K. B.-M. Mitupov, Oroljav Batmunkh Brief historical background of Mongolian democracy

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BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MONGOLIAN DEMOCRACY

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The article is devoted to historical background of Mongolian Democracy. A democracy has been growing in the present society in Mongolia that is about becoming as a social phenomenon, and continuity of our past history such characterized by national identity and unique features. Mongolians, we are the people with rich traditions of the state-ship. Tribalism has created by humanity was organized and coordinated by the brotherhood, relatives and the inhabitants of the homeland, and thus became a state-ship under the auspices of the forces of weakness and extraterrestrials. A Mongolian has rationally and peace-loving attitudes towards any circumstances, and their stance to the state-ship approached to the values of solidarity and morality. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to stimulate inquiry into important questions about how to facilitate and consolidate transitions from communism to market-oriented democratic regime in Mongolia, and how Mongolians are honored to be able to present the views of so many distinguished factors in national commitment to promote the study, understanding, and practice of democracy and democratic values in the prerequisite conditions in the Mongolian democracy.

Keywords: democracy, a social phenomenon, democratic values, social political culture, Mongolia.

Democracy is gathering momentum. Now here has its impact been more striking than in the triumph of freedom over communism in the Soviet bloc. We guess now many more democratic events were to transpire by the date of its competition. From their different perspectives as historians, sociologists, political scientist, scholars and economists, the contributions to the newly society of transitions to the democracy in Eastern Europe and Soviet bloc, such aborted movement toward freedom and voice of speech in the «closed society» under the soviet bloc countries [11, p. 1]. On the other hand, one of the crucial point of agreement from that mentioned perspectives is that communism as an alternative social order has failed miserably and is discredited, even though a few faltering strongholds remain. Different views are offered about why the collapse of Leninism was not anticipated by scholars, which historical foundations and social institutions are necessary for the success of transitions to democracy and market-oriented economies, and how to assess the strength of civil society in these emerging democracies [11, pp. 2–3].

Additionally, until just before the decade of the 1980s, however the failings of Marxism-Leninism and the superiority of democracy and the market system were not always that obvious. Whatever our recurring questions, they were suddenly answered by what can only be called the near simultaneous volcanic eruption in what had been assumed to be essentially quiescent Marxist-Leninist world. To understand the reasons for the unravelling of the Communist world, it is necessary to retrace the evolution of the Communist movement. In many event, the dictatorship of the proletariat or rather the communist parties in the bloc countries with its intellectuals, seemed to be the perfect vehicle for mobilizing capital and labor and overseeing the transformation of a backward agrarian and agricultural country into a modern industrialized society.

Such an approach however proved to be very costly. Thus, since in communist countries the capitalists were removed, the Communist parties had to implement industrialization. Because these countries lacked facilitating economic and political institutions such as a middle class with independent incomes, guilds and institutional constraints on unlimited power, though, their «transformations» were accompanied bysocial, structural and political regimentation and inherent abuses which hindered their economic as well as political modernization [11, p. 11].

Because, in the middle of 1980s, the USSR, which led the global socialist system, recognized a crisis of the system and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announced the perestroika reforms. This attempt to save the system failed, because communist ideology contracted the fundamental interests of human beings and did not accept principle of human rights, freedom and private property [1, p. 11]. In 1985, the Soviet Union also began to break out Stalin's swaddling clothes, but unlike China, its break was in the political rather than the economic sphere [11, p. 10]. The challenge began with the appointee of Mikhail Gorbachev [12, pp. 316–317] as a General Secretary in March 1985, but once underway, the movement spread relatively quickly to Eastern Europe. By 1991, virtually every country of Eastern Europe, as well as several of the republics in the Soviet Union, had swept their Communist parties and governments from power. Even before that time, movements for change and public uprising had occurred in several socialist countries since 1950s but were suppressed each time by USSR's military intervention. By 1989, peaceful movements against the system succeeded in Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Bulgaria whereas the communist regime in Romania fell in the course of bloody confrontation [1, p. 11].

Where as, the historical process of Mongolian democratic movements has encouraged by Soviet *«perestroika»*, representatives of younger generation formed underground political groups, such as «The New Generation» and «The Globe» and began to criticize the existing communist system, that initiated by 1988–1989. But the *«perestroika»* has shown that restructuring reflects on people thinking, social cognition, and the transformation that could not be make the whole community movement in the forward [2, p. 246].

