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Anarchists and left radicals in Mongolia and Tuva (1910s — 1920s)

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Mongolia and Tuva up until 1911 were part of the Qing Empire of China. Already from the middle of the XIX century, the territory of Mongolia served for Russian revolutionaries of all directions, including the Narodniks, and then also the Social Democrats and Anarchists, as a safe haven and a “transit” zone for emigrants to China¹.

Anarchist groups have operated since 1906 in the Russian Transbaikal region². However, any influence of anarchists on

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¹ Даревская Е.М. Политические ссылки в Сибири в Монголии // Ссылки революционеров в Сибири (XIX в. – февраль 1917 г. Выпуск 2. Иркутск, 1974. С.122; Лузянин С.Г. Россия – Монголия – Китай в первой половине XX века. Политические взаимоотношения в 1911 – 1946. Москва, 2003. С.99.

² One of the first anarchist groups in the Transbaikal region was the Chita group around the former convict N. Cohn, which arose in the spring of 1906. After its unification in July 1906 with the group of social democrats (Z. Berman), which was close to anarchism, and with other former members of Socialist-Revolutionary and Social-Democratic organiza-

the population of Mongolia and Tuva during this period is not traced. The activities of anarchists in the territories of Mongolia and Tuva are connected, first of all, with the events of the Great Russian Revolution of 1917–1921. During the civil war in Russia (1918 – 1922), these two countries turned into a field of confrontation between the armed formations of Russian “red” and “white”, of Chinese and Mongolian military detachments.

In socio-economic and political terms, Mongolia and Tuva in the 1910s – 1920s had much in common. The local population engaged mainly in nomadic cattle. Peasant cattle-breeders (arats) were in various forms of dependence on secular nobility and Buddhist clergy (lamas and their datsan monasteries). Industry was not large. In both countries there was also a Russian population, engaged mainly in agriculture, industry and commerce. The political status was determined mainly by the border position between Russia and China. Mongolia, which was part of the Qing Empire until 1911, gained autonomy with Russian support after the fall of monarchy in China. The established regime headed by the leader of the Lamaist church, the Bogd-Khan, who was erected on the Mongol throne, existed until 1919, when the Chinese troops that entered the country

tions, the “Transbaikalian Federation of Groups of the Armed People’s Uprising” was formed. There were also the Siberian group of anarchist individualists [1908], the Chita group of communist anarchists (formed by 1909, maintained ties with the anarchists of Kharbin), a group of young students led by the anarcho-syndicalist I.K. Roitman in Verkhneudinsk (1910 – 1911), where in 1914 anarchist I.M. Gordon arrived from Tulun for the organization of a military group and a printing press. See: Штырбул А.А. Анархистское движение в Сибири в 1-й четверти XX века: Антигосударственный бунт и негосударственная самоорганизация трудящихся: Теория и практика. Часть 1. (1900–1918). Омск, 1996. С.81, 84, 88–91; История Бурятии. Том.III. XX – XXI вв. Улан-Удэ, 2011. С.23–24. It is worth noting that anarchist influence persisted in Transbaikalia until the second half of the 1920s. Thus, in the report of the OGPU for February 1926, a strong agitation of anarchists at the Verkhneudinsk glass plant was noted. See: “Совершенно секретно”: Лубянка Сталину о положении в стране (1922 – 1934). Том 4. 1926 год. Москва, 2001. С.114.

liquidated the autonomy. But in the autumn of 1920, Mongolia was captured by the detachments of the Russian “white” General R.F. Ungern-Sternberg, who formally restored the independence of Mongolia. In the summer of 1921, he was defeated by the troops of the Far Eastern Republic and detachments of the Mongolian People’s Party. The new People’s Government established a close alliance with Soviet Russia, and in November 1924 officially proclaimed the Mongolian People’s Republic. Tuva (Uryanghai region), being between Mongolia and Russia, was declared a Russian protectorate in 1914. In 1918, the rule of Soviets was temporarily established in the province, based on Bolsheviks and Left Socialist-Revolutionaries. In the summer, it was overthrown by the “whites”. Until the summer of 1919, Tuva was under the control of the Omsk government of Admiral A.V. Kolchak, and then until 1921 on its territory fought with each other “white” and “red” Russian detachments, Chinese and Mongolian troops and local formations. In August 1921, after the final occupation of the Uryanghai by the “reds,” the Tannu-Tuva People’s Republic was proclaimed. The new state existed under the de facto protectorate of Soviet Russia; and Soviet advisers acted in the country.

