CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL CENTRALIZATION AND NATION BUILDING
Nation building is a political process. In this process a state acquires a modern status of authority, autonomy and integrity. While moving towards this status, a communist society presupposes three notions, first, the state as a locus of political action, actively intervening in society in pursuit of a 'higher' social order, second, the state as a vacuum of authority to be moulded in accordance with the blue-print of a radically new society; and third, the society, and the human beings composing it, as an object of administration in a historical movement representing the march of necessity by the proletariat. Essentially, the nation building in the post revolutionary stage of a communist society is a model of social engineering and theory of development.

Here we study the political process and pattern of Mongolia: how political decisions are taken and executed?

1. Features of Politics in Mongolia

There are some distinctive features of Mongolian politics. These together distinguish the politics of socialist societies with the politics of
There are four such distinctive features of Mongolian politics. The first feature of Mongolian politics is the basis on which the politics is conducted, the class division of society. In every society, the political behaviour of people and the culture of politics depend upon the social and economic bases. In Mongolia also this is true. Mongolia is a socialist society since the ownership of the means of production is with the state as opposed to the private individuals. Moreover, the post-revolutionary Mongolia declared itself to follow the Marxist-Leninist framework of development. In the political field, therefore, it liquidated the feudal state apparatus, consolidated the government of working class and put the arats on the road to socialism. In the first phase after Revolution a monarchy was experimented as a means of stabilizing a people's government in due course. It was during the period of 1940-65 that a full experiment of socialism was conducted in which two constitutions were proclaimed indicating the determination of people and a rapid move towards the goal of achieving a socialist society. As a socialist society the entire economy and society of Mongolia is subject to

1. Phrase used by Karl Popper signifying a society having pluralistic structure of groups, interests and ideas.

plan. The economy of Mongolia is directly and comprehensively planned and therefore is called a command economy. The state directs the economy, the goal being the reconstruction of Mongolian society into a socialist society requiring the skill of social engineering and direction of economic development.

The distinction between the state and the society in Mongolia has been narrowed since the distinction was abolished and the state became the representative of a homogenous class of arats. The ethnic divisions lost their identity for paving a new base for politics. The political and social order of medieval Mongolia underwent major transformation, ultimately producing egalitarianism in society and nationalism in politics. The rights and interests of the people got protected through the constitution, but more than that, through raising their well being by a steady augmentation of social wealth. The political base of Mongolian people is consolidated since they are more free now in a socialist society than previously in a feudal society. This is because the state has protected them from economic exploitation by the feudal and landlord classes and made them the owners of the means of production. The Mongolian
socialist state not only gave the people political liberties but also provided them the material conditions for the exercise of these liberties. Thus, the social base of politics of Mongolia has gone under radical departure.

The second significant feature of Mongolian politics is the supremacy of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) in the political affairs of society. The MPRP exercises a complete monopoly of political initiative and power. Before 1924, it was the Mongolian People's Party, now it is the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. Between 1921 and 1924, the attitude was hardened. In the Third Congress, held in 1924, it was categorically told "We will not permit the existence of any other party, either of the right or of the left." 3

There are two qualifying characteristics of political monopoly of a single party, the MPRP, in Mongolia. First, there is official discouragement of political competitiveness in Mongolia. Even at the grass root level such as the nomination of candidates for Little Hural, political competition is not

encouraged. In a society, where there is no competition between workshops, factories, negdels and other agencies, a competitive political system cannot be very natural. Since the group life is not competitive, politics of competitive interests - can not be a logical corollary. Mongolian society, by its socialist organisation, is a devise for building a cohesive system. "Socialist society functions on the basis of mobilizing the individual through the agency of the collective, be it the farm or factory brigade, the classroom, the sector of a research institute or the inhabitants of a group of adjoining apartments." 4 And second, the socialist society advocates a particular ideology, the Marxist-Leninist, and therefore there is no use having many political organisations for the same purpose. There is a historical need of consolidating ideology "because without revolutionary theory there cannot be a revolutionary movement" and that "the role of the vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by the party, a party that is guided by the most advanced theory". 5 "A party can successfully fulfil the role of a conscious vanguard of the working class in the struggle for overthrowing the power of


landlords and capitalists, and the role of political leader, organiser and educator of the masses for building and improving socialism, only if it is guided by Marxism-Leninism, the only really scientific theory of social development."  

The political system having single party with a monopoly of power and with a plan of indoctrination is called, by the Western social scientists, a totalitarian politics. Thus, the Mongolian political system should be considered as totalitarian. But "the term in itself is not quite satisfactory." Moreover, the social scientists use this term to signify that there is politics without political right and duty to the people. But simply because there is no open competition for power between rival classes, parties and interest groups in Mongolia, it would be naive to conclude that there is no politics. There are conflicts, differences and internal competition even in a socialist system as that of Mongolia. The politics has different connotation in Mongolia.

The third distinguishing feature of Mongolian politics, which is the foremost among these, is that

Mongolian politics is characterised by "democratic centralism". The political system of Mongolia is essentially democratic since the power belongs to the people in theory. A capitalist is apparently democratic. But in essence it represents the domination of a particular class, the bourgeois. Citizens are declared to be equal before law but there can not be in reality equality between exploiters and exploited, between capitalists and workers. "The state apparatus of bourgeois democracy defends the interest of property owners using thousands of tricks in order to prevent the workers from participating in administration, hindering their access to the highest representative organ of the bourgeois state - the parliament."  

Mongolian politics differs fundamentally from bourgeois politics of capitalist societies. In socialist democracy the dictatorship of the proletariat forms the basic political content during transition from capitalism to socialism. In socialist society, the state ceases to be a class state since the state becomes the expression of the will and interest of the entire people. The politics, therefore, have

different content and spirit in a socialist society. The masses take part in politics but it has to be different since the state is conceived as a transitory organ and not a permanent institution. The state, understanding it conceptually, have to wither away once full socialism is established. The politics, therefore, in a communist framework, involve masses but they take part through a system of representative organs of power. Under Mongolian democracy, the people in general are not encouraged to get involved in politics rather the MPRP bring the working arats into the administration of the state and create favourable conditions for their economic and political independence. There is democracy in Mongolia but of different magnitude, called 'democratic centralism'.

The principle of "democratic centralism" embodies "the harmonisation of effective central control and local initiative."9 "This principle borrowed from the Communist Party, means that while the structure of state is federal in the Western sense it is in practice a unitary system since higher executive bodies may direct, supervise and modify the work of the lower bodies."10 The amalgam of democratic and

centralistic principles means; the election of all leading party organs from top to bottom; periodic accounting by party organs to their own party organisations and to high party organs; strict party disciplines and the subordination of the minority views to the majority; and the unconditionally binding force on lower organs of the decisions of higher organs. The members have unrestricted right to engage in free discussions of the policy of party but once the policy is "committed to any line of action, the party could not tolerate dissent or debate. Theory and practice, decision and execution are so closely linked that insistance on unanimity and loyalty virtually prohibits all discussion." 11

In reality, democratic centralism is a devise to establish the preponderance of executive over legislative agencies, of central over territorial and local chambers. This type of democratic centralism finds its definition given by Lenin; "The principle of democratic centralism and of autonomy of the local units means full and reciprocal freedom of criticism so long as unity in a specific action is not destroyed thereby, and the inadmissibility of any criticism whatever which undermines or makes

difficult unity on any action decided upon by the party."  

