

Case Number: 2015-0183-S

MIR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number: 184				
Document ID: 9400772				
Row: 44	Section: 2	Shelf: 9	Position: 3	Stack: V

TO: GRIFFIN, PATRICK

FROM: BRADLEY, BILL

DOC DATE: 25 JAN 94
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA
AP

CONGRESSIONAL

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR TO GRIFFIN FM SEN BRADLEY RE SCHEDULING REQUEST FM DJAB NAMINOW-
BURCHINOW US CONSULTANT TO PRES OF KALMUCK REPUBLIC OF RUSSIAN

ACTION: DIRECT REPLY

DUE DATE: 04 FEB 94 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: STATE

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION
STATE

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY

DATE

3/29

BY HAND

W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJDA

CLOSED BY: NSJEB

DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9400772

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 BURNS
001
001 STATE

Z 94020108 PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE
Z 94032908 ACTION TRANSFERRED
X 94032908 DIRECT REPLY

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

001 940125 STATE

UNCLASSIFIED

TO: GRIFFIN, PATRICK

FROM: BRADLEY, BILL

DOC DATE: 25 JAN 94
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA
AP

CONGRESSIONAL

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR TO GRIFFIN FM SEN BRADLEY RE SCHEDULING REQUEST FM DJAB NAMINOW-
BURCHINOW US CONSULTANT TO PRES OF KALMUCK REPUBLIC OF RUSSIAN

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 04 FEB 94 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: BURNS

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

BURNS

FOR CONCURRENCE

FORSYTHE

ROSNER

SODERBERG

FOR INFO

BERGER

EMERY

GROSS

HALL

HILLIARD

ITOH

KENNEY

*Suggest we send to
State for reply.
N. Burns
2/4/94*

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJDA

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

REFERRAL

DATE: 29 MAR 94

MEMORANDUM FOR: GROSSMAN, M

STATE SECRETARIAT

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: GRIFFIN, PATRICK

SOURCE: BRADLEY, BILL

DATE: 25 JAN 94

SUBJ: LTR TO GRIFFIN FM SEN BRADLEY RE SCHEDULING REQUEST FM DJAB NAMINOW-
BURCHINOW US CONSULTANT TO PRES OF KALMUCK REPUBLIC OF RUSSIAN

REQUIRED ACTION: DIRECT REPLY

DUE DATE:

COMMENT:

✓

FOR

JOHN W. FICKLIN

NSC RECORDS MANAGEMENT OFFICE

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3001

34 JAN 28 P 3 : 31

0772

January 25, 1994

The Honorable Patrick Griffin
Assistant to the President
For Legislative Affairs
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Griffin:

I forward to you a scheduling request from Djab Naminow-Burchinow, the U.S. Consultant to the President of the Kalmuck Republic of the Russian Federation. He wishes to arrange a meeting between the President and a Delegation of the Republic of Kalmykia of the Russian Federation at the White House, preferably during the month of January.

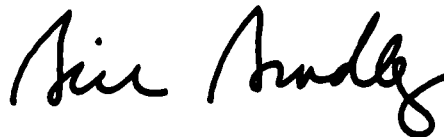
January 1994 marks the 50th Anniversary of the deportation of the Kalmuck people to Siberia by Joseph Stalin. Representatives of the Kalmykia Republic would like to personally express their gratitude to the President for the United States' support of the Republic at the United Nations and United States' denouncement of the Soviet genocide of the Kalmucks and Mongols.

I have also enclosed a paper, researched and written by Mr. Naminow-Burchinow, that will provide you some essential background information on the modern history of the Kalmuck and Mongol peoples.

I would appreciate it if you would forward his request to the appropriate staff member for consideration. I ask that you reply directly to Mr. Naminow-Burchinow and that you send me a copy of your reply for my records.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this timely matter.

Sincerely,



Bill Bradley
United States Senator

BB/sk

**U.S. CONSULTANT
to the
PRESIDENT
of the
KALMUCK REPUBLIC
of the
Russian Federation**

(609) 627-0379
FAX (609) 346-4751
Telex 49608089 M M CONSULT

291 Tilford Road
Somerdale, N.J. 08083
USA

December 28, 1993

Hon. W. Bradley, U.S. Senator
U. S. Senate
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to the President W. J Clinton, which is self-explanatory.

With this letter we ask you for your support in arranging a meeting for Delegation of the Republic of Kalmykia, R. F. at the White House.

At 50th Anniversary of the Deportation of the Kalmuk People to Siberia by Joseph Stalin in December 1943-January 1944, Representatives of the Republic of Kalmykia within R. F. will be delighted to express to the U.S. A. and its President on behalf of the entire Kalmuk People, their gratitude and appreciation for the U.S. A.'s moral support and help at the U.N.O.

Thanks again in advance for your understanding and help, as you extended in the past to many Kalmuk-Mongol requests.

Sincerely yours,



D. NAMINOW BURCHINOW

Honorary Citizen of the Republic of Kalmykia
Honorary Member of the Mongolian Development
Foundation

Consultant to the Ministries of Kalmykia,
Mongolia and Buryatia
Consultant to the United Nations Environment
Program for Kalmykia Republic, R.F.

**U.S. CONSULTANT
to the
PRESIDENT
of the
KALMUCK REPUBLIC
of the
Russian Federation**

COPY

**(609) 627-0379
FAX (609) 346-4761
Telex 49608089 M M CONSULT**

**291 Tilford Road
Somerdale, N.J. 08083
USA**

December 28, 1993

**Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20001**

Re: 50th Anniversary of the Deportation of the Kalmuk People in U.S.S.R.

Dear Mr. President:

**On December 27, 1993 the Moscow State television station announced the following:
"The genocidal act against Kalmuk people, Buddhist, Mongolian minority nation had been
committed by Joseph Stalin's regime on December 27, 1943 with the entire nation
deported to Siberian labor camps..." For us, Kalmuk-Americans, these tragic events of
1943-57 in our old country cause us to remember the following:**

- 1. The U.S. A. accepted us, about 1200 people, in our desperate situation in refugee camps, in 1951 as immigrants.**
- 2. The Kalmuk Committee was started in 1953 to inform world public opinion about the fate of the Kalmuk people and other national minority people deported in 1943-44 to Siberian labor camps by the Soviet government.**
- 3. This struggle for the basic human rights of the Kalmuk people at the U.N.O., at the 1955 Bandung Conference of the Asian and African people, dissemination of information to all Buddhist and Moslem countries of Asia and at the International Red Cross Headquarters, Geneva, Switzerland, as well as several meetings at the State Department, Washington, D.C. in 1953-62, could only have been performed with the support of American institutions and private citizens etc..**
- 4. On the pressure of the world public opinion:**

**At the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in
February of 1956, General Secretary Nikita Khrushchev specifically**

denounced as one of Stalin's most monstrous crimes, the mass deportations of entire peoples. According to the published reports, he said:

"All the more monstrous are the acts whose initiator was Stalin, and which are rude and basic violations of the basic Leninist principles of the nationality policy of the Soviet State. We refer to the mass deportations from their native places of whole nations, together with all communists and Komsomols, without exception; this deportation action was not dictated by any military considerations... No man of common sense can grasp how it is possible to make whole nations responsible for the inimical activity, including women, children, old people, communists and Komsomols, to use mass repression against them, and to expose them to misery and suffering for the hostile acts of individual persons or groups of persons."

