CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AND
NATION BUILDING
A nation is created out of a deliberate fabrication of a national consciousness. Its dignified claim, however, is not sufficient. A genuine reinforcement is a necessary condition. Nation-building requires modernisation of society, which, in turn, "implies three conditions - a social system that can constantly innovate without falling apart; differentiated, flexible social structure; and a social framework to provide the skill and knowledge necessary for living in a technologically advanced world".¹ The nation-building pre-supposes unified nationalism which is a product of two forces; a new form of social organisation and a new level of consciousness. It is for this reason that the building of a nation demands new identification of loyalties, skills and roles. This is not possible without the disintegration of the traditional social structure, educational system and cultural values.

Nation building demands a change in the traditional structure of society. A traditional society contains a particular set of ingredients having the characteristics of stagnation. A

traditional social structure, therefore, defies change. The most crucial problem arising in this sense is the question of nationality. In a traditional society, the people of a country are "regarded and treated, not as individuals, but always as members of particular group. Everybody is first a citizen and then, as a citizen. Next, he is a member of gene, house or clan; and lastly he is a member of his family".\textsuperscript{2} Thus, the cultural patterns of traditional societies are strongly influenced by family considerations. The traditional individual loyalties are severely parochial. "The family came before the tribe; the tribe before the religious and ethnic group, and the religious or ethnic group before that nebulous entity known as the state".\textsuperscript{3}

For a transformation of traditional people into citizens of a modern nation, in an ordinary evolutionary society, there are three stages; first, the common uniform rules are framed to govern the entire population; second, equal political rights in the governance of society are granted; and third, which is final, a socio-economic equality in society is created. Passing through these three stages people

\begin{references}
  \item Henry Summer Maine, \textit{Ancient Law} (Boston, 1963), p. 177-8.
\end{references}
achieve equality of citizenship status. Mongolia escaped this evolutionary process of citizenship. After Revolution it opted for a different system of by-passing capitalism. It granted equal political and socio-economic rights to all its people through the Constitution. Mongolia, thus, did not have to go through these three stages.

The nation building requires that people must achieve a common sense of identity and unquestioned loyalty towards the country they belong to. "The people in a new state must come to recognise their national territory as being their true homeland, and they must feel as individuals that their own personal identities are in part defined by their identification with their territorially delimited country". If this transformation does not take place, the traditional forms of identity, ranging from tribal, religious, ethnic and linguistic groups, compete with national identity and thereby hinders nation building.

A society transforming through revolution, that also on Marxist-Leninist lines, does not wait for gradual transformation of social structure. This is

because the social stratification in traditional society, as seen under Marxism, "was essentially a mechanism for unjustly distributing economic goods and other social rewards among the different social classes. If this unjust mechanism was to be changed then people must become aware of their class interest, that is, of their differential rights in and access to these goods and rewards. Class consciousness with regard to interests would make people not only see the inherent injustice of a stratification system, but want to eliminate it, by force, if necessary." The nation building, in a Marxist frame, therefore, must change the traditional social system so that new loyalties and consciousness can emerge.

In a socialist society the social structure, and thereby the problem of nationalities and narrow loyalties, is transformed through a change in the relationship of property or ownership to stratification. Through public ownership of the means of production, property related differences are removed. If land is nationalised and social status is destroyed, the basis of feudalism is removed. The

class of capitalists is removed if industries are nationalised. Together with this, the planned development of economy based on science and technology creates necessary economic conditions for a new social structure of society. For building a socialist nation it is important to create cultural revolution so that a fierce struggle against obsolete attitude of the old society, which remained in people's minds, is conducted in society. It is an absolutely necessary action for creating the preconditions for incalculating a mentality of socialism in society. This is echoed in the discussion of the Plenum of 1959: "one of the important aims of constructing a socialist society on a broad front is to take orderly measures to create the ideological pre-conditions for the construction of socialism". The experience of the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries not only provide framework of change for social structure but offer help in executing the policy towards social change. It is through these processes that a socialist country completes nation building process without going through the capitalist path of social change.

6. MAKHN - Yn Tov Khoroony 1959 Ony V Biigd
Khurlyn (Materials of the 1959 MPRP
Central Committee Fifth Plenum) (Ulan Bator, 1959) p. 62.
1. **Social Structure**

In pre-revolution Mongolia, the society was feudal. "The production relations of the Mongolian feudal society were based on the feudal lords ownership of land and enormous number of cattle, and their incomplete ownership of arat serfs".\(^7\) Such a system ruled the country until 1911 by Manchu officials. The common people were called Arats. They could hold public office, but vassals and slaves could not. Vassals of the banner were called hamjilaga, and vassals of the monastery were Shav. The hamjilaga acted as personal retainers to the dzasag\(^s\) (hoshuun princes). Originally, the hamjilaga had been provided under Manchu law for lifelong service in family groups to nobles and Taiji (hereditary aristocracy claiming descent from Chinghiz Khan without estates). Towards the end of the nineteenth century state taxes and services also gradually came to be imposed on hamjilaga.\(^8\)

The Shav of Mongolia were attached to monestary

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estates though they were free from military duties. They, however, were taxed by the church. According to customary rule, the youngest sons of the Khans and princes were given the leading posts in the Lamaist Church. The monasteries and Vast estate, were an institution of great wealth. "In the beginning of the 20th century, the country had one hundred thousand lamas who lived at the expense of the masses of the people". 9 There existed a great social distinction between incarnations, clerical administrators and church labourers. Under the provisions of Manchu law only the eldest son was entitled to inherit his father's title and rank. Younger sons were given lower rank and often became officials in hoshuun in central administrative services.