The fourth feature of Mongolian politics is that it is a replica of the politics of the Soviet Union. The entire political structure, and the course of economic development, have been shaped not only in the image of the Soviet Union but also through the active participation of it. Until 1921 Mongolia's spiritual roots were in Tibet, after it the nation got reoriented through Russia. "Whatever the private feelings of the individual Mongol may be, the attitude towards the USSR officially fostered continues to be that of pupil to teacher, or, at the most, a brotherly relationship in which the USSR the elder brother and Mongolia the younger brother."  

There are others who feel that Mongolia is a "Soviet Satellite" and thus "the Mongolian Peoples' Republic, although not strictly the first satellite, is the oldest surviving one, and its history enables us to evaluate satellite status over a period of more than

four decades." The political Mongolian knows that, without the Soviet Union, not only the contemporary existence but what is more concrete, all the advances of Mongolia, would have been impossible, unthinkable. Theoratically, if he is a Marxist, he believes that, since Mongolia had no working class, Mongolia could not have emerged from feudalism without leaning on the Soviet working class. He must believe also that this whole extraordinary experiment on a maintained livestock husbandry base, namely, the rise in the standard of living simultaneously with modernisation of life and culture, the target of Socialism simultaneously with small scale industrialisation would be impossible without the aid of the Soviet skill, Soviet know-how, Soviet supply of machinery goods. Believing this, the association with the Soviet Union is for him axiomatic." The politics in Mongolia is imported, spiritually and structurally, from the Soviet Union.

The modern Mongolia has learnt politics and administration from the Soviet Union. The party


organisation of MPRP is structured on lines with the Soviet party. The functioning of MPRP, democratic participation, intra-party discussions, the purges in the past and external relations is similar to that of the Soviet Union. The correspondence of political structure between Mongolia and the Soviet Union confirms the idea of Lenin that "the idea of Soviet organisation is a simple one, and is applicable, not only to proletarian, but also to peasant feudal and semi-feudal relations."\(^\text{16}\) The administrative structure of Mongolia is also shaped on the Soviet pattern. The executive and administrative system of the state of Mongolia composing the Council of Ministers, ministries, committees and other departments, executive committees of local Hurals, all are elective and accountable, similar to that of the Soviet Union, to the representative bodies (Hurals) and the electors. The machinery of the state of Mongolia is similar, in structure and functioning, to that of the Soviet Union. Thus, the whole life-blood of Mongolian politics is shaped to correspond the system of the Soviet Union.

\(^\text{16. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 243.}\)
2. **Political Party**

The political organisation which can become a source of authority and which can be institutionalised in the political process of a nation, is the political party. A political party mobilises people in politics and thereby integrates the nation. It is an organ to mould public opinion and prepare the people for the task of new nation building. Since political parties have to operate in the concerned society, they can not be unconcerned and unconnected with the historical and social background of a nation. This refers not only to political parties but also the entire political system and process.

The party system takes various forms: one party system, two party system, and multiparty system. In modernising states one party system have demonstrated to be more stable than the multiparty system. The stability of one party system derives from the fact that it generally originates from revolutionary struggle and once revolution is over it removes all obstacles in its way and remains single party to govern. Mongolia has one party system, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.
In a communist political set up, the political party governs. It performs the role of a vanguard party. The communist party demolishes the traditional sources of power, wealth and status and replaces the old system by a new political structure. It maintains contact with the masses through a system of transmission belts: Unions, Cooperatives, youth groups etc. The state apparatus becomes subordinate to the party.

(a) Growth of MPRP:- Mongolia's road to modernisation has been paved largely by the Mongolian People's Party" (MPR) founded in 1920 which transformed itself to the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) in 1924. The political party of Mongolia has demonstrated to be an instrument of modernisation. This is because in the process of political modernisation, no single role has been of greater importance than that of party politician and also because the particular pattern of modernisation adopted by Mongolia has been systematically executed by the party. After Revolution this has been of particular importance for several reasons. First, the Mongols have been so "few and weak, so lacking in knowledge of how to organise a nation and administer a state", that it was the party which organised a political structure and
administrative network in Mongolia. In real sense of the term the MPRP created public opinion in favour of a new political system and worked as intervening agency between the public and the government. Second, Mongolia being a traditional and pastoral nomadic society there was a vacuum of modern political system. The MPRP created its own means of generating political power. The future shape of society did not emerge from the people at large, the political party in Mongolia identified itself as sole active agent since both the society and the government became dependent on party organisation. It should be noted in this context that Lenin advised the rebels that out of the changing society of Mongolia, securities of new kind should be made to enter into the party ranks.

The political party system in Mongolia is such that there can be only one political party; i.e. the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP). The membership is not open. There are rules laid down in the Party Constitution: "Any one of the working people, acknowledging the party Programme and Rules, actively participating in their implementation, working in a party organisation, and implementing all

party resolutions, may be a member of the MPRP". The guiding principle of the MPRP's organisation structure is that of democratic centralism, that is, the elected members from among the members of the party. The membership of the MPRP grew rapidly. At "the time of the Twelfth (Party) Congress in 1954 there were 31,700 members in the Party's ranks". At the time of the Party's Fourteenth Congress in 1961, there were 43,900 members. The membership was only 3,000 in 1923. However, in terms of proportion of the total population of Mongolia it was only about 5 per cent either as members of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party or as candidates for membership. In 1966, at the time of the Fifteenth Congress of the party, "about 50 percent were white collar workers; a little more than 20 percent were agricultural workers; and slightly less than 30 percent were industrial and other workers. Of all party members and candidates, 20 percent were women." There has been continuous rise of workers in the membership of the MPRP. The table below gives the idea of changing proportions of workers in the party during the period of our study.


Table: 4.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Herdsmen</th>
<th>Intellectuals</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


From the table it is apparent that the hold over party by the arats as individual herdsmen has been replaced by the workers whereas the size of the intellectuals has gone on increasing.

(b) Central Organ of the MPRP:— The supreme body of the MPRP is the Congress. This is convened once every five years. The Congress elects two powerful bodies; the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission. The Party Central Committee holds plenums in between the Congresses. The decisions taken by the Congress are binding on all party organisations and every party member. All Party
activities are based on the decisions of the Congress, which primarily concern the party line and which is the fountain of all party activities.

The Central Committee elects the Political Bureau and the Secretariat from its own members. These two guide political and organisational work between the meetings of the plenum and look after the routine affairs of the party, principally checking the performance of party organs and selection of personnel. A plenum of the Central Committee is convened not less than twice a year. The Plenum elects the General Secretary of the Party Central Committee. The Party Central Committee organizes the committee of Party Control. The Party Control Committee is an independent organisation assigned with the task of supervising country's control work. The organisational structure of the MPRP can be seen in the Chart number 4.2.

In 1955 a research centre for the Party was founded as the Institute of the History of the MPRP. It conducts research on the history of the MPRP and on theoretical issues of party construction as well as on problems of international, mainly Asian, communist and working-class movement. The Institute publishes
Organisational Structure of the MPRP

collective and individual scientific papers, monographs, collections of party documents, and selected works and speeches by party and state leaders. It is in constant touch with research institutions of the communist and workers' parties of socialist and other countries and together publishes scientific papers, exchanges research fellows, and arranges seminars and conferences under cultural relations.