Among the deported national minorities whom Khrushchev named were the Karachais, the Kalmuks, the Chechens, the Ingushes, the Balkarians. There were, of course, also the Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans. It is of some significance, that of the seven Soviet peoples who were victims of total deportation, all with the exception of the Volga Germans adhered to the Moslem or Buddhist religion. The total number of the Asian minority peoples thus deported was in excess of 1,200,000.

5. Mr. Clifford F. Case, U.S. Senator of New Jersey wrote in his letter of September 24, 1956:

UNITED STATES SENATE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

September 24, 1956

Dear Mr. Naminow-Burchinow:

I have received a report from the State Department concerning the status of Kalmuks in the Soviet Union.

The Department states that it has been discussing this matter with a group of refugee Kalmuks in an effort to explore the possibilities of presenting this matter to the United Nations. The inhuman mass deportations of the Kalmuk people by the Soviet authorities is a matter of grave concern to the Department and to every American.

I am, therefore, gratified to report the Department's expressed intention to bring this case to the attention of world opinion on every appropriate occasion. In this connection, you will be glad to learn that your communication has been forwarded to Ambassador Lodge for possible use in all future statements by the United States Mission to the United Nations.

It was good of you to write.

Sincerely,

[Signed by] Clifford P. Case
U.S. Senator

6. On January 3, 1962 Mr. J.F. Kennedy, President of the United States wrote:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 3, 1962

Dear Mr. Naminow-Burchinow:

I want to express my gratitude to you and to the Kalmuk people for sending me a scarf and presenting a plaque of gratitude to the United States.

The words spoken to you by Assistant Secretary Harriman express my sentiments well. I am pleased to know that the freedom our nation is able to offer is so deeply appreciated by your people.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,

[Signed by] J.F. Kennedy
President of the U.S.A.

On this occasion of the 50th anniversary of the deportation of the Kalmuk People, Mr. Kirsan N. Ilumzhinow, President of the Republic of Kalmykia proclaimed December 27, 1993 as a "Memorial Day" for all victims of genocidal acts against Kalmuk People at an official ceremony in Elista in the presence of representatives of The Buddhist Temple and government officials of other deported nationalities of North Caucasus...

7. At last the Kalmuk Republic is free from the Communist Party domination. With this letter, we would also like to express our appreciation:
1. To the United States of America for granting in 1951, us admission as displaced persons and giving us the liberty to express ourselves, economic opportunity and freedom to organize on behalf of the entire Kalmuk people.
 2. To the U.S. State Department, U. S. Mission to the U.N.O. and U.S. Congressmen and Senators and to many American friends, including television stations and American mass media bringing the plight of the Kalmuk people and to other victims of Soviet genocide to the attention of world opinion, by sending a Kalmuk delegation to the White House at your convenience.

Respectfully yours,



DJ. NAMINOW BURCHINOW

Honorary Citizen of the Republic of Kalmykia

Honorary Member of the Mongolian Development
Foundation

Consultant to the Ministries of Kalmykia,
Mongolia and Buryatia

Consultant to the United Nations Environment
Program for Kalmykia Republic, R. F.

Encl: "The Mongol and Kalmuk Peoples In China and in USSR" by DJ. Naminow
Burchinow

Copies:

Hon. W. Bradley, U.S. Senator

Hon. E. Kennedy, U.S. Senator

Hon. P. Moynihan, U.S. Senator

Hon. F. Lautenberg, U.S. Senator

THE MONGOL AND KALMUK PEOPLES IN CHINA AND IN USSR

Djab Naminow-Burchinow

National Chengchi University

國立政治大學

邊政研究所年報第十五期抽印本

中華民國七十三年十月

Reprinted from

BULLETIN OF THE INSTITUTE OF
CHINA BORDER AREA STUDIES

No. 15 Oct. 1984

THE MONGOL AND KALMUK PEOPLES IN CHINA AND IN USSR HISTORICAL REVIEW 1911-1957

Djab Naminow-Burchinow*

I. Soviet and Chinese Interest in Far East

"If by some fluke the People's Republic of Mongolia should be admitted to membership in the United Nations," observed the Cleveland Plain Dealer during the debate on the UN package deal, "its delegates will represent more goats, horses, camels and cattle than people,..." "Very little is known about Outer Mongolia," commented the Chicago Daily Tribune except that it is believed to be principally addicted to Yak butter and Yogurt." Such comments were far from being infrequent.

The American press was on safe ground when it said that the Mongolian People's Republic was not an independent state but a Soviet satellite and one which had made itself morally inadmissible to the UN both because of its violation

*DJAB NAMINOW-BURCHINOW, Chairman, Kalmuk Committee, spokesman of the Kalmuk people in Washington, Geneva, London, Paris, Colombo, New Delhi, Bangkok, Rangoon, Karachi, Djakarta. Attended many international meetings including the First Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, Indonesia and International Red Cross meeting in Switzerland. Presented several memorandums on behalf of the Kalmuk-Mongol people to the United Nations including the petition for the admission of the People's Republic of Mongolia to the United Nations.

of human rights and because of its record of aggression against Nationalist China and later in abetting the Korean Communists.

Nothing was added to the basic argument however, by suggesting that Mongolia was a republic of quadrupeds rather than of humans, and by ridiculing the diet of the Mongolian people. One can take it for granted that communist propaganda picked up such quotations and used them to good effect in broadcasts to the Mongolian people. But even more alarming than their indifference to national sensitivities, however, was the abysmal ignorance which such statements revealed of the political and strategic importance of Mongolia.

"The road to Paris," Lenin said, "lies through Peiping and Calcutta." In Soviet strategy, Outer Mongolia originally was the antechamber leading to Peiping. Today it enjoys a new importance as a strategic buffer zone for the major resources and industrial establishment of the Central Asian basin, as a source of food and other materials for the Soviet Far Eastern armies and as an economic and political link between Soviet Russia and Red China. The new railway that has been built through Ulan Bator cuts 1,000 miles off the previous rail distance from Moscow to Peiping.

Outer Mongolia also has significance as a potential source of friction between the Soviet and Chinese Communist regimes. As a buffer area, it has the same strategic importance for China that it has for Russia. Traditionally, as one Chinese put it, this region constitutes for China the first line of defense in the northwest. If the Chinese lose Mongolia, all the region of the northwest is immediately placed in danger. Although in doing so they have ignored the separate national aspirations of the Mongolian people, both the Chinese Communists and Chinese Nationalists have inclined to look upon Outer Mongolia as part of the territory of greater China, ethnically and geographically. Before he came to power, Mao-Tse-tung said on several occasions that Outer Mongolia belonged in a Chinese federation. It must have been a bitter pill for the Chinese Communists to swallow when Moscow ruled that Outer Mongolia was to become an 'independent'

republic under Soviet hegemony.