Under Manchu rule the economic condition of the Mongolian working population was under heavy exploitation. The working people had to pay 14 types of dues. In addition, they had to bear the heavy cost of "maintaining enormous feudal administrative, military and church apparatuses and their numerous functionaries". 10

Serfs in Mongolia were divided into three categories: arat, hamjilga and shav. "The principal duty of the albat was to perform military, patrol and ortoo duties". They were engaged in cultivation on state land, to graze the emperor's stock and to pay for the maintenance of numerous Manchu administrative apparatuses. The arats "were attached to their hoshunun princes and had to participate in an annual camp on their own horses with their own guns and food". 11

The nobility during Manchu rule was divided in six categories. The impoverishment of Mongolian people was rooted in the extravagance of aristocracy of Manchu administration. Their debts to Chinese traders and bankers forced them to impose higher taxes on the arats. There was accumulation of property concentrated in the hands of few individuals and monasteries. In the prevailing economic system there was "widespread and desperate poverty". 12

The indebtedness of arats to their Lords and to the traders had been steadily increasing. They were

11. Information Mongolia, op. cit., p. 112.
"forced to sell their domestic animals - their sole means of livelihood - to repay debts, and some families were left without livestock altogether". All these led to "the breakdown of a traditional pattern of living under the impact of economic stagnation, and the collapse of a feeling of responsibility for the public welfare on the part of authority".  

The traditional social structure was deliberately destroyed by the government of the Mongolian People's Republic during the Socialist stage of 1940-65. To begin with, negative actions were directed after the Revolution to abolish feudalism. The privileges of the lords were taken away and arats, hamjilaga and shav were freed from bondage. Without the removal of these structures modern and national loyalty was impossible to be generated in society which are essential requisites for nation building. In addition to the negative action, the state adopted positive course to generate new consciousness of nationality in the Mongolian society. These included the introduction of civil and political rights, industrialisation and work habits, and the execution of educational programme. Furthermore, the assistance, guidance and experience of the Soviet Union remained a powerful factor in changing the society of Mongolia.

The social change implemented in Mongolia during the period of 1940 to 1965 can be summarised under four heads:

(a) destruction of traditional social bases of loyalty-generating structures of Mongolia;

(b) establishment of constitutional rights to the people and obligatory duty of the state towards people;

(c) planned development of the economy of Mongolia for improving the material and cultural levels of Mongolian people; and

(d) the assistance from the fraternal socialist countries of the world, particularly the USSR.

The complete renovation of the Mongolian society, which began in the first phase of 1921-39, was executed during the period of 1940-65. The social framework during this period bears no relation to what it had been earlier, while the material conditions of living, education, medical services, employment possibilities, and above all ideas of social justice, got all transformed beyond recognition.
(A) Destruction of traditional social bases of loyalty: The elimination of serfdom was the fundamental achievement of the revolutionary government. Other changes in the Mongolian society concern with the abolition of corvee and the annulment of debts of foreign firms, equal taxation, limitation of feudal privileges, such as ending of special grazing rights of Shav and help in improving the conditions of the arats. National consumer cooperatives were established and state enterprises began to function with the confiscation of livestock and property of major feudal powers. The new social surface provided the base for creating new social structure during the socialist stage of 1940-65. The main task during this period was to construct the foundations of socialism in the MPR. For fulfilling this, the MPRP and the people's state set courses for the faster development of state and cooperative industry, for the strengthening of the socialist enterprises in agriculture and industry, for the development of production associations of the arates and for the intensification of the cultural revolution.

During these years between 1940 and 1965 qualitative changes came to be effected in the social
structure of the MPR. Due to the permanent growth of national industry and the development of new industrial branches the agrarian country of Mongolia changed into an agrarian industrial state. It was only after the pooling of the individual arats that cooperatives had been completed, socialist production relations had become stronger, and the arats (farmers), being formerly small private owners, developed into the class of cooperative producers.

Revolution involves moral renewal. In the post revolution period the accepted pattern of behaviour of the previously feudal society are replaced by a design of highly progressive social system. "Every revolutionary regime sets higher and broader and crueler standards of public morality than those of the regime it replaces". National discipline, proletarian discipline, party discipline and revolutionary discipline are constantly invoked in the revolutionary process. It is a common experience that revolution occurs in a society where political participation is limited and political institutions are fragile. The negative phase of revolution however involves the destruction of the old social structure.

order as well as the replacement of the old political institutions. Society no longer remains the basis of small communities rather gives rise to national politics. In the process of political development and modernization the differentiation and increasing complexity of society gradually make community dependent on politics. "In a revolution, this change occurs drastically. Political ideologies and political institutions become crucially important in providing community not as a result of the growth of society but as a result of its destruction. Every revolution strengthens government and the political order."\textsuperscript{15} A revolutionary change replaces weak governments with strong governments. These governments are the product both of the concentration of power and, even more significant, the expansion of power in the political system. The "true historical function of revolutions is to renovate and strengthen Power".\textsuperscript{16}

Political development involves the creation and institutionalization of public interest. It gets in the process of social change. The pre-revolution

\begin{itemize}
  \item 15. Ibid, p. 312
\end{itemize}
society is usually characterized by the decay of political institutions, the fragmention of the polity, the pursuit of private ends, the dominance of loyalties to the family and other small groupings. The revolution destroys the old social order and its limited loyalties. New sources of morality and legitimacy emerge. "These are national rather than parochial, political rather than social, revolutionary rather than traditional. The slogan, the mystique and possibly the ideology of the revolution provide the new criteria of political loyalty. Loyalty to the revolution and the dominant formation of its goals replaces loyalty to the more limited and traditional social groupings of the old society. The public interest of the older order had declined into a welter of conflicting parochial interests. The public interest of the new order is the interest of the Revolution". 17

The population of the MPR is basically Mongol, with representatives of such tribes as Khalkhas, Kazakhs, Durbets, Baiats, Buriats, etc. The Chinese population is small, so is Russian. The composition of Mongolian population on the basis of their ethnic strength can be seen in table 6.1. It was this division which was the basis of loyalty to the people.