(c) Party Congress:—During the period under our study, the party Congresses made valuable contribution in determining the shape of Mongolian nation. The nation building process during this period was speedily implemented and smooth political surface was created for rapid march towards socialism. The Tenth Congress was convened in Ulan Bator from March 20 to April 5, 1940. "At the party Congress there were discussed such important questions as the Political Report of the Party Central Committee, the goals of developing the livestock economy and the new Party Programme and regulation." 21 Yu Tseodenba presented a report and was elected as General Secretary of the Central Committee. "The Congress stated that the MPR can now be reliably said to be firmly positioned on

the non-capitalist development path." The Eleventh Congress was convened in 8-23 December 1947 and discussed the guidelines for the First Five Year Plan. The Twelfth Congress was convened in November 19-24, 1954. It approved the guidelines for the Second Plan. The MPRP Central Committee Plenum held in April in 1956, "was of great significance in party history" since it was for the first time that "the personality cult of Kh. Choibalsan" was "openly criticised." The Thirteenth Congress was held in 7-22 March 1958. It approved the Third Plan. It noted that "the MPRP, which was leading and guiding the great task of socialist construction, had become a genuine Marxist Party." The Fourteenth Congress was convened in 3-7 July of 1961. It approved the guidelines of the Third Plan. It emphasised the spread of communist education to the masses so that building of socialism becomes easy in coming years. The Fifteenth Congress met in 7-11 July 1966. In it 747 delegates representing 48,570 members of the Party and delegates of 39 foreign socialist parties participated. It issued "historically important decisions."


The Party Rules are of major importance, being a document that determines the organisational principles of the party's structure, the norms of inner Party life, and the routine methods to be used by party organisations. Similarly, the party programme is also very important which is a document providing a clear, precise and scientifically grounded outline of what the party struggles for. The Party programme speaks of its objectives and tasks with regard to a whole historical era, and quite naturally remains unchanged for a lengthy period of time, i.e. until those objectives and tasks have been mainly fulfilled. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party does not determine its objectives arbitrarily. It simply formulates and substantiates the necessary tasks before the nation which are in the best interests of the popular masses. The Party takes on itself that the programmes are implemented whatever the situation.

The Party Programme and Rules are intrinsically interconnected. The Programme scientifically grounds the MPRP's principal tasks and objectives, its strategy and tactics at a given stage of historical development, and serves as a foundation for uniting the Party ideologically. The Rules are the basis of the MPRP's organisational unity. "Without ideological unity there
is no organisational unity, and, conversely, ideological unity is impossible without organisational unity. So without a party programme, there can be no party Rules. 26 For all members and candidate members of the MPRP the Programme is the general line, and the Rules are their moral code. Every member and candidate member not only recognises the Programme and the Rules, but also belongs to and works in one of the Party primary organisations, carries out all its decisions and in due time pays his membership dues.

(d) Local Party Organisation:— Any mag, town and district party organisations, on the basis of territorial and production divisions, set up primary party organizations, according to the place of work of party members. The highest organs of any mag and town party organizations and equivalent party bodies are the party conferences, which are convened once every two or three years. The highest organ of the primary party organization (Cell) is the general assembly of communists convened once a month. Primary party organisations are closest to the masses and essentially the conductors of party decisions at factories, plants, collective and state farms, institutions, and educational establishments.

The highest leading body is a primary party organisation (cell). In the general meeting of its members, it elects a bureau or a committee, which is the executive body guiding the organizations and elects delegates to a district party conference. A Party Conference, the highest body of a district Party organisation, elects the district party committee. It implements decisions of general party meetings and reports on this to the membership. It also gives party assignments, selects and directs the work of agitators and propagandists, and makes violators of party discipline answerable. The bureau regularly informs the Party organisation about its work, and submits its basic decisions for approval by the general meeting. The bureau works collectively, meets regularly and gives specific assignments to all its members.

Regional or territorial party committees are elected at regional or territorial conferences. The highest body of a territory is the congress which elects the Central Committee of the territory. Locally, the MPRPs policy is executed by regional and territorial basis, whose leading bodies are the regional and territorial committees. The Central Committee of the MPRP, directs the activities of district and town party organisations and their committees are guided in their
activities by the MPRP Programme and Rules, conduct within the respective territories to which their activities spread, all work for implementing party policies, and see to it that the Central Committee of the MPRP directives are fulfilled.

Local Party organisations bear responsibility for virtually every enterprise, collective farm (negdel), and institution located in their respective areas. The party holds its organisations responsible for all local developments. The MPRP obliges Party leaders to personally conduct work among the masses of people, since the three major duties of leadership are to explain the Party's policy, organise the people, and develop their consciousness. A major duty of local party bodies, as defined by the MPRP Rules, is the organisation of ideological work, propagation of Marxism-Leninism, promotion of the socialist awareness of the working people, guidance of the local press, radio and television, and control over the activities of scientific cultural and educational institutions. All local leading Party bodies are, on the one hand, accountable to organisations that have elected them and on the other, to higher party bodies. For instance district, city or areas Party committees are accountable to corresponding district city or area Party
conference, and at the same time answerable to the respective regional party committee.

(e) **Foreign Relations:** The Party is the most crucial agency to maintain the tempo of foreign relations. In the case of Mongolia, it was the MPRP which constantly recognised the need for establishing close ties with the world revolutionary movement of the communist party and the working class of the Soviet Union in particular. The MPRP always expressed its solidarity with the CPSU which created pre-condition for victory of Mongolians in the national liberation struggle and the country's continued development on the path of social progress. The Congresses of MPRP are witness to have passed resolutions emphasising to maintain friendly relations with Soviet Russia for promoting the great cause in the present and the future because her policy is aimed at rendering genuine assistance to the working masses.

On the basis of Lenin's teachings the MPRP proclaimed the party's general line for the country's development along non-capitalist lines, the only path towards overcoming the country's centuries old backwardness as early as possible. "The Mongols", Lenin said, "had a pastoral nomadic society; it would
not be appropriate to try to deal with its problems through a party of proletarian type. He urged them to develop towards socialism along a line by-passing the capitalist stage of economic and social history."27

The true administrator of Mongolia is the MPRP. Though executive and judiciary powers are vested in the Council of Ministers and the Supreme Court, real power is exercised by the Party. The administrative apparatus are directed and supervised by the Party. The MPRP takes measures to improve the work of all branches of government and undertakes to improve executive controls through Party Control Committee. The Party is the most powerful. The MPRP leads the state organisations as well as mass organisation. The Party and state organisations in Mongolia are expected to do the same job of carrying out of policy and of checking on the fulfilment of decisions. "Behind all official proclamations, decrees, and functions stands the all powerful Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the country's one and only political party. All high officials of the state belong to the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. The Party's word is law, and the party is the ruler of the country."28

27. Lattimore, op. cit., p. 97.

Constitutions are almost inevitably the product of revolutionary changes in society. They embody a new consensus towards a new political system. Their main purpose is to legitimise the new political order which have come into being through revolutionary changes. Thus, the constitutions embody the ethos of new political systems. They frame rules of behaviour for the political systems of given societies. "These rules may spell out the kinds of decisions the government may make that are binding for the citizens; the forms these decisions should take; the procedures by which they are to be formulated; the agencies and the institutions with authority to make such decisions; and, perhaps, the sanctions that may be applied to enforce them." 29 The constitution represents a fundamental change in the political system and an "attempt to make the newly attained order permanent by codifying it into ground rules of political behaviour." 30 The constitution of a socialist state, however, has a distinct perspective. In the words of Lenin: "The essence of the Constitution lies in the fact that the basic laws of the state in general and the laws dealing with the rights to vote in

30. Ibid, p. 98.
elections to representative institutions, their powers etc. express the real relationship of forces in the class struggle."  

