CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS
The period of 1940-65 is the most rewarding experience in the long history of Mongolia which is heavily stuffed with the stories of war, cruelty, glory, poverty and revolution. All the ups and downs of Mongolian history worked as building blocks for constructing a modern nation of Mongolia. No other period of Mongolian history can match this period in terms of contributing to the consolidation of people in the effort of fabricating a society to be called a nation. During this period Mongolia laid very meticulously a new and powerful foundation of nationhood, a process which followed the successful completion of Revolution. The later period of socialism of 70s and 80s and of liberalisation of 90s are the by products of the gains achieved during 1940-65. A vibrant nation of Mongolia of today, struggling to discover its rightful place in the world community of nations, got blossomed out of the birth pang of 20s and 30s and the nourishment of 40s and 50s. The edifice of a modern nation of Mongolia of today is founded on the grounds laid during the period of 1940-65.

The significance of this period (1940-65) lies in the fact that it tackled the most difficult task.
of by-passing capitalism once feudalism was abolished in the previous period (1924-39). This period, therefore, had to handle two tasks simultaneously: first, to keep in check the forces released by capitalism which create obstacles for socialism; and second, to create new institutions which can help strengthen building Mongolia a socialist nation. These two tasks were accomplished during this period by nationalisation of the private means of production, and by expanding state industrial units and negdel organisation of farms. The MPRP was strengthened as a vanguard of nation building and a homogenous class of workers and arats was labouriously created.

An examination of the experience of nation building, during the period of 1940-65, can not be undertaken unless a survey is conducted as to how the country looked like when the people mobilised themselves with a design to restructuring Mongolia as a modern nation. This survey, in terms of time, covers a long period of long and eventful history of the country. The history of Mongolia goes beyond the English calender which encompasses legendry stories of its warriors and endless feuds among its feudal lords. A bird eye view of this long period provides a scenario of as to how the administrative system, the
religious influence and social framework interacted to make Mongolia a functioning state. The king was a tutelar head of the state governing Mongolia with the administrative infrastructure under the command of the local nobles and the moral guidelines prescribed by religion. Buddhism had its rise and decline; during Ju jan empire, in 4th century, it acquired the status of state religion but during Turks, in the 8th century, it faced decline. It again revived during Chinghiz Khan in the 13th century. The level of feuds among nobles affected the nature of authority and also the boundary of state empire. The social structure was fragmented among tribes. The rights of the masses were covered under religious beliefs and observance and the hierarchy of their social status. The arat of Mongolia, however, had an ever increasing duty of maintaining the administrative apparatus, the extravagance of nobles and the profits of merchants. The state of Mongolia had neither fixed boundary nor legitimate authority based on the popular will of the people. Mongolila was not a nation. It was an administering state (Chapter I).

The concept of nation building has modern connotation. A country can be called a nation only if it has structural cohesiveness, political authonomy
and organisational integrity. When people decide to grow and prosper, they have to change the order of historical process and adopt a new decision of organising the society. This is what nation building is. Nation building is a mechanical process through which a country is restructured according to a definite plan, from various resource materials of policy options and in different sequences of steps.¹

There are alternative ways of building a nation: capitalist (democratic) path of nation building and socialist (Leninist) path of nation building. Both the roads of nation building lead a nation through modernisation: socialist nation through public ownership and under democratic centralism. The political ingredients of nation-building being "of identity, of authority, and of equality,"² socialist societies interpret these pre-requisites in Marxist frame (Chapter II).

Once Mongolia decided to build a new nation, it had to demolish the existing power system and

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political order of society. The political authority in the traditional society of Mongolia was so much ingrained that it was not possible to modernise the society without a full fledged Revolution. This started in 1911 and finally in 1921. On 11 June 1921, revolution succeeded and D. Bodoo and D. Sukhaatar were made the Prime Minister and Commander in Chief respectively. MPP was formed in 1921 as a vanguard of revolution which changed its name in 1924 to MPRP. All these happened with the active support of the Soviet Union. (Chapter III). Mongolia finally decided to adopt Marxism - Leninism as an ideological guide for nation building processes.

Chapter IV deals with the politics of Mongolia; its theory and practice. The guiding principle of Mongolian politics being "democratic centralism", MPRP was assigned the role of vanguard of nation building. A political culture of monolithic unity in ideas and organisation was created. It was the duty of all members of the Party, which have been increasing overtime, to strengthen the ideological and organisational unity of the party. The party became the sole policy maker and was assigned the responsibility of pushing the execution of party programme through. The
constitutional structure of Mongolia contained the power and functions of different organs of legislative and executive along with the rights and duties of the citizens. The Party became superior to the state because it was the directing force of the socialist revolution. State organs of MPR function as transmission belts between the Party and the masses. The Mongolian state system throws light on the legal status of administrative organs, it hardly describes the actual practice. Constitutionally all power is exercised by the Great People's Hural but in fact it is exercised more by the Central Committee of MPRP and by its Politbureau and Presidium of the Congress and the Council of Ministers. The Party is supreme in Mongolia which discharges political and administrative function.