It was in the conditions of civil war in Russia that Russian anarchists began to appear in Mongolia and Tuva, primarily in the “red” detachments.

In March 1918 a detachment from Cheremkhovo headed by an anarchist Dmitry Matveyevich Tretyakov arrived in the city of Troitskosavsk (Kyakhta) on the Mongolian border and helped the local Council take power. However, the soldiers refused to obey the authorities and the headquarters of the Red Guard; and conflicts with the population began to erupt. Having arrested a number of “commissars” and policemen who supported Ataman Semyonov, part of the detachment led by Tretyakov went to Irkutsk in April, but was surrounded on the road by the forces of Centrosibir (Supreme organ of Soviet Siberia, — V.D., K.L.) and disarmed. Tretyakov and

the commissar of the detachment, Koshkin, were arrested. The remnants of the detachment led by anarchist Graitser remained in Troitskosavsk. On May 21, 1918, the Congress of Soviets of Troitskosavsk Uyezd approved a resolution, demanding that Graitser's detachment leave the city within 4 hours. Eventually, the Council succeeded in securing the withdrawal of the detachment. Graitser and several others remaining alone in the town were arrested and sent to Cheremkhovo under an escort³.

In the summer of 1918, Soviet power in Eastern Siberia was overthrown, and Red Army men, Bolsheviks and Anarchists fled to Mongolia, fleeing from repression, individually and in groups⁴.

So, in September 1918, after the defeat by the "white" units in Transbaikal region, the detachments of anarchists Nestor Alexandrovitch Kalandarishvili (1876–1922)⁵ and Dmitri

³ Ермаков В.Д. Российский анархизм и анархисты (вторая половина XIX века — конец XX веков). Санкт-Петербург, 1996. С.121–122; Штырбул А.А. Анархистское движение в Сибири в 1-й четверти XX века: Антигосударственный бунт и негосударственная самоорганизация трудящихся: Теория и практика. Часть 2. (1918–1925). Омск, 1996. С.5–7; Познанский В.С. Очерки истории вооруженной борьбы Советов Сибири с контрреволюцией в 1917 – 1918 гг. Новосибирск, 1973. С.144–145.

⁴ Белов Е.А. Россия и Монголия (1911 – 1919). Москва, 1999. С. 175.

⁵ Kalandarishvili's detachment began to be formed in February 1918. It was named "1st Irkutsk separate cavalry division of communist anarchists" (See: Кожевин В.Е. Легендарный партизан Сибири. Улан-Удэ, 1987. С.3) or "1st Irkutsk Cavalry Division of Anarchist-Communists-Internationalists" (ibid., С. 50). In July 1918, the detachment was renamed the 1st International Cavalry Division. After the reorganization of the troops of Centrosibir, from the end of July 1918 it was part of the 3rd Soviet Verkhneudinsk Division of the 2nd Soviet Corps (2nd Siberian Rifle Socialist Corps) of the Baikal Front; The commander of the division was Kalandarishvili. With the collapse of the Baikal Front in August 1918, the Third Soviet Verkhneudinsk Division formed the backbone of the Troitskosavsk Front, whose commander was Kalandarishvili.

to restrain the extreme and showed himself lawlessness while suppressing the insurrection. As a result, the Third Congress of the TPRP in August of 1924 ended with the complete defeat of the radicals and the condemnation of “Chuduruk Nam”. Kursedi was deprived of the post of party chairman, and Danzyn was not elected to the Central Committee and was removed from all posts⁴⁰. It was decided to disarm the Arat detachments.

However, Danzyn and “Chuduruk Nam” did not obey the decisions taken. As follows from the memoirs of the Tuvan and Soviet party and state figures, S.K. Toka, who took part in the suppression of the “Party of the Fist”, in the autumn of 1924 the detachment of Chuduruk was concentrated in the traditional stronghold of the radicals: on the river Elegest, in Ulug-Alak, Chargy-Bary and Tyttyg-Aryg, where they provided support, and continued confiscation of cattle and expropriation. In early December 1924, they were in the valley of Ulug-Khem (the Upper Yenisei), above Ust-Elegest, entrenched on the island of Tyttyg-Aryg. The forces of government soldiers surrounded them, forced them to surrender and disarm⁴¹. Radical Arat movement in Tuva was put an end.