Mongolia, so far, has had four constitutions, three during the socialist phase of nation building and one, very recently in 1992, during Oörchlon Baigüülalt. The changes in constitution, thus, represent the formal record and legal confirmation of socialist conquests won in the separate stages of nation building of Mongolia. They portrait gradual consolidation of the nation. The character of the first three constitutions of Mongolia is essentially a reflection of a socialist society.

The first constitution of 1924 records the victory of the Mongolian people over the feudal state. It represented the elimination of the regime of alien colonisers and despotic feudal lords and the establishment of the people's power in the country. Its aim was of "fundamentally liquidating the remnants of the old despotism and transforming political rule to a genuinely arat system". The electoral rights to the feudals were abrogated

whereas equality of the masses in general was proclaimed. The Outer Mongolia proclaimed the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) on 26th November 1924.

The second Constitution of Mongolia was approved on June 30, 1940. It defined the MPR as "an independent state of the working people (arat, herdsmen, workers and intelligentsia) who have destroyed the imperialist and feudal yoke, which ensures the non-capitalist path of the country's development for the transition in future to socialism". (Article 1). The Hurals were retained as the highest political organ (Article 2) and the legal rights to personal property was ensured (Article 6).

A. Constitutional Structure

The third constitution was adopted in 1960, the Preamble of which claims to have achieved a "radical revolutionary" change in the life of Mongolia. It announced to pursue the policy of "proletarian internationalism" and to make the MPRP as "the guiding and directing force of society and the state" of Mongolia. The distinction between the
second and the third is that whereas the second one sets the prime task before the Mongolian people as a gradual transition to socialism, the third one declares the main and final aim of the nation to be the completion of socialist construction in the near future. The constitution of 1960 puts in a nutshell those tremendous changes that have taken place in political, economic and cultural life of the people since 1940 and which have prepared solid social and economic bases for fulfilling greater tasks. A significant improvement was brought about in the material and cultural spheres of the Mongolian national life during the intervening period of these two constitutions. On July 6, 1960 the first session of the Great National Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic of the fourth convocation adopted a new constitution which was the third Fundamental Law received by the nation since the People's Revolution in 1921.

The Constitution of 1960 comprises of 10 chapters and 94 articles. The first chapter of the constitution consists of 7 Articles and deals with the

32. The Constitution of Mongolia, 1960, have been taken from "How Mongolia is Governed" prepared by Research Board (Delhi, M.A.).
nature and the principles of the state organisation. The opening Article of the constitution defines the Mongolian People's Republic as a people's democratic socialist state of workers and co-operative arats (herdsmen and farmers). All powers in the Republic are vested in the working people through Hurals, which would be the elected bodies (Article 3-4) and responsible to the electorates (Article 6). It also declares 'Democratic centralism' as the fundamental principle of the functioning of the state (Article 5).

Chapter Two deals with "The Fundamental Economic Principles and Functions of the State" in 10 Articles. It claims that the economic foundation of the Mongolian People's Republic is the socialist system of economy and the public ownership in the means of production. The main forms of ownership in the means of production in the Mongolian People's Republic are: State ownership, i.e. the property of the whole people; and co-operative ownership, i.e. collective ownership by the working masses in the agricultural and other co-operative ventures. (Articles 8 & 9).

The Mongolian People's Republic admits and protects the right of citizens to possess property
earned by their labour - income savings, houses, private subsidiary farms and other private means of life as well as the right to inherit personal property (Article 13). The constitution assigns an important part to labour and defines it as the basis and precondition for ensuring the socialist reproduction as an enlarged scale and as the source of material and spiritual wealth which is meant to meet the ever-increasing requirements of the population. It adheres to the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work." (Article 17). It is claimed that in the communist states the existing "level of economic development and social consciousness does not permit to by pass this principle" and, therefore, "the introduction of equal wages for everyone is not possible." 33

The state structure of the MPR is dealt with in four chapters from chapter three through chapter six containing 58 Articles. This is the longest provision in the Constitution. On the level of the Republic the Great National Hural is the source of all authority, (Chapter Three). It is sovereign. It has executive

33. The inability of a communist state for economic equality was explained by I.I. Brezhnev while speaking on the Draft Constitution of the USSR of 1977. This proposition is applicable to the situation in Mongolia also.
power to enact laws. It is the ultimate source of all administrative authority because it appoints the two principal administrative agencies - the Presidium of the Great National Hural and the government proper, which is the Council of Ministers. Both of these bodies are accountable and responsible to the Great National Hural. The Great National Hural is elected by the people for a three-year term of office on the principle of one deputy for every 4,000 electorates. It meets once a year. The Great National Hural elects its chairman and four of his deputies to preside over the sessions.

The Council of Ministers is the executive organ of the highest state authority. Local organs of the state authority, i.e. the Hurols of 18 provinces and their regions as well as Hurals of towns, form independent administrative units, and their deputies are elected for a term of two years by the population of the corresponding administrative divisions of aymags to towns, somons and horons. (Chapter Five). The jurisdiction of the courts and the power and function of Procurator are defined in Chapter Six containing 13 Articles from 63 through 75.
Part III of the Constitution containing Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight deals with the Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens. There are 14 Articles, 13 dealing with the rights and mechanism to ensure them and one with duties. Through these Articles, Mongolians are made equal as citizens. They are guaranteed "the right to work and to the payment" (Article 77), "the right to leisure" (Article 78), the right of social insurance (Article 79), "the right to education" (Article 80), the right of participation "in the administration" (Article 81), the right of forming association (Article 82), the right to complain (Article 85). Freedom of speech, press, meeting and procession are guaranteed through Article 87 and equal right to women as that of men (Article 84). "Religion is separated from the state and from the school" (Article 86). The distinguishing feature of Mongolian Constitution is the provision of Fundamental Duties of Citizens in Article 89. It is the duty of every citizen "to the building of socialism" and to "give priority to social and state interests". These provisions are different than the provisions in the western countries but identical to Communist countries. In Western countries citizenship "means contesting with fellow citizens for advantages" whereas in Communist
countries "the stress is on duty toward the government and toward the community of the fellow citizens." The constitution of Mongolia while guaranteeing the rights to citizens rejects the individualistic philosophy.

B. People's Democratic Organs

(a) National Hural: The Mongolian People's Republic is a socialist state of workers, cooperative peasantry and working intellectuals. All power in the state belongs to the people in the form of Hurals (organs of the supreme and local power of the working people) of People's Deputies. The elected representative of the people work in the Hurals of People's Deputies of all ranks including the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic which is the supreme organ of state power.

The Hurals of People's Deputies constantly report to the voters about their work, renew their membership, and regularly exercise control over the work of the deputies. The voters have complete right to recall a deputy before his term of office has

expired if he has not justified the trust of the working people. One of the principles of the socialist democratic system is the strict observance of the principles of socialist democracy by both the electors and the elected.