17. Huntington, op. cit., p. 311-12.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>1969 number ('000)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Halh (Khalkha)</td>
<td>901.2</td>
<td>75.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasag (Kazakh)</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dörvöd (Durbet)</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burqad (Buryat)</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buyad (Baiat)</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dariganga</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urianhay (Tuva)</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzahchin (Dzakhchin)</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torguud (Targut)</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ööld (Eleuth)</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: (1) The names of the nationalities appear in a number of different spellings.

(2) Others include Darkhat, Hoton, Mingat, Bargot, Ujumchin and Chinese.

The occupational composition of Mongolia's population changed during the socialist stage of 1940-65. "In 1960, 36 percent of the population consisted of civil servants, industrial workers, and other non-agricultural employees and their families. The other 64% of people were engaged in agriculture, either on state farms or in collectives. As a result of state policy, private traders and their families, nomads working for themselves and their families, and Lamas in 1960 accounted for only 0.3 percent of the population." The differences of people on ethnic lines lost their meaning when a single working class was formed.

The MPR through the destruction of feudals and the creation of new economic opportunities transformed the social structure of the nomads to established occupation. Before the revolution, the loyalty of people was towards their feudal princes and their respective clans. The revolutionary regime inspired the national political feeling among the people. Mongolia's major changes occurred in the decades of the 1950's. During the Socialist stage between 1940-65,

ethnic division had lost their significance as foci, the aim of group loyalty or identity.\textsuperscript{19} The new division of society got settled in the class division. This can be seen in table 6.2. This made the unity of nation and a unified feeling of nationality in the presence of diversity of tribes and clans.

The success of the revolutionary regime of Mongolia has been that it formed Mongolia as a "Socialist nation". The problem of nationalities was resolved and a society of working classes was created in the country. "The Mongolian socialist nation was thus formed by the consolidation around its basic nucleus, the Halh Mongols, of related Mongolian speaking nationalities and ethnic groups as well as some national minorities, which had historically linked their fate with the Mongols".\textsuperscript{20}

\begin{flushleft}

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Table 6.2

Transformed Social Structure
(Figure in percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1925</th>
<th>1956</th>
<th>1963</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Workers, employees and family members</td>
<td>00.0</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Cooperative farm members &amp; family</td>
<td>00.0</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>53.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Non-cooperative Ard. herdsmen</td>
<td>86.6</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>00.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Other Groups</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>00.2</td>
<td>00.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Total Population</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The Mongolian working class is quite different from other countries. The working class came entirely from nomadic herdsmen from social point of view. The new working class emerged and developed on the non-capitalist development road of transformation from feudalism to socialism by escaping capitalism. The style of the life and the culture that evolved in the cities bore a Soviet flavour, as did the goals and values of the urban dwellers. The policy of social change in Mongolia followed the strategy of improving
the structure of society and the social relations
arising therefrom, creating conditions for improving
the working people's living and cultural standards,
and thus formed the socialist mode of life. This
enabled Mongolia to turn gradually from a pastoral
social structure into an industrial cum agrarian
social structure. "Mongolia's social structure
underwent an essential change: a working class emerged
and began to grow, establishing a class alliance with
the toiling arats."21

B. Establishment of Constitutional rights and
obligatory duties: Social change in Mongolia was
greatly helped by the constitutional provision,
granting rights and duties of citizens of a modern
state. Mongolia drafted a second constitution in
1940. This was necessitated because of the changed
situation. It was realised that the MPR under
Constitution of 1924 have completely eradicted the
feudal class and the imperialist grip upon the
national economy, has passed through the non-
capitalistic, bourgeois-democratic stage of
development, and secured the pre-requisites for
advance towards socialism. A new constitution over

21. S. Damdinsuren, Mongolia: By passing Capitalism
the Constitution of 1924 was required. The second constitution, therefore, was proposed and approved on June 30, 1940. The constitution of 1940 "added a bill of rights, stipulated that the MPR was to be subject to social and educational plan and provided more details on organs of government". 22

The third constitution, adopted in June 1960, proclaimed Mongolia's transition to socialism through by-passing capitalism and generalized its experience of development along this path. The new constitution stipulated a broader framework of the nature, form and functions of the people's state, its political, economic and class bases. Among the provisions of the Constitution of 1960, are the provisions having direct relevance to social change. This was through the provisions of rights and duties of Mongolian people. Following articles contain the right and freedom of the citizens and it also guarantees of their fulfilment. People of Mongolia became full citizens by acquiring equal rights irrespective of race, of nationality, religion, social origin and status. Article 1 of the Constitution has categorised three groups of peoples: workers, arats in co-operatives, and intellectuals. Article 83 recognises that

22. Murphy, op. cit., p. 146.
citizens of the MPR "have equal rights in all sphere of economic, cultural, social and political life of the country". Similarly, the duties of people are stated in Article 89 which demands that "the unity of personal and social interests must be ensured".

This made a fundamental change in the status of citizenship in Mongolia. By having equal rights and duties, differences of nationalities lost their significance. This was a great social change in Mongolia. Now, the people of different nationalities, living within the territory of the Republic, got similar opportunity to develop a national culture. The constitution, therefore, made significant change in the social attitude of people and thereby in the nation building of Mongolia.