⁴⁰ История Тувы. Том 2. С.111.

⁴¹ Тока С.К. Слово арата. Книга 2. Часть 3. Глава 6. Партия чудурук

Matveyevich Tretyakov (1886–1919)⁶ – they consisted of miners of Cheremkhovo, anarchists and “internationalists” (Chinese, Hungarians, etc.) – as well as the “red” detachments of V.M. Ragozin, S.I. Lebedev, S.S. Blumenfeld, and others retreated in the territory of Mongolia. Later, in the valley of the river Dzhida, they were joined by the remnants of the 1st Chita international detachment of Armand Mueller⁷, which were originally moving along with the Red Guard detachment of workers of the Chita main railroad shops under the command of the anarcho-syndicalist R. Orlov. As the researcher V.E. Kozhevin writes, the border crossing plan was proposed by N.A. Kalandarishvili, but not all commanders supported him⁸. Moving along the river Dzhida, the detachments, numbering at least 800 people by that time⁹ (according to other sources, up to 1,500 people)¹⁰, reached the border near the village

⁶ Anarchist-Communist Tretyakov was serving penal hard labour in Algachi and Gorny Zerentui, then on a settlement in the Yakutsk region, from where he fled. In 1917 he was a member of the Tomsk Union of United Anarchists and one of the organizers of the workers Red Guard in Cheremkhovo. Since March 1918, he commanded a detachment of Cheremkhovo Red Guards in the Transbaikal region; in April 1918, he was arrested by order of Centrosibir, but then released and became commander of an anarchist Red Guard detachment on the Dauria front. From the end of July 1918 the detachment of Tretyakov joined the Soviet troops of Troitskosavsk front. At the end of 1918 Tretyakov conducted illegal work in Krasnoyarsk, he was arrested by the White Guards and on July 19, 1919, was shot by them as a hostage.

⁷ Кожевин В.Е. *Op.cit.* С. 60–61.

⁸ *Ibid.* С.63.

⁹ А.М. Нашествие “красных” из Монголии // Свободная Сибирь. Красноярск, 1918. № 125 [337], 17 [4] октября. С.4.

¹⁰ Concerning the number of red guerrillas participating in the Mongolia campaign, some contradictory data are presented in the scientific literature. Thus, the Soviet historian M.A. Gudoshnikov claimed that “about three thousand people retreated” (Гудошников М.А. Очерки по истории гражданской войны в Сибири. Иркутск, 1959. С.103). Historian V.E. Kozhevin partially agrees with this point of view: he writes that “thousands of people went to the campaign. There were 1,500 fighters only from Ka-

Modonkul and headed towards Khatkhyl (Hatgal) in Mongolia. As the White Guard sources asserted, “the main squad of Karandashvili (sic!) began a march from Khatkhyl on the south-west of Mongolia, apparently seeking to penetrate the Semirechye”. It was alleged that before the “entry” of the Reds, the population of Khatkhyl, the post office and the office of the Mongolian expedition were evacuated” to area of the lake Kosogol (Hubsugol)¹¹. According to the information cited by V.E. Kozhevin, the detachments spent about 2 weeks in the ulus Darhii-Huree in Northern Mongolia (east of Lake Hubsugol), and then, crossing the border with Russia near the ulus of Sanaga in Buryatia, they again returned to Russian territory and crossed the Sayan Mountains, having gone through a total of about 1000 km.¹² The details of the detachments’ stay in the Mongolia are little known, but according to some information, there were also Mongolians in their ranks¹³.

In March 1919, Buryat anarchist Pavel Sergeevich Baltakhinov (1900 – 1920) was hiding in Mongolia (in the Khathyl

landarishvili’s detachment who went to the west” (Кожевин В.Е. *Op.cit.* С. 52.). However, in one of the other publications, the same author specified that “Kalandarishvili led the legendary campaign of several Red Guards detachments (with total number over 1500 people)” (Кожевин В. К 100-летию со дня рождения Нестора Александровича Каландаришвили. Хроника, факты, находки // Военно-исторический журнал. 1976. №6. С.119). The same data are given by the Russian historian P.A. Novikov, who believes that “the most likely figure is 1500 people” (Новиков П.А. *Гражданская война в Восточной Сибири*. Москва, 2005. С.155).

¹¹ А.М. Нашествие “красных” из Монголии...