For the United States in the Korean War, the Mongolian People's Republic had special significance as a source of specialized Communist manpower which cost many American lives. From the 14,000 prisoners who refused repatriation to Communist China and went to Taiwan (Formosa) instead, many were Mongolians. It was also established that many of the pilots who flew MIG jets against the American Air Forces were Mongolians, that Mongolians manned the antiaircraft batteries on both sides of the Yalu, and that there were also Mongolian cavalry, armored units and infantry fighting with the Communist forces.¹ If there should be war again in the Far East, Mongolia, because of its proximity and because of the martial quality of its people, would probably make a substantial contribution to Soviet intervention.

Finally, Mongolia has significance as one of the areas of the Soviet sphere where the Communist grip is still subject to challenge. Both as a free people and as a subject people, the Mongolians have traditionally harbored an intense national feeling. In the early part of this century after a series of bloody uprisings and battles, they won back the freedom that had been lost to the Manchu dynasty some centuries earlier. For more than two decades after the Russian Revolution they fought against the extension of Soviet influence in their country, and many thousands of them were deported or liquidated in consequence. Although armed resistance has become more difficult, hatred of the Soviet regime has certainly not abated.

Since the story of the Mongol struggles for freedom and independence is virtually unknown to the Western peoples, it would be in order to present here a brief historical account to make it easier to comprehend the present attitudes of the Mongolian people.

Until the seventeenth century the Mongols had an independent state. Under Genghis Khan and Kublai Khan, they established one of the greatest empires of all times. Gathering to it scientists and philosophers from all over the civilized

world, the court of the great Khans in Peking became the foremost cultural and scientific center of its time. So lasting was this impact that centuries later, when the Mongols fell under the sovereignty of the Manchu dynasty, the Manchu princes continued to speak the literary Mongol language.

In 1368 the united Mongol empire began to fall apart. China threw off the Mongol rule and some of the tribes were subjected by the Chinese Ming Emperor. In Europe the Empire of the Golden Horde receded rapidly after the defeat in the Battle of Kulikovo in 1380 by the Russian Prince Dimitri IV. In 1635, the Inner Mongolian and Manchu princes assembled at Dolon Nor (Tolun) and swore fealty to the Manchu Emperor. But an independent Mongol power continued to exist until 1668, when outer Mongolia was also brought under Manchu rule. Throughout this entire period, moreover, the Mongol people retained their national identity.

In the early years of their rule, the Manchus regarded the Mongols as their feudal vassals, while they treated the Chinese simply as subjects. Later, however, this relationship changed for the worse. The Manchus began to colonize Inner Mongolia with Chinese farmers, a policy which created a serious problem for the Mongols. The Mongols are and have been for countless centuries, a herding people. Without considerable pasture land, a herding economy cannot survive. By taking over some of the best Mongol pasture land for agricultural purposes, Chinese colonization drove Mongols out of enormous areas of Inner Mongolia. But the Manchu dynasty did not purchase this success without bloodshed. The Mongols rebelled again and again. In 1756 there was a general uprising under Amursanan. While the uprising was unsuccessful, Amursanan to this day remains one of the great national heroes of the Mongolian peoples, his memory enshrined in numerous folk ballads. Armed revolts continued to break out until 1905 and 1906, when Mongolian units of the Manchu Army mutinied.

With the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the Manchu Empire came to an end. The Mongol princes had sworn fealty to the Manchu Emperors, but not to China

as such. While the Chinese took the stand that Mongol allegiance was automatically transferable to the government of the Chinese Republic, the Mongol chieftains adhered to the point of view that the revolution had completely terminated the tie between Mongolia and China.

In declaring their independence of China, the Outer Mongolian leaders sought the support of tsarist Russia. The delegation which they sent to St. Petersburg in August 1911 received a sympathetic hearing. Acting Foreign Minister Neratov summed up the decision of the tsarist cabinet in these words :

"After having deliberated on the attitude to be taken towards this delegation, we consider it necessary to aid the Mongols in their efforts to defend their independence, because the colonization of Mongolia by the Chinese, the installation of a Chinese administration and the reinforcement of Chinese troops there must be regarded as undesirable from the standpoint of the security of our frontiers." ²

The statement went on to say that while political considerations made it necessary to stop short of supporting the complete separation of Mongolia from China, the Russian government decided to support the autonomy of Outer Mongolia; and that, to give effect to this decision, it planned to advise the Chinese government that "the transformation of Khalkha (Outer Mongolia) into a Chinese province, the population of Mongolian lands by Chinese colonists and the establishment of regular Chinese troops in Mongolia would be considered by us as acts hostile to Russia." ³

Negotiation between China and Russia followed; and in 1913 they signed a joint declaration in which both governments recognized Outer Mongolia not as an independent sovereign nation, but as an autonomous area within the Chinese state. In May 1915 this understanding was confirmed by the Treaty of Kiakhta, to which Russia, China and Outer Mongolia were parties.

While these actions by the Russian government appeared to support the Mongolian national cause, this support was carefully limited to the assurance of

autonomy for Outer Mongolia. The Russians frowned upon the nationalist project for a united Mongolian state, embracing Inner and Outer Mongolia, and they gave no support of any kind to the nationalist movement in Inner Mongolia.

The fall of imperial Russia in 1917 gave the Chinese government the opportunity it had been seeking to abrogate the treaty of Kiakhta. In 1919 the Chinese general Hsu Shutseng led a sizable army against Outer Mongolia. With a gun pointed at its head, the Mongol government was forced to sign a "petition" abolishing its own autonomy. In October 1919 the Chinese government formally proclaimed the abrogation of the autonomous status for Outer Mongolia.

Mongolian national feeling against the return of Chinese overlordship reached fever pitch. Helpless to achieve freedom from the Chinese without foreign support, the Mongols sent secret petitions for aid to the governments of the U.S., Japan and Russia, in the name of the Jebtsun Damba Khutukhtu, the living Buddha of Urga, who was both supreme religious leader and temporal ruler of Outer Mongolia.

So desperate were the Mongol nationalists, and so confused was the situation, that they were prepared to accept help from both the White Russians and the Communists in their efforts to liberate themselves from the Chinese. Early in 1921, Mongol nationalist troops, aided by the White Russian General Baron Ungern-Sternberg, attacked and defeated the Chinese Army and reoccupied Urga. Meanwhile, other Mongolian nationalists, with Soviet support, established a Provisional Mongolian Revolutionary Government, proclaimed at Kiakhta in March 1921. When Ungern-Sternberg was defeated by the Red Army after moving his forces back into Russian territory, the way was clear for the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army to enter Urga - which it did in July 1921.

Although the majority of those who participated in the Provisional Mongolian Revolutionary Government were not Communists, the part played by Red Army in firmly establishing the new government gave the Soviets a decisive influence

on its future evolution.