C. Planned development of the economy

Social change in Mongolia also was brought about by changes in the national economy. The living standard of people improved with the development of economy of the country. It is true the modern Mongolia was founded in 1921, but critical changes took place from 1940 onwards. In pre-revolution period, i.e. before 1921, the Mongolian economy was backward and therefore purely traditional. Out of the total population of
the country, 90% were nomads and the rest 10% were lamas.

The period 1940 to 1960 was an era of the "construction of foundations of socialism". During this period the diversification of economy into the fields of ore-mining, metal working, timber processing and consumer goods production took place. The year 1965 marked the completion of the construction of material and technical basis of socialism. Technical improvement of existing industrial processes and intra-branch diversification began due to the successful completion of economic development during 1940-60.

The economic policy was directed primarily at developing livestock breeding as, the basic branch of the country's economy, setting up state farms, starting industry for processing animal raw materials and minerals resources, organizing transport and communications, creating the state financial and credit systems, and trade. Through these economic measures the national economy and culture of the MPR began developing rapidly on the basis of unified state plans.
In the First Five Year Plan (1948-1952) the total livestock population grew by 3.7 percent. The gross industrial output multiplied. In Second Five Year Plan (1953-1957), the socialist sector was strengthened and the co-operative movement in the rural areas came under this plan. The state and co-operative industry developed very fast. The growth of gross industrial output reached 63.8 percent. A number of construction works were carried out during Three Year Plan (1958-60) which was just double of the whole preceding year. These three plans together proved important landmarks in strengthening the material and technological base of the national economy. "The basic assets of the national economy grew 2.5 fold in 1960 compared with 1940 and the number of workers and employees also increased 2.5 fold in the same period". 23 During the Third Five Year Plan (1961-65) an intensive development of capital construction was carried out. The agrarian sector, particularly arable farming, experienced further development. More than a dozen state farms were built in virgin land regions. The social structure of Mongolia got a completely new face on account of "remarkable successes achieved on economic and cultural field as well as by the rise of the material and cultural living standard of the

D. The image of the fraternal socialist countries:
The social change in Mongolia was not purely indigenous product of Mongolian social revolution. In the post revolution period whatever Mongolia did was in the image of the USSR and through the assistance of Soviet Union. The problem of nationality in Mongolia was also resolved in the same fashion in which the Soviet Union handled the issue. The tribal division of society was not recognised in the management of the state and the religion was delinked from the state, for creating a new design of society based on class. During the period of 1940-65, the design of collectivization was borrowed from the Soviet Union and the industrial pattern was laid on the patterns of the Soviet Union. Mongolia succeeded in creating a proletariat class combining peasants and workers of the country which formed the main social bases for guiding the allegiance of people.

The Soviet assistance in changing the social structure of Mongolia had to be indirect. Knowing Mongolian development, the Mongols know that without

the Soviet Union Mongolia would not have been able to tackle the nationality problem. The "extraordinary experiment", Mongolia went through, "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 instead of after the achievement of large-scale industrialisation, would be impossible without the aid of Soviet skills, Soviet know-how, Soviet supply of machinery goods". 25 It has been recognised that the "friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, friendship based on the alliance between Mongolia's toiling arats and Russia's victorious proletariat" has been an "indispensable factor" in the progress of Mongolia". 26 The Soviet factor, therefore, cannot be underestimated even in the sphere of social system.

2. Growth of New Culture

Cultural reconstruction is a necessary requisite of modern nation building. "Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art,

morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.\textsuperscript{27} At the heart of the theory of social structure lies the concept of culture determining the modes of behaviour and thought. "Culture gives us an idea of our place in history, our relationship to nature, to God and to society as a whole. Culture controls and shapes the social system."\textsuperscript{28} The basic elements of culture are: value, norms, symbols, folklover myth, laws, religions and ideas. Culture has three dimensions; normative system of culture exhibited through the ethnical forms of people; expressive system of culture consolidated through literature, art, music, dance etc; and idea generating system of culture which provides power to interpret the World.

Cultural reconstruction was of vital significance to Mongolia, since its geographical boundary, ethnic composition and feudal political structure had set a civic behaviour pattern unconducive for modern nation building. There was, therefore, a need to deliberately forge a value system and social behaviour commensurate to national identity of a


\textsuperscript{28} Ibid, p. 116.
socialist society. A national cultural policy was the need of the hour, a policy designed to promote citizenship value in a traditional settling of Mongol society. The creation of a new culture was necessary, a culture socialist in content and national in form.

During the formative stage of socialist reconstruction, the narrow attitudes in culture were of great hinderance to build a nation on socialist lines. The MPRP was particularly interested in inculcating the value of socialism and therefore creating consciousness and morality commensurate to Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism. Literature, painting, artwork were encouraged to meet the socialist spiritual needs of people. The ideological content was emphasised in all aspects of culture generating fields. During the period of the construction of socialism in Mongolia culture has special meaning. "Culture meant socialist culture and there was conscious call for raising the ideological and artistic level, creation of high quality works in accordance with the demands of the methods of socialist realism and the principles of party and popular content; publishing, the press, the media and the network of clubs and libraries were to
During the first phase (1921-39) of the nation building in Mongilia, the educational system based on feudalist ideology was destroyed and a new public education system was initiated. A new intelligentsia was created, trained in new concepts of socialist culture, for launching the second phase of cultural revolution. "The new revolutionary art and literature came into being through cultural enlightenment organisation's combating feudal and religious ideologies; through exposing the evil acts of Lamas and princes and various anti social phenomena; and through educating the working people with revolutionary concepts. The arat masses were gradually freed from superstitious beliefs; their revolutionary conciousness and concept developed broadly; they strove for cultural enlightenment and they unwaveringly entered the path of education". 30 This ensured the preparation of a socialist culture for a socialist society of 1940-65 and "the socialist stage of the Cultural Revolution in the MPR began". 31


Idea generating system of culture was given top priority in developing a new culture for Mongolia. In the beginning of socialist transformation, the influence of religion on the moral values and behaviour pattern of people was great. Lamas would tell the people that the teaching at new schools "conflicted with the teaching of Buddha, that they would all suffer in Hell and bring divine punishment on their relatives and friends". The centuries old religious dogmas were obstacles in the spread of new ideas of citizenship and nationhood. It was only when the laws were enforced separating the church from the state and the constitution guaranteed the right to education that new ideas of Marxism and Leninism could spread.