¹² See: Кожевин В.Е. *Легендарный партизан...* С.63; Новиков П.А. *Op.cit.* С.82, 155.

¹³ So, Kalandarishvili himself told to the writer I.M. Novokshonov about a Mongol partisan (later captured by the Kolchak people), who was a direct descendant of Genghis Khan. Under the influence of this story, Novokshonov wrote the novel “The Descendant of Genghis Khan”, which tells about the Mongolian youth man who joined Kalandarishvili’s detachment, influenced by the commander’s stories about a new, free life. Based on the story in 1928, the director V. Pudovkin made the film of the same name. See: Семёнов А. *В творческом содружестве* // Байкал. 1980. №4. С.144.

against insanitary conditions and religious prejudices, old clothes were destroyed and hygiene rules were explained³⁶. Of course, representatives of the nobility, wealthy strata and the authorities qualified all these actions as arbitrariness and banditry. With a more balanced consideration, they can be evaluated as a manifestation of acute social conflict.

The reason for the counterattack on the Arat movement from the ruling elite was the events connected with the so-called Khamchik mutiny in the east of the country in March 1924. Lama Sumunak stood at the head of the uprising, supported by the local nobility and the clergy. One of the reasons for the mutiny was a rumor that the government intended to force women to wear short hair³⁷. The insurgents demanded that Tuva accede to Mongolia³⁸, obviously hoping that it would be easier to preserve elements of the traditional way in the frame of Mongolia and to resist Soviet pressure. Even the prime minister Prince Buyan-Badyrgy was suspected in secret sympathy for the rebels, or at least their pro-Mongolian aspirations. Mongolia declared support for the movement, but the Soviet Union intervened, securing the status quo³⁹. In the summer of 1924, the insurrection was suppressed by the government detachment and voluntary Arat squads. Kursedi himself played an active role in suppressing the insurgency.

The ruling elites of Tuva blamed the Arat radicals for the situation. They announced that those actions had contributed to aggravation of the situation, that the lawlessness of “Chuduruk Nam” allegedly provoked discontent, and Kursedi was unable

³⁶ About the “Open Face” campaigns, see, for example: Кисель В.А. *Поездка за красной солью. Погребальные обряды Тувы XVIII – начало XXI в. Санкт-Петербург, 2009. С.57.*

³⁷ *Ibid.* С. 55.

³⁸ Москаленко Н.П. *Этнополитическая история Тувы в XX веке*. Москва, 2005. С.98–103.

³⁹ See: Моллеров Н.М. *Советско-китайский договор 1924 года (Итоги Кызылской Тройственной конференции)* // Документ. Архив. История. Современность. Выпуск 5. Екатеринбург, 2005. С. 162–167.

written in the Soviet period characterized Chuduruk Nam as an “anarchist group”³³, small in composition and not having any significant support among the population. The fact that the scarcely learned Arats, who had neither access to anarchist literature, nor contacts with anarchist activists, could really be familiar with the ideas of anarchism, raises doubts. At best, you can probably talk about spontaneous anarchism and egalitarianism of “Chuduruk Nam”, which, however, enjoyed considerable popularity. Modern researcher of Tuvan culture B.A. Myshlyavtsev believes that “the destruction of the rich and the gradual smoothing of property inequality were not perceived by the majority of the population as a tragedy. On the contrary, there was an embodying of the ideal of equality”, which found “conformity in the traditional notions of the people about justice “. “The most interesting in this sense are the “extreme left “popular movements, for example “Chuduruk Nam”, “Party of the Fist” from the times of the revolution of the 1920s”³⁴.

As far as we can judge, “Chuduruk Nam” was an armed formation, whose mission was to protect the Arats and the poor from the arbitrariness of the nobility, officials and rich pastoralists. Soviet authors accused it of “lawlessness”, the seizure of cattle from the population, beatings, orgies and violence against women³⁵. In fact, the detachment members confiscated cattle and property of the rich and punished acts of arbitrariness on the part of officials. As for women and girls, it is about holding open meetings under the slogan “Open Face”, where participants were encouraged to freely discuss intimate issues (“love, including sexual relations, should be free”), persuaded to cut off long hair. In the fight

³³ See: История Тувы в 2-х томах. Том 2. Москва, 1964. С.108; Очерки истории тувинской организации КПСС. Кызыл, 1975. С.47.