From 1911 to 1921, the Mongolian Revolution had been a Purely nationalist movement which sought only to liberate Mongolia from foreign control. The joint interests of the princes, the lamas (priests) and the common people were effectively fused and expressed in the simple nationalist slogans : "For an independent Mongolia !"; and "Mongolia for the Mongols"! Now they were free of the Chinese. But the Mongols soon realized that " although we have chased the wolf from the front door, we have enabled the tiger to creep in the back door". Under Soviet control, the new government began to suppress the nationalist movement and to liquidate its leadership, including the lamas, by imprisonment and execution. Lands, forests and mines were nationalized (although collectivization of cattle was postponed for a number of years). Although a majority of its members did not have any serious comprehension of Communism, the Mongolian People's Party joined the Comintern in late 1921. The door they passed through was one through which there was no turning back. From 1921 on, political control over the government of Outer Mongolia passed increasingly into the hands of the Soviets and their Mongolian supporters. But although they were hopelessly entrapped, the Mongol people fought back fiercely and unrelentingly.

The history of Mongolia under the Red rule is a sad story of continuous uprisings, purges, liquidations, religious persecution, and terror against the Mongolian patriots. The Red attempt to collectivize lands in 1929-1932 met unanimous resistance on the part of the people, and the attempt was abandoned in 1932. But before it was abandoned, the policy had resulted in the deportation and killing of thousands of Mongols, including 2,000 lama monks who were shot, and many members of the government who were killed (as e.g. the Chairman of the Great Khural /Parliament/ Gendun, and Prime Minister Amor. The general uprising of 1934 was suppressed by the use of overwhelming Soviet air and ground forces. However, despite the cruel Soviet suppression of

Mongolian patriots there are many signs that the Mongolian resistance has not come to an end, and even official Soviet sources admit its existence to this day.⁴

As it was indicated above, there had been a steady growth of nationalist sentiment favoring Mongol independence since the end of the Manchu dynasty. Moreover, events in Asia hastened the development of the Mongol independence movement. In 1931 the Japanese occupied Manchuria, the western part of which is inhabited by Mongols. Four Mongolian autonomous provinces were established under the Manchukuo government. This meant a changed situation for the leaders of the Inner Mongolian independence movement. However, it also meant a changed situation for the leaders of Japanese imperialism who feared the revival of the Mongols.

In 1933, Prince Teh, head of the Silingol League of Inner Mongolia, started the Mongolian Movement for Autonomy in Batuhala. He demanded that the Chinese central government grant self-government for Inner Mongolia, and in fact the Central Government acceded to this demand. Disturbed conditions prevented the implementation of the government's policy. Fu Tsu-yi, the governor of Suiyuan Province, was extremely hostile to any form of Mongolian self-government. In the face of his opposition, Mongolian feeling against the Chinese became most intense by 1936. This further encouraged the tendency of Mongol leaders to look to the Japanese for assistance in their aspirations for freedom. In July 1937, after attacking China, the Japanese rapidly occupied Inner Mongolia. An Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government was immediately established, under the leadership of Prince Teh and with the support of the Japanese Government.

After the Japanese completed their occupation of the greater part of Inner Mongolia and North China, there began a process of subverting Mongol autonomy through the increasingly strict control of the Mongol Government by Japanese 'advisors' and by the more or less direct exercise of power by the Japanese Kwantung Army. As time went on, even the fiction of control by 'advisors'

was partly abandoned, and many important governmental positions were held directly by Japanese personnel, instead of by Mongols. Wide controls over the national economy were instituted by the Japanese, who forced the Mongols to sell large quantities of livestock to the Japanese Army at a low fixed price every year. Repressive actions occurred at various times, with occasional executions for alleged 'anti-Japanese' activity.

Realizing that armed opposition to the Japanese was impossible, Prince Teh directed his efforts to strengthening the organization of the Inner Mongolian Government so as to be able to resist some of the demands of the Japanese military leaders and to modify Japanese policy in Inner Mongolia. He also began to look to the future needs of an independent Mongolia, and with this in mind he launched a major program of introducing modern education in Inner Mongolia. He created a number of schools in this area, which for so many generations had suffered from neglect of education. In this program he was able to operate with relative freedom from Japanese control.

As in Outer Mongolia under Soviet control, the impact of foreign domination on the Mongols was a vigorous strengthening of Mongol nationalism.

Following the American atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with every evidence of the imminent collapse of the Japanese war effort, the Soviets declared war on Japan and started military advances into Inner Mongolia and Manchuria on a large scale. After occupying these areas, they established naked military control over the country and immediately embarked on the systematic liquidation and imprisonment of all potential oppositionists. Many of the Mongol nationalist leaders and intellectuals were arrested and sent to concentration camps in Outer Mongolia. In August 1945, there were mass executions of high Mongolian lamas and the monastery itself was destroyed. Mass executions occurred throughout Inner Mongolia and Manchuria. The Red Army carried off huge quantities of livestock to Outer Mongolia. There was a reign of terror, massacre, rape, and pillage.

During the period of disorder that followed the Japanese surrender, Inner Mongolian nationalists established an Inner Mongolia. A similar government, the East Mongolian Autonomous Government, was established at Wangin Sum in Manchuria, in December of the same year. The Chinese Communists already controlled the adjoining part of North China. Consequently in March of 1946, nationalist representatives of Inner and Eastern Mongolia were forced to meet at Ulan Had in Inner Mongolia to negotiate with Chinese Communist representatives.

A year later, in March 1947, at a meeting at Wangin Sum in Inner Mongolia, the Chinese Communists set up a People's Assembly and drew up the Constitution of a Mongolian Autonomous Government under Chinese Communist control. The Chinese forced the election of Ulan Hu, a Mongol Communist, as Chairman of the Government. On May 5, 1947, the Chinese Communist Government publicly announced the establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government.

In the meantime, the Mongolian anti-Communist movement remained active under Prince Teh's leadership. He left Peiping for Chungking in September 1945 to seek the help of the Nationalist Government of China to fight Communism in Mongolia. His appeal went unanswered. Early in 1949 he went to Nanking to ask for support again, but again received no assistance. A third mission, to the Chinese Government in Canton, in March 1949, was also unsuccessful.

In the face of these obstacles, on August 10, 1949, Prince Teh summoned nationalist representatives to Alashan in Inner Mongolia to establish an anti-Communist Mongolian Government. Cut off from the rest of the world, this group, as far as we know, is still carrying on as underground struggle against the Chinese Communists today.⁵

In this summary of the unhappy events which have befallen the mongol people, it becomes clear that the recent history of the Mongols has been one of domination by Russia, China and Japan. The fate of the Mongols, though less familiar than the plight of the Koreans under the Japanese or of the Tibetans under the Chinese

Communists, is a matter of major significance to the free world. The Mongols have suffered under Chinese colonization and Japanese imperialism and under the merciless onslaught of the Comintern-Cominform, and now Chinese Communism. One might expect that among these evils the Mongols would choose the least and align themselves with one of the three great nations. Yet this is not the case. An ordinary Mongol sees all three as evil: ask him what he thinks, and he will say, 'Chinese Red rule gives us a slow death. You don't know how far it's gone until a few minutes before the end. Japanese militarism teaches us the spirit of hara-kari - but they won't let you use the knife on yourself - they will do it for you. Under the Soviets, your hands are free, but there's a rope around your neck that directs the movement.' All have been evil for the Mongols, and they see no reason to attempt to choose the lesser evil. It is freedom which the Mongols desire.