The instrument of new idea generation was accomplished through the expansion of expressive system. The development of these culture generating elements like literature, music, dance, art etc. during the socialist stage of 1940-65 has been impressive. The steps taken in this regard can be grouped under three heads: creation of cultural institutions on the modern pattern such as theatres, museums, houses and clubs; encouraging through training and through moral and material stimulation to

32. Pelden and Galden, op. cit., p. 41.
the artists devoted to these cultural activities; and
organising associations of artists so that a purposive
and collective effort is effected in all cultural
components. As a result of the steps taken by the
government, the remnants of the old and retrograde
cultural traits declined and a socialist cultural base
was inculcated in society.

(a) **Literature:** During the Second War, the main
theme of literature was patriotism. After the War the
theme of creative literature shifted to the ideas of
socialist construction. By the end of the period "the
principle of public-mindedness and Party-mindedness
have strengthened further in literature; many new forms
and categories have increased in literacy works;
writers' knowledge and artistic capacity have risen
sharply; and literacy themes have expanded." 33 In the
creative literacy area, the predominance of poetry was
replaced by other forms like essays, novels, short
stories developed during this period.

Translation of masterpieces of the world
literature got sufficient encouragement during this
period. In the 1940s the translated literature
created the image of dignity of labour and the concept

33. Shirendyb, op. cit., p. 660.
of revolutionary nationalism. "From the 1850s our sphere of translating literature extended even more greatly; there were translated into our mother language the best literary works of all the world's continents and of all nations". 34 Both, the creative and translation work, expanded during 1940-65. "In 1963 alone, more than 2,600,000 copies of books were published, an increase of more than 30% over 1951". 35 In 1950 there were 24 newspapers with 25,876 copies which increased to 30 newspapers with 65,809 copies in 1965.

(b) Art:- The development of art in Mongolia made significant advances. The Mongolian Theaters were organisationally strengthened. In the field of "national cinema arts from the 1940s there have been a shift to producing documentary films, film bulletins, news and full length art films". 36 "These art films produced during the 1940s all took as their themes the struggle to defend the Motherland and heroic deeds of history; they broadly portrayed questions of vigilance and aspects of patriotic concepts". 37 An Art school was opened in Ulan Bator in 1945". "The covenning in

34. Ibid, p. 661.
35. Ibid, p. 653.
36. Ibid, p. 663.
1964 of the First Congress of Mongolian Musical Composers, its summing up of the successes of modern Mongolian musics and its defining of future tasks and musical forms were important events in the further development of the MPR's musical arts. 38

(c) **Policy of the MPR:** The policy adopted by the MPRP made tremendous success possible in the development of expressive cultural instruments. The MPRP issued resolutions in 1947, 1948 and 1949 illustrating the principled path for waging resolute struggles against all manifestations and for developing social sciences on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methods. Similarly, in 1962, 1963 and 1964 the MPRP ordered the exposer of those evinced nationalism, who negated the revolutionary achievements of the Mongolian people and the Marxist-Leninist activities of the MPRP and who aimed at breaking up the party unity.

The propagation of the selected works of Marx and Lenin, through translated materials, became an important element in educating the masses on the new ideology of nation-building. People in general began to realise that non-capitalist path of development was

the right course for the future progress of Mongolia as a developed modern nation. It helped also in eradicating the outmoded culture, enveloping the people for centuries, of the old society and inculcating a new socialist culture for translating a new consciousness by raising the socialist consciousness of all working people of Mongolia. In the task of propagating culture and art among the working people, the role of "palaces of culture, clubs, recreation and reading rooms and other cultural and educational institutions" established during the period of formative stage played important role. These institutions achieved particular height during the Third Five Year Plan period, when more than 300 clubs, some 1,000 recreation and reading rooms and 312 Libraries were built in ACA centres. The transformation of culture have brought a revolutionary transformation in the spiritual life of the working people of Mongolia. "The cultural revolution is one of the main achievements of the Mongolian people brought about by Mongolia's non-capitalist development towards socialism." The descendents of nomads of Mongolia are "experiencing a spiritual and cultural regeneration."

40. Shirendyb, op. cit. p. 118.
41. Pelden & Galden, op cit., p. 49.
Buddhism remained dormant during the socialist construction of Mongolia after the revolution of 1921. Mongolia's "new generation of youth who were impatient of Lamaism and its unscientific and slow methods, welcomed socialism as a solution for Mongolian backwardness on all national fronts." But after the reform movement there is a revival of Buddhism in Mongolia. It has occupied a prominent mention in the socialist constitution of the Mongolian Peoples Republic, which states: "Since the teachings of Sakyamuni do not run counter to present day state rule, freedom and science, the peoples power of our country feels sympathy towards the Sakyamuni's religion and guarantees its observance, teachings and dissemination within the framework of the law". Similarly, there is a revival of Chinghiz Khan as a national here. The "Secret History" of Mongolia remained hidden for a long time. Mongolia had abundant literature on religion, it did not have early historical work. The 'Secret History' contains fascinating literature not only Chânghiz Khan's life and history but also his instruction and pronouncements. It contains myths, legend, prose and poetry. Now Chinghiz Khan is being revived as a


legendary national historical personality of Mongolia.