The book such namely as «How democracy grew in Mongolia: first ten years» wrote by Amarsanaa Sukhbaataryn (one of the founders of the Mongolian Democratic Union) that emphasized: "their first political action was performed in the early 1989, and that they reach out to the public was to place advocacy leaflets on the streets of Ulaanbaatar demanding democracy, pluralism of opinion and human rights. In February 1989, the ruling communist party responded by printing the translation of the Uni-

versal Declaration of Human Rights in its newspaper «Unen» (The Truth) for the first time. Also youth attempted to to demands of change and reform were openly expressed and soon spread throughout the country country sparking demonstrations of students and young workers in the provincial capital of Hovd on December 7, and in the large cooper mine city Erdenet on December 10 "In that case, the author of this book compiled a brief review of most important events that unfolded during the first ten years Mongolia's transition to democracy. As years pass by the makers and eyewitnesses of this great endeavor will hand over their legacy to the new generation of leaders and their followers who may not know much about what exactly happened in Mongolia quarter of century ago"".

Thus, the purpose of this paper is to stimulate inquiry into important questions about how to facilitate and consolidate transitions from communism to market-oriented democratic regime in Mongolia, and how Mongolians are honored to be able to present the views of so many distinguished factors in national commitment to promote the study, understanding, and practice of democracy and democratic values in the prerequisite conditions in the Mongolian democracy.

As one communist country after another in Asia suddenly reconsidered Marxism-Leninism's superiority and, ultimately, its failings, the nations in the Soviet bloc were caught by surprise. Mongolia made a transition to democracy in 1990s. Almost two decades have already passed since the outbreak of Democratic Revolution in 1990. However, trust in democratic consolidation has been seriously damaged among Mongolian citizens since that time [10, p.11].

A democracy has been growing in the present society in Mongolia that is about becoming as a social phenomenon, and continuity of our past history such characterized by national identity and unique features. Mongolians, we are the people with rich traditions of the state-ship. Tribalism has created by humanity was organized and coordinated by the brotherhood, relatives and the inhabitants of the homeland, and thus became a state-ship under the auspices of the forces of weakness and extraterrestrials. A Mongolian has rationally and peace-loving attitudes towards any circumstances, and their stance to the state-ship approached to the values of solidarity and morality. Thinking of the state-ship of Mongolians is originated from the source of the nomadic thinking, ideology, co-existence and customs. For instance, the concept of the world of Mongols is dedicated to an essential part of the traditional concept of statehood [4, p. 127] with related to spatial concepts through the worship of their forefathers, the homeland, the mountains, the grasslands, and the ancestors.

Since 1990, people s perceptions of political activism, democracy, human rights, freedom and justice have begun to become slanting behaviors in some form of social psychology and consciousness, in accordance with considered as influenced by some way of political cultural changes and reform. The aspiration to approaching to problems with a pluralistic position in regards that purpose to creating a fair competition for politics. In contribution to the development of formation in the social political culture in accordance with a newly establishment process of new state facilities, political parties, party systems, civil society organizations and the mass media.

The Mongolian democratic revolution of 1990 colloquially referred to as the Democratic Revolution of the «Year of the White Horse» saw Mongolia join into a group of countries that nearly simultaneously pursued a democratic development path.

Since its democratic transition in 1990s, Mongolia has undergone number of reforms such as political, economic and social reforms, which were relatively silent and stable reforms that formed a good sample of democratic development. This success was one of the most powerful evidence that not every developing country in Asia should implement the reform both in political and social fields as it was realized in many other countries. However, being a democratic country is not only based on the adoption of democratic views and principles. Even in our society, freedom and democratic principles are the most important value to be proud of; it is still required to improve the implementation mechanisms and methods for promoting democratic culture nationwide. Over the last 28 years, Mongolians have engaged in a complex and difficult twin transition, where radical political and economic reforms were implemented instantaneously. It was not easily path, but in the world, was able to reach the level of middle-income countries and secure for its people universal principles of freedom and human rights [1, p. 11].

While Mongolia is in its democratic development phases, a new generation of youth that has no decent knowledge or experiences about previous society has now grown up and reached at the age of elections. They constitute 40 percent of total population of Mongolia. Due to population window phase, the roles and responsibilities of youth in current society tend to be more increased.