³⁴ Мышлявцев Б.А. Нормативная культура тувинцев (конец XX – начало XXI века) – samlib.ru

³⁵ See: Аранчын Ю.Л. Op.cit. С.109.

area) by his sister. A student of the Orthodox theological seminary in Irkutsk, he was in 1917–1918 a member of the Irkutsk group of anarchists communists and of the Irkutsk united leftist group of Buryats; he spread anarchist and anti-Kolchak agitation, participated in the underground group of the “reds” and was forced to flee from Irkutsk to avoid arrest. In August 1919, Baltakhinov returned to Russia, joined the Kalandarishvili guerrillas, and in early 1920 headed the “First Buryat Guerrilla Detachment”¹⁴, numbering 50–60 people¹⁵. According to the Mongolian journalist C. Munkhbayar, during his stay in Mongolia, Baltakhinov led anarchist agitation among the Mongols, and several people went to Russia with him¹⁶. However, there is no reason to regard the Baltakhinov detachment as anarchist, because it was formed with the participation of the local organization of the RCP (B)¹⁷. In the 1920 – 1921, Balakhinov, Kalandarishvili and a number of other anarchists joined the Bolshevik party.

Anarchists and Socialist-Revolutionaries Maximalists (acting together with the Left SRs) fought in the guerrilla army under the command of A.D. Kravchenko and P.E. Shchetinkin who were close to the Left SRs in that time. This army moved to Tuva after the defeat of the Stepno-Badzheyskaya partisan republic in July 1919, defeated the “white” detachments, and proclaimed there the restoration of Soviet power¹⁸. The parti-

¹⁴ See: Канев С.Н. Октябрьская революция и крах анархизма. Москва, 1974. С. 382; Егунов Н.П. Павел Балтахинов. Иркутск, 1979; Ермаков В.Д. Op.cit. С.165; Басаев С. Мог бы стать священником // Газета РБ – Интернет-газета Республики Бурятия – gazetarb.ru

¹⁵ Улицы Улан-Удэ – памятники истории: словарь-справочник. Улан-Удэ, 2010. С.25.

¹⁶ Мөнхбаяр Ч. Буриад Балтахинов Ар Монголд анархист үзлийг дэлгэрүүлж явжээ – moenhbayar.blogspot.ru

¹⁷ Очерки истории Бурятской организации КПСС. Улан-Удэ, 1970. С. 94.

¹⁸ See: Мармышев А.В., Елисеенко А.Г. Гражданская война в Енисейской губернии. Красноярск, 2008. С.165–168, 174–179.

sans were in Tuva until September 1919, when they launched an offensive against Minusinsk city. During this time, up to 500 Russians and Tuvans¹⁹ joined their army, including some of the future activists of the Arat movement.

The “White” General Ungern-Sternberg, whose troops controlled the Mongol capital Uрга from February to July 1921, saw their main enemies in revolutionaries, socialists, communists, anarchists and Jews who, he claimed, had destroyed the culture of the West and now threatened civilizations of the East²⁰. As a result of the pogrom and executions that he organized, dozens of leftist activists of the Russian colony and Jews were brutally murdered. Ungern told to the writer A.F. Ossendowski: “Why do Americans put on the electric chair Anarchists who explode bombs, and I cannot free the world from the scoundrels who have encroached on the soul of a man? I, a Teutonic, descendant of crusaders and pirates, I punish killers with death”²¹.

In 1921, according to Ch. Munkhbayar, the anarchists from Buryatia fought in the Red Army’s 22nd Special Purpose Squad of the “red” commander K.K. Baikalov (Nekunde), liberating Western Mongolia from the “white” formations²².

In the future, there are only a few traces of the anarchists’ stay in Mongolia. Thus, at the beginning of 1922, having suffered defeat in the battles against the “Reds”, the commander of the partisan detachment and one of the leaders of the Federation of Altai Anarchists, I.P. Novosyolov “isolated himself from the partisans and disappeared without a trace”/ There is a version that he went to Mongolia, and then to China²³

¹⁹ Аранчын Ю.Л. Исторический путь тувинского народа к социализму. Новосибирск, 1982. С.80.

²⁰ Белов Е.А. Барон Унгерн фон Штернберн: биография, идеология, военные походы, 1920 – 1921. Москва, 2003. С.106.

²¹ Соколов Б.В. Барон Унгерн: Черный всадник. Москва, 2006 – www.litmir.co

²² Мөнхбаяр Ч. Буриад Балтахинов...