Mongolia no longer lives in its past any more. Slowly but steadily, Mongolia is taking vigorous steps to achieve comprehensive modernisation in various aspects of cultural life. Classical ballet, classical Western music and open theaters are expanding fast. "There is no aspect of culture that is free from experiment and originality while it may be concluded that there is a cultural renaissance in Mongolia, a 'golden age' is perhaps a distant dream".44

3. Education For a New Nation

Nation building being a modernising process, education has a paramount role to play in it. For nation building devolution to lower-level, ideals and loyalties must change towards a single loyalty for the nation. People have to feel committed to the nation rather than to their religion, tribes and clans. An inculcation of nationalistic values and attitudes is essential for nation building. Education is the most powerful instrument to substitute narrow loyalties by a loyalty to the nation. For making a socialist order

44. Vasantha Iyer, op. cit., p. 22.
of society, the traditional feudal and capitalist values have to be destroyed from the minds of people. It is, therefore, "the function of Education to substitute the broader view for the narrow, the ultimate view for the immediate, and commend the difficult but right path, when it would be fatally easy and attractive to choose the wrong one". The purpose of education is to prepare the attitude of mind commensurate to the needs of nation building of a society. If a society is planning for a socialist way of national life, it has to plan for an educational system yielding a much higher basic standard of ordinary behaviour so that the people can be ready to contribute to the building of a new nation and also can feel at home in the new order of society. Mongolia confronted the problem of building a new socialist nation just after the Revolution as to how to educate people about partiotism and internationalism and inculcate in them the habit of striving for their work and labour and of cherishing and protecting property. It was a difficult task for Mongolia as to how a socialist conciousness is created in them.

45. H.G. Saiyidain, Education Culture and the Social Order (New Delhi, 1952), p. 84.
There are two types of education needed for a new nation; first, general education for creating mental infrastructure for nation building; and second, technical education for matching the manpower requirements of economic enterprises. The general education concerns with the national values and ideas essential for understanding the new aspirations of the nation. In this sense, education is a social input aiming at producing far-reaching changes, at one stage in the minds and emotions of people and at the other in the network of institutions which determine the life of people. "Education is primarily concerned with the mind, the emotions and the behaviour of the young but it has an indirect and long range influence on the reshaping of the social order also. It can not exercise its full influence on the disposition of the children, if it has to function within the framework of social forces which are hostile to it in spirit and intension. Education is thus seen to be a part of the larger forces of social reconstruction". 46 The general education, therefore, is provided to improve the awareness of social revolution, to inculcate the ideas of national service and to generate class

46. Ibid, p. 208
solidarity among working population. This is particularly important for nation building of a socialist order. In short, the overall purpose of education is "to devise a new mental training appropriate to the needs of the new society in which children will have to live". 47 In other words, the aim of general education is to acquire higher consciousness of obligations and responsibilities of citizenship, alternatively "to teach citizenship". 48

When a new nation is under construction, it requires, in addition to a new consciousness, a manpower resources to match the planned development of the economy. The fast developing economy of a new nation calls for a steady increase in the size of the work force. Various branches of the economy require manpower of different skill and training in addition to a cadre trained in the Marxist frame of nation building. A planned economy plans for the training of skilled laboure in vocational schools and at the factory, and for improving the qualifications of workers are drawn up on the basis of the growing needs of enterprises in factories and farms. "The

48. Ibid, p. 48
rational use of manpower resources is of the greatest importance in national economic planning, for the rate of expansion of production and the national standard of living directly depend on this. The technical manpower resources, however, are ultimately drawn from the general education. The general education, therefore, is the crux of the issue related to the building of a new nation.

There are three basic issues having reference to the development of education which need to be examined in the context of nation building in Mongolia. These are: (1) the extent of expansion of education; (2) the content of education; and (3) the development of resources for the development of education. These three together would exhibit the process and pattern of educational development in Mongolia during the post revolution period in general and the period of 1940-65 in particular.

The task of revolutionaries was made difficult in socialist nation building of Mongolia because of the unsystematic traditional education. The education in Mongolia was "free of any central control, and

oriented to the traditional Buddhist way of life and thought, so that they had to operate as if there were no education".  

Before the revolution the educational institutions in the country were in a very small number fit to prepare only clerical officials. Rest of the Schools were religious schools attached to monasteries. The students in those schools (the monasteries) were prepared to become "disciples" and they studied "Buddhist religious doctrine in the foreign Tibetan language". Monasteries, scattered everywhere in Mongolia, were an obstacle to the development of education that would spread modern science. The party and the Government had to encounter various difficulties and complication in creating and organizing public education. "With the exception of a few devotees of mystic religion, all Tzarist Russian, Western, and Chinese travelers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have described Mongolian Lamaism as ignorant, decayed, stagnant, superstitious, and economically parasitical".

To begin with steps were taken to open a

secular school in Mongolia. In an application from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs addressed to the Bogd-gegen in the 4th year of the rule of "By the many Enthroned" (1914) reference was made to the need for every person to be taught reading and writing, for the establishment in the country of a system of secular schooling as in Russia, France, and England. Furthermore, the application stressed the extreme backwardness of Mongolia, pointing out that literacy in the country did not even extend to one person out of ten and that "Mongols up to the present time are still uneducated and have fallen in a state of poverty and backwardness."