The Great National Hural is the highest organ of state. Its term of office is three years; it meets regularly once every year. It may be convened whenever its Presidium decides or one-third of the deputies so purpose. The Great National Hural has the exclusive power of amending the constitution (a two-third majority vote is required to adopt amendments), adopting laws, formulating the basic principles that are to govern domestic and foreign policy, approving the state budget and the report on its implementation, approving the plan for the national economy, and setting up the council of Ministers which is the actual governing body of the Republic. When the Great National Hural is not in session, the Presidium of the Great National Hural is the highest organ of state power. It is elected by the Great National Hural and consists of a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, a Secretary and four other members. It reports on its work to the Great National Hural. The presidium exercises the following functions and powers: interprets the law and issues decrees;
ratifies the treaties concluded with foreign state; annuls decisions of the government what contravene the law; and appoints or removes members of the council of Ministers as proposed by the Chairman of the Council (when the Hural is not in session), such appointments or removal being subject to approval by the next session of the Great National Hural.

There is a distinctive feature of the composition of Great National Hural. Half of the nominees hail from people engaged in material production and the proportion of factory workers has

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Member of APA/ACA</th>
<th>Intelligentsia</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:-(1) The figures of columns 2 and 3 have been borrowed from Shrendyb's "By-passing Capitalism" page 60, column 4 has been derived as a residual.

(2) ACA (Agricultural Associations) is a new name given to APA (Arats Producers Associations) after the New Model Rule of March 1955.
been increasing over time.

(b) The Local Hural:— The Local Hurals of People's Deputies are bodies of state power, divided within their territories into two levels, the higher being aymag and town Hurals, and the lower represented by their subordinates, sum, horon, and town district Hurals. These local Hurals "are formed in the same way as the Great People's Hural, but for a term of three years." HPDs discharge their functions through their sessions, convened at least twice a year for aymag and town, and at least three times a year for sum, horon and district. "In confirmity with the Constitution, the HPDs direct economic and socio-cultural life on their respective territories, approve the local economic and cultural development plans and budgets, and organise their implementation; direct the activities of sub-ordinate enterprises, agencies and organisations; and ensure the observance of socialist legality, protection of the rights of the citizens and the interests of state enterprises, organisations, agricultural and other cooperative bodies." In the

35. The MPR Academy of Sciences, Information Mongolia, op. cit., p. 148.
election of 1952 for local bodies a "total of 49,461 Deputies were elected to the local Hurals." 37

C. Aspects of the Constitution

The Constitution of the MPR resembles to the constitution of the Soviet Union. It, on the other hand, differs from the constitutions of Western democracies in two ways. First, the Mongolian constitution contains not only rights, but also duties of the Mongolian citizens. The Constitution makes it the citizens' duty to maintain labour discipline, perform public duties with absolute honesty, and conduct socialist behaviour. It makes two crimes repugnant; one, against public property, which is considered as "enemies of the people"; and two, against the state, which is treason. And second, the constitution the MPR not only lists rights but also as to how these rights are implemented and guaranteed. It discards bourgeois democracy which guarantees civil and political rights but in practice are exercisable only by the propertied class. In Mongolia, on the contrary, these rights are exercised by the people in general through full employment, rising standards of

37. Shirendyb, History ..., op. cit., p. 513.
living and escape from exploitation, in short, through higher level of material and cultural standards. In the MPR, civil rights are guaranteed by putting all facilities necessary for their exercise in the hands of the party and other several subsidiary organisations. The constitution having the system of 'democratic centralism' guarantees rights only to those who have faith in Leninism and the socialist character of the state.

The course of international events and the movement of Mongolian society have necessitated a new order of society. The new dispensation demands a new constitution to enforce a democratic frame of political structure. It is now considered that the Constitution which is in operation since 1960 "does not correspond with the objective process of democratic changes underway in the political, economic, social and intellectual spheres of our society, but has become a stumbling block." 38 A new Constitution has therefore been promulgated for Mongolia in 1992.

38. P. Ochirbat, the President of MPR in an interview to the Mongolian Messenger, MONTSAME (Ulan Bator), Mongolia, November 25, 1991.
4. **The State Machinery**

The contemporary Mongolian state being founded on the Marxist frame of nation building, the three Marxist propositions of the theory of the state must first be grasped before the structure and character of the government are examined.

First, the state is purely "an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another." 39

Second, the state is an agency of the mediation of class conflicts and "arose from the need to keep class antagonisms in check." 40

And third, the state is a transitory phenomenon which will dissolve and disappear "once communism is achieved." 41 The state of a socialist society, thus, transfers functions of administration to different social organisations and transforms the state in a social and political organ.

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41. Karl Marx & F. Engels, Selected works in one volume (Moscow, 1977), p. 335.
A. Government of Mongolia

The government of Mongolia is run from the Capital (Ulan Bator) "which has long held special status; from 1937, it had its own re-presentative on the council of Ministers." The government of Mongolia is a machinery of the state engaged in the management of society. It gets formulated on the basis of the Constitution of Mongolia and works within the broad policy directives emanating from the MPRP. The function of the government of Mongolia is to regulate public life, to formulate public policy concerning the behaviour of individuals and groups, to manage agencies set-up to carry out public policies, to enforce the observance of rules by the citizens, and to adjudicate conflicts that may arise in the process of governance. The government of Mongolia constitutes two elements which make it distinct from the societies having non-communist political system. First, the scope of government activity in Mongolia is very wide compared to other political systems. Government being the authority to regulate public life, and since virtually all life being public and all activities

42. Dügersüren, Ulaan Baatar hot 1921-40 ("Ulan Bator City") (Ulan Bator, 1963), p. 29.
being subject to public policy, the scope of the government has become tremendous. It is, perhaps, to bridge the gap between the state and the society and to make a complete merger of political into social life that the scope of the government has been enlarged. And second, the functions of the state machinery and the political party - the MPRP - are overlapping. This is because the Party determines basic policies, defines goals of society, and takes the responsibility of carrying them through, that the Party is in the centre of the governance of the nation. The Party organises and reorganises the government and the administration of Mongolia. All governmental authority is derived from the Party. For these reasons there is hardly much separation of functions between the state machinery and the party organisation.

The government is composed of the executive authority and the judicial authority. The executive authority is discharged by the Council of Ministers at the central level, the capital being Ulan Bator. Executive organs are set up locally at the levels of aymag (provincial), Somon (county), and bag (township) to take care of administrative matters. The Mongolian People's Republic is administratively
divided into 18 aymag (provinces). Each aymag is divided into 21 to 26 Somons (counties) and at least one khoron. Each Somon is subdivided up to 15 bags (township). Judicial authority is exercised by the courts, the highest judicial organ is the Supreme Court. The mass organisations, though not part of executive machinery, discharge many functions of organising people and fulfilling the programmes of the government.

(a) Central Administration: The highest executive body of the state administration in the Mongolian People's Republic is the Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers of the MPR is responsible and accountable for its activities to the Great National Hural, or, in the intervals between sessions of the latter, to the Presidium of the Great National Hural. The Council of Ministers of the MPR issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of operative laws and verifies their execution.