After thirty years under Communist rule in Outer Mongolia, Mongol aspirations for a true national independence from the Soviet Union have never been successfully stamped out. This is the weak point of the Soviet position in Mongolia. On the other hand, it would be mere wishful thinking to pretend that there are no Mongols who support their Communist-controlled government and its satellite relationship to the Soviet Union.

For many years now the Communists in Outer Mongolia have been selecting the most able young men, the ones who seem most capable of leadership. To these men they have offered careers and promotion under Communist auspices. In Inner Mongolia, it must be taken for granted that the Chinese Communists are following the same policy.

A successful democratic policy must, in addition to being anti-Communist, meet this challenge. It must show that the democratic nations welcome true patriotism, nationalism and aspirations for independence. The important thing is that all questions concerning Mongolia and the Mongolian people must be settled in full and equal discussion with Mongol representatives and not by powers

desiring to rule over Mongolia. The Mongols are a freedom-loving people. If their loyalty is to be won, they must be convinced that the cause with which they ally themselves is the cause of freedom, equality among nations and human rights and dignity.

The free world could take advantage of the weakness of the Communist position in Mongolia. Broadcasts in the Mongol language dealing with the present plight of the Mongol people under Communism and recounting their centuries long struggle for freedom would be avidly listened to. In speaking to the Mongol peoples, too, the free world has a weapon to which the Communists have no answer. It is the genocide of the Kalmuk people by the Soviet regime in 1943.

II. The Kalmuk People and the Issue of Genocide¹²

Although the Soviet regime has published none of the documents relating to the deportation of the Kalmuks,⁶ and has maintained absolute silence on the subject since that time, part of the story can be pieced together from documents captured by the Germans and from a few eye witness accounts that have been made available to the Western world. The former MVD Agent, Grigory Mihailovitch Victorov, described in the Free World Press the operation in these words :

"Our operation in the Kalmuk Republic seemed even more vile (than the previous operation against the Karachais) because the Kalmuks were peaceful and obedient to the point of being phlegmatic. Not only did they not resist, but they did not even seem to be indignant. This time there was no wailing, no tears as there had been with the Karachais."

"At dawn, according to the plan, we were all at our posts and began operations. Agents, accompanied by armed soldiers, read the so-called 'sentence' to groups of families. An hour later, again according to plan, every Kalmuk family, having gathered together the belongings it was permitted

to take. meekly boarded a truck. All this took place without a single unnecessary word, without invective, without protests from the victims."

"This submissiveness to fate on the part of the Kalmuks made a soul-devastating impression on the operatives, even on the most hardened Chekists among us. In it there seemed to be something far more insulting than contempt for us, the passive executors of the Soviet government's criminal policy. In this submissiveness there appeared to be both an indifference towards their individual fate and something of a feeling of quiet self-assured superiority over us."

"The experience of resettling the Kalmuks made a very deep impression on me personally and, although my initial reaction was subconscious, I now realize that it created a complete revolution in my thinking and later in my outlook."

"As a Russian I was ashamed to have taken part in this crime against the Kalmuk people."

"On behalf of the Russian people, I am very happy now to have this opportunity to confess to the innocent victims our guilt for the criminal policy of the Soviet government against the Kalmuk people."⁷

Over the past four years^(*) the Kalmuk Committee has endeavored to bring the facts of the Soviet genocide to the attention of World public opinion, and of Asian and African opinion in particular. The committee has been able to accomplish much, although it has had to work with the most meagre resources. The success our little group has had strongly suggests that the West could do much more with its propaganda to the neutralist and uncommitted nations, if it made effective use of the issue of genocide.

In the following paragraphs we detail, in sequence, the various actions of the Kalmuk Committee since 1954.

(*) 1953-56

1. Dec. 13, 1953: The Kalmuk delegation received by Mr. Jean Dupuis, the Representative of the Secretary General at the United Nations, New York, N.Y.
2. Jan. 19, 1954: The Kalmuk delegation received by Mr. Robert Murphy, Deputy Secretary of State at the U.S.A. Washington, DC

On both occasions, the Kalmuk delegation presented a petition asking to urge United Nations action. The document read :

"Until ten years ago the Kalmuk people, Who belong to the family of Western Mongol tribes, lived in Southern Russia between the Volga and the Don Rivers. There, in times gone by, they dwelt in peace with themselves and with nature, and their life was governed by the gentle and contemplative philosophy of Buddhism."

"On December 27, 1943 the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet Council of the USSR issued a UKaz dissolving the so-called 'Kalmuk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic'. The population of the Republic -- men, women, children, infants in arms -- was rounded up by the militia of the Soviet secret police, the NKVD, and shipped in crowded, unheated cattle--cars to the slave labor camps of Western Siberia. Husbands were separated from their wives, mothers were torn from their children. Tens of thousands perished on the long trip in freezing weather."

"The fate of those who survived the trip was hardly more enviable. What has happened to them, how many are still alive, where are they at this moment -- these things are among the darkest secrets of the Communist Iron Curtain. The ten years that have elapsed since that fateful December day in 1943 have produced no answer to the mystery."

"The purpose of this petition is to ask the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations to endeavor to obtain information as to the present welfare and whereabouts of the Kalmuk people, the Chechen people, the Crimean Tartar

people and all the other peoples who have been victims of Soviet deportation; and to urge that, in consonance with the United Nations Charter, the Soviets be asked to liberate all the surviving victims of this policy."

"We fervently pray that the merciless destruction of our people will arouse the same righteous indignation throughout the democratic world as did the Nazi massacre of the Jews; and that the story of the obliteration of the Kalmuk communities will rank in infamy with Katyn and the Warsaw Ghetto."

"We pray that the interest of the UN will persuade the Soviets that world opinion cannot be completely ignored."

"We pray, too, that the peoples of Asia -- and Europe -- many of whom have believed the false Communist promises of a better life, will pause to reflect on the true nature of Communism when the facts of the mass destruction of our peaceful Mongol Buddhist people are made known to them."

"The world will want to know what reason prompted the Soviet despots to this ruthless act of mass destruction. It was not simply that our people hated the Communist regime, because the regime is hated by the overwhelming majority of the people of the Soviet Union. The innate desire to be free is something that no dictatorship has ever been able to crush. The human soul forever rebels against the police system where no man dare speak his thoughts and every man must live in fear of his neighbors; where the peasant is subjected to forced collectivization and the worker is ruthlessly driven by Stakhanovite speedups and the intellectual is reduced to a goosestepping robot; where men are torn from their families at dead of night and sentenced without public trial to death by shooting or the living death of the slave labor camps; and where places of worship are destroyed or converted into pigsties, priests are imprisoned, and divine urge to worship God according to one's religious conviction is ridiculed and mercilessly persecuted."