In the regulations for elementary schools published in 1915 it was stated that "children of government officials, taiji and of common people are admitted. At the end of elementary schooling the cleverest children will be selected for further education in high schools." 53

In the first phase of socialist nation-building (1921-40) there were various problems associated with the introduction of universal

education system in the country. The distance to be travelled from home to school was one of the several obstacles for establishing a system of education in Mongolia. The other most difficult obstacle was nomadism of Mongolian people. This was solved by having living-in-quarters, for the benefits of the smallest pupils. But the main problem was total lack of any means to begin.54

The year 1940 was a turning point in the history of the MPR and heralded a new era in the development of the culture and education. At this the country started on the road towards socialist construction and since then, the state has made tremendous efforts in carrying out a cultural revolution.

The tasks were defined by the Tenth Party Congress in 1940. The Eighth Great National Hural issued a directive for the introduction of universal primary education. The 1940 (new) constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic, adopted at the Eighth National Hural, granted the people broad rights to education. Article 90 (1940 Const.)

provides that citizens of the MPR have the right to education, and that this right is guaranteed by free education, by the expansion of ordinary and technical schools and higher institutions, by the use of the national language in the schools, and by a system of state scholarships in the higher institutions.

An important event was the founding of the first State University in 1942. In setting up the university, the Soviet Union rendered great assistance presenting equipment and teaching materials. Thus within a short period, the country has succeeded in tackling the difficult task of setting up an education system from primary school to university.

The Five Year Plans have played a vital role in advancing education and culture as well as the national economy. The first five-year period from 1948-1952 was a development of far-reaching significance, the basic elimination of illiteracy.

After the revolution, the Government's task was to create mass literacy in Mongolia and to do away with the centuries - old backwardness and illiteracy in society. The principles on which
public education in Mongolia got based were:

- "equality of all citizens of the MPR in receiving education irrespective of race, nationality, sex, religion and social and property status;

- Compulsory education for all children of school age;

- Free education at all levels;

- Co-educational schooling;

- The scientific, humanitarian nature of education;

- Unity of the system of public education;

- The secular nature of education (public education and religion were separated).".55

The period of 1940-65 marked a distinctive improvement in creating educational facilities in Mongolia. During the period a vigorous programme of

55. Information Mongolia, op. cit., p. 289.
education was taken up by the government. Article 90 of the Constitution of 1940 states that "Citizens of the MPR have the right to education including: free study, the expansion and development of many schools, Tekhnikums, and Higher schools, and instruction in the native language, and students of Higher schools will be ensured these rights through stipends granted by the state". This became the guidelines for future development of education in the country.

The First Five Year Plan (1948-52) kept a target of providing comprehensive teaching in schools of all school-age children in Mongolia. The plan created condition for "making an elementary education compulsory for all school-age children in the future". The Second Five Year Plan made a target of causing all school-age children to have an elementary education. During the Three-Year-Plan the target of ensuring that all school-age children in the countryside have an elementary education was carried forward, and in city and aymag centres work began to ensure a compulsory 7 year education. "In view of the fact that a socialist system was established in this country's economy, that socialist

56. Shirendyb, op. cit., p. 647.
social relations have triumphed, that production forces were developing rapidly, and that this was creating the conditions for tightly connecting schools with reality and production, it became important to bring into reality constantly the principle of closely connecting school instruction with production labour and with the practice of socialist construction". The Third Five Year Plan, therefore, put a target of ensuring the shift to the work of guaranteeing that all school age children have a partial (Junior) Middle School education, of strengthening the links between schools and reality, and of reforming and improving the public educational system.

The educational establishments in the country also expanded rapidly. This was because the educational planners in Mongolia discovered it as an important instrument of social change. The educational institutions in Mongolia have served two purposes. First, they served the usual purpose of imparting education to students. And Second, the schools became civic centres of propogating socialist values to the people at large. In addition to the schools, a literacy drive was initiated in the

57. Ibid, p. 647.
The proportion of school-age children going to school was only 12 percent in 1932. In 1934 four children out of five receiving education were being taught by Lamas. In 1935, only 5.8 percent of the population were literate. In the 1930s only five thousand out of fifty thousand poor lamas had learnt...
to read. The literate population rose to 20.8 percent in 1940 and to 42.3 percent in 1947. By 1956, 72 percent of the population (493,100 of the 682,700 people aged eight and over) could read and write. The very great imbalance of illiterate females in 1935 had still not been completely offset by 1956. Their proportional share in higher schools can be seen in Table 4.

Table 6.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At higher educational establishments</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>49.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Specialised Secondary Educational Establishments</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>50.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


By 1963, however, 90 percent of the population over


seven years of age were literate and by 1968 total adult literacy was achieved.

The growth in educational facilities may be judged by the rise in number of educational institutions. In 1930, Mongolia had 122 general schools, with 6,800 pupils (0.96 of the population); by 1940, the number of these schools had nearly trebled, to 331, with 24,300 pupils (3.3 percent of the population) and by 1960, 468 schools having 115,300 pupils (12.1 percent of the population). This can be seen from Table 6.5. Such a rapid increase in the

Table 6.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1965</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of pupils and students</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>73.4</td>
<td>131.0</td>
<td>184.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of which

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1965</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pupils in general educational schools</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>68.7</td>
<td>115.3</td>
<td>164.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils in special secondary schools</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students of higher educational establishments</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

rate of progress was because of the decisive decision to change over to the universalisation of education.

The rapid rise in the educational infrastructure made it possible to cover a large number of students studying in Mongolia, though the higher education still remains confined to a small section. The Table 6.6 gives an idea of the density of students.