The decision and orders of the Council of Ministers are binding throughout the territory of the MPR. Article 41 of the Constitution of 1960 contains the functions of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic as follows:
"a) co-ordinates and directs the work of the Ministeries of the MPR and other bodies under its jurisdiction in their guidance of state, economic and cultural organisation;

b) guides the planning of the economy, adopts measures for the implementation of the state economic plan and of the state and local budgets, exercises control over the implementation of finance and credit policy;

c) exercises general direction in the sphere of relations with foreign states, exercises a monopoly in foreign trade;

d) exercises general guidance in matter concerning the defence of the country and the organisation of the armed forces and determines the contingent of citizens to be conscripted for military service;

e) adopts measures to protect the interests of the state and to protect and consolidate socialist property as the economic basis of the socialist state;

f) adopts measures to ensure public order and protect the personal and property rights of citizens;
g) directs and guides the work of the aymag executive boards of the Hurals of People's Deputies;

h) in case of necessity amends or annuls the orders and instructions of the Ministeries and of the bodies under the jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers, and other administrative bodies;

i) when necessary sets up departments and institutions under the Council of Ministers to deal with economic and cultural development;

j) approves designs and grants permits for the manufacture of state seals for the organs and institutions of state power."

The Council of Ministers of the MPR is set up by the Great National Hural and consists of the Chairman of Ministers, the Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the Ministers of the MPR. The Ministers and Heads of Departments of the MPR guide the relevant branches of state administration and are fully responsible for their condition and their activities to the Council of Ministers. They issue orders and instructions, within the limits of their competency and verify their execution. The work
of the Ministers and departments are organised on the principle of personal managerial responsibility and the collective discussion of questions, and is based on a rising level of individual responsibility on the part of every worker.

(b) **Local Organs of State Power:** The Local governments of Mongolia require serious consideration and particular attention because of two reasons: first that it is through the organ of local government that the masses have contact with the central government; and second, that it is the organs of local government that the most effective participation of people at large in the actual work of government takes place.

The organs of state power are the aymags, towns and Somons Hurals of People's Deputies elected by the population of the respective territorial divisions for a term of two years. The number of members of local Hurals of People's Deputies (HPD) per administrative unit is laid down by the presidium of the Great National Hural. Regular sessions of aymags and town Hural of people's Deputies are convened by their executive boards at least twice a year. Sessions of Somon and horon Hural of People's Deputies are convened by their respective executive boards at least three times a year.
The executive board of a local Hural informs the population in good time of the date and agenda of a regular session of the Hural and ensures the participation of the People's representatives in the work of the session of the Hural. A Chairman and a Secretary are elected for each session to conduct meetings of the aymag, town, somon and horn Hurals of People's Deputies.

Aymag and town Hurals of People's Deputies elect, as their administrative organs, executive boards of 7 to 11 members consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, an Executive Secretary and Members. The administrative bodies of the Somon, Horon and town Hurals of People's Deputies are the executive boards of 5 to 9 deputies which they elect and which consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, a secretary and members. The chairman of the executive board guides the work of the board, convenes its sittings and presides at them. Article 55 of the Constitution of 1960 states the duties of aymag, town, somon and horn Hurals of people's Deputies as follows:

"a) guide economic, cultural and political development within their own territorial subdivisions;"
b) guide and control the work of economic and cooperative organisations;

c) approve the economic plan and the local budget and adopt measures for their implementation;

d) guide activities of the administrative bodies under their jurisdictions;

e) ensure adherence to the rules of the socialist way of life, the protection of the rights and interests of state enterprises and institutions, agricultural associations and other co-operative organisations and also the protection of the rights of citizens;

f) ensure the exact observance of the laws and also the strict implementation of the decisions of higher organs;

g) ensure the extensive participation of the working people in all fields of state, economic and cultural development."

The Local Hurals of people's Deputies adopt decisions within the limits of the powers vested in
them by the law. The higher Hurals of People's Deputies have the right to amend or annul decision of lower Hurals of People's Deputies as well as the decisions and orders of their executive boards. It also has the right to amend or annul the decision and orders of lower executive boards and to suspend decisions of lower Hurals of People's Deputies.

The power of local administration was raised to make it close to the people. In July 8, 1932 resolution issued by the Presidium of the MPR Little Hural and Council of Ministers stated that it was necessary to "return fully to the work of making the Local Administrations prestigious with the masses and strengthening them." The Local Hurals of People's Deputies set up a standing committee for various branches of their activities and ensure their participation of an extensive group of working people in their activities. For the guidance of the different branches of working, aymag and town executive boards set up divisions and departments. In their work they are under the jurisdiction of the

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executive board of the aimag or town Hural of People's Deputies as well as relevant Ministry or Department of the MPR. The executive board of a Local Hural of People's Deputies is directly accountable to the Hural of People's Deputies that elected it and to the executive body of a higher Hural of People's Deputies. But the structure, authority and responsibility, electoral system, and the substance of the MPR's local government, as studied by an American scholar, are not commensurate to what the authorities of Mongolia claim to be. 44

B. Law and Justice

The system of Mongolian law and justice is guided by the Marxist perception. Marx had thought of law as the legal system in the interest of the propertied class. The law of the bourgeois state "is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will, whose essential character and direction are determined by the economical conditions of existence of your class." 45 According to this perception, the


notion of equality before the law is, in reality, a condition for actual inequality: first, because the cost of legal proceedings is prohibitive; and second, because judges are predisposed to the interests of property. Lenin, having the same notion about law and justice "believed that coercive law would be necessary through out this period (from feudalism upto communism) to enforce labour discipline, to regulate the unequal distribution of the products of society, and to curb individual excesses." Mongolian judicial system follows the same principle.

The Constitution of 1940 and 1960 provide for the basic principles of law and the machinery to enforce the law of the land. "The basic content of the new laws (of Mongolia) was aimed at building the material-technical base of socialism, at strengthening socialist production relationships, and at reinforcing democratic, revolutionary law." There have been regular refinement and reinforcement of socialist law in Mongolia.

The highest judicial body of the country is the

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Supreme Court of the MPR. It exercises supervision over the activities of all other organs administering justice. The Supreme Court is elected by the GPH for a term of five years. It has three divisions; criminal, civil and military. The Supreme Court hears criminal and civil cases placed by the legislation. It also hears complaints and protests against the sentences and judgments passed by aymag and town courts and the decision of the judges of these courts.

The Courts of aymag and town are elected by the respected HPDs for a term of five years. "These courts exercise supervision over the judicial activities of heseg (precincts), district and town (of local subordination) people's courts by examining cases in judicial divisions. The Court of aymag and town try criminal and civil cases, and as appellate courts or in a supervisory capacity cases of complaints and protests against judicial acts passed by people's courts and judges." 48

The judges of heseg and district peoples courts are elected by the citizens of their respective territories on the basis of universal, equal and

48. The MPR Academy of Sciences, Information Mongolia, op. cit., p. 149.
direct suffrage but secret ballot for a term of three years.

For the true observance of the laws of the MPR, there is a provision of the Public Procurator's Office (Article 72). Its duties are to supervise the observance of law, to study causes of crimes, to prevent offenses against the law, and to raise the awareness of law among masses. The Public Procurator's Office is a unified and strictly centralised system. The Public Procurator is appointed by the HPD for a term of 5 years.

There are some distinguishing features of Mongolian legal system and its execution. First, the people participate in the legal organisation of the country and "there have come into operation People's Representatives who have participated in court proceedings." In this sense, the Mongolian system of justice is not just a contest between parties but a collective effort to do justice. And second, since Mongolian theory of socialism does not recognise law as superior to party policy, the policy of the Party must

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be assertive to the delivery of justice. The law being regarded as an expression of the will of the people, and party as vanguard of the people, the observance of law and justice is subject to party supervision and control.