"Although Communism is uniformly hated by the many peoples of the USSR, in certain areas, for reasons of tradition, religion, etc. this

hatred has expressed itself in a greater degree of open opposition than in other areas. The Kalmuk people have rejected Bolshevism since the first days of the Revolution. They fought bravely against the revolutionary armies; and in the orgy of persecution that accompanied the triumph of Bolshevik power, thousands of their intellectuals and community leaders were purged. They resisted the forced collectivization of the First and Second Five-Year-Plans -- and again there were purges and mass deportations."

"In the 'Country of the Big Lie,' perhaps the biggest lie was that of the 'Independence' of its component peoples and the sovereignty of the 'Autonomous Republics'. The monstrosity of this falsehood should have been clear past any misunderstanding when the Communist despots, at the stroke of a pen, liquidated half a dozen of their 'Autonomous Republics', and shipped the population, like so many cattle, off to the slave labor and death camps of Siberia."

"At the end of World War II the peoples of Europe and Asia who had been enslaved by the Axis powers were liberated, and the universal triumph of freedom and humanity was proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter and other pronouncements of the victorious Allied Powers. But, alas, humanity and freedom were not meant for those who live on the other side of the Communist Iron Curtain! There, in the bitter unending winter of Siberia, the survivors of the Kalmuk people have lived for ten long years in the unspeakable misery of Soviet slave labor."

"Prisoners of war have been repatriated and even war criminals have been amnestied. But for the Kalmuk people and the other innocent victims of Soviet mass deportations, there has been no repatriation and no liberation. They have not lost faith, however, in world democracy and in the United Nations. And we know that we speak for all of our brothers in addressing this appeal through the United Nations to the conscience of the world."

2. April 1955: A Deputation of two Kalmuk attended the first Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung,¹³ Indonesia, visiting

Ceylon, Thailand, Burma, India, Pakistan, in the course of their travels. In all of the countries they visited, press conferences were held and prepared statements and photostat exhibits were given out. The petition which the Delegation presented to the Bandung Conference read, in part, as follows:

"What has happened to the Kalmuks and North Caucasians, how many of them are still alive, where they are at this moment--these things are among the darkest secrets of modern times. Not a word has been heard from a single Kalmuk and their very name has been expunged from the press and the encyclopedias of the Soviet Union.⁸ There is reason to hope however, that not all of them have perished -- and the handful of Kalmuks who have survived abroad, both in Europe and America consider it their sacred duty to work unremittingly for the liberation of those who survive. Despite the terrible tragedy that has befallen our people, we are encouraged in our efforts by the gentle teachings of Buddha and the consolation we find in his teachings. And we dare to hope that we will find moral assistance in those parts of the world where Buddhist philosophy has left its impress."

"The Soviet authorities cannot totally ignore world public opinion. It is probable, for example, that the tremendous wave of protests against the arrest of the Jewish doctors in Moscow in 1955 had something to do with the Soviet Government's decision to release the doctors and repudiate the fantastic charges that had been brought against them. We know that the Soviet authorities are particularly sensitive to public opinion in the Asian countries. And for this reason we hope that the diplomatic intercession of a number of distinguished Asian voices may persuade the Soviets to relent in their persecution of the Kalmuk people, and to restore liberty to those who may survive."

"Although we are not unaware of the delicate situation that exists in Asia, we hope that all delegates to the Asian and African Conference at Bandung will find it possible, to make a simple humanitarian intercession with the Soviet

Authorities, somewhat along these lines:

'Our delegation has had brought to its attention the story of the destruction of the Kalmuk people by mass deportation. The deportation of an entire people for misdemeanors that may been committed by a number of individuals, is something that doesn't sit well with world opinion, either Western or Asiatic. To the Asian peoples, indeed, it suggests the existence of a Soviet imperialism, ruthlessly directed against minority peoples. The Soviet Government would enhance its reputation in Asia and throughout the world, and it would contribute substantially to the easing of international tensions, if it restored to liberty the Kalmuks who may have survived, or even if it could give the world some concrete assurance that the Kalmuks were alive and well in the area in which they have resettled.'

The Kalmuk people have not lost faith, in world democracy. Especially do we address our appeal to the delegates from the newly independent countries to the Asian-African Conference at Bandung."

3. November, 1956: A memorandum was sent to all U.N.

Delegations of the United Nations.

The document reads:

"On behalf of the Kalmuk Committee, we wish to express our gratitude to the General Assembly for its historic decision favoring an investigation for Soviet genocide in Hungary. We are also gratified that during the course of the debate some mention was made of the Kalmuks and other peoples who some 12 years ago were herded into cattle cars for the terrible one-way trip to Siberia."

"Soviet Foreign Minister Shepilov has emphatically denied that the Soviet authorities have been carrying out mass deportations in Hungary, in violation of the genocide convention. And he has, by implication, if not directly, attempted to persuade the delegates that genocide was a crime totally alien to the Soviet conscience. But let us refer the matter to a higher

Soviet authority than Foreign Minister Shepilov."

"At the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February of this year (1956), General Secretary Nikita Khrushchev specifically denounced as one of Stalin's most monstrous crimes, the mass deportations of entire peoples. According to the published reports, he said:

'All the more monstrous are the acts whose initiator was Stalin, and which are rude and basic violations of the basic Leninist principles of the nationality policy of the Soviet State. We refer to the mass deportations from their native places of whole nations, together with all communists and Komsomols, without exception; this deportation action was not dictated by any military considerations ... No man of common sense can grasp how it is possible to make whole nations responsible for the inimical activity, including women, children, old people, communists and Komsomols, to use mass repression against them, and to expose them to misery and suffering for the hostile acts of individual persons or groups of persons.'⁹

"The Ukrainians avoided meeting this fate only because there were too many of them and there was no place to which to deport them. Otherwise, he would have deported them also. (Laughter and animation in the hall.)."¹⁰

"Among the deported national minorities whom Khrushchev named were the Karachais, the Kalmuks, the Chechens, the Ingushes, the Balkarians. . There were, of course, also the Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans. It is of some significance, that of the seven Soviet peoples who were victims of total deportation, all with the exception of the Volga Germans were of Asian origin and adhered to the Moslem or Buddhist religion. The total number of the Asian minority peoples thus deported was in excess of 1,200,000."

"Mr. Khrushchev's condemnation of Stalin's genocidal mass deportations led some people to believe that the present Soviet regime was prepared to turn its back on this practice and to make some amends to the victims of past crimes. But the Soviet word, unfortunately, does not always correspond

with the Soviet deed. Would it not be appropriate for the member nations of the UN to suggest to Mr. Shepilov that Soviet protestations of innocence would carry much more weight if his government were prepared to take certain concrete measures to prove to the world that they have in fact abandoned Stalin's criminal policy of mass deportations and that they wish to redress the wrongs that have been done. Specifically, it might be suggested:

(1) that the Soviet authorities publish information as to the number of each national minority deported in mass, the areas to which they were deported, the number who survive at this date, the present whereabouts of the survivors, the conditions of their general welfare.