The economy of Mongolia is planned. State enterprises and negdels formed the new economic institution for nation building. Planned development of its economy opened a new horizon of economic prosperity. Industries were installed, agriculture and cattle farming was reorganised. All these led to a rise in the per capita income of people, Mongolia moved very fast towards nation building through the process of modernisation adopting the non-capitalist
path of development. During the period of 1940 and 1965, socialist economic institutions were meticulously created and consolidated for making rapid advances toward full socialism. Collectivization and co-operativisation were completed and industrialization made a solid beginning during this period. Mongolia attracted the flow of capital and know-how from the Soviet Union and organized for the creation of larger capital formation for industrialization. The rate of growth of the economy of Mongolia accelerated and new base of state owned economic institution were created which diversified the industrial expansion in the country. (Chapter V).

On cultural front, elaborated in Chapter VI, Mongolia made striking advances by resolving the problem of nationalities and achieving full literacy for the entire population. Institutions of higher and technical learning and training were established to meet the manpower resources. The traditional narrow loyalties were largely destroyed and a new national loyalty was created by generating a new consciousness of single class of arats and workers for the whole country according to the teachings of Marxism and Leninism. An expanding settled society
exposed to the new life opportunities brought new aspirations for democratic rights and prosperous life-style. Mongolia exhibits all round evidences of modernity. Now, Mongolia is a new nation reborn, cutting its roots off from parochial and barbarous past and looking for full partnership in modern civilization.

The progress made in the spheres of politics, economics and culture, has made Mongolia a full blooded nation. This can be stated on the basis of a number of factors; that the country has got a fixed boundary recognised by the nations of the world, particularly the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, the two powerful and only neighbours of Mongolia; that it has become autonomous in taking decision on its own; that it has got a political structure based on the constitutional provisions of the state; and that it has acquired the legitimacy of state authority through the participation of people in political affairs. Mongolia became a nation by adopting a well defined process of building a socialist nation. Its preception to democracy and economic modernisation are different. The socialist regime of Mongolia does not believe in political rights without being backed
by material and cultural rights. It believes in making people strong enough so that they can exercise their political rights through higher standards of economic life, egalitarian social surface, and new cultural awakening all rooted in the principles of Marxism.

Mongolia moved steadily on the road of socialism right from 1924, created powerful socialist structure during 1940-65 and claimed to have approached full socialism in the subsequent period. Its progress towards modernisation have been impressive adopting the non-capitalist path of development. It can, therefore, be claimed that Mongolia achieved modern nationhood. This is because the nation consolidated its territorial and ideological identity, acquired legitimacy of its authority and practiced a participatory government, fulfilling the three nation building conditions "of identity, of authority, and of equality". Mongolia, without doubt, is a modern nation state.

The nationhood status of Mongolia is not without blemish. There are doubts about the nationhood of Mongolia. The European scholars have been raising fingers on the status of Mongolia as a
nation for a long time. They are of the view that the autonomy of Mongolia has always been infringed by the USSR. Its economy has always remained circumscribed by the interest of the Soviet Union. It does not follow an independent foreign policy. The internal integrity of Mongolia is not above board since the government has been authoritarian with the result that a narrow elitist society have feeble base of stability has been generated. Mongolia though formally an autonomous nation lacks real sovereignty.

With io, Mongolia voices have started coming from the intellectuals that the foundation of nation building has been inherently weak. They have started writing against the misrule of the MPRP. It is claimed that Tsedenbal had propagated a myth "that by 1980 Mongolia would have achieved communism and established itself as an industrial country" though, in practice, he never laid "the proper foundation for achieving this feat during his rule of 30 years." 3 Chairman Batmönkh in his address to the Fifth Plenary meeting of the Central Comittee of the MPRP exposed the administrative system of Mongolia by saying that the personality cult of Choibalsan, modelled on Stalin, had done great damage to the country and had

continued also in the fifties and sixtees.

