talk about an uprising which had occurred. One night, the students at the city's Senior and Junior Officers' colleges, under the leadership of Ministers Ölziibat and Sodnom, quietly set off in the direction of Arkhangai, Övörkhongai, Khövsgöl, and Zavkhan aimags with weapons and motorised transport. This was the uprising of 1932. From 1929-1930, the feudalists and senior lamas who had had their property and livestock confiscated began to hate the people's government and intensified their opposition to it. The lamas spread a rumour that the time was right for the Vanchin Bogd to proceed through Mongolia to destroy the people's government.

Around this time, the leftist deviationists who were among the Party leadership carelessly attacked the wealthier commoners instead of struggling against the lay and secular feudalists. No distinction was made between wealthy and middle-ranking commoners, and instead of using propaganda, authoritarian methods were used. They did not pay attention to the poor people and to those who had voluntarily collectivized, nor to the first forms of cooperatives which could have been further developed for the sake of the national economy. Instead they directly set about organizing cooperatives and communes on a wide scale.

In their struggle against the revolution the lay and secular feudalists exploited the mistakes made by the leftist deviationists. In the spring of 1932 they organized uprisings in the majority of sums in Arkhangai, Övörkhongai, Khövsgöl, and Zavkhan aimags. These uprisings reduced the power of the government. The participants were feudalists, the relatives of feudalists and some wealthy herdsmen and lamas whose capital and property had been confiscated. The insurgents occupied the monastery at Rashaant Uul (later



to become Rashaant sum) which became the main center of the uprising, known as the "Office of Ochirbat." For a month they occupied Tariat Khüree monastery which was the seat of Prince Dalai Choinkhor. Thus the insurgents' base became known to the people as Ereen Mod Tariat Khüree.

The insurgents organized a group of so-called lama-soldiers whose units were headed by various artificially created *duvchin* and *khuvilgaan*. They were armed with *Birdaan* rifles, sticks, and clubs. These skirmishes were led by factions headed by Agaramba Tserenjav, 'Green Hat' Damdinsüren, General Tügi, *duvchin* Sambuu, General Jav, *duvchin* Ragchaa and others. They spread counter-revolutionary propaganda and fought for their cause. At the trial, Lama Byamba said,

I thought that after the destruction of the Taij's party, the present People's Party would perish. The Vanchin Bogd would come and re-establish the old government. In addition to having a hold on both the Mongolian government and religion, I [we] had already made plans to liquidate the people's government well before the opposition movement had begun. This is because in the second month of the twenty-second year (1933) over a hundred lamas had gathered at the monastery of Abkhai Beis where a plan to liquidate the people's government was discussed. They admitted that they would probably not win [on their own]. To achieve this they would bring in the Vanchin Bogd together with Japanese troops. While I was pondering how they could achieve what they were discussing, on the fourth month of the twenty-second year (1933), a counter-struggle began and those insurgents who were on my side joined in.

Regarding the insurgents' exploitation of the commoners' faith, *duvchin* Sambuu stated: "It is true that the person who was elevated to Gegeen had only been giving away human urine and the filth of old shirts [i.e. garbage] to the ordinary people." *Duvchin* Ragchaa urgently announced, "The Shambala war has begun. The Vanchin Bogd has occupied Ulaanbaatar. There is no reason to be afraid. We must continue this movement energetically."

When "Green Hat" Damdinsüren appointed someone as a general, he would always give him a yellow necktie to wear. The flag of the insurgents bore a portrait of the Lkham Buddha, and they still performed the *sor* ceremony for the troops on occasion.

The troops of *duvchin* Sambuu were led by four senior and four junior generals. Plans were made with Tserenjav regarding the establishment of organizations following a separation from the Office of Ochirbat after the fighting had ended. The mighty general reported that

After joining with *duvchin* Sambuu at Bugsein Khüree, someone was shot dead and later on his body was chopped up. *Duvchin* Sambuu, Jav, Bor Gegeen, and Eemeget Gegeen had about 800 soldiers at this monastery. In fact, I served as one of Bor Gegeen's militiamen. Once, when we were beating a spy we had captured from the People's army, the teacher *duvchin* Sambuu ordered us to beat him harder, and we beat the revolutionary to death. When the Bor Gegeen Samdan was making a sacrifice to the flag he made a sacrifice with the heart of a *khamuut zaan* (mange-ridden elephant). If the people did not offer us food and drink, we just seized it anyway. I myself took part in the destruction of the administration of Tosontsengel sum.

Sodnom, the Minister of Industry, was captured, tortured, and killed at the camp of the insurgents who were at Tariat Khüree and Ereen Mod monasteries. Sodnom's remains were brought back to Ulaanbaatar in June. We took part in his funeral in the Züün Altan valley. The Industrial Combine which was completed in 1932 was named after

Sodnom.