Table 6.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proportion of Students</th>
<th>(Per 10,000 persons)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heads</td>
<td>1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of students</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils in general</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>educational schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils in special</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students of higher</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>educational establishments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Educational reform initiated during 1961-63 served the long term aims of 'strengthening ties between school and life and further development of the system of people's education by introducing production training.\textsuperscript{60} The MPRP set the following task for the development of education: improvement of content and quality; and combination of teaching and production; the speediest possible attainment for all school-age children of 'incomplete' general education; expansion of pre-school institutions and boarding schools; and the further development of higher and secondary specialised education and the training of specialists with qualification.\textsuperscript{61}

Education for pre-school institutions and general education schools is administered by the Ministry of People's Education and by the State Committee for Higher and Secondary specialised Education. The University education is a central subject. The immediate task of the university have been to emphasise Marxist-Leninist education and 'devotion' to friendship with the Soviet Union; to develop technical manpower and trained cadres for the

\textsuperscript{60} A.P. Oklandnikov, and others (Eds), History of the MPR (Moscow, 1983), p. 559.

\textsuperscript{61} Sanders, op. cit., p. 129.
economy; and to expand teaching all the basic subject in higher educational establishments. Despite the limited financial and other resources of the Govt. of Mongolia, the State took the responsibility of meeting the entire expenditure for the needs of schools, from the construction of school premises to the supply of text-books and other items needed in teaching.

4. **Concluding Remarks on Social Change**

The period of 1940-65 marked a landmark in restructuring the social order of society of Mongolia. During this period a foundation was laid to rework the social surface both in material and cultural sense. A remarkable success was achieved in fulfilling the targets of educational development and revamping the social structure. Mongolia changed completely and the role played by social and cultural factors was paramount. The path of non-capitalist development, which Mongolia embarked due to the success of revolution of 1921 and to the assistance rendered by the Soviet Union, acquired maturity during this period since the cultural foundation was laid. The working class of Mongolia was consolidated and the loyalty of Mongolian people was
focused on the nation by breaking the traditional loyalties for tribes, religion and family. The social change in Mongolia completed the subjective pre-condition for the transition from feudalism straight to socialism. The change was made smooth without going through the stage of capitalism. The main features of social change during this period can be summarised in the following forms.

The material foundations were laid for revamping the social structure of Mongolia which was a powerful obstacle to nation building. The removal of traditional social structure, responsible for traditional narrow loyalties towards clan, tribe and family, was completed at two stages in Mongolia. At first stage the private ownership of the means of production was abolished. There were only two types of means of production in Mongolia before revolution: the cattle and the land. The land was nationalised and the cattle were brought under co-operativisation. "The confiscation of millions of heads of cattle and considerable material values from the feudal lords and their transfer to the state and partially to poor arats meant a just return to the working people of the wealth of which they were for centuries being
robbed by the exploiters".  

At the second stage the economic level of arats and other slaves was raised so that they could escape the feudal repression. The planned development during the phase of 1940-65 raised the economic levels of arats and thereby their work culture and mode of living. For raising the levels of living of Mongolian people, the tax collection from people, which was 16.7 percent of the revenue in 1940, was reached to only 5.4% in 1960. "In April 1964 the income tax levied on industrial and office workers was again reduced, while the wages of low paid categories of workers were raised."  

The destruction of feudals and the improvement of economic condition made far reaching changes in the social outlook and cultural values of the people of Mongolia. Through these two measures the loyalty generating material base of society was changed. The arat as a whole become a class of toiling masses. Their loyalties instead of resting on clan, tribe and family, shifted to the nation. This was because a very strong foundation stone was laid for building
Similarly, the educational development made a far reaching impact on social change in Mongolia commensurate to building a new socialist nation. The right to free education was made a constitutional right in Mongolia. This changed the whole perspective of education. The execution of new educational programme can be summed up under three heads. First, a deliberate programme of full literacy was chalked out during the plan period. "By 1961 all children of school age attended school, the state introducing universal compulsory elementary education in rural areas and 7 year schooling in towns". The number of students in general education schools increased by 45 percent in 1965 over 1961. The period thus, marked a remarkable achievement in imparting education to all. Second, mass literacy campaign was organised so that the illiterate arats could be brought within the sphere of information and knowledge. The problem of illiteracy was solved during 1947-52 with the result that by 1952 some 99 percent of country's adult population could read and write in their native

64. Ibid, p. 104.
language. And third, the government opened a large number of educational institutions during the period of 1940-65. In 1940 there were only 338 schools. "In 1960 the number of general education school, increased by 26.6 percent, the contingents of pupil in them increasing four fold compared with 1940". 65 The University of Ulan Bator was opened in 1942 and the Academy of Sciences was opened on May 24, 1961. Thus, the educational development played a significant role in creating class consciousness among people and thereby laying a firm cultural foundation for building a new nation of Mongolia.

Cultural backwardness was one of the serious obstacles in the nation building process in Mongolia. To overcome this problem the initial step was taken by the government to separate the church from the state and the school from the church. The most important achievement of Mongolia in the field of culture has been the flourishing Mongolian literature and art and also the new avenues of cinema, theaters and other cultural activities. As a result of the measures taken in these areas of cultural improvement, the Mongolian people are experiencing a new status and aspiration as citizens.

of a vibrant nation.

In recent years there has been a cultural revival in Mongolia. This is reflected in several aspects of Mongolian social life. There is revival of Чингиз Хан. He is being rehabilitated by contemporary Mongolian historians as a hero of national pride. There is also a revival of Buddhism, which made enormous impact on the life and culture as religion and faith of Mongolian people for centuries. These developments are not antagonistic to nation building. Mongolia, now, wants to look back in history to consolidate its national heritage so that its identity as a nation is consolidated. These developments along with the assimilation of Western cultural imitation are signs of lurking nationalism getting articulated in literature, art, history, culture, life style and in Mongolia's international relations. These new developments are not the negation of achievements of nationhood rather on attestation of progress of Mongolia as a nation.