A new perception of nation building has taken roots in Mongolia. The new perception is different in content and spirit than what guided the building of Mongolian nation since 1921. This perception is concerned with the opening up of Mongolian society and the achievement of a new national identity. There is a strong feeling among the people for a change in the process of nation building: that "after so many years in limbo, the Mongolians have rediscovered who they are and they want the world to hear from them, even though they are barely two million people." The pressure for reform began some 5 years ago, but acquired a powerful and effective movement only from the beginning of 1990. The overwhelming demand for democratisation, privatisation and globalisation, has pushed Mongolia into a new stage of nation building. This has culminated in the adoption of a new Constitution of Mongolia in 1992, passed by the Parliament on 18 January 1992, a new name, the State of Mongolia, and a new flag, two red stripes intercepted by a sky blue one. This is a right about turn in terms of ideology and strategy in the process of nation building for

Mongolia. It is a beginning of a new history of Mongolia. It is a search for a "new and independent identity as a nation."\(^5\)

It is necessary to understand the new-turn in the perception of nation building. There have been four major undercurrents for the new movement of Schenechlel (reformation) in Mongolia. First, the communist states, in general, and the Soviet Union, in particular, have opted for the reformation of their economies. The declaration of Perestroika and Galasnost in the Soviet Union by Gorbachev got its echo in all communist societies. Mongolia did not remain far behind. The fall of the governments of the Eastern Europe and of the Soviet Union encouraged the people of Mongolia, those who wanted to change the socialist pattern of nation building. The intellectuals and urban people became inspired by the political unheavals of the Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. There are, however, two distinguishing features of the democratic movement of Mongolia; first, that there has been no reports of ethnic antagonism in Mongolia; and second, that the movement is "not an anti-Soviet Movement" since it was "not an

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unhappy marriage with the Soviet Union." The movement had firm base which made the government to agree and accommodate the demands of movement.

Second, there has been much of bureaucratisation of politics in Mongolia. The state has been prone to cover corruption and excesses committed by the state power. On the other hand, the Mongolian people have acquired a matured level of political consciousness. Their aspiration have increased since their standard of living has increased and life chances have improved. The wave of Glasnost have brought new sense of grievances in a section of population. Now, "the people have got the right to speak openly against the communist terror and repression in Mongolia and to discuss and remove such problems." The attention of the intelligentsia have gone to diagnose "the terror activities as well as political and ideological repression: and to "express their indignation against Tsendenbal's regime". It is now coming to light that the apparent struggle between left and right in the

6. An assessment of a Mongolian Diplomat as reported in the Times of India (New Delhi) 11 January 1990.


8. Ibid.
thirtees was actually a design of political repression and terror by the state power. It is believed that during the period (1932-52) "there had been 1,00,000 Buddhist Lama in Mongolia, about 90,000 out of them were executed by communist terrorist". There is, therefore, a demand of the movement that Yum Jaigiyan Tsendenbal should be brought for trial for the excesses committed in Mongolia. The people of Mongolia feel that system must change because "we are building a new system, showing the seeds of a truely humane and democratic society."  

And third, the nation building of Mongolia needs a different internal and external environment. The central planning system of Mongolia has proved to be increasingly complex for a transitional society from pre industrial to industrial. Democratic centralism has hampered initiative which has affected innovation and productivity growth. The 19th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) of 1986 openly expressed that the planning mechanism has become bureaucratic capable of breeding inefficiency in the economy. Subsequently, therefore, concrete economic  

reforms programme was elaborated at the 3rd plenary meeting of the Party's Central Committee.11 Moreover, Mongolia has accumulated a sizeable sum of foreign debt, about $18 billion, mostly to the Soviet Union, which can not be rapid under the conditions prevailing in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, for the economic development of Mongolian economy, the trade and aid must be sought from other countries. The ongoing economic pattern of Mongolia needs to be restricted otherwise, the nation building would face stagnation.

The government of Mongolia have respected the demand of people and reform measure: have been introduced in the country. These have got reflected on three distinct fronts of the society. First, the MPRP has been stripped of its role as a vanguard of nation building. MPRP has been converted in a party equal to many other political parties. There have emerged 14 political parties in the country. This has got reflected at three levels; first, the monopoly of ideology, Marxism-Leninism, has been replaced by competing political ideologies; and second, political participation of people have become more broad based

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since several other political parties will strive for power. However, there are some peculiarities in the Mongolian reform movement. The communist party has not been abandoned as is the case of some countries of Eastern Europe. For instance, the present state great "Hural has 427 deputies: 84 percent or 360 deputies are members of the MPRP, 3.9 percent or 17 deputies are members of the Mongolian Democratic Party, 1.2 percent or 5 deputies - Mongolian National Progress Party (MNPP), 1.2 percent or 5 deputies - Mongolian Socialist democratic party and 39 independent deputies".12

Second, the centrally planned economic development has been replaced by the market economy. In Mongolia a unique scheme to privatise has been developed, that the "assets of all government enterprises have been divided and distributed equally among two million Mongolians."13 This is not finding easy since there are neither stock exchange nor buyers. And third, the dependency on the Soviet Union have been relaxed. The Mongolian government is searching around the world and seeking from the world financial institutions aids and assistance for developmental assistance. Mongolia is seeking "assistance of the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and some Western Countries."14 The trade will also be diversified.