In last three decades, information technologies tend to have a more impact on daily life, socialization process and social participation of youth than traditional social factors. Accordingly, nature of characteristics of issues and challenges faced by youth are also different and changed. In order to promote the development of democratic society in Mongolia, it has a paramount importance to study and explore current state of youth understanding, concept and tendency toward democracy and political participation.

Mongolians, talked about democracy in the twentieth century, writes on, and have been studying. However, at first, accorded to the Marxist theory on "proletarian or socialist democracy", and then determined approximately notion of "liberal or liberal democracy" not then Marxist theory of the doctrine. The socialist democracy dilemma has interrupted in the 1990s, an attempt to implementing a liberal democracy has been ongoing crisis in the recent years, even supposing to implementation has slowed down, and some have been observed in a recession. The current political hygiene owns to fault at least, as it's injured that the defective political culture in such a political culture that created breeding side wrong turn, might affect mutual aggressive damage is being created a closed circle.

The idea of democracy in Mongolia, «received» the concept, we are using a very relative sense here, that things, and in general, I have been thinking that understood the content. The statehood of Mongolian history has own democratic traditions. It might be a national cornerstone of democracy development. Democracy, itself requires more unique individual in the system that is not a mechanical sum of belongings. In this sense, that smoothly implementation of its advantages of democracy and common values of the quality ascertain number of positive patterns to be observed. In particular, democracy is being more enriched the lives of citizens and their political freedom and economic needs, off-duty and learning, also such as the practice of democracy. By means that political freedom is a part of human freedom and that exercise of civil and

quesome of the political parties' election pledges, that may be due to the lack of implementation and enforcement of legislation [7, pp. 130–138].

Hereof, democracy was born from its life, or social relations among people of developing, or have limited wide multitude of phenomena, and in fact, that is a collective actions, and the work of someone else, which can't be owned by someone or any political force that is also not merchandise [7, pp. 250–252]. The people are its author. Anyone does not take away the rights of its author. The political force is the only servant to the people that supports to the development of democracy as a slave. They have rights such is replaced that servant of them. Even killing our disposal, but they are needed [3, p. 15]. The electoral mechanism is performed in the democratic society. The electoral and representative democracy has been established in Mongolia at the beginning of the twentieth century [10, p. 18].

Finally, realities of the implications of democratic processing in the government of Mongolia, has been reflected in the following factors of traditional and transitional circumstances practically required as. For instance, the basic traditional factors in reflecting Mongolia's specificities are required that small population, small-scale economy, dependence on external factors, low level of development; pastoral cattle- breeding, nomadic lifestyle; gap between urban and rural areas, migration from rural to urban areas; state paternalism; nomadic mentality; non-formal factors in social relationships.

The transitional factors in reflecting Mongolia's specificities are demanded on Simultaneous political and economic transition; semi-presidential political system; inertia of Marxist views of politics; general and superficial nature of understanding democracy and democratic values; dramatic economic downfall; social polarization; and unemployment, poverty, corruption and other negative factors and reverse gender balance [10, pp. 20–26]. Mongolia is a part of the countries which newly established democracy in the democratic development and governance sustainability. In accordance with national statement to the Constitution, the Mongolian people have the right to participate directly in political decisions. This right is implemented through election of state institutions. In addition, the particulars of democracy in Mongolia have naturally valuable in the people's living, and that also significance of instrumentally and constructively consequences in the political decision making process.

Decision making process on law and policy-making is semi-open and consultations with citizens and the public are not conducted properly. Despite the many unique features that characterize Mongolia, the follow-up activities reflect a common set of challenges faced by many new democracies, as well as many mature democracies, suggesting Mongolia joins other democracies in the world in struggling to develop longlasting democratic institutions and to inculcate deeply felt democratic values. Additionally, the general sense of cooperation at the domestic level, the follow-up activities were carried out in a spirit of international cooperation, and in many ways set a milestone in the idea of supporting democracy worldwide. On the other hand, in order to increase the political participation of citizens, elected officials and politicians should not only rely on their ultimate power of decision making, but also discussion and consultation with citizens should be carried out prior to final decision. perception is considerable variation in the development of democracy. In particular, 52.9 percent of respondents assessed "average" that development of democracy in 2005, in 2008, that would be assessed by 54.7 percent such increased by +1.8 points, in regarding to circumstantial cases of the political process, and its electoral unrest reasons of the social results that might be disorders in the society. Though, research conducted in 2010, that assessed by 54.3 percent or +1.4 points compared to 2005, in 2008 that is -0.4 lower than some of the political parties election pledges, that may be due to the lack of implementation and enforcement of legislation.