(2) that measures be undertaken to rehabilitate the survivors and to indemnify them for their sufferings and for belongings and savings confiscated.

(3) that as an international earnest of their intention, the Soviet authorities permit a special commission of the UN to investigate and to report back on the welfare of the survivors and the measures that have been taken to rehabilitate them.

(4) that, to hasten the process of rehabilitation, they permit shipments of relief supplies from other countries to the survivors, under the supervision of the UN or of the International Red Cross."

4. Finally in February, 1957, there came the startling news that the Soviet Government was planning to return some of the peoples who had been deported in mass. The Kalmuk Committee immediately sent the following wire to Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold, of the United Nations:

"Press and wire agencies today carry welcome news that the Soviet Government has passed decree providing for the return to their native areas of five Soviet minority peoples - Kalmuks, Chechen-Ingush, Karachais, Kabardins and Balkars who were victims of total mass deportation in 1943 and 1944. According to the announcement, because of the scope of the problem, repatriation will be staggered over a 4 year period 1957-60."

"For several hundred Kalmuks who have survived abroad, this news is occasion for joy. For thirteen years now, despite repeated requests, there had been no word from the Soviet authorities as to the whereabouts or welfare of our people. Although yesterday's announcement (Febr. 12, 1957) cannot restore to life the tens of thousands who must have perished as a result of brutal mass deportations, it at least offers assurance that our people have not been completely destroyed. But how many have survived? In what part of Siberia are they now exiled? What is the conditions of the survivors? These questions are still left unanswered by the first information that has been given to the press. Through your offices, Mr. Secretary General, we appeal to the Soviet authorities to relieve our anxiety at these points. Particularly we would appeal to them to permit immediate shipments of food, clothing, medical supplies and other aid to survivors of the deported minority peoples."

"We believe member Nations of the UN will welcome the Soviet decision which partially rectifies one of the greatest crimes of the Stalin's era. We respectfully suggest that the UN extend to the Soviet Government its offer of cooperation in surveying needs of deported minority peoples, and in planning material aid contributions by other UN nations to expedite process of resettlement and rehabilitation in the areas from which they were expelled some thirteen years ago."

"We also ask you to convey our heartfelt gratitude to all those delegates, in particular those from the free Asian countries, who have given us moral support during the past three years in soliciting information as to whereabouts and welfare of the deported minority peoples, and in urging the Soviet authorities to rehabilitate the survivors. We are convinced that their repeated manifestations of concern have played some role in persuading the government of the USSR to undertake this miraculous reversal of policy."

5. September, 1957 : Since no action was forthcoming at the UN the Kalmuk Committee decided to take the matter

to the International Red Cross. In September, 1957, Djab Naminov, Chairman of the Kalmuk Committee travelled to Geneva and presented the petition urging the International Red Cross to ask the Soviet Government to permit the immediate shipment of food, clothing, medical supplies and other aid to the returning minority peoples in the area of the Northern Caucasus.

In all of this activity, the Kalmuk Committee has received encouragement and support from many friends. For instance, Mr. Norman Thomas, several times Socialist candidate for the presidency of the United States, gave much time and advice as well as moral encouragement to the Kalmuks. Recently, when he was invited to make a statement over Radio Moscow on steps that might promote friendship and cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, he said, among other things, the following:

"Americans would be strengthened in their confidence in the Soviet Government's desire for the peace based on justice, by the following actions:

- (1) Grant of fair and free elections in all the Eastern European countries and in Germany which is looking for a unification;
- (2) Immediate restoration to their former status of the Kalmuks, Volga Germans, and other peoples, admitted by Khrushchov to have been cruelly exiled by Stalin."

The AF of L and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions were also very interested and helpful. On May 12, 1957, George Meany, President, AF of L - CIO (*) wired this message to the Kalmuk Thanksgiving Reception in New York :

"The announced decision of the Soviet Government of its readiness to permit repatriation of Kalmuk, and other minority peoples to their homelands marks victory for democratic world public opinion and occasion for thanks giving by liberty loving peoples of every race, color and creed. It is urgent that

(*) American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

the International Red Cross or special UN Committee be designated to participate in effecting this repatriation in order to assure protection of fundamental human rights and basic justice to the Kalmuk and other minority peoples, whom Soviet Government has cruelly deported."

When the Kalmuk Committee presented its petition to the International Red Cross in September, 1957, the AF of L - CIO, the ICFTU, the British Trade Union Movement, and La Force Ouvriere Francaise - all indicated their support.

There were many prominent Asians, too, who were interested in the Kalmuk cause - Sir John Kotewala, former Prime Minister of Ceylon; Mohammed Ali, former Prime Minister of Pakistan; the leaders of the Moslem Masjumi Party in Indonesia; the officers of the International for Cultural Freedom in India, Ceylon; Minister Yu-Chi Hsueh, Deputy Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations, etc.

However, it is still necessary to say that, on the whole, the Free World has not properly understood or adequately exploited the issue of genocide. The uncommitted peoples of Asia and Africa may not all understand the fine points of democracy. But the crime of genocide is so uncomplicated and so appalling that, in our experience, even uncommitted Asians are prepared to accept it as an indictment of the Communist system.¹¹

NOTES

1. See, Tinfu F. Tsiang, THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE PACKAGE DEAL. New York, Chinese Delegation to the United Nations, 1955, p. 12.

2. See, NOVY VOSTOK (The New Orient), Vol. XIII-XIV, 1926, pp. 355-356. See, also, J. Levine, LA MONGOLIE, Paris, 1937, p. 84.

3. Ibid.

4. Existence of the Underground Movement in Outer Mongolia is affirmed by I.V. Tsapkin, MONGOLSKAIA NARODNAIA RESPUBLIKA (Mongolian People's Republic), Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1948.

5. See, Memorandum presented by the Mongols to the Free Asia Committee, New York, 1952.

6. There are in the Soviet Union two peoples definitely Mongol in type, speaking Mongol language and Buddhist by religion. These are the Buriats of the Lake Baikal area and the Kalmuks (West Mongols) in the steppes west of the Volga. The Buriats are closely related to the Mongols of Mongolia. The Kalmuks emigrated to the Volga region from Dzungaria in the 17th century. In the 18th century, the Kalmuks of the eastern bank of the Volga decided to go back to Dzungaria, because of the oppression on the Part of Russian Government. The hardships endured in this unprecedented exodus of a whole nation form one of the greatest tragedies in history. A mere insignificant part of those who started were able to cross into Dzungaria. By some accident, still unexplained, the Kalmuks of the western bank of the Volga were unable to join their brethren from the eastern bank, and remained in the territory west of the Volga. After many wars with the neighboring Don Cossacks, one part of the Kalmuks was taken in by the Don Cossacks, so that there were among the Cossacks several Kalmuk sotnias (squadrons). After November 1917 Revolution, the Kalmuks fought along with the Don Cossacks against the Soviet Russian aggression, and many Kalmuks left their country and emigrated to Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and France after the Cossack armies had been defeated by the Bolsheviks. From the remaining part of the Kalmuks, the Soviet Government organized the so-called autonomous Kalmuk Republic which was abolished after World War II allegedly because of anti-Soviet activities of the Kalmuks during the war. Adopted from Oleh R. Martovych, NATIONAL PROBLEMS IN THE USSR, Edinburgh, Scottish League for European Freedom, 1953, p. 13. (Ed.).