The senior doctor in Arkhangai aimag, our respected pioneer, Dr. Nemoi, volunteered to accompany a unit of the People's Revolutionary army, and was himself captured by the insurgents while treating the wounded. One day while he was treating some wounded insurgents, he was shot dead and his body thrown on a hill to the east of the monastery. A detachment of the People's Revolutionary Army and some partisans, consisting of Arkhangai aimag activists, liberated Tariatyn Khüree. After the bulk of the insurgents' forces had been crushed, Dr. Nemoi's remains were transported and interred on a hill to the west of Tsetserleg, where a monument was erected. In 1961, Nemoi's remains were transported and re-interred near the Central Hospital of the aimag. Around the time the new monument was being erected, Nemoi's wife and son came to take part in the ceremony. This hospital, the Central Hospital in Arkhangai aimag, was named after him. I met with those two friends of mine at the Academy of Sciences building and we talked about our memories of the events of that time. His wife and son had both worked at the Botkin hospital in Moscow.

While units of the People's Revolutionary Army formed from Partisans of Party and Youth League members were crushing the insurgents' rebellion, units of the People's Revolutionary Army distributed propaganda leaflets with the help of aircraft. Party members and military commissars had moved directly towards the detachments of the attacking insurgents in order to distribute propaganda. Some of them lost their lives, but others succeeded in dispersing the insurgents' detachments and even won a few over to their own side.

Neither the officers and soldiers of our People's Army, nor the members of the Party and Youth League spared their lives or their blood in the struggle to distance the poor and middle-ranking lamas from the influence of the counter-revolutionaries, and to win them over to their own side. After a short period of time, the rebellion was crushed.

The trouble caused by the lay and secular counter-revolutionary feudalists resulted in the deaths of many people. Among the damaged and destroyed sum centers and settlements were some damaged monasteries and temples. The cooperatives lost money and goods valued at many millions of tögrög. Livestock, which formed the livelihood of collectives, cooperatives, and collectivized and private herdsmen were lost on a vast scale. During the rebellion, some of the local people were conscripted into the rebel forces and were worrying about how to escape. The insurgents seized local officials, Party and Youth League members, and intellectuals. They threatened them with beatings and imprisonment, many people were killed, and non-Party and Youth League members and ordinary young people were conscripted into their forces. However, some did manage to escape from the lamaist soldiers and by hiding in different places saved their lives.

Young women were violently abused, and everywhere the herdsmen's cheese, meat, food, drink, livestock, and property were seized during widespread banditry. Some rowdy groups became the helpers of the insurgents, and the ordinary people were intimidated by various generals, *duvchin* and officials and then beaten and threatened. For this reason, some officials outside the Party and Youth League managed to get themselves recruited by the Partisan detachments to struggle against the insurgents. Others, who were not recruited, went for many months without enough to eat or drink, concealed in the mountains, and if caught were questioned, tortured, and harried to death.

Around that time, my [former] teacher Choisdoo, who was from my area, was recruited into the Partisan army and was captured by the rebels three or four times, but



succeeded in escaping each time. After working as a spy for the Partisan army, he was shot and wounded and while he lay on the ground he shouted, "Destroy the rebels! Let the People's government rise up!" Then, a lama who happened to dislike him came along with two lamaist soldiers and tore his heart out as a sacrifice to the flag.

About this time, my relatives, just like other ordinary people, feared being trampled upon by the insurgents. The rebels were looking for my elder brother Damchaabadgar, who was chairman of the sum cooperative, with the aim of arresting and punishing him. However, so that the collective's money would not be lost to the rebels, he hid in the mountains. Though he was captured on one occasion, he escaped with his life. Then, after the rebellion had been suppressed, he returned and handed over all the money to the collective. The rebels had succeeded in setting fire to all the buildings and property of the collective.

In June 1932, a joint meeting of the Party Central Committee and the Central Investigative Commission was held at which the policies of the deviationists were resolutely condemned, and their leadership, including Shijee, a secretary of the Central Committee, Badrakh, and others were dismissed from their posts. Genden, and Eldev-Ochir were promoted to positions in the national leadership. Following this plenum, a decision was taken to carry out the "New Turn" policy. This affirmed the Party line, and clearly showed how the country would be gradually developed along a non-capitalist route to reach socialism.

While this decision was being taken, there is evidence that advice was being given to our Party by the Comintern and the Soviet Communist Party. In fact, I heard that a report on the New Turn policy had been given by Eldev-Ochir at the Recreation Ground. The remainder of the rebels were eliminated by November 1932. Their principal leaders were arrested and taken to Ulaanbaatar. While evidence was being gathered, the aimags and sums which had suffered in the rebellions had their collectives and schools rebuilt. The active participants in rebellious activities were tried by the ordinary people at local meetings.

The population as a whole clearly understood all the facets of the lay and secular feudalist rebels and successfully demanded that their leaders be tried under revolutionary law and be summarily executed on the Recreation Ground at Ulaanbaatar during April and May 1933.