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ducted in 2010 under the MDG-9 Project Phase II at the IPSL, UNDP Mongolia, and team produced the third statement-report on "Changes in the State of Democracy in Mongolia 2009/2010". Ulaanbaatar, 2010; 4th round survey conducted in 2013 under the Democracy Assessment Team supported by President of Mongolia in the framework of Community of Democracy Movement. The Team also produced the survey report on "Changes in the State of Democracy and democratic process in Mongolia 2011/2012". Ulaanbaatar, 2013.

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political rights as the person who lived in the society, which must be an integral part of the good life.

In other hand, democratic doctrine and viewpoints are enriched to the foreign policy of Mongolia. The democratic changes and reform process involving to the all sectors of society in Mongolia that started in the late 1980s and early 1990s regards to shift a huge turnaround in our foreign policy and foreign relations resulted as. Since that time, our view on foreign policy refused to the one-oriented ideology, in regarding to accepted an international legal norms and principles such as followed by a peaceful, open, and not joining to the coalition and independent multilateral foreign policy in rapidly expanding with external relations more actively bilateral cooperation that ever developed as [13, p. 302].

That political and social involvement for human life and well-being of all its own that's worth is important situated. The instrumental importance of democracy is existed on politically voice expressed that should be noticed others notifications in requiring to expression of the views for the people. Along with detailed studies on democracy, that requited to study on the practice of democracy, while a person who are the opportunity to learn from one another, and social values and priorities is construction of helps. Logically, democracy is naturally worth that lives of citizens and political decisions such is the instrumental importance and required to constructive spiritual importance as well.

Similarities of the research findings in the internationally, the majority of Mongolians are considered that democracy is the ideal as an effective democratic political system. In accordance with Asia Barometer Survey was hold in 2003 and 2006 in Mongolia, 91-94% of the population is still observed that for democracy. Though, 61.2 percent of the respondents have agreed that democracy is well fixed form in our country, 63.4 percent is consistently agreed to that democracy is existed, and 58.2 percent accorded that is a slight problem in this country, which is viewed that democracy is being developed in Mongolia. Additionally, how that current economic system is democratic that has shown by scales for 10 scores, in order to measure that magnitude scale used to 6.6 percent (in 2003), and 6.7 percent (in 2006) was pointed out [6, p. 65]. As the people are receiving the democracy as substantive and an ideal that is displayed only one aspect of this problem.

And so, fourth round survey on democratic governance assessment such titled on «Mongolia's democracy assessment and democracy development and its consolidation process» (2013), in order to research has carried out in the public perception survey, expert assessment was made. In accordance with this survey issued to the previous three survey findings has attempted to compare assessments of public perception of the key indicators of democracy development, the concept of democracy and democratic impact of the citizens in the life of Mongols¹. Accordingly with repetitive surveys, that

¹The 1st survey conducted in 2006 under the Follow-up project of ICNRD-5 in corporation with UNDP Mongolia and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia. The Governance Team performed by the IPSL, MAS. Team also produced the statement-report on "Democratic Governance Indicators: Assessing the State of Governance in Mongolia". Ulaanbaatar, 2006; 2nd round survey also conducted in 2008 under the MDG-9 project at the IPSL, UNDP Mongolia, and team produced the second statement-report on "Changes in the State of Democracy in Mongolia 2007/2008". Ulaanbaatar, 2008; 3rd round survey con-

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МОНГОЛЬСКАЯ ДЕМОКРАТИЯ: КРАТКИЙ ИСТОРИЧЕСКИЙ ОЧЕРК

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Статья посвящена историческому очерку монгольской демократии. В современном обществе Монголии растет демократия, которая становится социальным явлением, а преемственность истории характеризуется национальной идентичностью и уникальными особенностями. Монгольский народ с богатыми традициями рационально и миролюбиво относится к любым обстоятельствам, и его позиция по отношению к государству приблизилась к ценностям солидарности и морали. Целью данной статьи является актуализация исследований важных вопросов о том, как облегчить и закрепить переход от коммунизма к рыночно-ориентированному демократическому режиму в Монголии, и как представлять взгляды многих выдающихся национальных представителей для понимания становления демократии и демократических ценностей в условиях, необходимых для монгольской демократии.

Ключевые слова: демократия, социальный феномен, демократические ценности, общественно-политическая культура, Монголия.