7. Cf. Testimony of former NKVD officer, Grigory Mikhailovich Victorov on the mass deportation of the Kalmuk people in 1943, issued by the Munich Radio Center of the Voice of America, March 24, 1954. See, also, LIFE MAGAZINE, New York, July 5, 1954.

8. Cf. BOL'SHAIA SOVETSKAIA ENTSYKLOPEDIA (Large Soviet Encyclopedia), 2nd. ed. Moscow 1953; the entry "Kalmuk" is missing. See, also ETNOGRAFICHESKAIA KARTA SSSR (Ethnographic Map of the USSR), Moscow, Ministry of State Security of the USSR, 1953; Kalmuks are missing.

9. Quotations from Bertram D. Wolfe, KHRUSHCHEV AND STALIN'S GHOST. Text, Background and Meaning of Krushchev's Secret Address. New York, Praeger, 1957, pp. 190 and 192.

10. Ibid., p. 190

11. References: (a) Gerard M. Friters, OUTER MONGOLIA AND ITS INTERNATIONAL POSITION, Baltimore, 1949; (b) Documents and Memoranda on Soviet genocide presented by the Kalmuk Committee to the United Nations and to the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung.

12. Alexander M. Nekrich, "The Punished Peoples," deportation and fate of national minorities in U.S.S.R., pp. 66-85, Norton, 1978, New York-London.

13. Robert Conguest, distinguished expert in U.S.S.R. history, "The Nation Killers," the soviet deportation of a nationalities and the Kalmuk delegation's activities at the Bandung conference, Indonesia for the Human Rights of Kalmuk-Mongol peoples, pp. 101-102. The MacMillan, 1970, New York-London.

HOOVER INSTITUTION

ON WAR, REVOLUTION AND PEACE

Stanford, California 94305



2 December 1982

Dear D Naminow,

thank you for your letter.

I have now found a copy of my The Nation Killers, which is a revised version of The Soviet Deportation of Nationalities. The reference to yourself is at the top of p 102.

Wishing you every success in your admirable struggle for the rights of the Kalmuck and Mongol people,

yours sincerely

Robert Conquest

Прф. Роберт КОНКВЕСТ в своей книге "Советская депортация национальных меньшинств" отметил участие Калмыцкой делегации на БАНДУНГСКОЙ КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ в Индонезии в Апреле 1955г. и выражает наилучшие пожелания в замечательной борьбе за права Калмыков и Монголов.

ROBERT CONQUEST, a distinguished specialist in contemporary Russian history at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Stanford, Cal., is also an accomplished british poet, science-fiction writer, critic and editor.

D.N.B.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 3, 1962

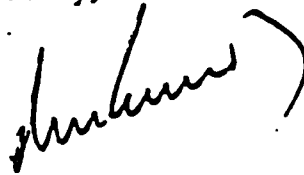
Dear Mr. Naminow:

I want to express my gratitude to you and to the Kalmuk people for sending me a scarf and presenting a plaque of gratitude to the United States.

The words spoken to you by Assistant Secretary Harriman express my sentiments well. I am pleased to know that the freedom our nation is able to offer is so deeply appreciated by your people.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,



Это письмо подписано Джоном Ф. КЕННЕДИ,
Президентом Соединенных Штатов Америки
по случаю приема Калмыцкой делегации во
главе с Джабом Наминов Буржиновым в связи
с Юти летием пребывания Калмыков в С.Ш.А.

BILL BRADLEY
NEW JERSEY

052612
COMMITTEES: 0772
FINANCE
ENERGY AND
NATURAL RESOURCES
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON
AGING

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3001

94 JAN 28 P3:31

January 25, 1994

The Honorable Patrick Griffin
Assistant to the President
For Legislative Affairs
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Griffin:

I forward to you a scheduling request from Djab Naminow-Burchinow, the U.S. Consultant to the President of the Kalmuck Republic of the Russian Federation. He wishes to arrange a meeting between the President and a Delegation of the Republic of Kalmykia of the Russian Federation at the White House, preferably during the month of January.

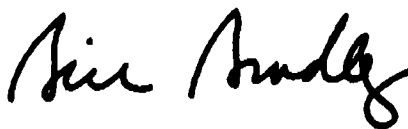
January 1994 marks the 50th Anniversary of the deportation of the Kalmuck people to Siberia by Joseph Stalin. Representatives of the Kalmykia Republic would like to personally express their gratitude to the President for the United States' support of the Republic at the United Nations and United States' denouncement of the Soviet genocide of the Kalmucks and Mongols.

I have also enclosed a paper, researched and written by Mr. Naminow-Burchinow, that will provide you some essential background information on the modern history of the Kalmuck and Mongol peoples.

I would appreciate it if you would forward his request to the appropriate staff member for consideration. I ask that you reply directly to Mr. Naminow-Burchinow and that you send me a copy of your reply for my records.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this timely matter.

Sincerely,



Bill Bradley
United States Senator

BB/sk

ID# 052612

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: FEBRUARY 07, 1994

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE BILL BRADLEY

SUBJECT: REQUESTS THE PRESIDENT SCHEDULE A MEETING
WITH DJAB NAMINOW - BURCHINOW THE U.S.
CONSULTANT TO THE PRESIDENT OF KALMUCK
REPUBLIC OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
		ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
PATRICK GRIFFIN		ORG	94/02/07		C 94/02/07
WILLIAM ITOH		RSR	94/02/07		
	REFERRAL NOTE:				
	REFERRAL NOTE:				
	REFERRAL NOTE:				
	REFERRAL NOTE:				
	REFERRAL NOTE:				

COMMENTS: ENCLOSURES MENTION NOT ATTACHED

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____
 _____ MAIL USER CODES: (A) D NJ (B) _____ (C) _____

```

*****
*ACTION CODES:          *DISPOSITION          *OUTGOING          *
*                        *                        *CORRESPONDENCE:   *
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION  *A-ANSWERED          *TYPE RESP=INITIALS *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM       *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL  *          OF SIGNER *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE      *C-COMPLETED          *          CODE = A   *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET  *S-SUSPENDED          *COMPLETED = DATE OF *
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*                        *          OUTGOING  *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *                        *                        *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE        *                        *                        *
*X-INTERIM REPLY        *                        *                        *
*****
  
```

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

SCANNED