Under the new dispensation of Mongolian nation building, the task of evaluating a bygone period of 1940-65 has become difficult. There have been two approaches to evaluate this period: (I) the orthodox official Mongolian view and (II) a critical view of western writers and current Mongolian thinking. The official assessment of the period (1940-65) under study has been that it worked well and laid a solid foundation of socialist nation building of Mongolia. It always claimed that during this period the country acquired a "completely new socialist form" and the "country's economy became composed of both small commodity economic units and socialist branches". The "political base became an alliance of the workers class and the working arat class." As a result of the strategy adopted and actions taken "the Mongolian working masses gradually changed into a dictatorship of the workers' class." It was not possible to shift from feudalism to socialism without resolutely making profound great social economic reforms.\(^\text{15}\) The official view, however, overlooks the shortcomings, which are considered as residual, and mere deviations from the norms in course of moving towards a high stage of envisaged socialist nationhood. In essence, the Mongolian official position has tried to idealise the existing social order.

\(^{15}\) MPRP Program "The Mongolian Nation has shifted from Feudalism to Socialism" Party Life (Ulan Baton), No.6, 1966, p. 26.
Many of the Western Writers and recent scholars of Mongolia are critical to the process of nation building and the achievements gained during this period. Their evaluation is based on two parameters. First, Mongolian effort of nation building is examined in the context of the "open societies", called democracy. Since the Mongolian way of nation building was in contrast to the Western political systems, the method adopted by Mongolia is disaproved. However, they fail to recognise the evil consequences of free enterprise inbuilt in the economy of capitalist societies and the limitation imposed by interest groups in the functioning of democracies. The capitalist societies are no less inhuman than the communist societies if they are critically examined. And second, the Mongolian way of nation building is critised due to moral blemishes of the communist regime. There should be no room to hide the truth and cover the excesses committed. What is emphasised here is that this part of the nation building should have been avoided had the nation builders got enough farsight to see the stability of their system and the moral aspect of nation building.

There is, therefore, an alternative way of evaluating the experience of nation building of
Mongolia. Even if the moral values are not imputed in the strategy adopted, a simple criterion is whether an alternative nation building possibility existed during the period under study. Furthermore, whether Mongolia added substantially to the growth of politics, economics and culture of the country. If utopia is not the scale of evaluation, it appears safe to conclude that Mongolia made substantial advancement towards nationhood and the period of 1940-65 contributed singularly to it.

In Mongolia there is no virtual collapse of the speed of nation building, though its strategy, of course, has changed. This is because the foundations were laid for building a new society. It is beyond dispute that socialist mode of nation building succeeded in accelerating the economy, improving the standards of living, making literacy universal and adopting social welfare measures. "Per capita national income and per capita power generation are approaching the average world level." 16 No other system would have shaked the dormant giant and put it to the task of nation building with commitment and vigour. It was the

16. H. Dashdondov, "Progressive changes in the Socio Economic Development of the MPR" in R C Sharma and Sh. Bira (ed.), India and Mongolia (New Delhi, 1991), p.120
socialist frame that has infused an egalitarian ethics in the society of Mongolia. There is no evidence to suggest that an alternative mode of nation building would have been more rewarding for a landlocked country of Mongolia. A planned economy brought faster transformation to a nomadic society which for centuries has been helpless by the criss-cross of wars, invasions, and exploitation. What has failed in Mongolia is the economy based on state ownership, centralised planning and one party dominance, all of these led to rigid bureaucratic institutionalisation of society.

From the investigation of Mongolian experiment of nation building there are various reasons to conclude that the socialist mode of nation building adopted by Mongolia was not a waste rather a success. The new design of nation building is not a smooth passage to higher level of nationhood. First, "some Mongolians have not entirely abandoned their communist beliefs. They say "Herdsmen need the state for marketing and distribution."17 Second, "what cannot be disputed is the fact that Soviet type

economies were certainly more egalitarian than their capitalist market counter parts," though in terms of efficiency it lagged behind. 18 And third, the new wave of Schnechlel towards a market system is not frictionless. There are many hurdles which are being faced by the Mongolian society. There was a full fledged ideological and tactical framework available to guide a switchover from feudalism to communism, there is no such theory and framework as to how communism can turn back to capitalism. For all these reasons, it can be concluded that the socialist mode of nation building adopted by Mongolia was a success and, therefore, rewarding.

The modernisation process of Mongolia, and thereby its nation building, is not going to stop. It is a change with continuity. Mongolia is bound to march ahead since it has acquired inner power and global reach to project itself as a sovereign nation. The out dated bureaucratic and administrative system and the state owned mode of industrialisation are under attack, but there is no relaxation in the national will for a positive transformation of

society. What has been challenged is the direction of political and economic modernisation, not the spirit of nation building. The future of Mongolia is not at stake.