C. Web of Management: Mass Organisations

The mass organisations in a socialist society are, in many ways, a part of administration. The mass organisations "operate to enforce labour discipline and help organise socialist competition." They involve in the "supervision of disciplinary tribunals, such as Comrades' Courts and grievance committees". Being "transmission belts" between the party and the rank and file of members of society, mass organisations also serve as "functions of political socialisation and elite recruitment." 50 Through these functions, the mass organisations participate in the administration of the state. Public organisation holds an important place in the political system of Mongolian People's Republic. In Mongolia there are many people who are members of non-party mass

organisations, societies, and associations, which unite large groups of people by interest, occupation, sex and age and not by party affiliation. Article 81, of the MPR Constitution declares that the citizens of the country have the right to unite in social organisations; trade unions; co-operative organisations; youth; sport and other organisations; cultural and science and technology societies; and societies for strengthening people's friendship and peace etc.

These organisations play an important role in the management of the country through different channels. These are unifying forces which help sharing the power in the country. These organisations include representatives of various strata of the working people on a voluntary basis. Alongside these organisations there are also various associations of working people (public courts, parents committees at kindergartens and public teams assisting the militia, etc. Some of these organisations are; (a) the Mongolian Trade Union, (b) the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League, (c) the Federation of Mongolian Women, (d) the Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Society etc.
(a) **Trade Unions**: The trade union movement originated in Mongolia in the mid 1920s and was finally founded in 1927. The Constitution of the MPR has guaranteed the status of the Trade unions and their rights. The trade unions take part in forming organs of state power, in drafting bills and government resolutions, and in elaborating and carrying out state projects. It also works closely with the state bodies on all matters dealing with production, labour, life and culture affecting the interests of workers and employees. The state in turn, creates favourable conditions for the efficient functioning of the trade unions.

There are four branches of trade unions in Mongolia; the Union of Industrial and Construction workers; the Union of Transport Communication, Trade and Public Utility Workers; the Union of Cultural and Educational workers; and the Union of Agricultural workers. All the Mongolian Trade Unions are set up on the basis of democratic centralism and organised on the production principle.\(^51\) The trade Union bodies are elected by trade union members.

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"The Mongolian trade unions take an active part in setting up the plants of national economy and the distribution of the financial means" together with the propogation of innovations. Unions also take responsibilities of the handover of building for use as housing, hospitals, schools and kindergartens and monitor the work of trade, catering and service establishments, and participate in improving their work. "As a pillar of the Peoples Democratic government the MPR Trade Unions (MUE), under the leadership of the MPRP, sucessfully fulfilled their tasks of organising the workers class and civil servants in creating a new life and of educating the working people to be true to the cause of socialism and communism and to the principles of proletarian internationalism."

(b) The Mongolian Revolutionary Youth Union (MRYU):
The Mongolian Revolutionary Youth Union was founded in 1921 on the initiative and direct involvement of

54. Materials of the Eighth MPR Trade Union Association Congress (Ulan Bator),1962, p. 49.
D. Sukhbaatar, the founder of MPRP with only 17 members. It is an independent public and political organisation, uniting the youth of Mongolia. The structure of MRYU League is similar to that of the MPRP, there being a Central Committee, a Bureau with members and candidate members, and a Secretariat. The head of the Youth League is the First secretary of the Central Committee. The MRYU involves young people in running the state, society and production. The MRYU's work (or duty) is to develop the creative initiative and labour activeness of young people in all sectors of building socialism. Just like the Mongolian Trade Unions, the young league has the right of legislative initiative.

(c) The Organisation of Mongolian Women (OMW): This is a central public organization, founded in 1924. The women in Mongolia enjoy equal status in society since 1921, after the revolution. Earlier it was not like that. It has greatly contributed in emancipating women and vigorously involving them in the country's social and political life. The organisation's activities are regulated by the MPR constitution and relevant legislative acts relating to the status of public organizations, as well as by its own character. The supreme body of the OMW is the
Congress, which is convened every five years. It has committees in large town and provincial centres. The council is responsible for women over sixteen years of age. The organization is affiliated to the International Organisation of Democratic women and it also publishes a quarterly magazine called *Mongolyn Emegteychuu* (Mongolian women).

In its public duties, the OMW actively helps public and state bodies in drawing up and implementing social policy on women, children and the family; in improving related legislation, and in rendering practical assistance to single mothers, orphans and low-income families. Its main aim is to create the most favourable conditions so that working women may combine their basic social rules as mothers, workers and citizens. Since the history of the Mongolian Trade Unions, of the Women's Organization, of the Pioneers, and of other such organizations is a part of the revolutionary struggle of this country's people, it is evident that the main documents of these organizations activities form an additional part of the source materials of the country's history.  

(d) The **Federation of Friendship Organisation**: The Federation of Friendship organisation is an important organisation. This is affiliated to the World Peace Council. It has an Executive Committee composed of a chairman and two deputies. The organisation pursues links with other socialist and non-socialist countries of the world. Under the cultural exchange with foreign countries the organisation encourages exchange of publications and visitors, as well as it promotes the Mongolian image by publicity.

The Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Society was founded in 1947. Its aim is to contribute to the strengthening of unanswering Mongolian-Soviet friendship and attain the goals set up by the MPRP for drawing, together the MPR and USSR in the economic, political, cultural and ideological fields as well as to propagate the impressive success achieved by the Soviet people in building communism.\(^{56}\)

5. **Evaluation of Mongolian Political System**

The political system of the MPR worked well for 66 long years, from 1924 to 1989, and managed a frictionless relationship between the state and the

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56. G. Dashdawaa, op. cit., p. 39.
society. The new political system after Revolution have created new life for Mongolia as a nation. It brought changes in the traditional despotic state apparatus and transformed the nomadic society into a modern political community. Thousands of Mongolian arats got involved in the activities of the government, in the management of production and distribution, in social and cultural policies and in the administration of justice. Through the development of socialist democracy of Mongolia, the state of Mongolia became a nation state and gradually moved towards a transformation into communist social self government.

There have been enough evidences to attest that Mongolia achieved a nationhood after the Revolution of 1921 and under the determined progress made through the political system. It acquired all the attributes of a modern nation; a legitimate stable authority; an autonomous identity of state capable of protecting the interest of the nation; and an egalitarian society making participation of people in politics. An examination of these characteristics of the MPR reveals that the experiment of nation building was a success since Mongolia changed from within and without to demonstrate that a nation of Mongolia is reborn.
Mongolia having the following traits got modernised without doubts.

Nation building, as a political concept, is a process through which a state acquires new level of authority relationships when a state moves towards a fixed identity, a stable authority and equal participatory citizenship of people. The foremost requisite of a modernised nation state is that there takes place a drastic shift in the locus of authority. A society on this path of political development is in the process aimed at building a nation. The authority is the essence of government. "One of the striking political features of modernisation is the immense broadening of the scope of public functions undertaken by governmental authority."57 In the twentieth century, the prominent function of the nation state is developmental in addition to the maintenance of law and order. For discharging its functions the authority of a nation state establishes public institutions that constitute the necessary political infra-structure of a nation state and translates the

"diffused and unorganised sentiments of nationalism into the spirit of citizenship". Once a nation state succeeds in this, the traditional form of authority and the narrow attributes of allegiance are transformed into a single national political authority. This leads to the centralisation of political authority and, at the same time, legitimisation of authority.