²³ See: Штырбул А.А. Op.cit. С.127.

of the nobility, who did not allow the Arats to state and party posts, citing the fact that semi-literate people from the “lower classes” simply do not have sufficient knowledge and experience to conduct government affairs. Social reforms, in essence, were not carried out. A year after the first congress of the TPRP, the government decided in March 1923 to dissolve the Central Committee of the party in general, stating that the organization was idle and only required extra expenses. However, at the insistence of Russian Bolsheviks and Arat activists in July 1923, the 2nd Congress of the People’s Revolutionary Party was assembled, the balance of forces on which was already different. Participants voted for the abolition of all feudal titles and privileges, as well as of a system of collective mutual responsibility for execute duties and pay taxes. They voted for the participation of all party members in public and political life, for the taxation of rich and affluent sections of the population and for pursuing a social policy for the poor. The Arat activist Oyun Kursedi was elected chairman of the party; he fought 1919 in the guerrilla army of Kravchenko and Shchetinkin. Although the government continued to be headed by nobility, another Arat activist O. Danzyn, became deputy chairman of the party and was appointed curator of the government³². However, the ruling elites did not intend to renounce authority. They continued to infringe upon the interests of the Arats in land use, taxation and trade, to mock arbitrariness and humiliation against ordinary people, and to practice corporal punishment. They demonstratively promoted Lamaist religion and preservation of traditional customs and norms.

In the autumn of 1923, with the support of Danzyn, a group of Arats began to arm themselves against the nobility, bureaucrats and rich people. They created an organization called “The Part of a Clenched Fist” (“Chuduruk Nam”). This movement still remains practically unexplored. The works

³² Аранчын Ю.Л. Op.cit. С.98–104.

structed Rinchino in October 1921 to develop the tactics of the Youth Union “in the sense of establishing independence from the people’s revolutionary government and establishing practical contacts with the People’s Revolutionary Party. The union should not enter the organ of power as an union, for otherwise its radical essence will be distorted and it will become a simple appendage of People’s Revolutionary Party... No, the revolutionary union must be preserved for development in depth ... In order not to introduce into the young and, undoubtedly revolutionary organization of the union the enzyme of disintegration, which will be sooner or later imminent in the People’s Revolutionary Party, that’s why I recommend only contact, only the personal participation of members of the revolutionary union in the work of the people’s revolutionary government, but no more, which means that the union must be free from any obligations in its actions and criticism, except for one calculation: to accept and still support after criticism, as the least evil, “half-heartedness” of the activities of the people’s revolutionary government...”³¹. Only after a fierce struggle in the People’s (People’s Revolutionary) Party of Mongolia in 1922 – 1924 and its “Bolshevization”, the Comintern approved the subordination of the Youth Union to the party.

The events in Tuva developed on another way. Although the creation of the Tuvan People’s Revolutionary Party (TPRP) in 1921 – 1922 was initiated by the Comintern and by the Russian Bolsheviks, the new organization was also an unstable and in many ways an artificial coalition of the Tuvan aristocracy and Arat activists who worked closely with the “red” partisans. The real political power remained in the hands of representatives

³¹ Письмо Б.З. Шумяцкого Э. Ринчино с рекомендациями по проведению революционной работы в Монголии по линии Нарреволюционной партии и ревсоюза молодежи в подготовке кадров из простых монголов // Базаров Б.В., Жабаева Л.Б. Бурятские национальные демократы и общественно-политическая мысль монгольских народов в первой трети XX века. Улан-Удэ, 2008. С.304–305.

There are scanty information about the anarchists who fought in Mongolia against both sides. So, American traveler-naturalist Roy Chapman Andrews told in 1924 about the man he hired in China as auto mechanic, going on an expedition to Mongolia. A man of small stature who spoke Mongolian, Russian and Chinese, he hated, according to traveler, any government. This “little anarchist” dreamed of returning to Mongolia – a country of freedom and free spaces, where each is his own law. Arriving in Urga to obtain passports for the expedition members, Andrews discovered that the name of his auto mechanic aroused the Mongolian Foreign Minister and Soviet adviser. He was told that during the war with Ungern, this man cooperated with insurgent detachments which attacked both the “reds” and the “whites.” Now the anarchist intended to enter Mongolia, although he knew that he was in danger of dying. Having found out from him a load of smuggling and not wanting to quarrel with the government of Mongolia, Andrews gave it to the authorities. However, on the eve of the hanging, the anarchist managed to escape from Urga and reach China, where he settled in Kalgan²⁴.