The MPR has achieved it by successfully discharging the function of a nation state. It has got a stable authority. This is exhibited by the fact that there have been no rebellions so far against the established political authority. There are two reasons for this. First, the symbol of identity of the people of Mongolia has been transformed to the nation rather than to any premodial consciousness. The Mongolian society is composed of several nationalities. There could have been the emergence of separatist tendencies among these ethnic groups, but the communist ideology and the destruction of feudal and religious oligarchies under the new political set up have prevented the outbreak of separateness and

inculcated a sense of secularism in the people. And second, the Mongolian border is not bounded by any antagonistic power, at least in ideological terms. The rebellions generally prosper with foreign assistance who attempt to disrupt the established new political set up and to reestablish a political order antagonistic to one brought up by the revolution. Since the old dynasty is destroyed in Mongolia and the easy access to foreign power is remote, the internal rebellion to overthrow the Mongolian revolutionary regime is not possible. Thus, from the point of view of security, Mongolia's experiment to new nation building through modernisation has not been at stake either from the previous regime or from the rival revolutionary groups.

The second distinguishing feature of a true nation state is its autonomous character. The autonomy of a nation state constitutes two aspects; first, the absence of dominant encroachment by any external power in the functioning of the state; and second, the absence of the state becoming an instrument in the hands of certain families, clans and groups. Political institutionalization in the sense of autonomy, means the development of political authority which is free from the outside pressures and
inside sectarian interests.

Mongolia has demonstrated its capacity of self-assessment, which is axiomatic. During the formative stage of a nation-state, the MPR proclaimed "an independent state of the working people (arats, herdsman, workers, intelligentsia) who have destroyed the imperialist and feudal yoke" (Article 1 of 1940) and established the Murals as the country's political base (Article 2). The Mongolian political institutions have worked under certain environments and have faced certain challenges. It has proved to be capable of facing challenges and taking full advantages, in the interest of the nation, of international political situation.

There are, however, criticisms that Mongolia has not been an independent state because of being guided by the Soviet Union in all its internal and external activities. It is claimed that "the Outer Mongolians have paid a heavy political price for the economic development they have enjoyed in the past decade." "The country's traditional leaders have been liquidated and the traditional religion has been systematically destroyed", meaning thereby that the identity of the nation has been destroyed and the
customery rule: "has been supplemented by the more complex code of modern Soviet law."59 Thus, the state of Mongolia is not autonomous free from the encroaching dominance of a foreign power. A satellite can not be a nation on its own.

This criticism, however, is not correct. It is out of context. Mongolia's relationship with the Soviet Union is different than that of a satellite. The Soviet Union has provided protection, from Chinese troops and the Whites in the 1920s, from the Japanese in the 1930s and 1940s and again from Chinese during the cultural revolution. "Mongolia's situation between two great world powers forces her to a greater degree of adaptation and acquiescence than might be the case if her geography were different. But it is of great historical interest that the Mongols were able to keep alive, first, some sense of group solidarity and, later, their newly gained but precarious independence, until it became possible to stabilize their frontiers, to create from the rump of the nation a viable state, and to profit from the exaltation of nationalism in the middle of the twentieth century to achieve international recognition

59. Murphy, op. cit., p. 186.
of the Mongol state within frontiers agreed with their two neighbours. No other central Asian people have been able to do so much." 60 Moreover, Mongolia would not have become a modern state had it not been the assistance of the USSR. The claim, therefore, that Mongolia lacks autonomy is not well founded.

The third characteristic of a modern nation state is the status of citizens, whether they enjoy the rights of citizenship in practice. Mass participation is an essential ingredient of political modernisation. In modern states the citizens become directly involved in and affected by the affairs of the government. It is here that a distinction exists between the traditional state in which people have nothing to interfere in the governance of the nation whereas in the modern state people participate in politics and are affected by politics. "The most fundamental aspect of political modernisation in politics beyond the village and town level of social groups throughout the society and the development of new political institutions, such as political parties, to organise that participation." 61

60. Bawden, op. cit., p. XIV.

In modernised political system there has to be a fundamental shift in values, attitudes and expectations. The traditional values must be eroded and new values be replaced in their place. In pre-revolution, Mongolia was a feudalistic state and its chiefs were always at war with each other. With the result the boundary of state was always changing its shape and size. There was no systematic rule. The arats of Mongolia had no political rights. The state did not have a cohesive structure. And its government was weak and loose; whoever was strong was able to rule the different principalities of Mongolia. The revolution of 1921 created a centralised authority across the nation through a different organisation. The work of completion was performed by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. In Mongolia, the people's traditional loyalties towards clan and ethnic association have changed. Now the Mongolians identify themselves with the nation as their supreme allegiance. For the first time in history it was converted into a modern form of nation.

The process of nation building requires that the members of community are committed to abide by the obligation of a nation-state and also endowed with the rights of equality of citizenship status. Though the
Constitution of Mongolia embodies rights and duties of citizens and also encourages political participation, the political system does not tolerate competitive politics. This aspect of mass participation has several explanations since the citizenship, in a socialist society, has different connotation. First, competition in politics is the feature of a bourgeois society. In a socialist framework people are to build a different society. What is required from the builders of communism and still more from members of communist society, is not mere compliance with established regulations, but initiative, creative activity and the ability not only to work intelligently at one's place of work, but also to take part in deciding matters of state and public affairs. 62 Thus, citizen's participation in political affairs does not serve to provide group interests in a socialist society, rather is directed to some social purpose. "For all participants, whether or not they are made of leadership material, participation serves a socialising function: it introduces them to the political system, its values, priorities, forms of organisation and pattern of operation." 63 Second, the

purpose of a socialist state is different and therefore the politics around it. Engels had said: "So long as the proletariat uses the state it does not use it in the interests of freedom, but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom, the state as such ceases to exist." Therefore, freedom of competitive action in politics of a socialist society does not arise. And third, mass participation in a socialist society is not conducted only through election to local, aymag or national political bodies. A socialist society "develops mass participation through at least four other ways - through public debate of policy and legislative proposals; through popular involvement in administration; through participation in the running of social organisations such as trade unions, co-operatives and collective farms, comradly courts, volunteer militia and fire brigades, street and house committees, parent councils, pensioner's councils, women's councils etc; and through socialist competition".  

The MPR qualifies for a modern nation on the basis of the three standard forms of political bases

64. Churchward, op. cit., p. 269.
of the state; identity to the nation, authority along with autonomy to the state and equality to the citizens. However, the path of nation building did not prove to be full proof. For a long time, the Western scholars have been indicating the inherent weaknesses of a socialist society; because of its rigid nature of bureaucratisation through single party system and also because of the discrepancy between the precept of the constitution and its actual functioning. The suppression of freedom and the disregard for moral values led to the collapse of communist system in the large part of the world. The claim that "class interest" constitutes socialist ethics, and all that serves the interest of the class is "good", proved to be fatal for a communist society. "In uncritically affirming the separation of ethics from action in modernity, the communist movement went on to justify some of the worst crimes in the 20th century."65

Mongolian communist system also had to fall once the Soviet system collapsed. It is now striving to adopt a democratic framework of political structure with multiparty system and free enterprise.

The new course of Mongolia is however a by product of the development experienced during the socialist development.