The new regimes established in Mongolia and in Tuva after the defeat of the “whites” in 1921 were essentially a kind of coalition between the radicals who cooperated with the Bolsheviks and the nationalistic elements of the old nobility. The existing social and property relations were at first subjected only to gradual, rather slow changes. In Mongolia in the early 1920’s, there were cases of protests of the Arats against the arbitrariness of the nobility²⁵, but the organized opposition movement “on the left” did not arise.

Certain moods of left radicalism existed in the early 1920s in the Revolutionary Union of Youth of Mongolia, which was es-

²⁴ The Lure of Mongolia as Described by Roy Chapman Andrews in Interview // The Scarsdale Inquirer. 1.03.1924. No.14. P.1, 4.

²⁵ История Монгольской Народной Республики. Издание 3. Москва, 1983. С.341–342.

tablished in August 1921 and was called until 1922 the “Union of Revolutionary Youth for the Abolition of Serfdom”²⁶. The Union of Youth called for the creation of a social system in which there will be no difference between the nobility and the working people and “all the young people of Mongolia” will be protected from internal and external exploiters. The main tasks of the organization were the formation of the people (including the elimination of illiteracy), the emancipation of women and freedom from religious traditions and prejudices²⁷. The Union of Youth was formed on the model of the Russian Komsomol and in 1922 announced its intention to join the Communist International of Youth (KIM). Nevertheless, it is likely that initially many members of the Union hardly understood the cardinal differences between Bolshevism and other radical leftist currents. It is no accident that one of the leaders of the Mongolian Youth Union Bujannemekh remembered such an episode of the meeting of V.I. Lenin with delegates to the Congress of the Peoples of the Far East in January 1922, an episode that made a strong impression on him: after a conversation with the Soviet leader, a Japanese anarchist loudly announced: “From now on, I give up my former views and become a Communist”²⁸.

The Revolutionary Youth Union criticized the too slow and irresolute implementation of social transformations in Mongolia. In one of its documents it was noted that in the country “much things remain as before: the princes oppress, keeping the old order, ignoring the people’s situation, guided by hereditary rights and resisting the People’s Government”. The Union

²⁶ See: Матвеева Г.С. Монгольский революционный союз молодежи: история и современность. 1983. С.21.

²⁷ See: Carr E.H. A History of Soviet Russia. Vol.7. Socialism in One Country 1924 – 1926. New York, 1964. P.810.

²⁸ В.И. Ленин и литература зарубежного Востока. Сборник статей. Москва, 1971. С.117. This Japanese anarchist Yoshida Hajime refused his transition to Comintern’s positions after returning to Japan.

spoke out against the concessions to the nobility, for the establishment of Soviet power and did not want to submit to the ruling Mongolian People’s Party, often entering into conflicts with the party leadership²⁹. The situation was complicated by the fact that various factions of the party had their supporters in the Youth Union.

In December 1921, such a conflict almost turned into an armed clash. The Prime Minister of the Mongolian government, D. Bodo, dissatisfied with the independence of the revolutionary youth union y from the party, supported the speech of a number of party members in the Provisional Khural with the calling to curb the union, which, they say, “has entered the path of anarchic rebellion”. In response, the Youth Union issued an ultimatum to the Central Committee of the People’s Party demanding the removal and punishment of those who opposed it. Bodo at a meeting of the Central Committee accused the Youth Union of “anarchy” and “demanded extreme measures to curb it”. In the next room, about 100 armed members of the Youth Union were meeting, and the collision seemed imminent, but at the last moment the confrontation was prevented by the deputy Soviet ambassador A.Ya. Okhtin and the Buryat populist E.-D. Rinchino, who acting on the instructions of the Comintern and headed the Revolutionary Military Council of Mongolia³⁰.

During this period, the Comintern conducted its game in Mongolia, in expectation that the People’s Party, which was heterogeneous in its composition and ideas, will gradually disintegrate, and therefore it would be necessary to strengthen the friendly factions in it and at the same time keep the Youth Union without the control of party for a time. Head of the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern B.Z. Shumyatsky in-

²⁹ See: Далин С.А. Китайские мемуары. 1921–1927. Москва, 1982. С.63–64.

³⁰ Элбек-Доржи Ринчино о Монголии. Избранные труды. Улан-Удэ, 1998. С.58.